

ETHNICALLY HOMOGENEOUS SETTLEMENTS IN ETHNICALLY HETEROGENEOUS ENVIRONMENT

IVAN MARINKOVIĆ

Institute of Social Sciences, Demographic Research Centre
Kraljice Natalije 45 (Narodnog fronta 45), 11000 Belgrade, Republic of Serbia
E-mail: imarinkovic@orion.rs

ABSTRACT: Ethnic homogeneity of settlements, or in other words, formation of ethnically homogeneous settlements in ethnically heterogeneous environment, such as Vojvodina, as well as the regions of Raška and Pčinja, is the issue which will be discussed in this paper. The analysis involves total population according to their ethnic affiliation (the 2011 Census), at the level of settlements. The estimates on the number of Albanian population at the level of settlements were made for the needs of this paper considering the fact that the census was not successful on the entire territory of the Republic because the ethnic Albanian boycotted it. Spatial distribution analysis and the determination of majority of population at the level of settlements represent the research focus of the paper. Furthermore, the aim of this paper was to point out certain ethnic characteristics of Serbian population (excluding Kosovo and Metohija), with the emphasis on the continuous trend of increasing number of people who do not want to declare their ethnic affiliation.

KEYWORDS: Ethnic structure, Serbia, the 2011 Census, ethnic homogeneity, settlements, nationally undeclared

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The question about ethnicity falls into the category of highly personal questions in the census. Subjectivity in answering hinders scientific objectivity in the analysis, and carries in itself a number of open questions. The existence of the so-called ethnic mimicry (a change in declaration) and increasing non-declaring of population greatly complicate the work of researchers. The importance of this issue varied in previous censuses in Serbia and was always quite dependent on the socio-political situation in the country. The environment in which the last census (2011) was prepared, considering the issue of ethnicity, implied that once again it would be one of the most important questions in the list. The public, especially scientific circles, were particularly concerned with the announcement that this question was going to be of the so-called

closed type¹, and not an open type as it used to be (when all nationalities were listed, without the privileged). After much controversy, the changes were abandoned and the traditional way of posing that question was kept.

Changes in the ethnic composition of the population of Serbia² in the first decade of the 21st century were heavily influenced by the turbulent events during the 1990s. The war in the former Yugoslavia and its consequences, primarily in the form of a large number of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) significantly mitigated depopulation tendencies and influenced the formation of the current national structure of the population. When comparing the data from the last two censuses, it should be noted that different concepts for total population were applied, as well as that the Albanians from Southern Serbia boycotted the 2011 Census [Penev and Marinković 2012].

For the purpose of national structure research, the estimates of the population in the settlements where the census was boycotted were made, as well as the assessment of their national affiliation. Due to non-availability of the data on migration balance at the settlement level, estimates were made without the migration component and they were based on the 2002 Census data, i.e. the data about the 'population in the country' which were added with the assessment of internally displaced persons from Kosovo and Metohija, and vital events in the period 2002–2011 (interval between censuses, from April 1, 2002 to September 30, 2011). In this way the data on the total number of residents in settlements that boycotted the census was acquired. Estimates of the ethnicity of the population that boycotted the census were based on an equal distribution of the Albanian population in settlements, as it was at the time of the 2002 Census. Addition of the absolute value at the settlement level produced the estimated number of Albanians at higher territorial levels at the time of the 2011 Census.

POPULATION OF SERBIA IN 2011 BY NATIONALITY

Ethnic structure has not changed much over the last intercensal period 2002–2011 (Table 1).

The Serbs are the majority with a share of 83.3%, and despite the fact that their number decreased by 225 thousand, a relative increase of 0.4% was noticed. After them, the most numerous are the Hungarians, whose share is 3.5% (previously they had 3.9%, while the absolute reduction amounted to 39 thousand). The aforementioned are followed by ethnic groups that did not have depopulation in the inter-census period 2002–2011: the Bosniaks and Muslims³ who jointly have a share of 2.3% (there are 11 thousand more of them than at

¹ There would be the following option: nationality – Serbian, and other nationalities would be entered in writing.

This method posed risk of census clerks influencing the declaration of population, because he/she would have to enter nationalities manually and write them down, compared to circling a nationality printed and offered in the census list.

² The data refer exclusively to the territory of Serbia, without data for the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija.

³ The Bosniaks and Muslims will be jointly analyzed in this paper, because, basically, they are one ethnic group [Raduški 2013].

Table 1. *Ethnic structure of population of Serbia, 2002 and 2011*

Ethnicity	Population		Structure (%)		Increase/decrease
	2002	2011	2002	2011	2002–2011
Total	7,498,001	7,186,862	100.0	100.0	-311,139
Serbs	6,212,838	5,988,150	82.9	83.3	-224,688
Albanians	61,647	5,809	0.8	0.1	-55,838
Bosniaks	136,087	145,278	1.8	2.0	9,191
Muslims	19,503	22,301	0.3	0.3	2,798
Bulgarians	20,497	18,543	0.3	0.3	-1,954
Croats	70,602	57,900	0.9	0.8	-12,702
Hungarians	293,299	253,899	3.9	3.5	-39,400
Macedonians	25,847	22,755	0.3	0.3	-3,092
Montenegrins	69,049	38,527	0.9	0.5	-30,522
Roma people	108,193	147,604	1.4	2.1	39,411
Romanians	34,576	29,332	0.5	0.4	-5,244
Slovaks	59,021	52,750	0.8	0.7	-6,271
Slovenians	5,104	4,033	0.1	0.1	-1,071
Vlachs	40,054	35,330	0.5	0.5	-4,724
Yugoslavs	80,721	23,303	1.1	0.3	-57,418
Other	66,263	68,491	0.9	1.0	2,228
Undeclared	107,732	160,346	1.4	2.2	52,614
Regional affiliation	11,485	30,771	0.2	0.4	19,286
Unknown	75,483	81,740	1.0	1.1	6,257

Note: Most of the members of the Albanian ethnic community boycotted 2011 Census.

Source: [SORS, 2012].

the time of the 2002 Census) and Roma with 2.1% (there are 39 thousand more of them). It should be marked that in the period 2002–2011 the Muslims had a higher relative increase in population than Bosniaks (14% vs. 7%). This was unexpected given that, based on the previous census, it was predominantly elderly population who declared themselves as ethnic Muslims, while averagely younger population of this ethnic group declared as Bosniak [Penev and Marinković 2005]. Among other ethnic groups the Albanians who boycotted the census in 2011 stand out (in 2002 there were 0.8% of them). According to the authors' estimate, the number of Albanians in Serbia in 2011 was about 68 thousand (67,790 or 0.9%), which is 6,143 more residents than in the previous census. All other nationalities have a share of less than one percent of the total population of Serbia. It is also important to point out the large number of 'undecided' who account for 2.2%, i.e. as many as 160 thousand (60% more than in 2002). In the last 20 years, Serbia has experienced a trend of increasing number of those who do not wish to declare their ethnicity. The disintegration

of Yugoslavia and the crisis of the 1990s caused a reduction in the number of people who identified themselves as Yugoslavs, while at the same time, the number of those who do not wish to declare their ethnic affiliation increased [Marinković 2006]. If the census data on the number of the 'undecided', Yugoslavs, persons who declared for regional ethnicity and unknown are added up, this leads to the fact that the census did not determine ethnicity for nearly 300 thousand people, or 4% of the total population.

ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF SETTLEMENTS IN SERBIA IN 2011

The national and spatial structure can be best seen at the settlement level (Map 1). Ethnic groups have been forming for centuries and organized themselves within the settlements and only this territorial organization of the population provides a realistic picture of the situation. Some nationalities who achieved a high level of ethnic tolerance form ethnically mixed settlements. The coexistence of different nationalities is not a common condition in most settlements though, especially in communities where population is fewer than 1,000 inhabitants (in Serbia they account for more than 80% of the total number of settlements). Great influence on the formation of ethnic composition of a specific settlement is in environmental factors (proximity to the border, ethnic composition of neighboring settlements and government policy).

The Serbs are absolute majority⁴ in 86.6% of settlements in Serbia, based on the 2011 Census. There is high degree of ethnic homogeneity when this nationality is concerned, in as much as 72.6% of settlements, i.e. the share of Serbs in these settlements is over 90%. Settlements in which the entire population declared as ethnic Serbs account for 16% or 774 settlements. Based on the results of the last census, the Serbs are the most numerous population in 87.8% of settlements. With the Hungarians, who are the largest ethnic group after Serbs, settlements with absolute majority are significantly smaller and their total number on the territory of the Republic is 64 or 1.3% of the total number of settlements in Serbia. The Hungarians are the most numerous or the majority population in 75 settlements. An ethnic group that in population terms dominates in a greater number of settlements, when compared to the Hungarians, is the Bosniak-Muslim group. Like the Hungarians, who are territorially located almost exclusively in the north of the country, the Bosniaks and Muslims form the majority population in the settlements toward the south, in Raška and Zlatiborska counties. They have an absolute majority in 127 settlements (2.7%) and are the majority in 205 settlements (4.3%). The Roma people, although the fourth largest ethnic group, because of their great territorial dispersion and higher concentration within major cities, form a majority in only 7 settlements (they are an absolute majority in 6 settlements). On the basis of the 2002 Census, the Albanians are the majority population in 59 settlements, while they have an absolute majority in 57 settlements. Among other groups, the Bulgarians should also be mentioned who, despite the small proportion of the total population

⁴ Share of more than 50%.

Map 1. *Ethnic structure (majority population by settlements) of Serbia (excluding Kosovo and Metohija) in 2011*



Source: Prepared by the authors based on the SORS data [SORS, 2012]

(0.3%) make up the majority population in 79 settlements (1.7%), as well as the Vlachs with a share of 0.5% and a majority in 38 settlements.

Analysis of the national structure by settlements should also include other ethnic groups that have a significant share in Vojvodina: the Croats, Slovaks and Romanians. According to the 2011 Census, the Croats had a share of 0.8% in the Republic, but this share is significantly higher at the level of the autonomous province of Vojvodina which is 3.0%. Despite the relatively large share, their concentration is primarily in larger settlements (Subotica, Sombor, Apatin), so they are the majority of the population in 10 settlements only. The population that identified themselves as ethnic Slovaks makes the majority in 14 settlements, with the share of 2.7% in Vojvodina and 0.7% at the level of the whole country. The Romanian community in Serbia has half the population of the Croatian community, but they are located in predominantly smaller population areas, so they make the majority in 17 settlements.

ETHNICALLY HOMOGENOUS AND HETEROGENEOUS ENVIRONMENT IN SERBIA

Numerous ethnic groups live in Serbia (14 ethnic groups with a population of over 10 thousand), but we cannot say that it is, in terms of ethnicity, a heterogeneous area. More than four fifths of the total population consists of one nationality, so this may be identified as a homogeneous environment. The Vojvodina region, which is considered to be an ethnic mosaic within Serbia, based on the census from the beginning of the 21st century, is also becoming a relatively homogeneous environment because the Serbs have an absolute majority, accounting for more than two thirds of the total population of the Province. However, at lower administrative levels, the situation is quite different. Significant differences are noticed at the level of counties, the number of which is 25 in Serbia. On the basis of the presence of a greater number of nations, which account for over 1% of the total population of the counties, six areas of Vojvodina and one county on the territory of Southern and Eastern Serbia are more noticeable. This criterion has shown that ethnically most heterogeneous counties are West and South Bačka, because a relatively large number of nationalities, as many as seven, take part in the formation of ethnic composition (the Serbs, Hungarians, Croats, Montenegrins, Rusyns, Roma and Bunjevci, as well as Slovaks in another county). These are followed by South and North Bačka counties, which have six, and Central Banat and Srem counties, which have five ethnic groups whose share in these counties is greater than 1%. The only area with a significant number of various nationalities outside Vojvodina is Pčinjska county with four ethnic groups (the Serbs, Albanians, Roma and Bulgarians).

If the share of majority Serbian population below the national average is introduced as an additional criterion for determining ethnically mixed counties, then four other counties may be considered as relatively heterogeneous environments (North Banat, Zlatibor, Raška and Bor). The smallest share of Serbs is in the North Bačka county, 27.0%, and North Banat county with 42.7%. In

other counties, the Serbs have an absolute majority: in Pčinjska county (based on estimates) they form 60.4%, in Raška county 60.9%, while in other counties this share is higher but still below the national average.

In comparison to counties, the municipalities have a smaller number of ethnic groups that participate with more than 1% of the total population of the municipalities. This finding is true for most municipalities, but there are exceptions, too. Some municipalities in Vojvodina have an extremely heterogeneous ethnic composition. Above all, they are Plandište, Vrbas and Kula with six nationalities, and of more populous municipalities those are Subotica and Sombor with five ethnic groups. In other municipalities in Serbia, outside the territory of Vojvodina, not more than three nationalities (with more than 1% share in the total population of the municipality) may occur in the formation of the ethnic composition, but such cases are rare. These municipalities are primarily located in Eastern Serbia, and nationalities that coexist in them are the Serbs, Vlachs and Roma. It should be noted that a large spatial dispersion of the Roma population conditions that this ethnic group is, after the Serbs, most common in the municipalities in Serbia. The only, relatively heterogeneous counties i.e. municipalities in which the Roma are not a significant ethnic group are those in which the majority population is Bosniak-Muslim and Albanian. Otherwise, in these municipalities only the Serbian population has a significant share in the total population.

Out of 168 municipalities in Serbia, the Serbs are not the majority in only 15 of them. They have the lowest share in Tutin (3.5%), Kanjiža (7.2%), Senta (10.9%) and Bosilegrad (11.0%). Settlements in which no one declared as a Serb are located mainly in the municipalities of Pčinjska and Raška counties. The greatest number of settlements without Serbs belong to the municipalities of Tutin (63), Sjenica (31) and Preševo (20). At the level of the whole country, there are 12 municipalities with settlements without Serbs. Also, in municipalities with settlements without Serbian population, there are settlements where the Serbs make one hundred percent of the population. Thus, in Bujanovac, there are 15 such settlements, in Medveđa there are 7, and in Preševo there are only two settlements exclusively populated by the Serbs. The ratio of settlements with 100% of Serbs and without any Serbs puts the accent on the following municipalities: Sjenica (33 settlements with 100% share of Serbs and 31 settlements without Serbs), Bujanovac (15-16), Novi Pazar (39-8), Preševo (2-19) Tutin (1-63), Prijepolje (17-5), Medveđa (7-2). The ratio of the four municipalities with a predominantly Bosniak/Muslim population is 90-77, i.e. there are 90 settlements inhabited exclusively by Serbs, while in 77 settlements no one declared as a Serb. In three municipalities with significant Albanian population, the ratio is 24 to 37. Nowhere on the territory of Serbia, where municipalities are ethnically mixed, is ethnic homogeneity of the settlement so clearly expressed as in south Serbia in the municipalities where the Albanians or Bosniak/Muslim population are the majority. In contrast to the situation in the south, in the north of the country, in the ethnically most heterogeneous region, Vojvodina, in only two municipalities, i.e. in three settlements, not one Serb was registered in Bačka Topola (2) and Kanjiža (1), and those are small settlements.

The 2011 Census did not register any significant changes in the ethnic composition of the population compared to the previous census. However, one specificity could be noted and it is the continuation of the trend of increasing number of people who do not wish to declare their ethnicity. Number of Serbs continues to reduce in the territory of the Republic, but due to the fact that the population decline is even more pronounced in other ethnic groups, the proportion of Serbs in the total population has increased. Depopulation is generally present, but there are national minorities that still do not have a decline in population. Above all, they are the Roma people who have extremely high population growth, but a high degree of ethnic mimicry among them should be taken into account. They are followed by the Bosniaks/Muslims and Albanians, with population growth compared to the previous census.

The aim of this study was primarily to point out some basic characteristics of the ethnic composition of the population of Serbia. Another aim was to display data at the settlement level, which are not easily available and are not published by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia. The estimate of the number of the population that boycotted the census, and the determination of spatial distribution of the majority of population in settlements are main contributions of this paper to the study of ethnic structure in our country.

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ЕТНИЧКИ ХОМОГЕНА НАСЕЉА У ЕТНИЧКИ
ХЕТЕРОГЕНОМ ОКРУЖЕЊУ

ИВАН МАРИНКОВИЋ

Институт друштвених наука, Центар за демографска истраживања
Краљице Наталије 45 (Народног фронта 45), 11000 Београд, Република Србија
Е-адреса: imarinkovic@orion.rs

САЖЕТАК: У овом раду разматра се етничка хомогеност насеља, или другим речима, формирање етнички хомогених насеља у етнички хетерогеном окружењу као што су Војводина, Пчињски и Рашки округ. Анализом је обухваћена целокупна популација на нивоу насеља и она је заснована на њиховој етничкој припадности [Појис 2011]. За потребе овог истраживања направљена је процена броја припадника албанске популације на нивоу насеља, узимајући у обзир и чињеницу да Цензус није био успешан на целокупној територији Републике јер су га етнички Албанци бојкотовали. Овај рад бави се анализом просторне дистрибуције и утврђивањем већинске популације на нивоу насеља. Такође, циљ овог рада је да издвоји неке етничке карактеристике српског становништва (не рачунајући Косово и Метохију) и нагласи тренд раста броја људи који не желе да се изјасне о својој етничкој припадности.

КЉУЧНЕ РЕЧИ: етничка структура, Србија, Попис 2011, етничка хомогеност, насеља, национално неизјашњени