

ETHNICITY, LANGUAGE

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Ethnicity and language are particularly important cultural characteristics of the composition of the population, since ethnic affiliation is a characteristic that signifies the natural connection of the individual to his family, kinship, clan and ethnic community. As a result of various migrations and geopolitical changes, few countries are homogeneous from an ethnic and linguistic point of view. Nevertheless, three-quarters of countries around the world – and all of those in the Carpathian Basin – define themselves as nation-states. Only 12 countries in Europe can be regarded as having societies that are relatively uniform ethnically and linguistically, with the titular nation constituting more than 90% of the population (e.g. Albania, Hungary, Iceland, Poland and Portugal). There are more than 7,000 living languages worldwide, eight of which are spoken by more than 1% of the population of the Carpathian Basin (Hungarian, Romanian, Slovak, Croatian, Serbian, Ukrainian, German and Romani).

As a result of its central location, the Carpathian Basin is the meeting place of Finno-Ugric, Slavic, German and Romance languages. As a result, its population is characterised by an almost unique ethnic-linguistic diversity in Europe. In the last millennium, the ethnic composition of the population was radically transformed several times in close connection with the natural, economic and social environment.

Ethnic processes over the last century

Hungary, which was one of the most ethnically and linguistically diverse countries in Europe until 1918, lost 71.4% of its area and 33% of its Hungarian-speaking population under the Treaty of Trianon of 1920. It thus became one of the most homogeneous European countries in terms of language and ethnicity. Between the autumn of 1918 and 1924, 426 thousand ethnic Hungarians from the annexed areas (half of them from Transylvania) fled to the remaining territory of Hungary, mainly to Budapest and its surroundings. In the territories occupied by the neighbouring states, the previously mostly Magyarised Jewish and Roma populations were classified as independent groups in the subsequent ethnic statistics of the successor states. In Zakarpattia, Slovakia and Transylvania, this led to significant falls in the numbers of persons declaring a Hungarian ethnic affiliation, in relation to the Hungarian native language statistics of 1910. For these reasons, the proportion of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin decreased from 48.1% to 46.3% between 1910 and 1930 **VI. 3. 1.**

As a result of migrations from the successor states and assimilation, the proportion of people in Hungary identifying themselves as Hungarian native speakers increased from 88.4% to 92.1% between 1910 and 1930 **VI. 3. 2.** Concurrently, the loss of the national minorities was striking in all respects. Reflecting the nationalistic policies of the era and the mass settlement of Hungarians from beyond the new borders, the national minorities in Budapest nearly disappeared, according to the native language statistics. Thus, whereas the population in 1880 comprised 156 thousand non-Hungarians and 201 thousand Hungarians, in 1930 there were no more than 57 thousand non-Hungarian native

speakers living among nearly one million Hungarians in the capital.

The rapid statistical decrease in the number of Hungarian minorities in the Carpathian Basin in the 1920s

and 1930s was halted by territorial revisions between 1938 and 1941 (mainly the First and Second Vienna Awards). Areas inhabited by ethnic Hungarians that had been annexed in 1920 (present-day southern Slo-

1 DEVELOPMENT OF THE ETHNIC–LINGUAL STRUCTURE OF POPULATION IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN (1495–2011)												
Year	Total population	Hungarian	Romanian	Slovak	Croatian	Serbian	Rusyn, Ukrainian	Roma	German	Slovenian	Other	Not willing to declare ethnicity
Number (thousand people)												
1495	3,100	2,050	180	170	340	100	30	—	200	10	20	—
1787	9,362	3,250	1581	1432	1003	620	278	—	928	37	233	—
1840	12,877	4,822	2206	1687	1313	828	443	—	1270	41	267	—
1880	15,642	6,445	2404	1865	1460	892	356	—	1954	62	204	—
1910	20,886	10,051	2949	1968	1928	1106	473	121	2037	93	160	—
1930	22,723	10,526	3283	2508	1932	1096	595	178	1855	120	630	—
1941	24,305	11,953	3434	2582	2043	1071	641	172	1854	103	452	—
1960	26,335	12,508	4133	3709	2488	1487	784	107	682	115	322	—
1990	30,200	12,843	5764	4624	2686	1560	1084	465	393	95	613	73
2001	29,456	11,822	5464	4717	2833	1497	1119	576	367	82	257	722
2011	28,540	10,402	4874	4456	2738	1446	1131	762	422	67	300	2368
Proportion (%)												
1495	100.0	66.1	5.8	5.5	11.0	3.2	1.0	0.0	6.5	0.3	0.6	0.0
1787	100.0	34.7	16.9	15.3	10.7	6.6	3.0	0.0	9.9	0.4	2.5	0.0
1840	100.0	37.4	17.1	13.1	10.2	6.4	3.4	0.0	9.9	0.3	2.1	0.0
1880	100.0	41.2	15.4	11.9	9.3	5.7	2.3	0.0	12.5	0.4	1.3	0.0
1910	100.0	48.1	14.1	9.4	9.2	5.3	2.3	0.6	9.8	0.4	0.8	0.0
1930	100.0	46.3	14.4	11.0	8.5	4.8	2.6	0.8	8.2	0.5	2.8	0.0
1941	100.0	49.2	14.1	10.6	8.4	4.4	2.6	0.7	7.6	0.4	1.9	0.0
1960	100.0	47.5	15.7	14.1	9.4	5.6	3.0	0.4	2.6	0.4	1.2	0.0
1990	100.0	42.5	19.1	15.3	8.9	5.2	3.6	1.5	1.3	0.3	2.0	0.2
2001	100.0	40.1	18.5	16.0	9.6	5.1	3.8	2.0	1.2	0.3	0.9	2.5
2011	100.0	36.4	17.1	15.6	9.6	5.1	4.0	2.7	1.5	0.2	1.1	8.3

2

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ETHNIC–LINGUAL STRUCTURE OF POPULATION ON THE PRESENT TERRITORY OF HUNGARY (1910–2016)

Year	Total population	Hungarian	Roma	German	Romanian	Slovak	Croatian	Serbian	Rusyn, Ukrainian	Slovenian	Other	Not willing to declare ethnicity
Number												
1910	7,612,114	6,730,299	9,799	553,179	28,491	165,317	62,018	26,248	—	6,915	29,848	—
1920	7,986,875	7,155,979	6,989	550,062	23,695	141,877	58,931	17,132	—	6,087	26,123	—
1930	8,685,109	8,000,335	7,841	477,153	16,221	104,786	47,332	7,031	996	5,464	17,950	—
1941	9,316,074	8,918,868	27,033	302,198	7,565	16,677	4,177	3,629	—	2,058	33,869	—
1949	9,204,799	9,104,640	37,598	2,617	8,500	7,808	4,106	4,190	—	666	34,674	—
1960	9,961,044	9,837,275	56,121	8,640	12,326	14,340	14,710	3,888	—	—	13,744	—
1980	10,709,463	10,638,974	6,404	11,310	8,874	9,101	13,895	2,805	—	1,731	16,369	—
1990	10,374,823	10,142,072	142,683	30,824	10,740	10,459	13,570	2,905	—	1,930	19,640	—
2001	10,198,315	9,416,045	189,984	62,105	7,995	17,693	15,597	3,816	6,168	3,025	12,187	570,537
2011	9,937,628	8,314,029	308,957	131,951	26,345	29,647	23,561	7,210	8,956	2,385	64,086	1,455,883
2016	9,803,837	9,445,436	299,342	101,662	24,178	22,510	18,483	8,239	9,947	2,311	93,426	158,161
Proportion (%)												
1910	100.0	88.4	0.1	7.3	0.4	2.2	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.0
1920	100.0	89.6	0.1	6.9	0.3	1.8	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.0
1930	100.0	92.1	0.1	5.5	0.2	1.2	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.0
1941	100.0	95.7	0.3	3.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0
1949	100.0	98.9	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0
1960	100.0	98.8	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
1980	100.0	99.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0
1990	100.0	97.8	1.4	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0
2001	100.0	92.3	1.9	0.6	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	5.6
2011	100.0	83.7	3.1	1.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.6	14.7
2016	100.0	96.3	3.1	1.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	1.0	1.6

Remark: native language data in 1910–1930, ethnic (nationality) data in 1941–2016. Possibility of declaration of multiple identities in 2001–2016, when the sum of the parts exceeds 100%.

vakia, Zakarpattia, northern Transylvania, Bačka, Croatian Baranya and Međimurje, and Slovenian Prekmurje) were returned to Hungary. In these regions, the arrival of Hungarian public servants, the self-determination of the bilingual population, and the decision of the majority of Jews to self-identify as Hungarians, resulted in a striking increase in the number of people professing to be native Hungarian speakers. The trend was especially evident in Zakarpattia, Slovakia and Transylvania. As a result, almost one in two of the Carpathians Basin's inhabitants declared themselves to be Hungarian in 1941.

After World War II and with the establishment of the present-day borders of Hungary (1947, Paris), the country attracted many ethnic Hungarians from the surrounding states, including 125 thousand from Transylvania, 120.5 thousand from Czechoslovakia, 45.5 thousand from Yugoslavia and 25 thousand from Zakarpattia (a region that had become a part of the Soviet Union). Further, with a view to expediting the Czechoslovak–Hungarian ‘population exchange’, between 1945 and 1948 the Czechoslovak government deported an additional 44 thousand Hungarians from Slovakia to the Czech lands for labour service. Further, the majority of Hungarian-speaking Jewish population had been deported and liquidated in the war. Additional factors included the anti-Hungarian political climate and such political actions as the so-called ‘re-Slovakisation’ measures in southern Slovakia. As a result of these circumstances, the decline in the number of Hungarians was greatest in Slovakia, Zakarpattia and Transylvania.

The ethnic and language composition of the population on the present-day territory of Hungary was significantly influenced not only by the loss of Hungarians beyond the borders but also by the resettlement and mass emigration of certain nationalities between 1945 and 1950. During this period, 82 thousand Germans fled from Hungary while 148 thousand were expelled by the Hungarian authorities. Concurrently, 60 thousand Slovaks left Hungary in the course of the Czechoslovak–Hungarian population exchange. As a result of the forced expulsions and the economic, domestic and foreign policy factors the population of Hungary became ethnically even more homogenised. Emigration, deportation, the atrocities of the 1940s and the final phase of assimilation, resulted in a decline in the proportion of people professing to be non-Hungarian in terms of their native language. Indeed the share fell from 7.1% in 1941 to 1.4% (1.1% according to ethnicity) by the time of the census of 1949.

In general, in the four decades of communism, the number of Hungarians increased steadily, both within and outside the country's present-day borders. The increase continued until the early 1980s (to 10.6 million and 2.8 million respectively). It then decreased

significantly, reflecting a strong decline in natural increase and assimilation in areas beyond the border. The extent of the Hungarian ethnic territory did not change significantly between 1945 and 1990, and a considerable transformation occurred – due to accelerated internal migration and assimilation – only in the case of the cities and language islands. Both in Hungary and in the neighbouring countries, the changes in such areas were to the benefit of the majority nation. In line with the goals of communist urbanisation with its nationalistic connotations, major cities with formerly Hungarian majorities (e.g. Nové Zámky/Ľrsekújvár, Levice/Léva, Lučenec/Losonc, Rimavská Sobota/Rimaszombat, Košice/Kassa, Uzhhorod/Ungvár, Mukachevo/Munkács, Satu Mare/Szatmárnémeti, Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár and Oradea/Nagyvárad) soon had Slovak, Ukrainian or Romanian majorities. In these cities, the indigenous Hungarian populations mostly retained a significant foothold in the historical city centres, while the majority ethnicity moved from other areas into housing estates established around the city core (e.g. Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár, Târgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely **VI. 3. 3.** **VI. 3. 4.**).

Under communism, the number of Hungarians living in Vojvodina, Croatia and Prekmurje initially increased significantly but then stagnated from the 1960s onwards. The favourable natural increase of Hungarians in Transylvania was balanced by a nationalistic policy that favoured the construction of a homogeneous Romanian nation-state. In Slovakia, as the shocking experiences of the 1940s faded from public memory, the number of people who were willing to profess Hungarian ethnicity increased rapidly, but this growth, which was supported by natural increase, came to a halt in the 1970s. Overall, the number of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin increased only modestly (by 7.4%) between 1941 and 1990. This was radically different from the growth experienced by the neighbouring nations, whose populations increased significantly, owing not only to higher rates of natural increase, but also to immigration from beyond the Carpathians and from the Balkans (Slovaks +79.1%, Ukrainians +69.1%, Romanians +67.9%, Serbs +45.7%, Croats +31.5%).

The homogenisation processes affecting Hungary after World War II were counterpointed only by an increase in the number of Roma people. Improvements in the living conditions of Roma significantly reduced their mortality. The estimated number of Roma people in Hungary increased by 3.2 times, and their national proportion rose from 1.2% to 3.7% between 1941 and 1985, due to a rate of natural increase that was well above the average. Communist policies were aimed both at improving the social conditions (housing, employment) of Roma and at assimilating and educating them. Despite this, prejudice against

Roma and the low socio-economic status of Roma relative to the majority population were not substantially diminished.

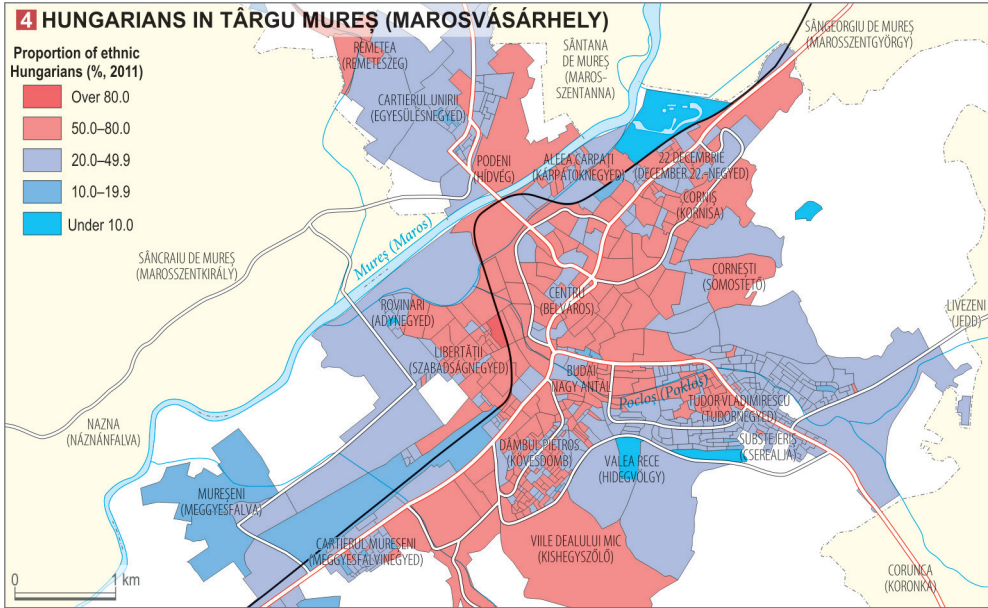
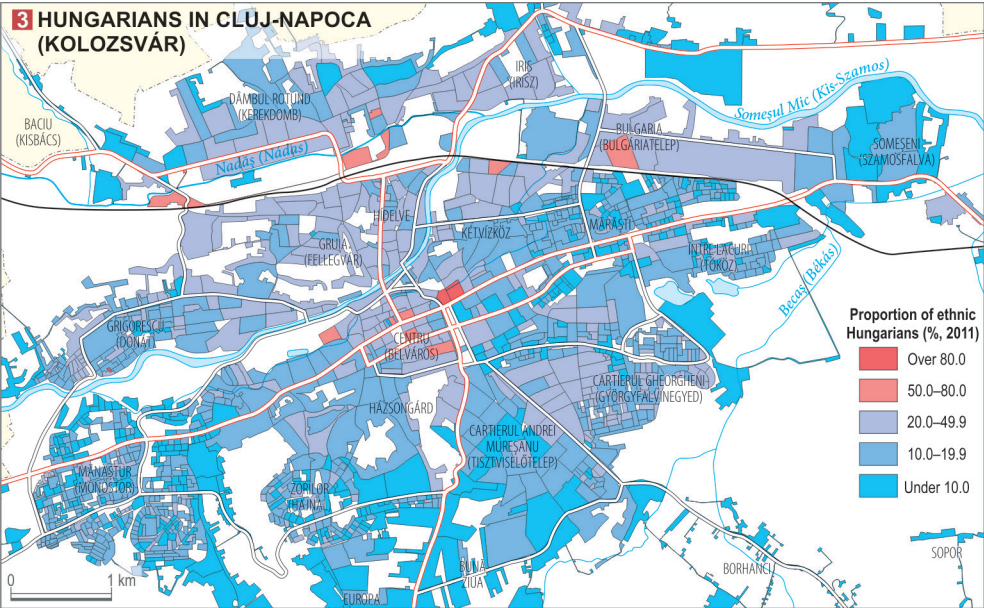
After 1989, the previous trend (i.e. the decline in traditional minorities) largely continued in the countries of the region. The total population of the Carpathian Basin decreased from 30.2 million in 1990 to 28.2 million in 2011. This meant that the proportion of Hungarians in the total population of the Carpathian Basin decreased from 42.5% to 36.4% between 1990 and 2011. This decrease was partly due to the increasing proportion of those who do not answer ethnic questions in surveys (0.2→8.3%) and to an increase in those who claim to be Roma (1.5→2.6%).

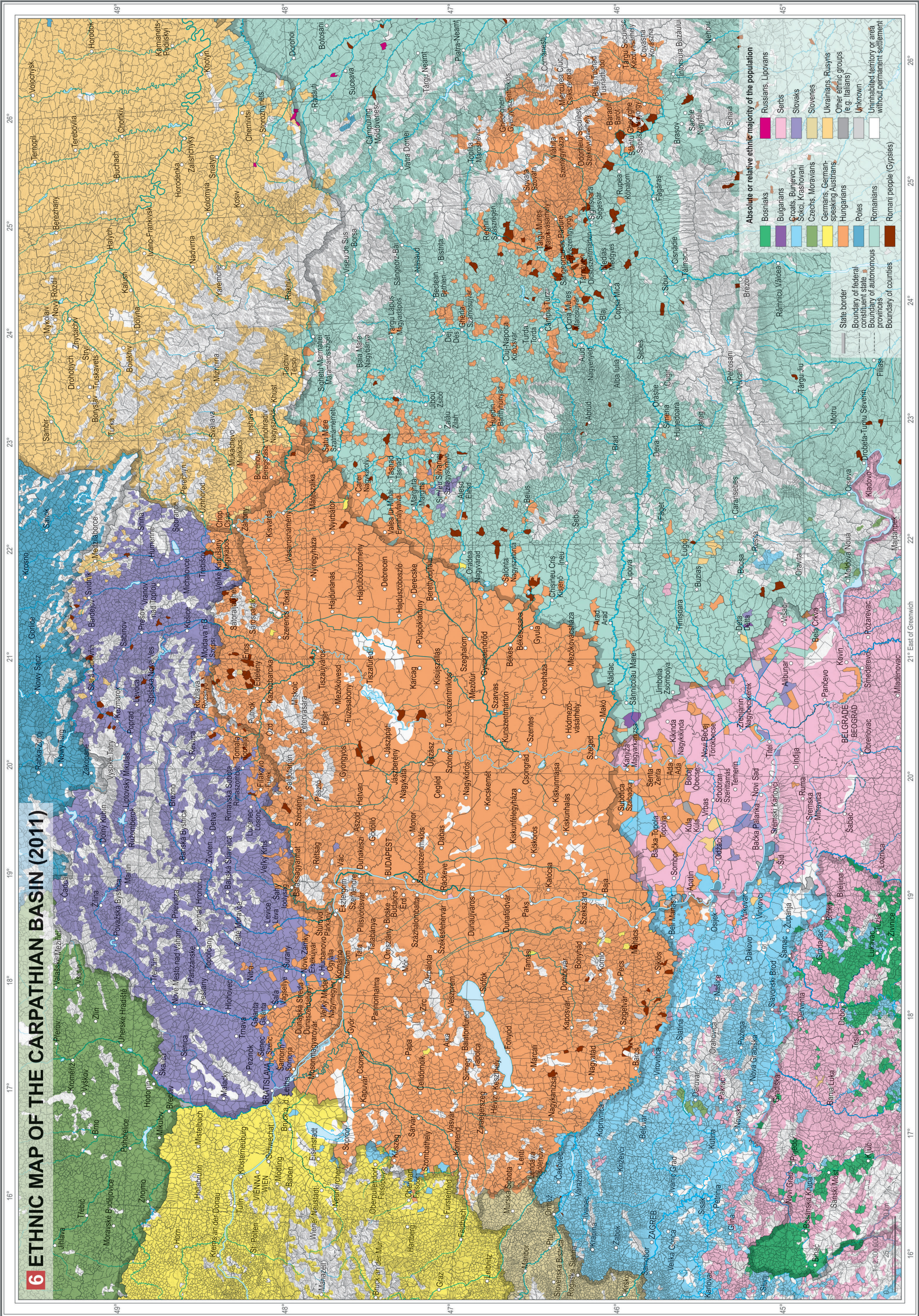
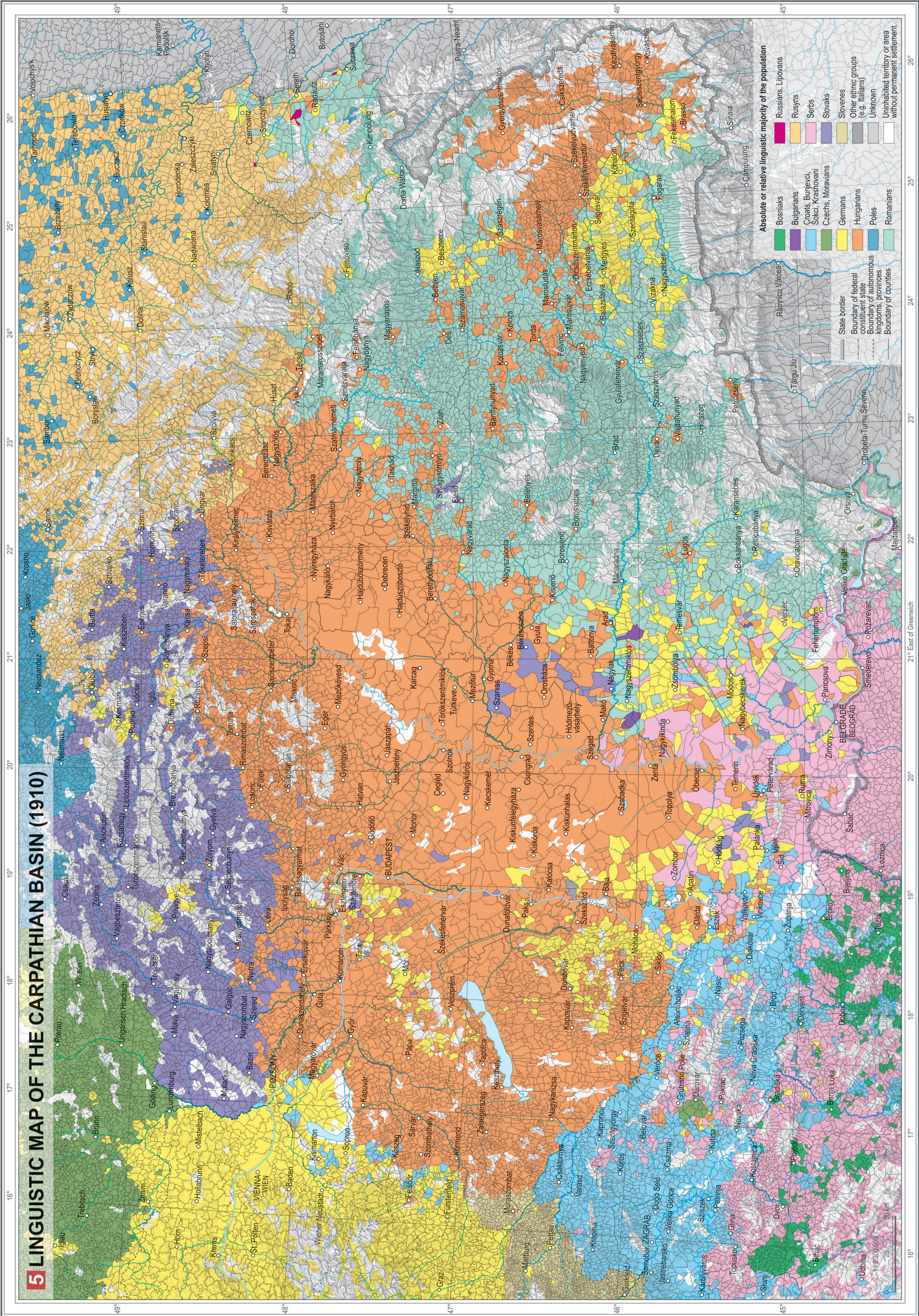
Studying the 10 years between 2001 and 2011, we may conclude that the decrease in the number of Hungarians accelerated compared to the 1990s. In addition to increasingly unfavourable demographic indicators (natural decrease, increasing emigration), this development was caused by increased assimilation and a substantial increase in the number of people choosing not to declare their nationality. As in previous decades, so also in the 2000s the decrease in the number of Hungarians was naturally higher in the case of those living as minorities (-13.1%) than in the case of those living in Hungary (-11.7%).

The decrease in the number of Hungarians was regionally differentiated: in the case of the minority Hungarian communities, it can generally be concluded that smaller decreases occurred where the local proportion of Hungarians was higher. The number of diaspora Hungarians in Slovakia, Transylvania and Vojvodina decreased by nearly a quarter, while the number of those living in blocks in these regions decreased by only 8% in the period between 2001 and 2011.

Turning to the other relatively populous ethnic groups in the Carpathian Basin, we find that between 1990 and 2011 the significant decrease in the number of people claiming to be Hungarians was mirrored – largely due to migration losses – by decreases in the number of Romanians (-15.4%) and Serbs (-7.3%). Due to the more favourable fertility indicators and assimilation gains, the numbers of Ukrainians, Slovaks and Croats stagnated or decreased only slightly. As a result of a relatively high natural increase and growing ethnic consciousness, the number of those claiming to be of Roma ethnicity increased by 63.9% over these decades. After 1990, the number of people in Hungary claiming to be neither of Hungarian nationality nor a native speaker increased significantly **VI. 3. 2.**, reflecting changes favourable to minorities (e.g. the Minorities Act of 1993, the possibility of admitting multiple ethnic ties in censuses).

In the Carpathian Basin, in the past century there were several developments that favoured ethnic homogenisation at the expense of the national and eth-





nic minorities **VI.3.5.** **VI.3.6.** As a result of forced and voluntary mass migration after 1944, Burgenland in Austria is the only area in the Carpathian Basin that has retained a German majority. Many towns on the language boundary (that had possessed a Hungarian majority in 1910 between Bratislava and Arad) were transformed into cities with majorities of the titular nations (Slovak, Ukrainian and Romanian). A similar trend was observed in the major cities of Transylvania. As a result of the colonisation programmes, individual language boundaries are now increasingly aligned with state borders. However, in parallel with the homogenisation of historically established language areas, the size and proportion of the Roma minority increased dynamically everywhere in the second half of the 20th century.

Current ethnic-linguistic spatial structure

In most countries of the Carpathian Basin, the most recent censuses have asked respondents about their ethnicity and native language. In the following, the characteristics of the current ethnic spatial structure are described based. In some cases, however, native language data are the only records available. At the time of the censuses in 2011, 10.4 million of the 28.5 million inhabitants of the *Carpathian Basin* claimed to be of Hungarian ethnicity, while 4.9 million people identified their ethnicity as Romanian, 4.5 million as Slovak, 2.7 million as Croatian, 1.4 million as Serbian and 1.1 million as Ukrainian **VI.3.1.** The number of people who did not declare any ethnic affiliations was strikingly large (2.4 million), particularly so in Hungary.



1 Palóc people, one of the largest ethnographic groups of Hungarians in Hungary

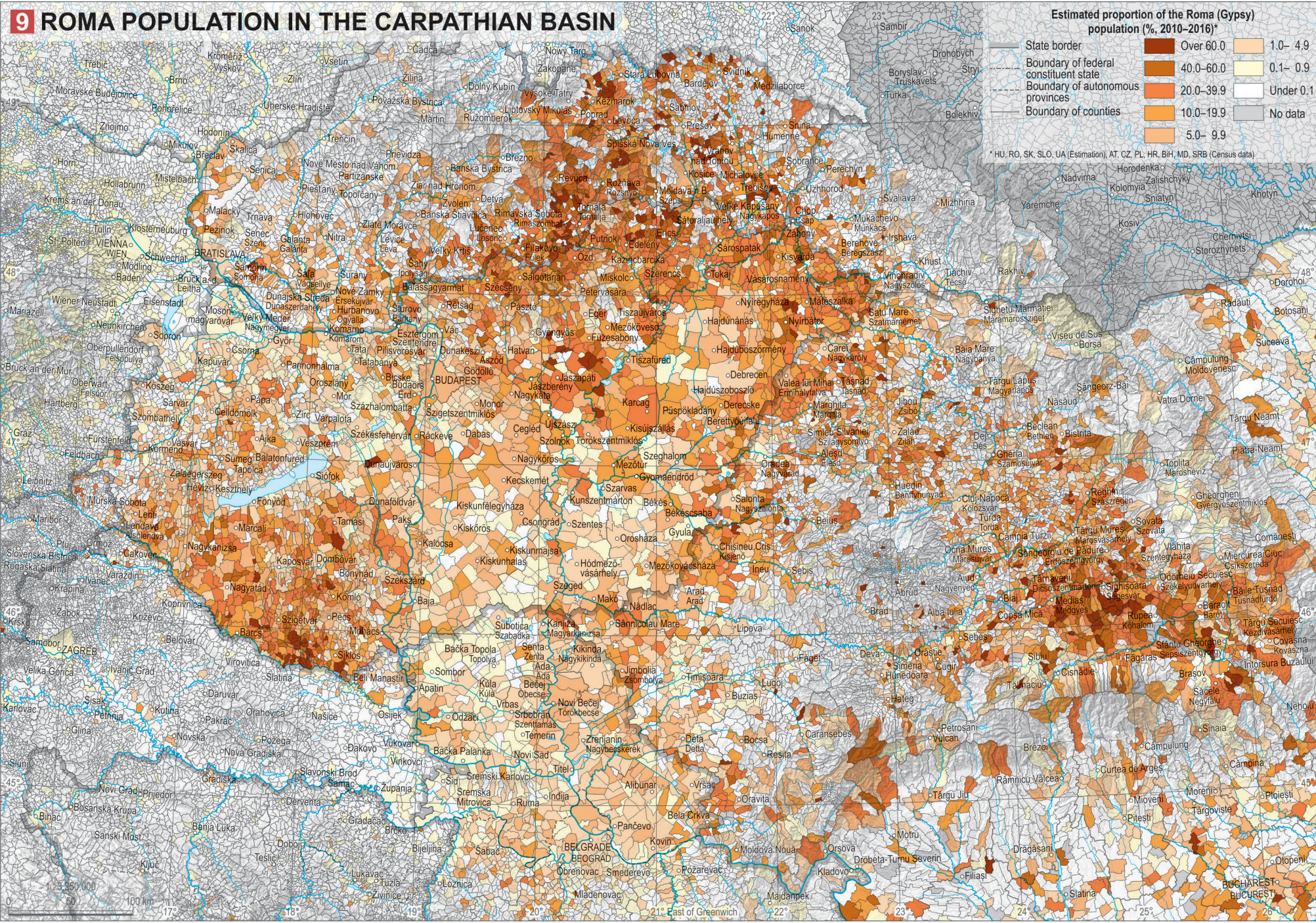
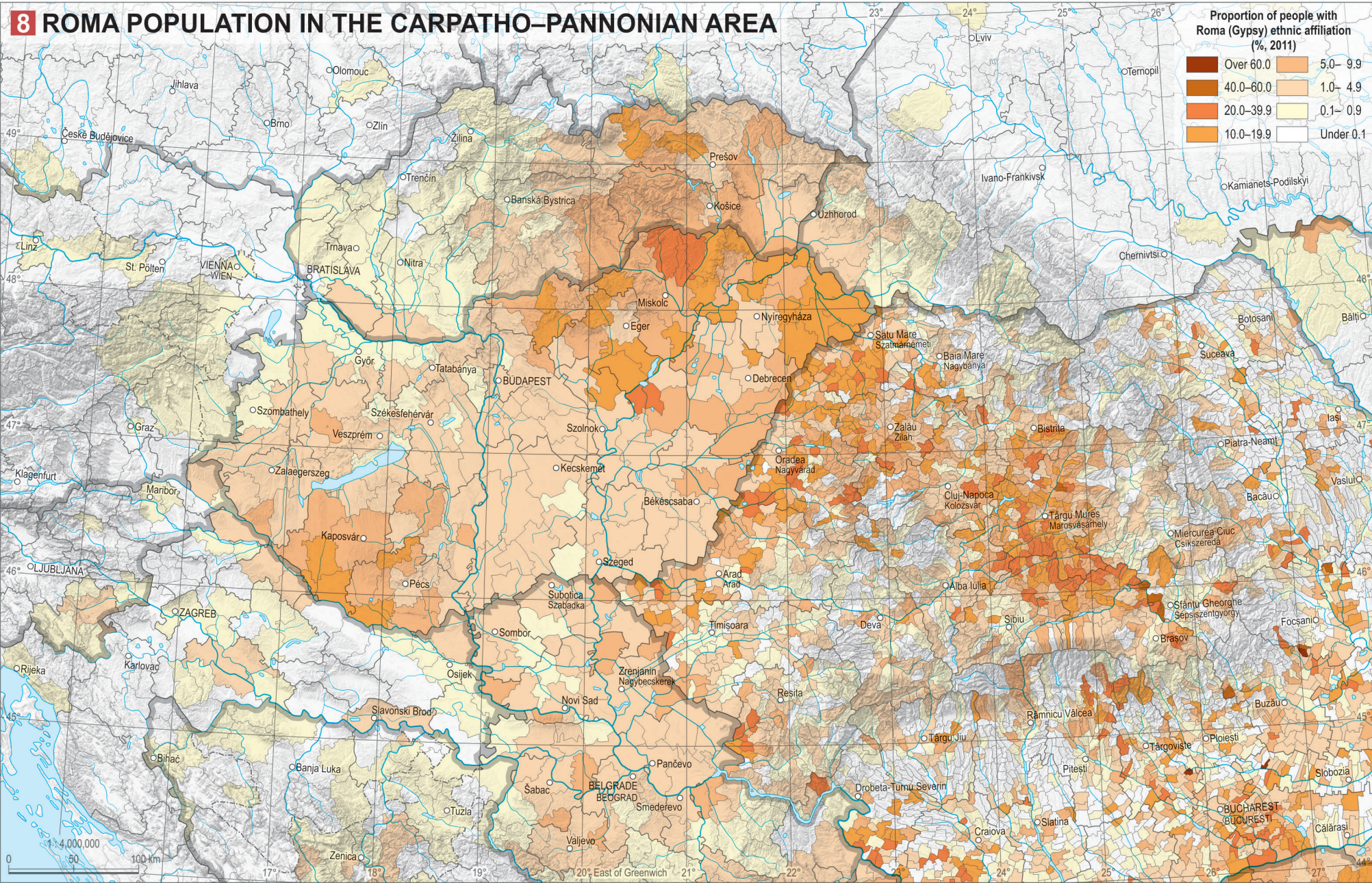
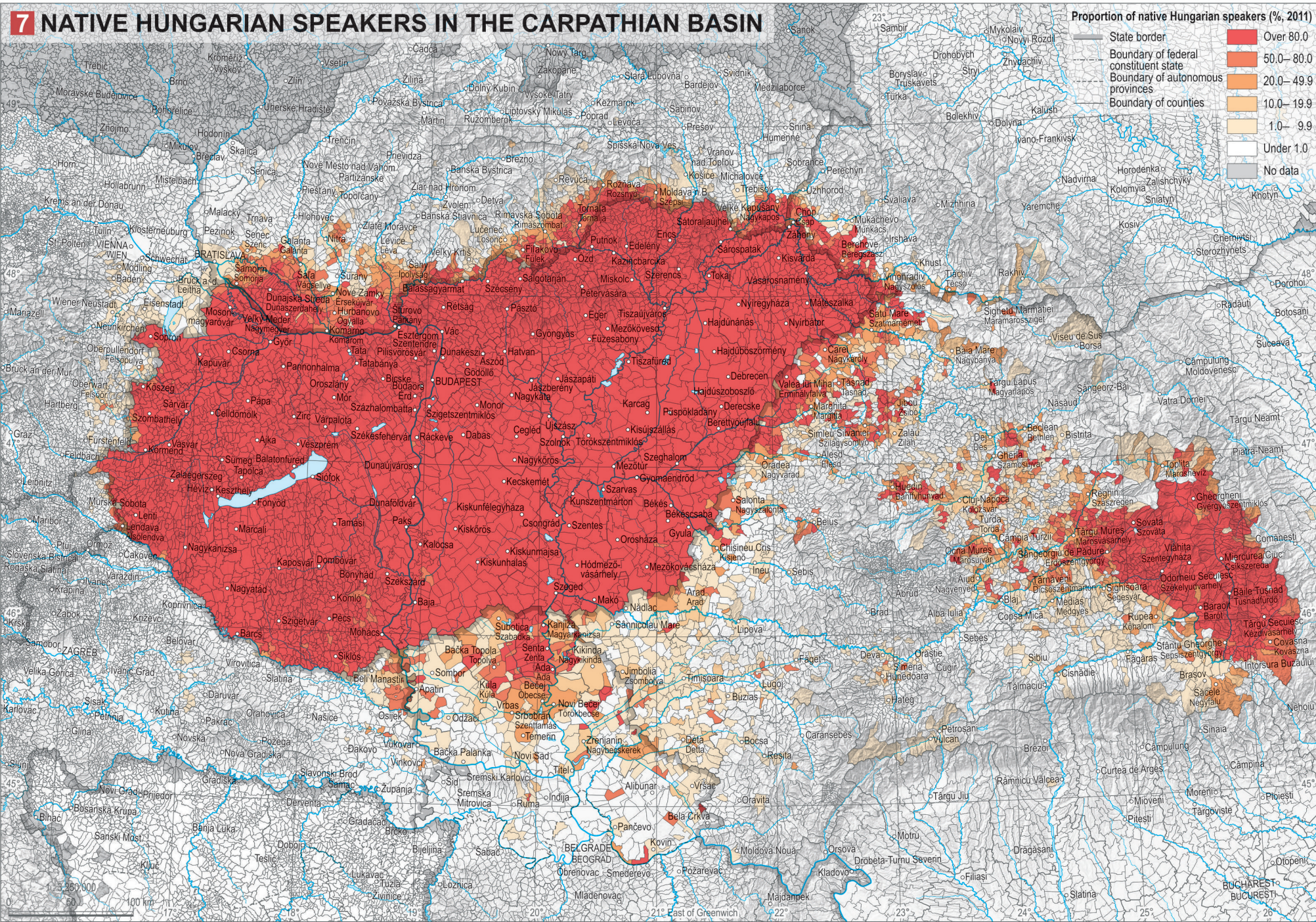
The relative majority of the population of the Carpathian Basin remains *Hungarian*, most of whom live on the present territory of Hungary (2016: 9.4 million ethnic Hungarians [e.H.], 9.5 million native Hungarian speakers [n.H.s.]) 1 The others live in Transylvania, Partium and the Romanian part of the Banat (1.2 million) 2, Slovakia (458 thousand e.H., 509 thousand n.H.s.), Vojvodina in Serbia (251 thousand e.H., 241 thousand n.H.s.), Zakarpattia (152 thousand e.H., 159 thousand n.H.s.), Pannonian Croatia (13 thousand e.H., 9 thousand H.s.), Prekmurje in Slovenia (5 thousand e.H., 7 thousand H.s.) and Burgenland in Austria (7 thousand speaking the Hungarian colloquial language). In 2011, native Hungarian speakers formed the absolute majority of the population in 4,509 municipalities in the Carpathian Basin, of which 3,146 were in Hungary, 771 in Romania, 408 in Slovakia, 81 in Ukraine, 72 in Serbia, 19 in Slovenia, 10 in Croatia and 2 in Austria **VI.3.7.** These settlements are located near the border in countries neighbouring Hungary, as well as in central Transylvania and in Székely

Land. Beyond the borders of Hungary, 23 cities with more than 10 thousand native Hungarian speakers can be found in the Carpathian Basin. Of these, 15 are in Romania (Târgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely, Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár, Oradea/Nagyvárad, Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy, Satu Mare/Szatmárnémeti, Odorheiu Secuiesc/Székelyudvarhely, Braşov, Gheorgheni/Gyergyószentmiklós, Arad, Târgu Secuiesc/Kézdivásárhely, Timişoara, Baia Mare/Nagybánya, Carei/Nagykároly, Salonta/Nagyszalonta), 4 in Slovakia (Komárno/Komárom, Dunajská Streda/Dunaszerdahely, Bratislava, Nové Zámky/Ľbsekújvár), 3 in Serbia (Subotica/Szabadka, Senta/Zenta, Bečej/Óbecse) and one in Ukraine (Berehove/Beregszász), out of which only the 10 cities in *italics* have a Hungarian majority.

The second most populous ethnic group in the Carpathian Basin are the *Romanians*, the number of whom increased by 70% during the communist decades of the 20th century. That increase was due to the resettlement of people from beyond the Carpathians in addition to natural increase. After the collapse of the regime in 1989 and the opening of the national



2 Székelys, the most homogeneous Hungarian community in Transylvania



borders, the number of Romanians in Transylvania decreased by nearly 900 thousand people to 4.8 million. The decline was mainly due to the mass emigration of people to the 'west'. Romanians currently predominate in all counties of Transylvania (except for Harghita/Hargita and Covasna/Kovászna, which have Hungarian majorities), with their population share exceeding 90% in the Southern Carpathians, the Banat Mountains, the Apuseni Mountains and northern Transylvania. As a result of forced urban growth driven by Romanian national political goals, more than three-quarters of the Transylvanian urban population is now ethnic Romanian (the figure was 34% in 1941).

In 2011, 4.4 million inhabitants in the Carpathian Basin (2.6 million in 1940) claimed to be of *Slovak* ethnicity, nearly 98% of whom lived in Slovakia, where their proportion was 80.6% (1940: 65%). Slovaks represent an absolute majority in all regions and districts of the country (except for Dunajská Streda/Dunaszerdahely and Komárno/Komárom). This is due in part to the nationalistic reform of administrative divisions (in 1996). The areas of almost homogeneous Slovak ethnicity lie along the upper and middle sections of the rivers Váh, Nitra and Hron in the northwestern, mountainous part of Slovakia. After the Ottoman Turkish occupation and particularly during the 18th century, tens of thousands of Slovaks left their homeland in Upper Hungary (today Slovakia) and moved chiefly to the Alföld (Great Hungarian Plain). Most of the descendants of these Slovak settlers currently live in Vojvodina (50 thousand), Hungary (30 thousand) and Romania (14 thousand).

As many as 96% of the 2.7 million *Croats* of the Carpathian Basin, including the ethnographic groups of Bunjevci, Šokci and Krashovani, now live in Pannonian Croatia, where their proportion of the population reached 91.3% in 2011 (79% in 1991). The percentage increase reflects the ousting of most Serbs and their replacement by Croatian refugees from Serbia and from Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the recent years of war, the population of Croats, Bunjevci and Šokci living in Serbia's Vojvodina region fell from nearly 100 thousand to 64 thousand, mainly due to the ousting of the vast majority of Croats in Serbian Syrmia.

As many as 89% of *Serbs* in the Carpathian Basin (1.4 million people) live in Serbia's Vojvodina region, where the population of Serbs increased by 15% between 1991 and 2002, owing to the arrival of more than a quarter of a million Serbian refugees from the Balkans between 1991 and 1996. At the same time, the war-torn Croatian territories lost nearly two-thirds of their Serbian inhabitants. As a result, the proportion of Serbs in Vojvodina increased to 66.8% (1.3 million), while in Pannonian Croatia it decreased to 4.5% (131 thousand). In the latter region, Serbs could survive the war events of the 1990s in greatest number in those areas that border Serbia (e.g. Vukovar-Syrmia and Osijek-Baranja counties).

The number of *Ukrainians* (including *Rusyns*, who are officially considered an ethnographic group in Ukraine) in the Carpathian Basin has doubled since the annexation of Zakarpattia to Soviet Ukraine in 1945, rising to more than 1.1 million. 90% of Ukrainians and Rusyns in the Carpathian Basin live in Zakarpattia. At the time of the last census, 42 thousand people in Transylvania (mainly in Maramureş and Banat), 41 thousand in Slovakia (mostly in Zemplín and Šariš), 18 thousand in Vojvodina (mainly in Bačka) and 11 thousand in Hungary (mainly in Budapest and northeastern Hungary) claimed to be Rusyn or Ukrainian.



3 Roma people, the largest ethnic minority in the Carpathian Basin

The number of *German-speaking* people in the Carpathian Basin (1.6 million in 1941) has decreased to 422 thousand today. This decline reflects forced emigration between 1944 and 1948 and voluntary emigration in the period until the mid-1990s. At present, 58% of native German speakers are found in Burgenland in Austria, one-third (132 thousand) in Hungary and 8% (33 thousand) in Transylvania.

As many as 86% (58 thousand people) of the 67 thousand *Slovenians* in the Carpathian Basin live in Slovenia's Prekmurje region, while 5 thousand live in Croatia, 2 thousand in Serbia's Vojvodina region and 2 thousand in Hungary.

A third of the world's *Roma population* lives in the Carpathian Basin, where, according to recent censuses, 762 thousand people (2.7%) claim to be of Roma ethnicity, and 318 thousand (1.1%) native speakers of one of the Roma languages [3]. People identifying as Roma are found in the greatest numbers in Hungary (309 thousand), Transylvania (271 thousand) and Slovakia (106 thousand). One of the Roma languages was given as the native language by 122 thousand people in Slovakia, 102 thousand in Transylvania, 54 thousand in Hungary, 27 thousand in Vojvodina and 13 thousand in Pannonian Croatia. Based on various estimates, it can be assumed that in the mid-2010s, the number of people who were regarded as Roma by others in the Carpathian Basin was 1.9 million, constituting 6.7% of the population of the region and thus the fifth most populous ethnic group.

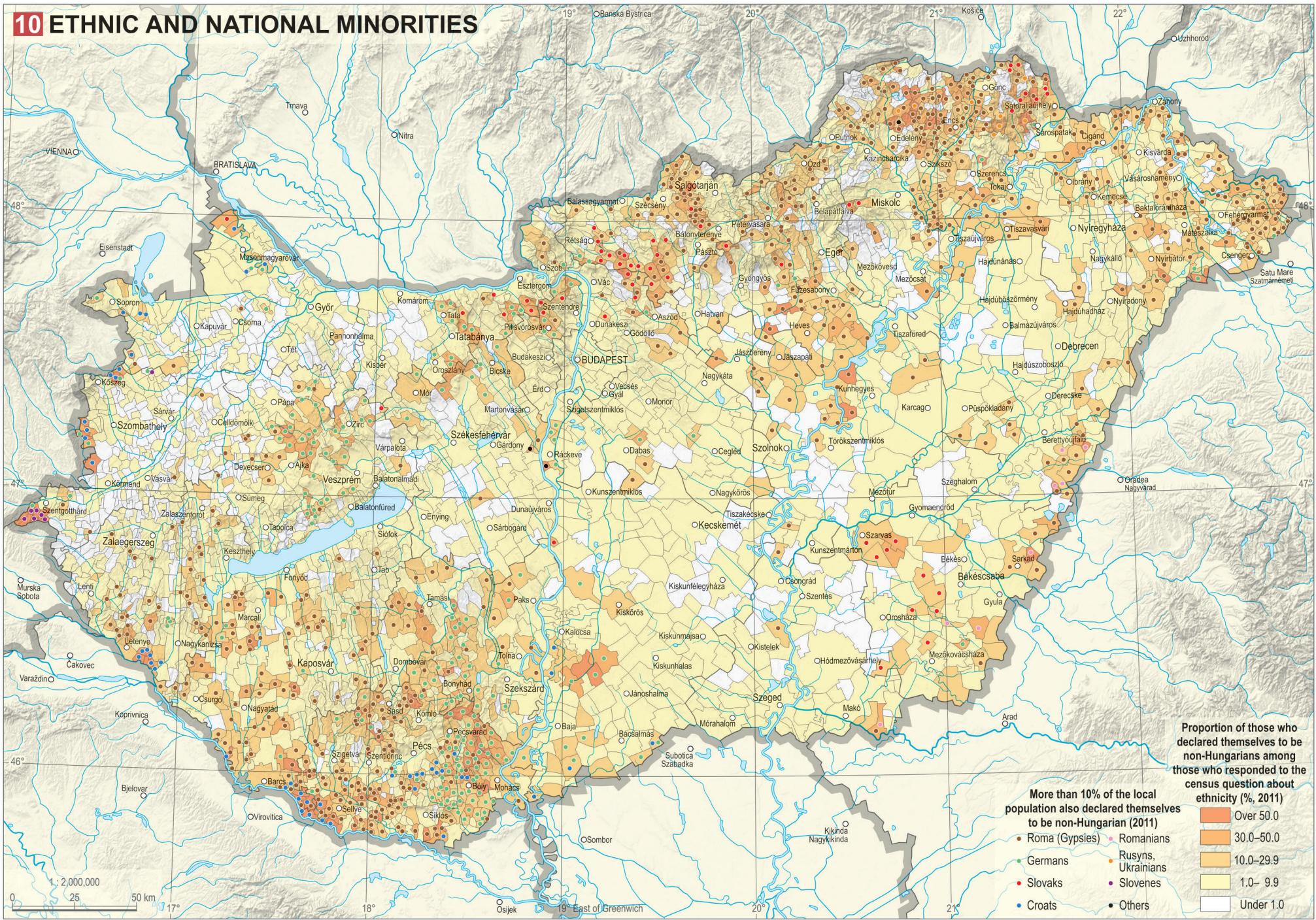
The spatial concentration of Roma people is most noticeable in the northeastern and eastern hilly areas of the Carpathian Basin and on the edge of the Alföld [VI.3.8.]. In other areas of the region, the Roma population is significant in Southern Transdanubia, in the Serbian parts of the Banat, and in Belgrade, Budapest and Bratislava. Based on the estimates for 2013–2016, it can be assumed that people regarded as Roma form an absolute majority of the population in 417 municipalities in the Carpathian Basin [VI.3.9.]. Of these, 138 municipalities are found in Romania, 134 in Hungary, 134 in Slovakia, 4 in Zakarpattia, 4 in Croatia, 3 in Slovenia (Prekmurje). The number of settlements where the estimated proportion of Roma is between 20–50% (1,552) is also considerable (627 in Hungary, 544 in Transylvania, 336 in Slovakia, 25 in Zakarpattia, 12 in Prekmurje, 4 in Croatia and 4 in Vojvodina).

Regarding the native language and ethnic structure of the population on the present-day territory of *Hungary*, the latest data are provided by the so-called micro-census of 2016, a sample-based population enumeration. Of the estimated 9.8 million inhabitants at the time, only 1.6% (158 thousand people) did not report on their ethnic affiliation, a striking change from 2011, when the ethnic ties of 14.7% (1.5 million inhabitants) of the population remained unknown. Due to an increase in non-responses and the natural decrease since 1981, the number of people identify-

ing as Hungarian decreased by 1.2 million between 1980 and 2016, notwithstanding the resettlement in Hungary of ethnic Hungarians from the neighbouring countries (mainly from Romania, Ukraine, Serbia). Since the 2001 Hungarian census, it has been possible to declare multiple ethnic-linguistic ties, resulting in a population of about half a million people with multiple ethnic ties. Increases in the size and proportion of the population with minority ties have been observed since the collapse of communism (1990: 2.6%; 2001: 5.2%; 2011: 7.7%). The most important of them are the above-mentioned methodological changes, which have resulted in the expression of dual ties and hybrid identities, immigration (e.g. in the case of Romanians, Serbs and Ukrainians), the existence of symbolic ethnic ties, and natural increase (in the case of the Roma population). All these factors counteracted the natural decrease and the continuing assimilation observed among most minorities.

In 2016, 96.3% (9.4 million) of the population of Hungary also declared of Hungarian ethnicity, while 3.1% (299 thousand) self-identified as Roma, 1% (102 thousand) as German, and 0.2% respectively as Romanian (24 thousand), Slovak (22 thousand) and Croatian (18 thousand). Based on *native language*, the population of Hungary seemed much more homogeneous, with 97.5% (9.6 million) identifying their native language as Hungarian, 0.6% (55 thousand) as German, 0.4% (40 thousand) as one of the Roma languages (Romani, Boyash), and 0.2% (18 thousand) as Romanian. Considerable differences in *social structures* can be observed between the major ethnic groups of Hungary. Roma have the youngest *age structure* in terms of the proportion of people under 14 years of age, with this indicator (31.3%) far exceeding that of Hungarians (14.5%) and in particular that of the Romanian, Croatian, Slovak and German minorities (7.1–8.1%). Similar differences can be observed in terms of the *fertility* of women (the number of live-born children per 100 women): Roma people 210, Hungarians 144, and the Romanian, German, Slovak and Croatian minorities 129–153. In terms of *education*, the Roma population is in a particularly disadvantaged situation: among them, the proportion of people over the age of 15 who left school with fewer than 8 grades of primary education is very high (17.3%). The same indicator is 3.1–3.3% among Hungarians, Slovaks and Croats and 1.7% for Germans. Among active earners aged 15–64, the *unemployment* rate is also highest among Roma people (18.2%), thus being significantly higher than in the case of the Hungarians (5.3%) and the Croatian, German, Slovak and Romanian minorities (4.0–7.8%).

The distribution of the population by ethnicity at municipal level can be outlined on the basis of the census in 2011 [VI.3.10.]. Despite the growing number of people with minority ties, the ethnic spatial structure of Hungary is dominated by Hungarians; minority concentrations are mainly observed in peripheral areas along the national border. Due to the increase in the number of Roma, the populations of the northeastern and southwestern areas are increasingly considered mixed. The number of people claiming to be of Hungarian ethnicity (too) was less than 50% of the population reporting ethnicity in only 12 municipalities. At the same time, because of the possibility of reporting *multiple ethnic and linguistic affiliations* the combined proportion of non-Hungarians constituted the absolute majority in 98 villages (rather than in just 12). In 37 of them, the proportion of Roma exceeded 50%, while ethnic Germans formed the absolute majority in 20 villages, Croats in 15 villages, Slovenians in 4 villages, Rusyns in two villages, and Slovaks, Romani-



ans and Serbs in one village each. Dual identity is typical for almost all minorities in Hungary. In 2011, 436 thousand people, nearly three-quarters of those with minority affiliations claimed to belong to two ethnic groups at the same time. However, it is important to note that the vast majority (about 80%) of those declaring two ethnic affiliations nominated Hungarian as their first ethnicity.

The number of *Roma* people, the largest ethnic minority, increased by nearly 60% between 2001 and 2016, reaching 300 thousand. In Hungary three major groups of Roma can be distinguished: Hungarian Roma (Romungros), Vlach Roma and Boyash. In Hungary, as in all countries of the region, the number of people self-identifying as ethnic Roma and that of people considered by others to be Roma (mainly on the basis of certain anthropological features, skin colour, way of life and social behaviour) differ considerably. These differences are a consequence of social conditions in the period and the extent of discrimination, stigmatisation and racist public discourse. According to various surveys, the number of people considered Roma was estimated at 325 thousand in 1978, 468 thousand in 1993, 570 thousand in 2003 and 877 thousand in 2010–2013. On average, these figures are 2.5–3 times higher than the number of Roma in the census statistics. Roma people tend to live in less urbanised areas on the margins of society. According to census data, only 37 villages had an absolute Roma majority, most of which lay in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and Baranya counties. Nearly two-thirds of Roma live in highly segregated conditions, where in many cases ethnic ghettos are present. This process occurs not only in cities, but also in entire regions, resulting in a gradual separation of Roma in spatial terms from the other larger part of society. The

districts most abundant in Roma (10–25%) can be found in northeastern Hungary, in the Central Tisza Region and in the southern part of Transdanubia [VI.3.8.]. Of the cities, Budapest, Miskolc, Ózd and Pécs are home to the largest number of Roma inhabitants.

Although the number of inhabitants claiming to be of *German* ethnicity increased significantly between 1990 and 2016 from 31 thousand to 102 thousand (mainly due to the introduction of dual ethnic affiliations in the censuses and surveys), their population is far smaller than before the deportations of 1946–1948 (1941: 302 thousand). Today, Germans live in higher concentration in three areas (in the Bakony Mountains near Veszprém, in the Danube Bend Region and in the hills of Baranya and Tolna counties) and in a few scattered settlements. Despite their significant number, they are the majority of the population in only 20 municipalities. Most Germans live in Budapest, Pécs, Pilisvörösvár, Bonyhád and Mohács.

The original area of *Slovak* settlement, which arose in the 18th century and affected three major regions (Békés, Dunazug, Pest–Nógrád) and four smaller mountainous areas (Zemplén, Bükk, Mátra, Bakony) has been reduced to several scattered districts and language islands. At present, only one village (Csövár) has a Slovak majority. The decline in the ethnic Slovak population is a result of assimilation and the Czechoslovak–Hungarian population exchange of the period 1946–1948. Owing to the still significant process of assimilation, the number of Slovak native speakers has stagnated since 1990.

The *Croats* can be divided into Šokci (residing in southeastern Baranya), Bosnians (southern Baranya), Bunjevci (Bácska), Croats living near the Croatian and Austrian border. They form an ethnic majority in 15

villages in Hungary along the border. The largest Croatian community can be found no longer in their traditional settlement area, but in Budapest. Further, most Croats live in Pécs, Kópháza and Szentpéterfa.

The number of *Romanians* increased by 2.5 times over the past decade to 24 thousand, mainly due to large-scale immigration. Third of them live now in the counties along the Hungarian–Romanian border, while half of them live in the central part of Hungary. A large increase in their numbers can also be observed in the latter region, while the number of Romanians in their traditional settlements – despite the cross-border suburbanisation of such Romanian cities as Oradea/Nagyvárad and Arad – decreases. Accordingly, by far the largest number live in Budapest, although their communities in Méhkerék, Kétegyháza and Gyula are also significant.

The number of *Serbs*, like Romanians, nearly doubled – primarily due to immigration – between 2001 and 2016. The vast majority of them live near the Danube and in the southeastern border region. Of the 13 minorities recognised as autochthonous in Hungary by the Minorities Act of 1993, only the *Slovenians* have declined significantly in number over the past three decades, mainly due to ongoing assimilation. The vast majority of them remain in the area between the Austrian and Slovenian borders, where their largest communities are found in the centre of the region, in Szentgotthárd and Felsőözlönök. Owing to enhanced ethnic consciousness and the introduction of dual ethnic affiliations in the censuses, there are again settlements with a *Rusyn* majority on the present-day territory of Hungary for the first time since the 19th century. Most Rusyn people reside in the Abaúj and Zemplén regions, but their largest community lives in Budapest.

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