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Changing Ethnic Patterns in the Carpatho–Pannonian Region (1989–2002)

The unprecedented economic, social, and political changes of the years after 1989 have brought about discernable changes in the former Socialist countries of the Carpatho–Pannonian Region: the natural decrease of the population increased spatial mobility and enhanced the process of the losing of ethnic identity. This, in turn, resulted in a considerable ethnic transformation in the Carpatho–Pannonian region, the population of which saw a 700,000-strong decrease of population during the examined period. Among ethnic changes, the most striking ones involved the accelerated decrease and assimilation of national minorities, the dynamic headway by the Roma population, and the increasing numbers and percentage of a population that lacks emotional attachment.

The changing ethnic patterns in the Carpatho–Pannonian region will be discussed with the help of the last two censuses¹ conducted in eight countries of the region. Since the countries in concern (except Austria) made them available in a most detailed territorial breakdown, primarily the census figures of ethnic affiliation (national, ethnic affiliation)² served as the basis of the research. In the case of Austria one can only infer the ethnic stratification of the population through the “colloquial language” (*Umgangssprache*) category, which has been used in Austrian statistics for half a century. In the post-socialist countries, even the figures on *mother tongue* (that look back to a great historical past and enjoy less publicity) can help one in this type of research. Hungary was the only country in Europe to introduce two questions on “*affiliation to national cultural values and traditions*” and “*language used in the family and among friends*” in order to take an accurate snapshot of the “actual” numbers of the gradually assimilating and scattered national minorities.

The differences between the character of the answers and the number of possible answers cause a serious problem when it comes to the evaluation and comparison of the figures of the censuses between 1991 and 2001. When assessing the degree of “loss of identity”, one has to take into consideration that it was compulsory to answer this question in Ukraine, Romania, Austria, and, in 1990, in Hungary as well. At the censuses around 1991, with the exception of Austria,³ one

¹ The dates of the censuses: Hungary 1990, 2001, Slovakia 1991, 2001, Ukraine 1989, 2001, Romania 1992, 2002, Serbia 1991, 2002, Croatia 1991, 2001, Slovenia 1991, 2002, Austria 1991, 2001.

² The category name for ethnic affiliation is: “nemzetiség” in Hungary, “národnost” in Slovakia, “і аоїі і аëіі і нò” (1989), “аоі ³- í á і і ої аëаí í ý” (2001) in Ukraine, “naționalitatea” (1992), “etnie” (2002) in Romania, “í аоëі і аëі а, аоі è-èа і ðëі ааí і нò” in Serbia, “narodnost” in Croatia, “narodnost” (1991), “narodni pripadnost” (2002) in Slovenia, and “Umgangssprache” in Austria.

³ The Austrian censuses make it possible to indicate dual affiliation (e.g. German–Hungarian and German–Croatian) in the “colloquial language” category.

Conditions of Minorities

was allowed to indicate only one answer. The situation was nearly the same at the time of the last censuses with the exception that one could indicate up to three kinds of ethnic affiliation in Hungary. Naturally, this brought about a considerable increase in the number of those who indicated that they (also) had a minority ethnic affiliation. The type of population (*permanent, resident, present*) surveyed by the census is a significant factor in the research of ethnic composition. At the last censuses, the majority of the countries in the region only considered resident population. On the other hand, the *Croatian* Central Bureau of Statistics (DZS), published the ethnic figures of the 2001 census with respect to *permanent population* according to Yugoslav statistical traditions and due to nation-political reasons.⁴ As a result of the census-methodological changes and problems, the comparison of the data on ethnic affiliation of the various countries is only possible with reservations and great caution.

National identity as revealed by statistics

In the examined period, the percentage of those who did not answer on their ethnic affiliation, did not give an evaluable answer or were of an unknown ethnic affiliation increased from 1.2% to 2.8%, that is, from 369,000 to 828,000 within the approximately 30 million strong population of the Carpatho–Pannonian Region. This upward turn in the “loss of national identity” and “loss of ethnic identity” can be attributed to the fact that the census-takers pointed out to the people at the 2001 census in Hungary more markedly that answering the questions on ethnicity and religion was no longer obligatory.⁵ As a result, more than 570,000 (5.6%) people did not take the effort to give an answer on their ethnic affiliation in Hungary (*Table 1*). As opposed to this, a strengthening of national identity could be observed in the countries affected by the Yugoslav War. In Croatia, as a result of the deletion of the “Yugoslav” ethnic category and the social expectations regarding the open admission of one’s ethnic and religious affiliation, the percentage of those without ethnic affiliation fell sharply (in the Pannonian, Central-European

⁴ Because of this, Vukovár, a symbol of Croatian national defence, demolished following the 1991 Serb assault, and with officially 31,670 and in reality 20,301 inhabitants, ended up having a 57.4% Croatian majority on paper in 2001. As opposed to this, as far as the resident population was concerned, it was considered a city of Serb majority (51.3%) in the absence of more than 10,000 Croatians who had been constrained to leave. At this point, due mainly to the 1991 war, out of the 4,437,460-strong permanent Croatian residents only 4,020,025 lived at their permanent residence. Out of the 406,340 (9.2%) living elsewhere – because of studies, employment or as displaced people – 108,000 were living in Croatia and 226,000 abroad (www.dzs.hr).

⁵ In Hungary, the non-obligatory character of the answer was due to Act XLVI of 1993 Law on Statistics of Hungary, Act LXVI of 1992 on the Recording of the Personal Data and Addresses of Citizens and Act LXXVII of 1993 on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities. (2001. évi népszámlálás, 4. Nemzetiségi kötet. A nemzeti, etnikai kisebbségek adatai [2001 Census, 4. Ethnic affiliation. Figures on national and ethnic minorities], KSH, Budapest, 2002, p. 9.).

7 MINORITIES RESEARCH

Conditions of Minorities

parts of the country, from 5.1% to 1.9%). Although Serb statistics still offered the choice of “Yugoslav” ethnic identity, because of the public mood and the strengthening of the original ethnic affiliation of the population that “turned Yugoslav”, the percentage of those stating a “Yugoslav” ethnic identity dropped from 9.8% to 6.8% in Vojvodina. The degree of the loosening of ethnic bonds strongly varies from territory to territory. The process intensified especially in the urbanised parts, most affected by globalisation, and in those of mixed ethnicity (in Hungary, in Budapest and conurbation, in cities in the countryside, in certain parts of mixed ethnicity in Baranya; in Vojvodina, in a most diverse population area around Szabadka (Subotica), Zombor (Sombor), and Újvidék (Novi Sad)). At the same time, almost everybody answered about his or her ethnic identity in Transylvania, Transcarpathia, and Órvidék (Burgenland). The differences in the degree of “*loss of national identity*” greatly conform to those of “*secularisation*”.⁶ The percentage of those without religious affiliation is especially high in Hungary (25.4%), Slovakia (15.9%), in Muravidék (Pomurje) (14.5%), and Vojvodina (7.7%). This figure is less than 1% in the case of the Transylvanians and the population in Órvidék who are very much devoted to their ethnic and religious values.

The overall demographic and ethnic picture

The population of the Carpatho–Pannonian Region – due to natural population decrease becoming more general and the loss due to emigration caused by economic trends and war – *dropped* from 30.2 million to 29.4 million (by 2.4%) between 1991 and 2001 (Table 2). Natural and artificial demographic reasons influenced the population changes in the region to differing degrees. Given that the number of deaths exceeded that of live births only recently (only in 1999 and 2001), the population of *Transcarpathia* and *Slovakia* grew by 0.2% and 2% respectively. In *Órvidék* and *Vojvodina*, the considerable population increase (respectively 2.5% and 0.9%) was due to intensified *immigration* (e.g. one third of a million Serb refugees were settled in Vojvodina). For *Hungary*, the lower value of population decrease (–1.3%) can be accounted for by positive migration, which could offset somewhat natural population decrease (3.5%). Population *dropped* in *Transylvania* (despite the high natural increase of the Roma population) and in the *Pannonian region of Croatia* (despite the settlement of large numbers of Bosnian Croatian refugees) by 6.4% and 6.1%, respectively. The sharp fall in Transylvania has to do with the continuous natural decrease (observed since 1992) and the emigration of half of the Germans and hundreds of thousands of Romanians. The Pannonian region of Croatia saw the flight of about 250,000 Serbs, war losses and natural decrease, since 1998.

⁶ For the purposes of this study, secularised population includes those who declared themselves to be atheists or non-religious, did not answer the question on religion and denomination, or their religious affiliation was unknown at the time of the census.

Conditions of Minorities

In relation to the above, from among the more than 1-million-strong ethnicities, only the population of the *Croatians* (5.3%), *Ukrainians* (3.7%), and *Slovaks* (2%) increased. At the same time, Hungarians, Romanians and Serbs, who account for about two thirds of the population of the region, could not preserve the population they had around 1991 (losses of –8.9%, –5.2%, and 4%) (Tables 2, 3). The population of smaller ethnic groups (e.g. Germans, Czechs, Russians, and Bosnians) was primarily decimated in the years between 1991 and 2001 by their significant emigration to their mother countries. At the time of the 1991 censuses, the *largest* ethnic groups of the Carpatho–Pannonian region were as follows: *Hungarians* (11.7 million, 39.7%), *Romanians* (5.5 million, 18.5%), *Slovaks* (4.7 million, 16%), *Croatians* (2.8 million, 9.6%), *Serbs* (1.5 million, 5.1%), *Ukrainians*, *Ruthenians* (1.1 million, 3.8%), and the *Roma population* (0.6 million, 2%). The *Gypsies*, the *Slovaks*, the *Ukrainians* and *Ruthenians*, and (despite their losses during the past ten years) the *Romanians* were the *great winners of the ethnic processes* characteristic of 1941–2001. During the same period, the number of those declaring themselves to be *Germans* fell by four fifths and that of the *Hungarians* by 4.2% in the Carpatho–Pannonian region. Because of their massive demographic losses, the percentage of Hungarians and Germans taken together fell sharply from 56.7% to 41% in the past sixty years.

State-forming nations, national and ethnic minorities

During the past decade, the total percentage of the *state-forming (majority) nations* of the Carpatho–Pannonian region stabilised around 84% (this can be considered an average of considerable spatial differences) (Table 4). The singular *fall* in the percentage of *Hungarians living in Hungary* (from 97.8% to 91.2%) was primarily offset by the significant *headway* of *Vojvodina Serbs* and *Croatians from Croatia*. In the background there lies a large-scale loss of ethnic identity of the mother country Hungarians and the refugee waves (Serb and Croatian) directed toward the mother countries during the Serb-Croatian war.

While in 1941 one fourth of the regions population could be considered a member of some *national minority*, ten years ago every seven and today every ninth person belongs to them. The *percentage* of national minorities (nearly two thirds of which is made up of Hungarians) *decreased* in most of the Carpatho–Pannonian region between 1991 and 2001 – due to emigration to the mother countries, nation change as registered in the statistics, and natural decrease caused by ageing. There were only two reasons that contributed to an increase in the percentage of national minorities – the permission to indicate multiple ethnic affiliations in statistics (Hungary) and large-scale immigration (Örvidék–Austria)⁷. Only a small

⁷ In the case of Örvidék (Austria) – irrespective of one's official political status – every inhabitant who answered the question on colloquial language (*Umgangssprache*) and indicated a language other than German or the language of the Roma minority population, was categorised in the "ethnic minority" category.

7 MINORITIES RESEARCH

Conditions of Minorities

percentage (1.3% and 2.2%) of Romanians and Slovaks, two of the largest ethnic groups live in minority, while over one fifth of the native Carpathian Hungarians still live outside the present borders of Hungary (Table 5). At the same time, due to their non-subsiding natural growth and increasing ethnic identity, the *proportion* of the *Roma population*, an *ethnic minority* group lacking a mother country, reached 2% (according to the freely provided census data in 2001).

The Roma and Hungarian populations of the region

Considering that the Hungarian and Roma populations are by far the most numerous among the national and ethnic minorities that cause internal and foreign policy conflicts in the Carpatho–Pannonian region, it is worth outlining their present demographic situation and ethnic pattern and the changes they went through during the past years.

Hungarians. The Hungarian population of the world has fallen from an estimated 15 million in 1980 to 14 million in 1990 and 13 million today. Out of this, the 2001–2002 censuses found 11.7 million ethnic Hungarians and 12 million Hungarian speakers living in the Carpatho–Pannonian region. Their large-scale decrease (–8.9%) prevailed especially in their native settlement area and, within that, in the former Yugoslav member states and in the loosely defined Transylvania (–30%–12%) (Table 6). As a result of the considerable demographic losses, the proportion of those who declared themselves ethnic Hungarians slid from 42.5% to 39.7% of the total population of the Carpatho–Pannonian region between 1991 and 2001. The decrease of the number of Hungarians was –10.9% in the case of those who live in minority, while only –8.3% among those who live in the mother country. The drop in the proportion of Hungarians was due, beyond their natural decrease (1991–2001: –3.56%), to the fact that 570,000 – presumably Hungarian – people, 5.6% of the population, did not state what their ethnicity was. Accordingly, it can be concluded that, among the Hungarians of the Carpatho–Pannonian region, *national identity* is *weakest among the ones living in Hungary* and the strongest in Transylvania and Transcarpathia where, in the area inhabited by Hungarians, the number of those not stating their ethnic affiliation was below 1%.

From among those who declared themselves *ethnic Hungarians* (in the Pannonian territory), 9.3 million lived in Hungary, 1.4 million in Transylvania, 520,000 in Slovakia, 290,000 in Vojvodina, 151,000 in Transcarpathia, and 15,000 in Croatia. With the exception of Vojvodina and Croatia, the number of Hungarian-speaking people exceeded that of ethnic Hungarians in every other macro region (especially in Muravidék (+20.6%) and Slovakia (+10.1%)). In the southern areas of the Carpatho–Pannonian region (e.g. Dél-Bánság (Southern-Banat), Szerémség (Srem), Szlavónia (Slavonia)), where Hungarians ever hopelessly struggle to survive in their diaspora and enclaves, merely 19–25% of ethnic Hungarians consid-

Conditions of Minorities

ered themselves Hungarian speakers. In this respect, the situation is the worst in the Slavonic Belovár-Bilogora (Bjelovar-Bilogora) county, where three fourth of Hungarians indicated that they were Croatian-speakers. The number of Hungarians fell most sharply (by 20–40%) more or less in these same territories between 1991 and 2001: in the Slovenian Muravidék, in the Austrian Southern-Őrvidék and in Budapest. At the same time, in the northeast (Ugocsa, Bereg and Central Szabolcs), the conurbation of Budapest, Northern-Őrvidék, and in the surroundings of Vienna and Bécsújhely (Neudorf) the number of Hungarians rose considerably. The ethnic area with a Hungarian majority shrank by 30 villages, out of which 23 (including formerly important district seats Szepsi (Moldava nad Bodvou) and Torna (Turna nad Bodvou)) were situated in the section of the Hungarian-Slovak linguistic border between rivers Danube and Hernád. It was due to a decrease of Hungarians exceeding that of the Romanians in the late 1990s that the currently 150,000-strong Székely capital, Marosvásárhely (Targu Mures), lost its Hungarian majority to the Romanians for the first time since its foundation. As a result of the settlement of Serb refugees and the quickly decreasing Hungarian population, by 2002 Hungarians became a minority at important places in Bácska (Backa), such as Temerin and Bajmok. The few German, Croatian, Slovak villages in Hungary, Swabian villages in Szatmár (Satu Mare) in Romania⁸, and others in Ugocsa in Transcarpathia, in which Hungarians became the majority, could not offset the negative trends in the ethnic patterns of Hungarians.

The factual statistical figures presented above and in the tables and the objective (natural and artificial population change) and subjective (e.g. level and strength of national identity, its determining outside factors, assimilation, change of nation, the methodological problems of the census) factors behind the demographic changes can only be but roughly outlined in this study.

The spatial differences of natural *population change*⁹ as regards Hungarians, date back to almost a century. Among the regions inhabited by Hungarians, due to lifestyle-change, intensifying impoverishment, the uncertainty of existence, unstable marriages, the great number of divorces, the postponed birth of children, and the family model of fewer children of in the past decade(s), today¹⁰ there is *natur-*

⁸ Great numbers of the Swabians in Szatmár (in the surroundings of Nagykároly (Carei), who had assimilated to Hungarians in the majority of cases by the 20th century, identified themselves as Germans in 1992 during the emigration craze to Germany. Following their emigration, the level of which remained lower than the emigration average of the country, the majority of those who remained returned to the category of Hungarian nationality in harmony with their Hungarian tongue. (The number of people of German nationality in Szatmár county: 6,395 in 1977, 14,351 in 1992, and 6,380 in 2002.) As a result, some villages have a Hungarian majority once again.

⁹ Considering primarily the demographic opposition of the early introduction of the one-child family model in and the quickly aging Hungarian population of the Southern Parts and the high-vitality North-eastern and Eastern (Székely land) Hungarian areas.

¹⁰ In 2000, natural growth was 1.2‰ in Kovászna (Covasna) county and 0.01‰ in Hargita (Harghita). At the same time, the natural decrease of the population of Transylvania was -1.3‰, while that of whole Romania -0.9‰.

7 MINORITIES RESEARCH

Conditions of Minorities

al growth in Székely land only. The number of deaths recently has come to exceed that of births in Csallóköz (Zitny Ostrov) and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county. The level of *natural decrease* was *highest* among the Hungarians of the *Southern Parts* and became one of the main factors of their weakening.¹¹ In the case of *artificial population change*, the migration due to *economic* motives caused losses especially to Hungarians in the northeastern and eastern areas (Transcarpathia, the region beyond the Tisza River and Transylvania), while those caused by *political reasons*¹² reduced the number of Hungarians in Serbia and Croatia. Tens and hundreds of thousands of Hungarians sought to climb up the historically developed, ever steeper *income and economy-development* ladder *slanting from west to east*¹³ not only in the relation of Ukrainians, Romanians and Hungarians, Austrians but also Hungarians and Austrians. As a result of these types of migrations, the number of Hungarians considerably grew in the surroundings of Vienna and Bécsújhely, in Northern-Őrvidék, and the conurbation around Budapest.¹⁴

The statistical fact of how many declare themselves Hungarians at a given time also depends on several subjective factors. Among these, the *policy of the given state and the mother country towards the Hungarian minority* (and the whole of the Hungarian nation) has an outstanding importance. The *geographic character of the settlement pattern of Hungarians* (e.g. block, enclave, diaspora) and intensity of *interethnic contacts* (especially *mixed marriages* that accelerate the assimilation of minorities) can also affect *natural assimilation* and then the *change of nation*, which appears in statistics.¹⁵ Naturally, these factors may affect Hungarian minorities as a whole, but in the past ten years they contributed to the sharp decline mainly in the numbers of Hungarians in Slavonia, Muravidék, Northern-Őrvidék and Slovakia (primarily in big cities and along the linguistic border). The prestige of and the public mood towards Hungarians in a given country greatly influenced the *identity of the Hungarian-speaking Roma population* and the “change of nation(ality)” between the Roma, the Hungarian and the majority eth-

¹¹ In 2000, natural decrease was about $-10 - -11\%$ in the areas inhabited by Hungarians in Vojvodina and Muravidék, that is, twice the lowest corresponding values in Hungary (Budapest, Békés and Csongrád counties) ($-5.2 - -4.8\%$).

¹² Migration for political reasons: masses of Hungarians (Hungarian man of military age living in Serbia) had to leave their home in the former Yugoslavia because of the Serb-Croatian War of 1991–1995 and the events of 1999 in Serbia (e.g. Kosovo, NATO bombings).

¹³ The GDP/person differences in the Carpatho–Pannonian Region clearly reveal an income slope slanting from west to east (GDP/person, 2000, in USD): Austria 23,940, Slovenia 9,760, Hungary 4,830, Croatia 4,550, Slovakia 3,760, Romania 1,720, Serbia-Montenegro 930, Ukraine 720.

¹⁴ The increase of the conurbation population (mostly ethnic Hungarians) around Budapest is due mainly to the headway of suburban residential areas, that is, suburbanisation.

¹⁵ Cf.: Gyurgyík, L., *Az asszimilációs folyamatok vizsgálata – komplex megközelítésben – a szlovákiai magyarság körében* [Studying the Assimilation Processes Among Hungarians in Slovakia], *Kisebbségkutatás* 12. (2003/1.), pp. 10–43., Gyurgyík, L., *A szlovákiai magyarság lélekszámcsökkenésének okai* [Reasons of the Population Decrease of Hungarians in Slovakia], In: Gyurgyík, L. – Sebők, L. (eds.) (2003), *Népszámlálási körkép Közép-Európából 1989–2002*, Teleki László Alapítvány, Budapest, pp. 46–61.

Conditions of Minorities

nic group. Due to the not really Hungarian-friendly policies of Mečiar in the 1990s, thousands of *Hungarian Roma living in Nógrád (Novohrad) and Gömör (Gemer) in Slovakia* renounced their Hungarian nationality and more declared themselves Roma than Hungarian.¹⁶ As opposed to this, after the political changes of the early 1990s, being Hungarian with an economically increasingly developed mother country nearby became once again attractive in the eyes of the (mainly Hungarian-speaking) Roma population in Transcarpathia. Accordingly, the number of those who declared themselves ethnic Hungarians increased sharply, especially in Munkács (Mukachevo) and its surroundings. Another change in Transcarpathia was due to changes in nation policy and census methodology: the Hungarian-speaking Greek-Catholics of Ugocsa (who had been recorded as Ukrainians) could freely declare themselves ethnic Hungarians, which resulted in a 10.8% increase in the Nagyszőlős (Vinohradyiv) districts' Hungarian population between 1989 and 2001.

Roma population. One third of the world's Roma population¹⁷ lives in the Carpatho–Pannonian region, where the last censuses found 579,000 (2%) *ethnic Roma* and 291,000 (1%) *Roma-speakers* (Table 7). Most of these live in *Transylvania* (246,000), *Hungary* (190,000) and *Slovakia* (90,000). Given that Roma people usually declare themselves belonging to the majority nation (e.g. Romanians, Hungarians, Slovaks), these numbers are far below that of those whom their non-Roma surroundings consider Roma (based on certain anthropological features, skin colour, lifestyle, social behaviour). On the basis of the figures of the 1893 registration of the Roma population¹⁸ and some recent calculations and experts' surveys,¹⁹ one can assume with good reason that the *number of those who could qualify as Roma was 2.6 million in the Carpatho–Pannonian region around 2001. Among them 1.4–1.5 million live in Transylvania, 600,000 in Hungary, and 380,000 in Slovakia.* According to these estimates, the Roma population makes up nearly

¹⁶ Between 1991 and 2001, the number of Roma in the southern districts of Slovakia inhabited by Hungarians grew by 51.5%, while in the northern, Slovak districts by 10.5% only, much below the estimate for the whole country (37.8%).

¹⁷ Cf.: Kocsis, K., *Etnikai-politikai földrajzi adalékok a Kárpát-medencei cigány (roma) kérdés vizsgálatához* [Ethnic and Political Geographic Data for the Study of the Roma Question in the Carpatho–Pannonian Region], in: Reisz T. – Andor M. (eds.) *A cigánység társadalomismerete, Iskolakultúra*, Pécs, pp. 32–49.

¹⁸ *A Magyarországon 1893. január 31-én végrehajtott cigányösszeírás eredményei* [Results of the Registration of the Roma Population on 31 January 1893], *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények IX.* Budapest. 1895, pp. 98+86.

¹⁹ Kemény, I., *A magyarországi romák* [The Hungarian Roma], Budapest, 2000, p. 128., Kertesi, G. – Kézdi, G., *A cigány népesség Magyarországon* [The Roma Population in Hungary], Budapest, 1998, p. 467, Mészáros, Á., *A cigánység helyzete, életkörülményei 1993* [The Situation and Circumstances of the Roma Population], Budapest, 1994, p. 27., Podolák, P., *Národnostné menšiny v Slovenskej republike z hľadiska demografického vývoja*, Martin, 1998, p. 91., Vaňo, B., *Projection of Roma Population in Slovakia until 2025*, Infostat, Demographic Research Centre, Bratislava, 2002, p. 13.

7 MINORITIES RESEARCH

Conditions of Minorities

9% of the Carpatho–Pannonian region's population and thereby becomes the fifth largest ethnic group (the largest are the Hungarians, the Romanians, and the Croats). Their number probably exceeds that of the Hungarians in Transylvania. The *spatial differences in the ethnic identity of the Roma* (affected by interethnic contacts and the ethnic policies of the state) are revealed by fact that 32% of them declared themselves ethnic Roma in Hungary, 29% in Transcarpathia, 24% in Slovakia, and 17% in Transylvania. Only 6–8% (26.2% in Slovakia) consider their own language(s) to be their mother tongue. In general, more accept their own ethnic Roma status than their Romani mother tongue. The only exception are the Roma of Slovakia and Slovenia (Muravidék), where fewer dare declare their ethnicity officially due to the majority society's lower levels of ethnic tolerance. Out of the ones who qualified as Roma at the 2001 Hungarian census, 12.2% spoke some Roma language and 21.5% felt affiliation to Roma cultural values and traditions.

The Roma population is spatially concentrated in the northeastern, eastern, non-mountainous, plain-bordering, and hilly areas of the Carpatho–Pannonian region (*Figure 1*). In Eastern Slovakia: Gömör, Szepes (Spis), Sáros (Saris), Southern Zemplén (Zemplín), surroundings of Kassa (Kosice); Northeastern Hungary: Nógrád, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg counties, Central areas around the Tisza River; Transylvania: areas in Szatmár, Bihar (Bihar), Arad, Temes (Timis) counties bordering the plain and in the Transylvanian Basin. The Roma are present in considerable numbers in Southern Dunántúl (Baranya, Somogy counties) in Hungary, in the Serbian Banat, in Belgrade, Budapest, and Bratislava. Although significant Roma migration took place from east to west and from the villages to the cities in the last fifty years, the main localities where they live remained the same as at the time of the 1893 registration of the Roma population. They live mostly in less urbanised, traditionally rural areas of a mixed population as far as their ethnic and religious composition is concerned, where it is easier for the Roma to find their place in the local social division of labour. Those 40 villages, in which the majority of the population consider themselves Roma are still the villages of these areas (24 in the Transylvanian Basin, 9 in Borsod-Abaúj-Torna, and Baranya counties, and 7 in Eastern Slovakia).

Between 1991 and 2001, the Roma population grew by the greatest extent in Northern Hungary, the Budapest region (by 50–70%), the Transylvanian Partium (34–39%), the districts of Southern Slovakia inhabited by Hungarians (51%), Bácska (57%), and Muraköz (Medimurje) (51%). This is due to their high natural growth, their migration related to economic reasons, and, last but not least, ethnic assimilation. This latter process means that at the last censuses a greater number of Hungarian-speaking Roma, who earlier declared themselves Hungarians, now declared themselves Roma as a result of the growing identity of the Roma (especially in Southern Slovakia, Northern Hungary and the parts of the Romanian Szatmár, Bihar, Szilágy and Arad counties inhabited by Hungarians).

Following the transition to democracy and market economy, the former slow but ongoing social integration of the Roma population dropped to a level charac-

Conditions of Minorities

teristic decades ago. The privatised companies laid off the unskilled Roma workers before everybody else. Under the new circumstances, these workers lost every hope of succeeding at the new, competitive labour market. Apart from a narrow circle of Roma entrepreneurs, the former relatively secure livelihood of the now unemployed Roma disappeared. Tension grew to the utmost between the Roma and majority society that also found itself amongst difficult economic circumstances, producing conflicts and showdowns some of which even caught the attention of international public opinion. The hopeless Roma, motivated by economic and political reasons, often tried to better their circumstances through international migration from the east to the west. This caused serious international conflicts between the former Socialist source countries and the "Westerns" states frightened of the masses of Roma immigrants, and resulted in the re-introduction of visa requirements.

The Future

Recent demographic figures suggest that the *population of the Carpatho–Pannonian region will steadily decline* over the next decades, and the gains from migration due to EU accession and the high natural growth rate of the Roma population will not be able to counterbalance this. As a result of globalisation, the process of *loss of nationality* is expected to *intensify*, and the further weakening of ethnic identity is expected to *continue*, especially in the urbanised areas. It is quite probable that the spatial concentration of ethnic groups, assimilation, and the natural decrease of population will make the *proportion and numbers of national minorities* (thus, that of Hungarians as well) *decrease* faster. As opposed to those areas, where the Roma population and, due to their economic appeal, the extent of immigration of foreign ethnicities will dynamically intensify (e.g. Austria, Hungary, Slovakia), the proportion of *state-forming nations* will continue to *increase* in the territory of the Southern Slav states and in Ukrainian Transcarpathia. Recently several estimates of demographers have been published on the future changes of the highly reproductive *Roma population*²⁰. According to these, it seems probable that the Carpatho–Pannonian region will have a 3.6 million strong Roma population by 2050.

²⁰ Hablicsek, L. (1999), A roma népesség demográfiai jellemzői, kísérleti előreszámítás 2050-ig [Demographic Characteristics of the Roma Population. Projection Until 2050]. KSH Népszégtudományi Kutató Intézete, Budapest, p. 49., Vaňo, B., op. cit. 2002, p. 12.

Conditions of Minorities

APPENDICES

Table 1.

Declaration of ethnic identity and secularization at the censuses
in the Carpatho-Pannonian Region (1991, 2001)

Territory	"yes"		"no"		proportion of "secularized" population
	1991	2001	1991	2001	2001
Hungary	100.0	94.4	0.0	5.6	25.4
Slovakia	99.9	99.0	0.1	1.0	15.9
Kárpátalja/Transcarpathia (Ukraine)	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	
Erdély/Transylvania (Romania)	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Vajdaság/Vojvodina (Serbia)	90.2	93.2	9.8	6.8	7.7
Pannon-Croatia	94.9	98.1	5.1	1.9	4.9
Muravidék/Pomurje (Slovenia)	98.0	94.5	2.0	5.5	14.5
Őrvidék/Burgenland (Austria)	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
CARPATHO-PANNONIAN REGION	98.8	97.2	1.2	2.8	12.9

"yes"

= proportion of population that answered about national and ethnic affiliation (%)

"no"

= proportion of population that did not answer about national and ethnic affiliation, is of unknown nationality, or indicated a regional (e.g. of Vojvodina, Bácska) or a non-existent (e.g. "Yugoslav") nationality (%)

proportion of "secularized"
population

= proportion of population that is atheist, non-religious, did not answer to questions on religion, denomination, is of unknown religion and denomination (%)

Conditions of Minorities

Table 2.

Changing ethnic composition of the various areas of the Carpatho-Pannonian Region (1991–2001)

	Year	Total population	Hungarians	Slovaks	Ukrainians	Romanians	Serbs	Croatians	Slovenians	Germans
Hungary	1991	10,374,823	10,142,072	10,459	690	10,740	2,905	13,570	1,930	30,824
	2001	10,198,315	9,299,619	17,693	6,168	7,995	3,816	15,597	3,025	62,105
Slovakia	1991	5,274,335	567,296	4,519,328	30,478	247				5,414
	2001	5,379,455	520,528	4,614,854	35,015		434	890		5,405
Kárpátalja/Transcarpathia (Ukraine)	1991	1,245,618	155,711	7,329	976,749	29,485				3,478
	2001	1,254,614	151,516	5,695	1,010,127	32,152	9	19		3,582
Erdély/Transylvania (Romania)	1991	7,723,313	1,603,923	19,446	50,372	5,684,142	27,163	4,030		109,014
	2001	7,225,738	1,416,844	17,066	49,375	5,393,400	20,700	6,721		53,158
Vajdaság/Vojvodina (Serbia)	1991	2,013,889	339,491	63,545	22,217	36,809	1,143,723	98,025	2,730	3,873
	2001	2,031,992	290,207	56,637	20,261	30,520	1,321,807	76,312	2,005	3,154
Pannon-Croatia	1991	3,206,726	20,032	5,026	5,260	674	384,936	2,548,941	12,488	1,916
	2001	3,010,452	15,017	4,233	3,901	367	149,946	2,711,974	6,912	1,961
Muravidék/Pomurje (Slovenia)	1991	89,887	7,637	10	2		280	1,511	77,546	80
	2001	82,359	5,386						69,990	
Őrvidék/Burgenland (Austria)	1991	270,880	6,763					19,460	204	239,097
	2001	277,569	6,641	415				16,283	181	242,458
CARPATHO-PANNONIAN REGION	1991	30,199,471	12,842,925	4,625,143	1,085,768	5,764,097	1,559,007	2,685,537	94,898	393,696
	2001	29,460,494	11,705,758	4,716,593	1,124,847	5,464,434	1,496,712	2,827,796	82,113	371,823
	1991	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
2001	97.6%	91.1%	102.0%	103.6%	94.8%	96.0%	105.3%	86.5%	94.4%	

Conditions of Minorities

Table 3.

Changing ethnic composition in the Carpatho-Pannonian Region (1941, 1991, 2001)

Ethnic groups	Number of members (thousand people)			Proportion (%)		
	1941	1991	2001	1941	1991	2001
Hungarians	12,221	12,843	11,706	50.0	42.5	39.7
Romanians	3,370	5,764	5,464	13.8	19.1	18.5
Slovaks	2,518	4,625	4,716	10.3	15.3	16.0
Croatians, Bunjevci, Sorbs	2,089	2,686	2,828	8.5	8.9	9.6
Serbs	1,154	1,559	1,497	4.7	5.2	5.1
Ukrainians, Ruthenians	635	1,086	1,125	2.6	3.6	3.8
Roma population	181	464	579	0.7	1.5	2.0
Germans, German-speaking Austrians	1,649	394	372	6.7	1.3	1.3
Slovenes	65	95	82	0.3	0.3	0.3
Czechs, Moravians	70	79	60	0.3	0.3	0.2
Montenegrins	–	50	38	–	0.2	0.1
Russians	11	54	33	0.0	0.2	0.1
Bosnians, Muslims	3	30	27	0.0	0.1	0.1
Other ethnic groups	471	102	105	2.1	0.3	0.4
Population of unknown ethnicity	–	369	828	–	1.2	2.8
Total population	24,437	30,199	29,460	100.0	100.0	100.0

Conditions of Minorities

Table 4.

Changing proportions of majority nations and minorities (1941–2001); %

Territory	Proportion of state-forming nation			Proportion of national minorities			Proportion of the Roma population		
	1941	1991	2001	1941	1991	2001	1941	1991	2001
Hungary	95.7	97.8	91.2	4.0	0.9	1.3	0.3	0.8	1.2
Slovakia	67.5	85.7	85.8	31.3	12.8	11.5	1.2	1.4	1.7
Kárpátalja/Transcarpathia (Ukraine)	58.8	78.4	80.5	41.1	20.6	18.3	0.1	1.0	1.1
Erdély/Transylvania (Romania)	55.9	73.6	74.6	41.1	23.8	21.9	1.4	2.6	3.4
Vajdaság/Vojvodina (Serbia)	36.2	56.8	65.0	63.5	32.2	26.7	0.3	1.2	1.4
Pannon-Croatia	69.3	79.5	90.1	30.1	15.2	7.7	0.6	0.2	0.3
Muravidék/Pomurje (Slovenia)	76.2	86.3	85.0	22.9	11.8	9.5	0.9	0.8	1.2
Órvidék/Burgenland (Austria)	80.6	88.3	87.4	17.2	11.7	12.5	2.2	0.0	0.1
CARPATHO-PANNONIAN REGION	73.4	83.9	83.7	25.8	13.4	11.5	0.7	1.5	2.0

Conditions of Minorities

Table 5.

Population and proportion of minorities among the chief ethnic groups of the Carpatho-Pannonian Region (1991, 2001)

Ethnic groups	Total		Number of members		Change in the number of members of minorities (%)	Proportion of members of minorities (%)	
	1991	2001	1991	2001		1991	2001
Hungarians	12,842,925	11,705,758	2,700,853	2,406,139	-10.9	21.0	20.6
Romanians	5,764,097	5,464,434	79,955	71,034	-11.2	1.4	1.3
Slovaks	4,625,143	4,716,593	105,815	101,739	-3.9	2.3	2.2
Croatians	2,685,537	2,827,796	136,596	115,822	-15.2	5.1	4.1
Serbs	1,559,007	1,496,712	415,284	174,905	-57.9	26.6	11.7
Ukrainians	1,085,768	1,124,847	109,019	114,720	+5.2	10.0	10.2
Roma population	463,753	578,991	463,753	578,991	+24.8	100.0	100.0
Germans	393,696	371,823	154,599	129,365	-16.3	39.3	34.8
Slovenes	94,898	82,113	17,352	12,123	-30.1	18.3	14.8

Conditions of Minorities

Table 6.

Changing population and proportion of those who declared themselves ethnic Hungarians in the various areas of the Carpatho-Pannonian Region (1991–2001)

Territory	Ethnic Hungarian population				Hungarian-speaking population				tongue/ethnicity			
	Number		Proportion		Number		Proportion		1991	2001		
	1991	2001	2001/1991 (%)	1991	2001	2001/1991 (%)	1991	2001				
HUNGARY	10,142,072	9,299,619	91.7	97.8	91.2	10,222,529	9,546,374	93.4	98.5	93.6	100.8	102.7
Budapest	1,993,123	1,603,511	80.5	98.8	90.2	1,997,611	1,617,717	81.0	99.0	91.0	100.2	100.9
Pest county	934,683	994,127	106.4	98.4	91.7	939,602	1,006,481	107.1	98.9	92.9	100.5	101.2
Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county	727,630	684,418	94.1	95.5	91.9	757,837	717,191	94.6	99.5	96.3	104.2	104.8
Heves county	325,542	301,756	92.7	97.3	92.6	332,395	311,753	93.8	99.4	95.7	102.1	103.3
Nógrád county	219,841	204,367	93.0	96.8	92.8	223,741	210,428	94.0	98.5	95.5	101.8	103.0
Hajdú-Bihar county	539,546	518,787	96.2	98.3	93.8	545,015	525,742	96.5	99.3	95.1	101.0	101.3
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county	416,728	384,470	92.3	97.7	92.4	424,400	393,510	92.7	99.5	94.6	101.8	102.4
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county	546,389	541,857	99.2	95.5	93.1	566,804	559,395	98.7	99.0	96.1	103.7	103.2
Bács-Kiskun county	534,768	511,844	95.7	98.2	93.7	534,557	514,283	96.2	98.1	94.1	100.0	100.5
Békés county	399,315	388,363	97.2	96.9	92.6	387,873	370,383	93.1	96.6	93.1	99.6	100.5
Csongrád county	434,266	402,908	92.8	99.0	93.0	435,140	405,106	93.1	99.2	93.5	100.2	100.5
Fejér county	416,273	403,984	97.0	99.0	93.0	417,246	406,325	97.4	99.2	93.6	100.2	100.6
Komárom-Esztergom county	308,799	292,209	94.6	98.0	92.3	309,320	295,271	95.5	98.1	93.3	100.2	101.0
Veszprém county	378,744	352,797	93.1	99.1	94.4	379,450	354,975	93.5	99.3	95.0	100.2	100.6
Győr-Ménfő-Sopron county	420,048	412,272	98.1	99.0	94.8	418,810	411,842	98.3	98.7	94.7	99.7	99.9
Vas county	269,117	253,466	94.2	97.5	94.5	269,044	252,977	94.0	97.5	94.4	100.0	99.8
Zala county	299,873	280,163	93.4	97.9	94.2	299,393	280,549	93.7	97.7	94.3	99.8	100.1
Baranya county	395,470	359,781	91.0	94.5	88.3	391,296	362,463	92.6	93.5	89.0	98.9	100.7
Somogy county	334,556	311,309	93.1	97.1	92.9	336,059	314,179	93.5	97.5	93.7	100.4	100.9
Toth county	247,351	233,656	94.5	97.5	93.6	246,936	235,804	95.5	97.3	94.4	99.8	100.9

Conditions of Minorities

Territory	Ethnic Hungarian population				Hungarian-speaking population				tongue/ethnicity			
	Number		Proportion		Number		Proportion		1991	2001		
	1991	2001	1991 (%)	2001	1991	2001	1991 (%)	2001	1991	2001		
SLOVAKIA	567,296	520,528	91.8	10.8	9.7	603,221	572,929	94.2	11.5	10.7	107.2	110.1
Pozsony/Bratislava district	32,894	27,434	83.3	5.4	4.6	36,088	31,070	86.1	5.9	5.2	109.6	113.3
Nagyszombat/Tmava district	134,205	130,740	97.4	24.8	23.7	-	133,904	-	-	24.3	-	102.4
Nitra/Nitra district	216,414	196,609	90.8	30.2	27.6	-	211,595	-	-	29.7	-	107.6
Besztercebánya/Banská Bystrica district	85,427	77,795	91.1	13.0	11.7	-	88,377	-	-	13.3	-	113.6
Kassa/Košice district	95,524	85,415	89.4	12.9	11.2	-	104,181	-	-	13.6	-	122.0
KÁRPÁTALJA/TRANS-CARPATHIA	155,711	151,516	97.3	12.5	12.1	166,700	158,729	95.2	13.4	12.7	107.1	104.8
ERDÉLY/TRANSYLVANIA	1,603,923	1,416,844	88.3	20.8	19.6	1,619,735	1,431,093	88.4	21.0	19.8	101.0	101.0
Fehér/Alba county	24,765	20,682	83.5	6.0	5.4	23,466	20,055	85.5	5.7	5.2	94.8	97.0
Brassó/Bisov county	63,558	51,470	81.0	9.9	8.7	63,103	51,108	81.0	9.8	8.7	99.3	99.3
Kovácsana/Covasna county	175,502	164,055	93.5	75.2	73.8	177,687	166,481	93.7	76.2	74.9	101.2	101.5
Harghita/Harghita county	295,104	275,841	93.5	84.7	84.6	297,533	278,128	93.5	85.4	85.3	100.8	100.8
Maros/Mures county	252,651	227,673	90.1	41.4	39.3	255,597	230,727	90.3	41.9	39.8	101.2	101.3
Szeben/Sibiu county	19,309	15,478	80.2	4.3	3.7	18,058	14,242	78.9	4.0	3.4	93.5	92.0
Arad county	61,011	49,399	81.0	12.5	10.7	60,518	48,318	79.8	12.4	10.5	99.2	97.8
Hunyad/Hunedoara county	33,849	25,321	74.8	6.2	5.2	31,449	22,947	73.0	5.7	4.7	92.9	90.6
Krasó-Szőriény/Gara-Severin county	7,876	5,859	74.4	2.1	1.8	7,074	5,200	73.5	1.9	1.6	89.8	88.8
Temes/Timi county	62,866	51,421	81.8	9.0	7.6	61,088	48,298	79.0	8.7	7.1	97.2	93.8
Bihar/Bihar county	181,703	155,554	85.6	28.4	25.9	185,668	161,520	87.0	29.1	26.9	102.2	103.8
Beszterce-Naszód/Bistrita-Nasaud county	21,098	18,394	87.2	6.5	5.9	19,667	17,227	87.6	6.0	5.5	93.2	93.7
Kolozs/Ciuj county	146,186	122,131	83.5	19.9	17.4	144,625	120,794	83.5	19.6	17.2	98.9	98.9
Máramaros/Maramus county	54,902	46,250	84.2	10.2	9.1	54,297	44,956	82.8	10.1	8.8	98.9	97.2
Szatmar/Satu Mare county	140,392	129,998	92.6	35.0	35.2	156,688	143,597	91.7	39.1	38.9	111.6	110.5
Szilágy/Sălaj county	63,151	57,318	90.8	23.7	23.1	63,237	57,555	91.0	23.7	23.2	100.1	100.4

Conditions of Minorities

Territory	Ethnic Hungarian population				Hungarian-speaking population				tongue/ethnicity			
	Number		Proportion		Number		Proportion		1991	2001		
	1991	2001/1991 (%)	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991 (%)	2001				
VAJDASÁG/VODINA	339,491	290,207	85.5	16.9	14.3	344,667	284,205	82.5	17.1	14.0	101.5	97.9
Northern Bácska/Backa district	98,914	87,181	88.1	48.2	43.6	-	88,464	-	-	44.2	-	101.5
Western Bácska/Backa district	27,329	21,825	79.9	12.7	10.2	-	20,500	-	-	9.6	-	93.9
Southern Bácska/Backa körzet	65,777	55,128	83.8	11.9	9.3	-	52,286	-	-	8.8	-	94.8
Northern Bánság/Banat district	89,941	78,551	87.3	50.0	47.4	-	79,779	-	-	48.1	-	101.6
Central Bánság/Banat district	33,971	27,842	82.0	15.3	13.4	-	27,981	-	-	13.4	-	100.5
Southern Bánság/Banat district	18,544	15,444	83.3	5.6	4.9	-	13,136	-	-	4.2	-	85.1
Szerémség/Srem district	5,015	4,236	84.5	1.6	1.3	-	2,059	-	-	0.6	-	48.6
PANNON-CROATIA	20,032	15,017	75.0	0.6	0.5	17,823	11,310	63.5	0.6	0.4	89.0	75.3
Belovár-Bilogora/Bjelovar-Bilogora county	2,017	1,188	58.9	1.4	0.9	1,006	295	29.3	0.7	0.2	49.9	24.8
Eszék-Baranya/Osijek-Baranja county	12,198	9,764	80.2	3.3	3.0	12,011	8,307	69.2	3.3	2.5	98.5	84.9
Vukovár-Szerém/Vukovar-Srijem county	3,128	2,047	65.4	1.4	1.0	2,388	1,190	49.6	1.0	0.6	76.7	58.1
MURAVIDÉK/POMURJE	7,637	5,386	70.5	8.5	6.5	8,174	6,498	79.5	9.1	7.9	107.0	120.6
ÓRVIDÉK/BURGENLAND	6,763	6,641	98.2	2.5	2.4	6,763	6,641	98.2	2.5	2.4	100.0	100.0
CARPATHO-PANNONIAN REGION	12,842,925	11,705,758	91.1	42.5	39.7	12,979,945	12,017,779	92.6	43.0	40.8	101.1	102.7

Note: 2001 / 1991 (%) = change in the number of ethnic Hungarians or Hungarian-speakers between 1991 and 2001, %
 Mother tongue/ethnicity = proportion of Hungarian-speakers in relation to that of ethnic Hungarians in 1991 and 2001 (ethnicity = 100%)

Conditions of Minorities

Table 7.

Changing population and proportion of those who declared themselves ethnic Roma in the various areas of the Carpatho-Pannonian Region (1991–2001)

Territory	Ethnic Roma population				Roma-speaking population				Language/ethnicity				
	Number		Proportion		Number		2001/ 1991 (%)		Proportion				
	1991	2001	1991 (%)	2001 (%)	1991	2001	1991 (%)	2001 (%)	1991	2001			
Hungary	142,683	189,984	133.2	1.4	1.9	48,072	48,438	100.8	0.5	0.5	33.7	25.5	
Slovakia	75,802	89,920	118.6	1.4	1.7	77,289	99,448	128.7	1.4	1.8	101.9	110.6	
Kárpátalja/Transcarpathia (Ukraine)	12,131	14,404	118.7	1.0	1.1	2,491	2,871	115.3	0.2	0.2	20.5	20.0	
Erdély/Transylvania (Romania)	202,665	246,454	121.6	2.6	3.4	84,718	110,197	130.1	1.1	1.5	41.8	44.7	
Vajdaság/Vojvodina (Serbia)	24,366	29,057	119.3	1.2	1.4		21,939			1.1		75.5	
Pannon-Croatia	5,423	8,237	151.9	0.2	0.3	6,428	6,971	108.4	0.2	0.2	118.5	84.6	
Muravidék/Pomurje (Slovenia)	683	970	142.0	0.8	1.2	1,026	1,206	117.5	1.1	1.4	150.2	124.3	
Őrvidék/Burgenland (Austria)		303			0.1		303						
CARPATHO-PANNONIAN REGION	463,753	578,991	124.8	1.5	2.0		291,373					1.0	50.3

Conditions of Minorities

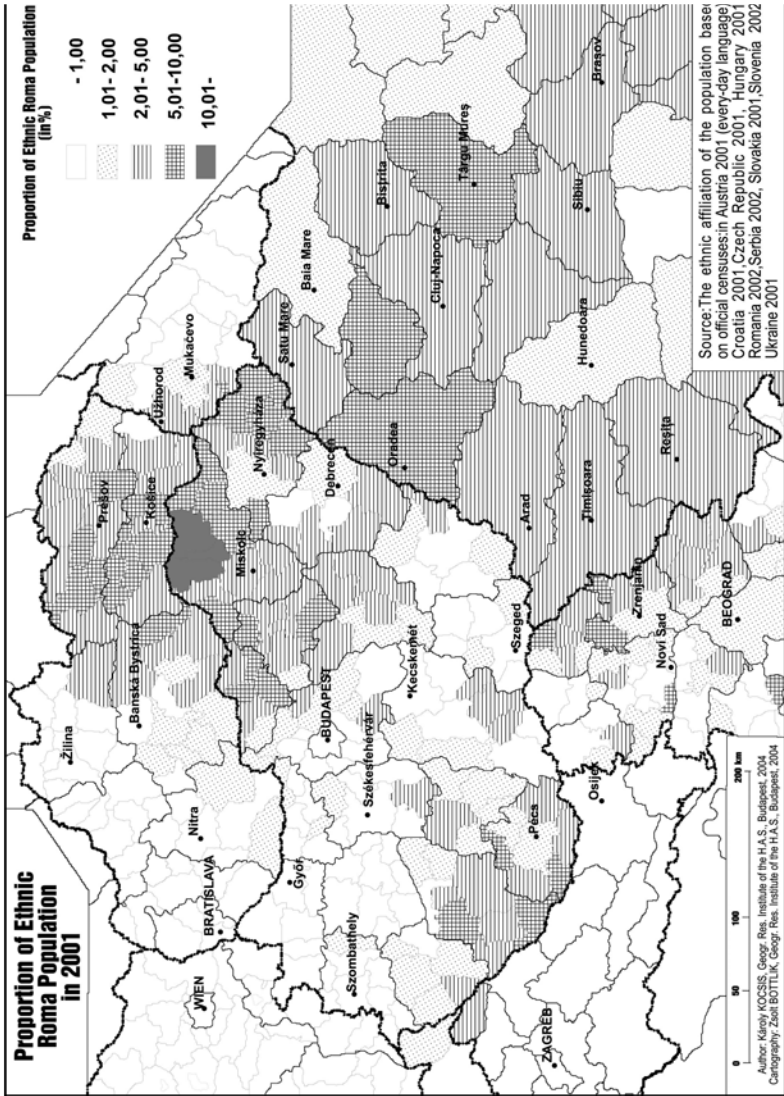


Figure 1.

Figure 2.

