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II. RAKOCZI FERENC KARPÁTALJAI MAGYAR FOISKOLA
HODINKA ANTAL NYELVÉSZETI KUTATÓKÖZPONT



ÉRTÉKEK ÉS KIHÍVÁSOK

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Az előadások anyagait két kötetben adjuk közre, ez a második a történelem- és társadalomtudományok, az oktatásmódszertan és az irodalomtudomány tárgykörébe tartozó közleményeket tartalmazza.

A kiadvány megjelentetését
a II. RÁKÓCZI FERENC KÁRPÁTALJAI MAGYAR FŐISKOLA
és
a MAGYAR TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA
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CHANGING ETHNIC DIVERSITY OF THE CARPATHIAN BASIN DURING THE LAST CENTURY

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The Carpathian Basin

The name of the area that the Hungarians consider their homeland altered several times in accordance with the political situation and changes of state-borders in the last centuries. Until the entire Hungarian ethnic territory belonged to the Hungarian state, up to the end of World War I, this area was called the Kingdom of Hungary, Hungarian Empire, Countries of the Hungarian Holy Crown, or simply Hungary (Hunfalvy 1863; Ballagi–Király 1878; Balbi–Czirbusz 1899; Cholnoky 1918). Though following the Treaty of Versailles (Trianon, 1920), the name „Hungary” was interpreted with irredentist intent in the same extent as before 1918 and ignored the changes of state-borders, the search started for a geographic name synonym that would be acceptable for foreign politics. Teleki (1923, 1934) began to introduce the term Central Danubian Basin, Cholnoky (1929) the Hungarian Basin, Bendefy-Benda (1932) the Carpathian Basin, and Kalmár (1932) the Carpathian or Central Danubian Basin. The name, *Carpathian Basin*, named after the mountains framing the study area, was accepted also by Bulla–Mendöl (1947), and has become widely accepted in the Hungarian society to this day. In this sense it is not (only) a physical geographic term, but also a synonym for the historical Hungarian state territory, the regions inhabited also by Hungarians (*Figure 1*). Obviously, the neighbouring nations interpret this area not in this way, but in geographical aspect. They consider it as two areas, the *Carpathian Mountains* and the *Pannonian (Central Danubian, Tisza–Danube) Basin*.

The changing ethnic structure during the last century

According to the data of the National Office for Refugee Affairs (Budapest), 350 thousand (in reality 426 thousand) Hungarians fled to the new Hungarian state-territory in the period of 1918–1924, after World War I (Zeidler 2002). The regional distribution of the officially registered Hungarian refugees was the following: from the territories annexed by Romania 197 thousand, from the new Czechoslovak areas 107 thousand, from the southern regions got to the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes 45 thousand (Petrichевич–Horváth 1924). It was a striking phenomenon in the inter-war period that the Jewish and Romani people – who declared previously Hungarian mother tongue – were classified in separate categories in the ethnic statistics in Czechoslovakia and in Romania. Thereby, especially in Slovakia, Transcarpathia and Transylvania, the number of those who were registered as Hungarians was much lower compared to the Hungarian mother tongue data at the census of 1910. The majority of the population with uncertain, multiple ethnic identity and command of languages augmented the neighbouring nations in the census statistics at this time, and this factor also played a great part in the rapid decrease of the number of Hungarians remaining beyond the new Hungarian state-borders. Such populations lived generally in towns, in the areas between Nitra (Nyitra)–Nové Zámky (Ľsekújvár)–Levice (Léva) in Slovakia,

in the region of Košice (Kassa) and Trebišov (Tóketerebes), in the western section of Sevluš (Vinohradiv, Nagyszőlős) in Transcarpathia and in certain parts of Satu Mare (Szatmár) and Sălaj (Szilágy) counties in Rumania.

Figure 1. States, regions forming the Carpathian Basin



The rapid statistical decrease of the number of Hungarian minorities in the Carpathian Basin in the years between 1920 and 1930's was stemmed by territorial revisions between 1938 and 1941 (e.g. First and Second Vienna Awards). In this course, the majority of Hungarian-inhabited territories lost in 1920 (present-day South Slovakia, Transcarpathia, North Transylvania with Szeklerland, Bačka, present-day Croatian Baranya, Slovenian Transmura Region) were returned to Hungary. In the returned regions, especially in Transcarpathia, in Slovakia and in Transylvania, the number of people declaring themselves Hungarian was increased by the return of Hungarian public servants (clerks, policemen, soldiers etc.), by the settling of Hungarians from Bukovina, as well as by bilingual population and the majority of Jewish people becoming Hungarian native speakers again.

Territorial revisions favouring Hungarians lapsed after World War II, thus 125 thousand Hungarians from Romania, 120,500 from Czechoslovakia, 45,500 from Yugoslavia, 25 thousand from the Soviet Union (Transcarpathia) fled to the present-day Hungarian state-territory. In parallel, the Czechoslovak government deported another 44 thousand Hungarians to labour service to Czech–Moravian lands in order to speed up the Czechoslovak–Hungarian “population exchange” between 1945 and 1948. The number of Hungarians in the neighbouring countries was lessened not only by emigrations, losses of the war, the liquidation of the majority of Hungarian Jews (Braham 2007), but also by the defection from Hungarians of the population with uncertain, multiple ethnic identity, the „Reslovakization” in South Slovakia, and the extreme anti-Hungarian political atmosphere. As a result of these circumstances, the number of Hungarians dropped principally

in Slovakia, Transcarpathia and in Transylvania. The number of Hungarians decreased in a far smaller degree in some border areas belonging again to the contemporary Yugoslavia (e.g. Bačka, Banat) between 1941 and 1948 – despite the vendetta of Serbs causing thousands of Hungarian victims in October–November 1944.

In general, it can be stated that the number of Hungarians increased steadily in Hungary (to 10.6 million) as well as abroad (to 2.8 million) in the four decades of socialism till the beginning of 1980's, then it radically decreased (to 10.2, and to 2.7 million) because of the turn of the natural increase into decrease, and the immigration from neighbouring countries to Hungary. The extension of Hungarian ethnic territory did not change significantly between 1949 and 1990. There was considerable increase only in the cases of towns and non-Hungarian language-islands in Hungary, and there was significant decrease abroad due to the speeded up internal migration and assimilation. In this period, the number of Hungarians considerably increased or stagnated in Vojvodina, in Croatia and in the Slovenian Transmura Region until the 1960's. Since then, the number of Hungarians in Yugoslavia in census statistics has been decidedly lessened by the opportunity of West European employment, by natural decrease and by the so-called "Yugoslav" ethnic category, which was popular among the minorities, persons with mixed ethnic background. The favourable natural increase of Transylvanian Hungarians was set off by the nation-building programme of the Romanian nation-state. In Slovakia, in parallel with the fading of the shocking experiences of 1940's, the number of those who dared to call themselves Hungarian increased in the 1950's. However, this rise that had also been supported by increase in the birth rate, was surprisingly decelerated from the 1970's. As the result of the huge demographic losses, the ratio of those who declared themselves Hungarian in the total population of the Carpathian Basin dropped from 42.5% to 40.1% between 1991 and 2001 (*Table 1 and 2*). The reduction of Hungarians was naturally wider among people living in minority (–10.9%) than in Hungary (–7.2%).

In the census of 2001–2002, 11.8 million ethnic Hungarians and 12 million Hungarian native speakers were listed in the Carpathian Basin. In the population declaring themselves Hungarian there were 9.4 million inhabitants of Hungary, 1.4 million of Transylvania, 521 thousand of Slovakia, 290 thousand of Vojvodina, 152 thousand of Transcarpathia, 15 thousand of the Pannonian areas of Croatia, 6.6 thousand of Burgenland and 5.4 thousand of the Transmura Region in Slovenia (*Figure 2*). The ethnic territory with Hungarian majority shrank by 51 settlements in the last decade of the 20th century, of which 23 belonged to the Hungarian–Slovakian language border. As the consequence of changed lifestyle, increasing impoverishment, insecurity, unsteady marriages, multitudinous divorces, postponed childbearing and the family model with radically decreasing child-number of the last decade(s), we can speak of natural increase only in the cases of the counties of Szeklerland in the Hungarian inhabited areas in 2010. Natural assimilation effected mainly the population of Hungarians in Slavonia, Transmura Region, Burgenland and Slovakia in the last decades.

Ethnic structure in the early 21st century

Hungary

The Hungarian state (*Magyarország* in Hungarian) has been existing since 895 in Central Europe, where its territory represented ca. 300 thousand km² until 1920 (Treaty of Versailles/Trianon), when 72% of the historic territory was ceded to the neighbouring states. Its present-day territory is a result of the Treaty of Paris (1947). The lingual spa-

tial pattern of the territory of the country is rather uniform (Hungarian), however, the population of northeastern and southwestern areas are mixed considering their ethnic affiliation and origin – owing to the increasing number and ratio of the Roma (mostly Hungarian native speakers). At the census of 2001, 5 to 6%, while at the census of 2011, 14 to 15% of resident population of the country rejected to respond the questions about their ethnic–lingual affiliation. Most of them lived in Budapest and its surroundings and in cities of the countryside. The number of those who considered themselves Hungarian (84%) declined by 2.3 million – despite the increasing immigration of Hungarian minorities of neighbouring countries – between 1980 and 2011, due mainly to the natural decrease that has been observed since 1981, and to the weakening of national identity. As the result of the possibility of declare plural ethnic–linguistic affiliation, the number of non-Hungarian native speakers increased moderately or stagnated, while number of non-Hungarian ethnic groups increased considerably (especially the Germans, Romanians and the Roma) between 1990 and 2011.

Hungarians (8.3 million persons) formed absolute majority in all (excluding 72) settlements of the country. The most populous centres of ethnic Hungarians were the capital and big regional centres: Debrecen, Miskolc, Szeged and Pécs. According to the data of the census in 2011, 309 thousand persons declared **Roma (Gypsy)** ethnicity. As the Roma predominantly consider themselves to belong to the majority nation (in this case to the Hungarians), this number is far less than that claimed by the non-Roma environment. Based on various sociological surveys the estimated number of the Roma population was 325 thousand in 1978 and 520–650 thousand in 2003 (Hablicsek 1999; Kemény 2000, 2004; Kertesi–Kézdi 1998; Mészáros–Fóti 1996). Romani people represent high proportion in the local population overwhelmingly on the less urbanized, traditionally rural territories with an ethnically highly mixed population. According to the census statistics of 2011, only 32 villages had absolutely Roma majority. Most of them were located in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and Baranya County. It can be stated in general that ca. two thirds of the Roma live in highly segregated environments with a frequent emergence of ethnic ghettos. This process has absorbed cities and towns as well as whole regions leading to a gradual separation of the Roma from the major part of the population. Regions with an intense expansion of Roma population (10–23.2%) are the following: Nógrád, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg counties and the Middle Tisza region in Northeast Hungary; Baranya and Somogy counties in South Transdanubia (*Figure 3*).

The largest communities of Roma live in Budapest, Miskolc and Ózd. The settlement area of the **German** minority can be subdivided into the following regions: 1. West Transdanubian borderland, 2. Transdanubian Mountains, 3. Baranya and Tolna counties, 4. Southwestern part of Bács-Kiskun County, 5. Other diaspora (mainly in Békés, Pest and Somogy counties). In the course of deportation (1946–1948), ca. half of Germans of Baranya, Bács-Kiskun and Komárom-Esztergom counties and that of Budapest did not have to leave their place of residence, so they remained. They managed to retain majority in the eastern part of Baranya County, in the Vértes and Gerecse Mountains as well as in the central parts of the Bakony Mountains. The largest communities can be found in Budapest, Pécs, Pilisvörösvár and in Sopron. The settlement area of **Slovaks** – due to the process of assimilation and the Czechoslovak–Hungarian population exchange between 1946 and 1948 – shrunk to three considerable areas (in Békés County, Pilis Mountains, common borderland of Pest and Nógrád counties), and

four smaller language islands (in the Zemplén, Bükk, Mátra, Bakony Mountains). **Croats** can be subdivided into various ethnographic groups: Šokci (Southeastern Baranya), Bosnians (South Baranya), Bunjevci (Bácska), Croats of the Dráva and Mura regions and Croats living along the Austrian border. They form ethnic majority in 15 villages located in the border areas. Most of them are residents of Pécs, Kópháza, Szentpéterfa and Tótszerdahely. As a result of their internal migration, only third of **Romanians** live along the present-day Hungarian–Romanian state border, where the most populous communities can also be found, in Méhkerék, Kétegyháza and Gyula. Their number exceeds that of the Hungarians in Méhkerék and Bedő. A vast majority of **Serbs** live in the southern border zone and near the Danube, where they form the majority of the local population only in one village (Lórév). **Slovenes** inhabit a small hilly area between the Austrian and Slovenian border, near the River Rába, where their most populous communities are to be found in Szentgotthárd and in Felsőszőlők.

Slovakia

Slovakia (*Slovensko* in Slovak, *Szlovákia* in Hungarian), a new state in Central Europe, existed between 1939 and 1945 and has been existing since 1993. Its territory belonged mostly to the Avar Khaganate (680–791), to the Slavic states of Nitra, later Moravia (825–900), to Hungary (900–1918, as *Upper Hungary*, *Felföld*, *Felvidék* in Hungarian, *Horná zem*, *Horniaky* in Slovak) and to Czechoslovakia (1918/1920–1939; 1945–1992) during the last two millenniums. Its ethnic spatial structure has basically dual nature, since Slovaks prevail in the north from the Slovak–Hungarian linguistic contact zone, while Hungarians from south of it. The ethnic unity of Rusyn settlement area, which had existed in the northeastern border regions since the Middle Ages, has ceased by this time. A quarter of the population is Roma (Gypsy) in East Slovakia today, where lesser and greater ethnic microregions with Roma majority have been formed.

As a result of the well-known anti-Hungarian configuration of the latest administrative reform introduced in 1996, the state-forming nation, **Slovaks** numbered 4.3 million and form absolute majority of the population in all regions (*kraj*) and in all districts (*okres*) – excluding those of Dunajská Streda and Komárno. Mainly as the consequence of the extraordinarily state-aided, increasing Slovakization, 33 settlements changed from Hungarian to Slovak-majority mainly close to the language border in the last decade. Areas with nearly homogeneous Slovak population are found in the north-western, mountainous part of the country, in the basins along the upper and middle stretches of the Váh, Nitra and Hron rivers. Beside the capital (Bratislava) and Košice, the largest Slovakian communities live in Prešov, Nitra, Žilina, Banská Bystrica and Trnava. The former almost homogeneous Hungarian character of the ethnic area of the **Hungarian** minority in the present-day South Slovakia (ca. the same territory that was returned to Hungary between 1938 and 1945) ceased owing to Czechoslovak colonizations, deportations and the aggressive assimilation of Hungarians („Reslovakization”) between 1945 and 1948. Towns along the Slovak–Hungarian language border (e.g. Senec, Galanta, Nové Zámky, Levice, Lučenec, Rimavská Sobota, Rožňava, Košice) also lost their Hungarian majority in the same period. Currently only one third of Hungarians live in a settlement where their ratio is over 80%. The number of settlements with Hungarian majority dropped to 380 by now (from 416 in 2001). The largest Hungarian communities live in Komárno, Dunajská Streda, Bratislava, Nové Zámky and Kolárovo. The census-number of the **Romani** population (**Gypsies**) far lags behind

from the estimated number of Roma that non-Roma neighbourhood qualified in Slovakia as well. The number and ratio of the latter ones could be estimated to 379 thousand and 7% in 2001 (Vaňo 2002). The great majority of the Roma people have been living in the eastern, southeastern areas (east from the Poprad–Lučenec line) for centuries, where according to the ethnicity data of the census 7 (in estimations 90) villages go for Roma majority. Their largest communities can be found in Košice, Trebišov, Levoča, Kecerovce, Prešov, Poprad and Humenné. Only 35 thousand persons declared themselves ethnic **Rusyns** and **Ukrainians** together of the descendants of Rusyns (Ruthenes) numbering nearly one hundred thousand and having Greek Catholic religious affiliation in the early 20th century. The great majority of them are the inhabitant of the northeastern regions neighbouring Poland, where their most populous communities live in Medzilaborce, Humenné, Prešov and Svidník. The number of settlements with Rusyn and Ukrainian ethnic majority is 40 (2001).

Transcarpathia (Ukraine)

Transcarpathia (*Subcarpathia* before 1945, *Zakarpattia* in Ukrainian., *Kárpátalja* in Hungarian) is the westernmost administrative oblast (province) of Ukraine, which was part of Hungary (896–1919, 1939–1944), of Czechoslovakia (1920–1939) and of the Soviet Union (1945–1991). 81% of the total population (1.3 million persons) of the region declare Ukrainian, 12.6% Hungarian ethnicity. The **Ukrainians** (and the autochthonous Slavic population declaring **Rusyn** ethnic identity until 1945) represent majority population in all raions (districts) and towns (excluding Berehovo and its district). Their most populous communities live in Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Khust, Vynohradiv, Svaliava and Rakhiv. In the two largest cities (Uzhhorod, Mukachevo) the Ukrainian native speakers make up ca. 80% of the population. Concerning the geographical pattern of ethnic Ukrainian population, '**Dolishnians**' (Lowlanders) living in the earlier (from the 13th century) settled foothill and lowland areas, and '**Horniaks**': *Lemkos*, *Boykos*, *Hutzuls* (Highlanders) of the mountain regions (of later settlement, in the 15–18th centuries) can be distinguished (Bonkáló S. 1940). The other populous ethnic group of the area is that of the **Hungarians**, who became a minority in the late 17th century second to Rusyns on the present territory of Transcarpathia (1495: 64.6%, 1715: 41.1% Hungarians). Hungarians form the majority of population in 83 settlements, mostly near the Ukrainian–Hungarian border, where the only town with Hungarian majority (Berehovo) is to be found. The most populous Hungarian communities inhabit Berehovo, Uzhhorod, Mukachevo and Velyka Dobron'. **Russians** became a significant minority group as a result of immigrations and resettlements after 1945. Governmental and party officials, soldiers and their families moved to Transcarpathia, overwhelmingly to towns (Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Berehovo, Khust) in this period. **Romanians** are rather concentrated spatially along the boundary of the Rakhiv and Tiachiv districts. An overwhelming majority of the **Roma** population (**Gypsies**) declare Hungarian mother tongue in Transcarpathia. Accordingly, they live traditionally in the lowlands, in a traditionally Hungarian neighbourhood and in towns of the Hungarian–Ukrainian contact zone. The small **Slovak** minority lives in Uzhhorod and in its surroundings. The number of **German** speakers is below 2,000 as a result of the intensive emigration and the assimilation. Their diaspora mainly live in Mukachevo and in its environs.

Transylvania (Romania)

A more than 100 thousand km² part of the Carpathian Basin, belonging to Hungary between 895 and 1918 and to Romania today, is called in broader sense „Transylvania” (*Ardeal*, *Transilvania* in Romanian, *Erdély* in Hungarian, *Siebenbürgen* in German), which encompasses not only Transylvania proper, but also the historical regions of Partium (Crişana, Maramureş) and the Romanian part of Banat. The historical Transylvania is bounded by the Eastern and Southern Carpathians and by the Apuşeni Mountains. In the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, owing to its specific geographic location, this area disposed regional autonomy, which was ruled by the voivode appointed by the king. Between 1541 and 1690 as independent Hungarian principality, being for the most part the vassal state of the Ottoman Empire, it was the sustainer of the Hungarian statehood that lost its independence and the Hungarian nationhood; between 1690 and 1703 and in 1711–1867 it existed as a province (belonging to the Hungarian Crown) of the Habsburg Empire. It formed part of Hungary again in the frames of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy (1867–1918). It belongs to Romania since 1918 (1920), excluding the period of 1940–1944, when as a result of the Second Vienna Award (1940), the northern part of it was temporarily returned to Hungary.

Owing to the increasing emigration, Transylvania, like other regions of Romania, endured a great population-loss between 1991 and 2011, as a result of which the number of its population dropped from 7.7 million to 6.8 million. Emigration seems to have smitten different ethnic groups to a similar degree, since their ratio hardly changed in the last two decades. In the ethnic spatial structure of Transylvania, two Romanian ethnic blocks (South Transylvania–Bihor and North Transylvania–Maramureş), two Hungarian ones (Szeklerland and North Bihor), and between them ethnic mixed zones can still be observed. As a result of conscious Romanian policy of nation building, ethnic homogenization, the ratio of Romanians increased from 55.1% to 74.7% in Transylvania in the 20th century (Varga E.Á. 1998) and fell down to 70.6% by 2011.

The ratio of **Romanians**, the titular nation, exceeds 80% in seven counties of the sixteen in Transylvania, and their ratio is between 50–80% in other seven counties as well. Areas inhabited predominantly by Romanians can be found in the Southern Carpathians, in the Apuşeni Mountains and in the common border areas of the counties Maramureş and Bistriţa–Nasăud. Almost two thirds of Romanians live in towns and communes in which their ratio is over 80%. Six cities (Timişoara, Cluj–Napoca, Braşov, Oradea, Sibiu, Arad) have more than 100 thousand Romanian inhabitants. The half of **Hungarians** lives in Szeklerland, where in two counties (Harghita 83%, Covasna 72%) they still represent ethnic majority. The home of more than a quarter of them is in the Partium region (Bihor, Satu Mare, Sălaj, Maramureş). Other Hungarians are making attempts to maintain their ethnic identity in smaller and larger language islands in Banat, in the environs of Arad and in central areas of Transylvania. According to the census in 2011, only one third of them live dominantly (over 80%) in Hungarian towns or communes. Otherwise, a quarter of them lives in communes where their ratio is below 20%, therefore, their language is not official.

The largest Hungarian communities live in the towns of Szeklerland (Târgu Mureş, Sfântu Gheorghe, Odorheiu Secuiesc, Miercurea Ciuc), and in Cluj–Napoca, Oradea and Satu Mare. At the census of 2011, 271 thousand persons declared **Roma (Gypsy)** ethnicity in Transylvania. Regions inhabited traditionally in the greatest number and ratio by Romani people are still the Transylvanian Basin (mainly the former

Saxon lands and the Mureş valley) and counties of the plain, lowland areas of Hungarian–Romanian borderlands (Satu Mare, Bihor, Arad, Timiș). Roma population, fitting its lifestyle, avoids highlands in general. More than two thirds of Transylvanian Roma still live in villages; however, their most populous communities live in cities such as Târgu Mureș, Timișoara, Cluj-Napoca and Arad. The majority of the Roma population usually considers the locally dominant language (Romanian or Hungarian) their native language. **Germans** went for the third most populous minority of Transylvania until the 1980's, one third of them (Saxons) are the inhabitant of the historic Transylvania, while two thirds that of Banat and Partium (Swabians). Their exodus has been nearly completed in the last three decades; accordingly, there is hardly any commune of them where their ratio reaches 5%. Considerable German community may only be found in Timișoara, Sibiu and Reșița. The majority of the **Rusyn, Ukrainian** population still live in the southern part of Maramureș, near the Ukrainian border. **Slovaks** live basically still in the common border areas of Bihor and Sălaj counties (Șes Mountains) and in Nădlac (Arad County). Almost all **Serbian**s are inhabitants of Banat, mainly near the Serbian border, however, their most populous community lives in the centre of the region, in Timișoara. Villages of the **Krašovani**, gradually becoming Croatian for their Roman Catholic religion, coalesce in the southern neighbourhood of Reșița. Catholic **Bulgarians** fled here in 1737–1738, and they represent majority only in two villages of Banat today. The great majority of **Czechs**, who were settled down in the 1820's, live in small upland villages of the southern parts of Banat, seven of which still have Czech majority.

Vojvodina (Serbia)

Vojvodina (*Vojvodina* in Serbian, *Vajdaság* in Hungarian) is the northernmost province of Serbia, accounting for almost one fourth of the state territory. The majority of this area (known as *Ahídek, Délvidék* /Lower, Southern Region or simply as Southern Hungary) was part of Hungary between 895 and 1918 (excluding the time of the Ottoman occupation and some periods of the Habsburg absolutism). Subsequently it belonged to Yugoslavia between 1918 and 1941 and in 1945–2003. Vojvodina appeared as a province detached from Hungary between 1849 and 1860 as part of the Habsburg Empire, then since 1945 as part of Yugoslavia (Serbia) on the political-administrative maps of this Danubian region.

In 2011, two thirds of the 1.9 million inhabitants of Vojvodina considered themselves **Serbs**, while only 13% declared to be Hungarian. The population of the province has increasingly become homogenized in ethnic and lingual aspect, and it is gradually losing its phenomenal ethnic-religious-cultural diversity, which came off in these Pannonian lands in the 18th century. Serbs increased their number by 178,000 people (owing to Serbian refugees) in the 1990's. Their ethnic spatial expansion was especially significant in the economically developed areas near the Belgrade–Novi Sad–Subotica axis, which offers relatively favourable living conditions. Serbs represent an absolute majority in Syrmia, South Bačka and in the southern and central regions of Banat. The highest concentration of Serbs can be found in the following towns: Novi Sad, Pančevo, Zrenjanin, Sombor, Kikinda and Sremska Mitrovica. Despite the large-scale emigration and natural decrease of **Hungarians** in Vojvodina, their number reached 251,000 in 2011. Hungarians represent a majority in eight northern communes of the province, where their most populous communities can be found (e.g. in Subotica, Senta, Bečej). The number of **Croats, Bunjevci** and **Šokci** (previously grouped

into the same category for their common Roman Catholic religious affiliation) together was 64 thousand (in 2011). 10 settlements in Bačka, mainly in the environs of Subotica and near the Danube, retain their Bunjevci and Šokci majorities, though. The number of **Slovaks** was reduced primarily by their natural decrease during the last decade. The biggest Slovak communities live in Stara Pazova (Syrmia), in Kovačica, Padina (Banat) and in Bački Petrovac, Kisač (Bačka). The number of **Romanians** has been continuously decreasing since 1910 due to emigration, natural decrease and assimilation (Serbianization). They live predominantly in the southern and central regions of Banat, where they still have ethnic dominance in 19 villages. The **Romani** population (**Gypsies**) in Vojvodina – unlike other Roma communities in the Carpathian Basin – has not been assimilated even to surrounding languages in this amazingly heterogeneous, multiethnic environment. Most of them live in bigger towns (Zrenjanin, Novi Sad, Subotica, Pančevo, Kikinda) and in their vicinity, besides they also constitute significant proportions of the population in the central, depopulating borderlands of Banat. The most important settlements of the **Rusyns** and **Ukrainians** are Ruski Krstur and Kucura in Bačka, which were repopulated in the middle of the 18th century.

Pannonian Croatia

Only the Central European (Pannonian) parts of the territory of the Republic of Croatia belong to the Carpathian Basin, where two thirds of its population live. Roots of the Croatian statehood goes back to the 9th century, however, having regional autonomy Croatia was attached to the Hungarian Crown by personal union between 1102 and 1918. It was the part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (from 1929 Yugoslavia) between 1918 and 1941, and a federal constituent unit of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia between 1945 and 1991. In the 20th century, its independence lasted between 1941 and 1945, and after 1991. The western two thirds of the modern Pannonian Croatian areas were called Slavonia in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, while the present-day East Croatian territories constituted parts of the contemporary proper Hungary.

The most significant ethnic changes of the 1990's in the territory of the 4.3-million Croatia were the consequences of flight of more than half of Serbs and the growth of national identity. The ethnic spatial expansion of the almost four million **Croats** – partly owed to Croatian refugees arriving from Bosnia and Herzegovina, mostly at the expense of Serbs – was especially significant in Banovina region (south of Karlovac and Sisak) and in West Slavonia, where the number of villages with Croatian majority augmented with 500. At present, the most Croats in the Pannonian Croatian areas live in Zagreb, Osijek, Sesvete, Slavonski Brod, Karlovac, and Varaždin. Losing two thirds of their population, the number of **Serbs** fell to 187 thousand owing to the war of 1991–1995 and to consequent migrations. Serbs only managed to endure the turbulent events of the 1990's in greater numbers on the eastern territories, bordering Serbia (the Danube), which returned to Croatian authority at the latest, in 1998. The most populous Serbian communities in Croatia can be found in Zagreb, Vukovar, Osijek and Borovo. The majority of **Hungarians** (as autochthonous population with early medieval roots) live in Baranja and in Eastern Slavonia (south to Osijek). Some communities of **Bosniaks** (Muslims by ethnicity) immigrated mainly in the last decades, and they dominantly live in Zagreb and in its environs, in Sisak and in the border areas near Bosnia. The number of **Czechs** has significantly decreased during the past decades being also affected by the accelerated assimilation. The most of Czechs live in West

Slavonia (mainly in the vicinity of Daruvar and Grubišno Polje), where they constitute the ethnic majority of the population in 15 villages. The homeland of the **Slovak** minority in Croatia is primarily East Slavonia, of the **Roma** dominantly the Međimurje County and Varaždin environs, of the **Rusyns** the vicinity of Vukovar.

Transmura Region (Slovenia)

The area (*Prekmurje* in Slovenian, *Muravidék* in Hungarian) occupies less than 5% of the territory of Slovenia, in its northeastern part. The Transmura Region situated in the southwestern corner of Pannonia (Transdanubia) was part of Hungary between 900 and 1919 then in 1941–1945, and was annexed to the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia) in 1919 (1920). According to the first census of Slovenia (2002), 85% of the total population of the region declared Slovenian, 6.6% Hungarian ethnicity. The **Slovenian** ethnic territory covers the total Transmura Region aside from one part of the Hungarian borderland. Three quarters of Slovenes live in the lowlands comprising their most populous communities: Murska Sobota, Beltinci, Lendava. The number of **Hungarians** (most of them living in the Hungarian–Slovenian border area) decreased almost to its one third following World War II. Their most populous communities are to be found in Lendava and in Dobrovnik. The **Croatians** emigrated mainly from the neighbouring Međimurje region found a new home primarily in Lendava and Murska Sobota. **Roma (Gypsies)** are mostly residents of the ethnically mixed border area, however, the only Roma settlement (Pušča) is to be found near Murska Sobota.

Burgenland (Austria)

Burgenland, the easternmost and youngest province of Austria accounts for less than 5% of the country's territory. This West Pannonian area was an integral part of Hungary between 900 and 1921, when the new Austrian province was established, following the peace treaties of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1919) and Versailles (Trianon, 1920). 87% of the more than quarter of a million inhabitants of Burgenland declared **German** colloquial language, whose number has been increased owing to assimilated Croats and Hungarians since 1991; however, their ratio in the population has permanently been decreased due to settling foreigners. All settlements of the area (except for 25) have German majority. The most populous German-Austrian communities are those of Eisenstadt, Neusiedl am See, Mattersburg and Oberwart. As a result of Croatian immigration, the population of the **Croatian** community is slowly growing. Villages with Croatian majority make up an ethnic block only in the eastern part of Oberpullendorf District today. Despite the large-scale **Hungarian** immigration, the number of Hungarians in Burgenland is permanently decreasing, owing to the rapid natural decrease of autochthonous Hungarians and to lingual assimilation. Their most populous communities are to be found in Oberwart, Oberpullendorf and in Unterwart.

Outlook

On the basis of recent demographic tendencies, we can conclude that the *steady decrease of the population number of the Carpathian Basins* going to continue into the next decades. Joining the European Union and the high reproduction rate of the Roma population are not likely to slow down this process. Because of globalisation, the *losing of ethnic identity* will probably *increase*, primarily in the urbanised regions. Due to the geographical concentration of ethnic groups, assimilation, and the natural decrease of population, we

can assume that *the ratio and number of national minorities* (such as Hungarians) will decrease even faster than before. The proportion of titular (state forming) nations in the southern Slavic states and in Ukrainian Transcarpathia will continue to grow, in contrast with the economically attractive areas (e.g. Austria, Hungary, Slovakia), where the number of Roma and the immigration of foreign ethnic groups will dynamically accelerate. Demographers have prepared a number of estimations about the changes in the size of the *Roma population*, whose reproduction rate is very high. On the basis of these studies, it seems possible that by 2050 there will be 3.6 million Roma living in the Carpatho-Pannonian Region (Hablicsek 1999, Vaňo 2002).

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Changing ethnic diversity of the Carpathian Basin during the last century

This paper outlines the changes of the ethnic spatial structure of the Carpathian Basin based on the census data of the given countries between 1910 and 2011. During the last century important ethnic changes took place in the ethnic structure as a result of the war losses (1914-1919, 1939-1945, 1991-1995), the forced migrations (1919-1924, 1939-1948, 1991-1995), the socialist urbanisation and the forced assimilation in the new nation states. Despite of the large scale ethnic homogenisation the Carpathian Basin remained ethnically one of the most diverse macroregion of Europe.

Table 1. Ethnic structure of the population of the Carpathian Basin (1910 – 2001)

Year	Total population	Hungarians	Romanians	Slovaks	Croats	Serbs	Ukrainians	Roma (Gypsies)	Germans	Slovenes	Unknown	
												Data in thousands
1910	20 886	10 051	2 949	1 968	1 928	1 106	473	121	2 037	93		
1930	22 723	10 526	3 283	2 508	1 932	1 096	595	178	1 855	120		
1960	26 335	12 508	4 133	3 709	2 488	1 487	784	107	682	115		
1990	30 200	12 843	5 764	4 624	2 686	1 560	1 084	465	393	95	73	
2001	29 456	11 822	5 464	4 717	2 833	1 497	1 119	576	367	82	722	
		Data in %										
1910	100,0	48,1	14,1	9,4	9,2	5,3	2,3	0,6	9,8	0,4	0,0	
1930	100,0	46,3	14,4	11,0	8,5	4,8	2,6	0,8	8,2	0,5	0,0	
1960	100,0	47,5	15,7	14,1	9,4	5,6	3,0	0,4	2,6	0,4	0,0	
1990	100,0	42,5	19,1	15,3	8,9	5,2	3,6	1,5	1,3	0,3	0,2	
2001	100,0	40,1	18,5	16,0	9,6	5,1	3,8	2,0	1,2	0,3	2,5	

Remarks: 1910: *Kingdom of Hungary* (including the territory of the provinces Transylvania, Slavonia and Croatia); 1930–2001: *Czechoslovak Basin* (territory of the present-day Hungary, Transylvania, Slovakia, Pannonian Croatia, Vojvodina, Transcarpathia, Bugejland and the Transruka Region together). Croats including Banjeva, Sokci and Krasovani, Ukrainians: 1910–1930 Russian.

Sources: 1910: mother tongue data of the Hungarian census; 1930: Ethnic and mother tongue data of the Austrian (1934), Czechoslovak (1930), Romanian (1930), Yugoslav (1931) censuses; 1960: Ethnic, mother tongue and colloquial language data of the Austrian (1961), Czechoslovak (1961), Hungarian (1960), Romanian (1956), Soviet (1959), Yugoslav (1961) censuses; 1990: Ethnic, mother tongue and colloquial language data of the Austrian (1991), Czechoslovak (1991), Hungarian (1990), Romanian (1992), Soviet (1989), Yugoslav (1991) censuses; 2001: Ethnic and colloquial language data of the Austrian (2001), Croatian (2001), Hungarian (1990), Romanian (1992), Serbian (2002), Slovak (2001), Slovenian (2002), Ukrainian (2001) censuses.

Table 2. Ethnic structure of the population of the countries, regions of the Carpathian Basin (in thousands, 1990, 2001, 2011)

Country, region	Year	Total population	Hungarians	Romanians	Slovaks	Croat	Serbs	Ukrainians	Roma (Gypsies)	German	Slovenes	Czechs	Yugoslavs	Unknown
Hungary	1990	10 375	10 142	11	10	14	3	6	143	31	2			571
	2001	10 198	9 416	8	18	16	4	9	190	62	3			1 456
	2011	9 938	8 314	26	30	24	7		309	132	2			
Transylvania (Romania)	1992	7 723	1 604	5 684	19	4	27	50	203	109		5		1
	2002	7 222	1 416	5 394	17	7	21	49	244	49		3		378
	2011	6 789	1 217	4 795	14	5	16	42	271	33		2		
Slovakia	1991	5 274	567		4 519			30	76	5		59		9
	2001	5 379	521		4 615	1	1	35	90	5		47		55
	2011	5 397	458		4 553	1		41	106	5		34		382
Panonian Croatia (Croatia)	1991	3 207	20	1	5	2 549	385	5	6	2	12	12	73	41
	2001	3 010	15		4	2 712	150	4	8	2	7	10		12
	2011	2 873	13		4	2 623	131	3	15	2	5			22
Vojvodina (Serbia)	1991	2 014	339	39	64	98	1 144	22	24	4	3	2	174	21
	2002	2 032	290	30	57	76	1 322	20	29	3	2	2	50	79
	2011	1 932	251	25	50	64	1 290	18	42	3	2		12	124
Transcarpathia (Ukraine)	1989	1 246	156	29	7			977	12	3				
	2001	1 255	152	32	6			1 010	14	4				
	2012	1 252												
Bugezland (Austria)	1991	271	7			19	1			239				
	2001	278	7			20				242				
	2012	286												
Transmura Region (Slovenia)	1991	90	8			2			1		78			2
	2002	82	5			1			1		70			4
	2012	80												
CARPATHIAN BASIN	1990	30 200	12 843	5 764	4 624	2 686	1 560	1 084	465	393	95	78	247	73
	2001	29 436	11 922	5 464	4 717	2 835	1 497	1 119	576	367	82	62	50	722
	2011	28 234												
CARPATHIAN BASIN (in %)	1990	100,0	42,5	19,1	15,3	8,9	5,2	3,6	1,5	1,3	0,3	0,3	0,8	0,2
	2001	100,0	40,1	18,5	16,0	9,6	5,1	3,8	2,0	1,2	0,3	0,2	0,2	2,5

Remarks: Croats including Burjevec, Šokci and Krasovani. Ukrainians including Rusyns.

Sources: Ethnic data of the given censuses.

Figure 2. Ethnic map of the Carpathian Basin (2001)

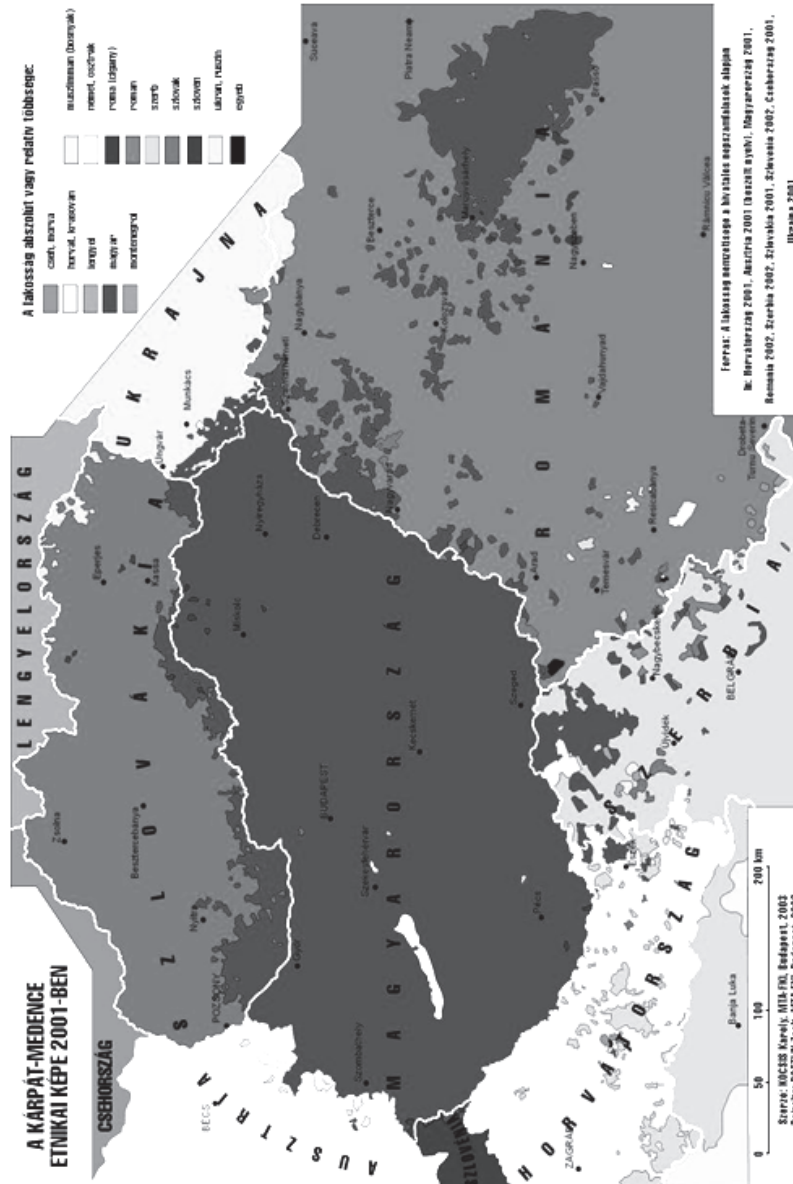


Figure 3. Roma (Gypsy) population in the Carpathian Basin (2001)

