



EMIGRATION OF ITALIANS AND GERMANS FROM CROATIA DURING AND IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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Croatia is a country of constant emigration which, with varying intensities, has lasted from the nineteenth century to the present. According to some estimates, during the period in which reliable statistical records have been kept, i.e. since 1880 up to 1991, approximately 1.2 million people have emigrated from the territory of today's Republic of Croatia, mostly Croats. Among the periods of more intense emigration from Croatia, the 1943-1948 period is particularly significant, for during these five years, over 250,000 people emigrated from Croatia, most of them Italians and Germans. This is the largest exodus of non-Croatian inhabitants from the territory of the Republic of Croatia. Relatively little has been written about this emigration of Italians and Germans, and this is thus the subject of this paper. The paper is limited to a review of the origins, subsequent immigration, spatial distribution and emigration of Italians and Germans based exclusively on data from population censuses.



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GEOPOLITICAL POSITION AND HISTORICAL ETHNIC CHANGES IN THE TERRITORY OF CROATIA

Croatia is a Central European and Mediterranean country with a very sensitive geopolitical position between Central and Southeastern Europe and the Danube River and the Mediterranean Sea. As a result of this position, it has been subject to various influences and pressure from all sides for centuries. Some of this turbulence was significantly reflected in the distribu-

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

tion and ethnic composition of the population of Croatia. In this sense, the greatest pressure came from the southeast (the Ottomans) and the southwest (Romans, later Italians). The first were caused by the proximity of the Croatian ethnic territory to the principal Ottoman invasion routes toward the center of the Pannonian region, while the others were caused by the attractiveness of the eastern Adriatic coast and the numerous islands (along the coast) which enable safe navigation for sailboats.

Pressure from the southeast led to the withdrawal of the largest number of Croatian inhabitants from the eastern portions of the Croatian ethnic territory and to the settlement of other nationalities. The Croatian population fled to the more western parts of Croatia or to neighboring European countries (today's enclaves of ethnic Croats in these countries). Deserted Croatian settlements were resettled with other nationalities, first Serbs and Vlachs (from the end of the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth centuries) and later (beginning in the eighteenth century but mostly during the nineteenth) Germans, Hungarians, Czechs and Slovaks and other (Italian) nationalities (today's Croatian national communities and minorities). Pressure from the southwest was older and more constant but generally limited to the coastal portion of the Croatian ethnic territory. Although this part of Croatia has a complex political past and although it was mostly under foreign administration in the past, the ethnic composition here did not experience such great changes as in the eastern parts of Croatia.

This pressure and the ethnic changes caused by it in the Croatian ethnic territory were accompanied by intensive emigration from Croatia, primarily to overseas countries (the creation of the Croatian Diaspora). It can be said that Croatia is a country of permanent emigration which, with varying intensities, has lasted since the beginning of the nineteenth century until the present. It has been estimated that only during the period for which more reliable statistical data are available, from 1880 to 1991, approximately 1,210,000 persons, most Croats (approximately 800,000) left the current territory of the Republic of Croatia (Nejašmić, 1995).

Among the periods of heightened emigration from Croatia, the 1943-1948 period is particularly significant for over 250,000 people left Croatia in only five years. Most of them were Italians and Germans. This is the largest exodus of non-Croatian inhabitants from the territory of Croatia.

The objective of this article is to provide a short review of the origins, distribution and approximate number of emigrant Italians and Germans primarily on the basis of reliable statistical data. This is the first such review of this problem for the entire territory of the Republic of Croatia. The main areas of the Republic of Croatia settled by Germans and Italians are shown on the map.

➔ PICTURE 1
Croatia – main areas
settled by Germans
and Italians



METHODS FOR USING STATISTICAL DATA

In the past, the historical provinces of Croatia were divided within the Austro-Hungarian Empire and methodological different statistical censuses were maintained in them. This very often made impossible the comparison of even identical statistical data (such as, for example, on nationality) for different census periods, especially when such data need to be compared within the framework of contemporary administrative-territorial divisions and within the entire territory of the Republic of Croatia. Therefore, the State Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Croatia prepared the publication of the religious and national composition of the Republic of Croatia from 1880 to 1991, which was finally published in 1998. In it, the religious and national composition of the population of Cro-

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

atia at the level of individual settlements is reconstructed and presented in tables on the basis of archival materials from statistical records. Data per settlement of all statistical censuses are encompassed at the level of the municipalities which existed in Croatia during the last population census in 1991. Thanks to this, the data of different censuses are now territorially comparable, which is very essential in analyzing population trends.

Only those statistical censuses were used which enabled the reconstruction of the religious and national composition of the population by settlement, meaning the censuses of: 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1948, 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991. But even the data recorded in these census years were not obtained in the same manner each time. The censuses from 1948 provide direct data on the nationality of the population. For the earlier censuses nationality was determined on the basis of census data on the number of members of individual religion and native or spoken languages. It should be emphasized that nationality according to native language was established in the areas of primary German settlement ("Croatian" and "Hungarian" censuses), while the nationality of Italians in their areas of primary settlement was determined on the basis of spoken language ("Istrian" censuses). Because of this it can generally be said that among the German population there are no greater differences between the number of persons who have German as their native language and members of the German nationality. The same claim, however, cannot be made in regard to the Italian population. Namely, it is obvious that in Istria (the area of primary Italian settlement), the Italian language, as the language of public and official communication, was also used by a considerable number of Croats, especially in the towns. All of those Croats who listed their spoken language as Italian in the censuses from 1880 to 1910 were statistically encompassed in the Italian national group. As a result of this method, the number of Italians was artificially enlarged while the number of Croats was reduced. This must be taken into account when evaluating the data in the attached tables.

It should be noted that in 1948 and 1953 the number of Croats, Italians and Slovenes in Istria was somewhat smaller than their number shown in some other publications (e.g. in Dokumentacija 881), because the larger part of the Buje municipality was a part of the Free Territory of Trieste until 1954. The population of this municipality was not registered, rather their number was estimated, and the estimated number was not broken down into nationalities, rather it was included in the "other and unknown" category of the population.

ORIGINS AND DISTRIBUTION OF ITALIANS IN CROATIA AND THEIR EMIGRATION FROM CROATIA

Italians are an old component of the ethnic structure of Croatia. Although in terms of numbers they were the second largest national minority in Croatia (after the Serbs) until the beginning of World War II, their share in Croatia's total population was never much more than 5 percent (4.5% in 1910).

In Croatia they are distributed very unequally. By far the largest number, approximately 90 percent of all Italians in Croatia, live in the coastal part of Croatia on the Adriatic coast, while only approximately 10 percent live in the inland, continental area. These two spatial groups of Italians in Croatia have different origins as well. While the Italians in the coastal belt of Croatia are part of an old historical group (autochthonous) and partially resettled from regions in Italy, the Italians in the continental part of Croatia are exclusively migrants, most of them having arrived in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Italians of Continental Croatia

The majority of the Italians of continental Croatia live in Western Slavonia, where they form a rural population engaged in agriculture. They live in several settlements in the Pakrac and Daruvar municipalities. In 1900 they numbered 1,068 while in 1991 they numbered 935. They only account for a majority in one village, while most of them live in several settlements with members of other nationalities. Western Slavonia, or rather the area of the Ilova River basin is the ethnically most complex rural zone in continental Croatia, which is a result of its historical role as a border region.

For many years (from 1554 to 1687), this area acted as a border between those parts of Croatia under Ottoman rule and those parts under Austrian administration. Because of this position and many years of wars and unrest, the original Croatian population of the region was either killed off or emigrated to other parts of Croatia which the Ottomans did not conquer. Some also resettled in other countries (today's enclaves of Croats in Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, Moravia, Romania, Yugoslavia and even Italy). After the withdrawal of the Ottomans from the Pannonian basin, including Croatia, the region was repopulated, primarily during the eighteenth century, with Croats, Serbs and Vlachs (whose religion was Eastern Orthodox so that they subsequently became Serbs). Later, and particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, the region was settled with other nationalities from other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In this economic colonization of Croatia, Western Slavonia was mostly settled by Czechs, Hungarians and Germans, but also Slovaks and even Italians. These new residents settled in the lands which

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

were quite densely populated during the pre-Ottoman period, but which were greatly devastated during the Ottoman period. They were repopulated under the auspices of the Military Frontier and newly-established feudal holdings. Upon arriving, new settlers were given lands that they deforested and drained to transform them into arable fields and places for their settlements. The largest number of inhabitants came during the second half of the nineteenth century, but this immigration lasted all up until the beginning of the First World War. This resettlement turned Western Slavonia into an ethnically complex area. On the ethnic and demographic development of the region, see the work by Crkvenčić and Pepeonik (1996).

The Italians settled in Western Slavonia during the period from 1880 to 1909, mostly on the estate of the Reiser counts, whose seat was near the town of Pakrac. The majority of them came from Upper Tagliamento in Italy. They were stock farmers, but in their new home each family was given eight acres of land from the count (generally forests which had to be cleared), which they had to repay in thirty years. They proved quite industrious and paid off their debts in a shorter period (Kuzle, 1995). Like the members of other nationalities of this region, the Italians were subject to the process of deagrarianization and urbanization, but even today most of them are still involved in agriculture. They blended in to life in the area and did not, like the Italians of coastal Croatia, emigrate after the Second World War.

The Italians of Coastal Croatia

Origins

In contrast to the Italians of continental Croatia in which they are as a whole a younger (migrant) element of the ethnic structure, the Italians of the coastal part of Croatia are partially an autochthonous and partially subsequently resettled population. Their autochthonous character has its origins in the Roman population that primarily lived in the towns along the coast, which is where the Croats found them after their arrival to the Adriatic coast from the hinterland in the seventh century. Subsequent development led this population to become an Italian ethnic component. In later periods, this Italian component became stronger with the additional settlement of Italians already during the rule of the Venetian Republic (up to the end of the eighteenth century), but particularly under Austrian rule (1815-1918). The majority of the coastal Croatia, meaning Istria, the Kvarner islands (Cres, Lošinj and Krk) and Dalmatia came under Austrian administration. The remainder of coastal Croatia (the city of Rijeka and the thin coastal strip along the Velebit massif) was under the control of the Croatian authorities.

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

In these one hundred years, the Austrian authorities developed the parts of coastal Croatia under their control as Austrian provinces. Austria began to develop the local economy, particularly maritime activities, build roads and spur the growth of cities. The development of the cities began to strengthen the urban component of the population. Since the Croatian population was primarily rural, they did not participate in these processes very much. On the other hand, the Italian component of the population was strengthened by the immigration of additional Italians from Italian provinces under Austrian control. This led to an increase in the number of Italians.

After the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, the largest part of coastal Croatia became a part of Yugoslavia, while Istria, the Kvarner islands of Cres and Lošinj, the city of Rijeka (in the northern coastal region), the city of Zadar and the islands of Lastovo and Palagruža (in Dalmatia) came under Italian control. These places remained under Italian administration until Italy's capitulation in 1943, during the Second World War. During this period of Italian administration (particularly under the fascist authorities), the Italians conducted a policy of Italianization in the regions under their control (by using various repressive measures against the Croats, who left because of this) and by bringing in new Italian settlers. The number of Italians during this period increased, while the number of Croats and their share of the overall population of the region decreased.

Distribution of Italians in Coastal Croatia

This political development and the ensuing territorial and administrative changes in coastal Croatia are mentioned only to present a framework for a better understanding of the origins and development of its ethnic structure, particularly its Italian component. In this critical paper, it will not even be possible to indicate all of the phases and details of the political and territorial development of the coastal portion of Croatia in the past, and even less to analyze all of the demographic components (migration balance, natural growth rate) of numerical trends of the population. Such analyses have to be the subject of other studies. I emphasize that in this work I limited myself to an interpretation of censuses with established statistical data.

The aforementioned political and territorial development of coastal Croatia was also greatly reflected in the number and share of Italians in the total population of individual areas within this territory. This is best seen in the fact that Italians accounted for the largest number and share of the total pop-

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

ulation in the northern parts of coastal Croatia, i.e. in those parts that are closer to the Italian-speaking regions, while their number and share was much less the farther away they were from these Italian regions.

The distribution of Italians in coastal Croatia under Austrian rule is best seen in the results of the census of 1910, the last Austrian census that encompassed the largest part of coastal Croatia.

Out of the total number of Italians in coastal Croatia in 1910 (148,128) as many as 75 percent (approximately 110,000) of them lived in Istria, the Kvarner islands of Cres, Lošinj and Krk, while only 11 percent (approximately 17,000) lived in Dalmatia. As opposed to the Italians of Istria and the Kvarner islands, who consisted of both urban (primarily) and rural populations, in Dalmatia the Italians were almost exclusively an urban population. Out of the aforementioned 17,348 Italians in Dalmatia, 11,594 lived in the city of Zadar and its immediate vicinity, which accounted for approximately 67 percent of all Italians in Dalmatia. Zadar was the only Croatian city in which Italians had a majority (approximately 77%). A lesser number of the remaining Italians of Dalmatia mainly lived in two other large Dalmatian cities, in Split (with a total population of 21,407 inhabitants in 1910) and Šibenik (12,508 inhabitants).

The differences in the numbers of Italians corresponds to their share in the total population of individual parts of coastal Croatia. While the Italians accounted for only 2.9 percent of the total population in Dalmatia, in Istria they were 41.5 percent of the population. The rest of the population of coastal Croatia was largely made up of Croats. In Dalmatia there were, in addition to Croats, a certain number of Serbs (13.6%), while in Istria there were also Slovenes (approximately 5%). Here the following should be pointed out: despite the fact that the majority of coastal Croatia was under foreign administration and despite the simultaneous intense emigration of Croats from this region (especially in the second half of the nineteenth century), the Croatian population of this region managed to maintain itself (and not only in raw numbers but also in terms of the character) with a simple majority, even in Istria.

Change in the Number of Italians in the 1880-1991 Period

Reliable data on the number of Italians on the territory of Croatia can only be obtained for the period in which statistical records were compiled for the country's entire current extent, and this on the level settlements. Namely, only data compiled by settlement enable their use in the territorial framework which can be altered and thus compared.

Territory		1880	1890	1900	1910	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991
Istria ¹	No	78641	79100	91944	98266	34473	18858	14263	11502	7726	15306
	%	69.0	76.5	65.4	63.0	45.4	56.5	67.6	66.0	66.2	71.8
Kvarner islands ²	No	9549	9504	12839	12457	9535	1597	1462	478	284	631
	%	8.4	9.2	9.1	8.0	12.6	4.8	6.9	2.7	2.4	2.7
Kvarner coast ³	No	-	-	18349	25057	25410	7824	3272	2980	1946	3340
	%	-	-	13.1	16.1	33.5	23.4	15.5	17.1	16.7	15.7
Dalmatia ⁴	No	25718	14797	14315	17348	2985	1760	320	337	257	312
	%	22.6	14.3	10.2	11.1	3.2	5.3	1.5	1.9	2.2	1.5
Cont. Croatia ⁵	No	-	-	3016	2757	3441	3316	1786	2136	1448	1714
	%	-	-	2.2	1.8	4.6	10.0	8.5	12.3	12.5	8.3
Croatia	No	113908	103401	140463	150880	75844	33355	21103	17433	11661	21303
	%			100.0	110.9	54.0	23.7	15.0	12.4	8.3	15.2

Source: *Narodnosni i vjerski sastav stanovništva Hrvatske 1998-1991. g.* (National and Religious composition of the Population of Croatia, 1880-1991; 5 volumes). Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku, 1998.

TABLE 1
Changes in the
Number of Italians in
the Territory of the
Republic of Croatia,
1880-1991

¹ Municipalities of Buje, Buzet, Labin, Pazin, Poreč, Pula and Rovinj (territorial division as of 1991), i.e. the territory of Istria County.

² Island municipalities: Cres, Lošinj, Rab and Krk, and the municipality of Opatija.

³ Municipalities: City of Rijeka, and Crikvenica and Senj.

⁴ 25 Dalmatian municipalities.

⁵ All remaining municipalities in the continental section of Croatia.

The number of Italians in coastal Croatia at the end of the nineteenth century was already somewhat greater than 110,000, but their number grew to almost 150,000 by 1910. The change in the number of Italians from 1910 to 1931 (the year of the last census before World War II) can only be confirmed on the basis of Yugoslav and Italian censuses. According to the Yugoslav census of 1945, there were 9,137 Italians (derived on the basis of their native language) in the entire territory of Yugoslavia, which means that there were less in the territory of the Republic of Croatia. Italian censuses (Consimento ... 1931) cite that in the territory of Croatia under Italian control there was a total of 340,000 inhabitants. Out of this number of inhabitants, persons who listed Italian as their spoken language (but not native!) accounted for approximately 194,000. Out of the total population, approximately 270,000 people (with approximately 142,000 Italians) lived in Istria and the Kvarner islands of Cres and Lošinj, 53,000 in Rijeka (with approximately 38,888 Italians), and 20,022, with 13,688 Italians, in Zadar and the islands of Lastovo and Palagruža (Žerjavić, 1993). If we add up the number of Italians from individual parts of the Croatian coast under Italian control and the Italians in the territory of Yugoslavia at the time, the total number of Italians in coastal Croatia is approximately 194,000 (1931). It is apparent that the number of Italians in the territory of Croatia under their control over a twenty-year period (from 1910 to 1931) increased by approximately 50,000, which is obviously a consequence of both their natural growth in the meantime and immigration.

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

It should be emphasized that in the territory of Croatia during the aforementioned period under Italian rule (1918-1943) there were changes in the national structure. This is most apparent in the change in the national structure of Istria. While Italians accounted for 41.5 percent of the total population of Istria in 1910, their share up to 1931 grew to 52.6 percent. This change was the result not only of immigration of Italians but also of the emigration of Croats. There are estimates that between 1918 and 1943 approximately 53,000 Croats left Istria (Žerjavić, 1993; Žuljić, 1994).

Emigration of Italians after World War II

If we compare the number of Italians in the territory of Croatia under Italian rule in 1931 with their number after World War II, we can see that it decreased by approximately 194,000 to 75,844 (1948) and then to 33,355 (1953) and finally to 21,303 (1991). The total number of Italians over this period fell by an amount of 172,697 persons. I emphasize that this number indicates only the reduced number of Italians according to the data of the censuses. This number is not also the number of emigrant Italians, because the number of emigrants is also influenced by the migration balance and the natural growth between census years, and these have to be calculated separately.

Some studies have been written on the number of emigrants, but the data differ from author to author, depending on whether they are Croats or Italians. According to the Croatian view (Žerjavić, 1993), the total number of emigrants was 188,000 (163,000 Italians and 25,000 Croats) while according to Italian authors the number of emigrants was considerably greater, from 220,000 (*L'esodo delle terre adriatiche*, 1958) to 350,000 (*L'esodo dei 350 Mila Giuliani...* 1972). According to the latter values, the number of emigrant Italians was greater than the total population of the Croatian territories under Italian control!

Emigration occurred at a fairly rapid rate, but nonetheless not quickly nor in one wave. It actually proceeded over a period of ten years, i.e. from 1943 (the capitulation of Italy) to 1953 (the second census after World War II). During the 1943-1948 (the first census year after World War II), the number of Italians reduced to approximately 40 percent, while up to 1953 to only approximately 11 percent.

All emigrants did not leave under the same conditions. It is believed that approximately 15 percent left without migration permits, while the majority left with the approval of the authorities. These are the so-called optant emigrants, i.e. those who had approvals for extended stays in this region (as of 10 June 1940) and who expressed their wish to obtain Italian citizenship, which simultaneously meant emigrating to Italy. Several agreements were concluded between Yugoslavia and

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

TABLE 2
National Composition
of the Population
of Istria¹

Nationality		1880	1890	1900	1910	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total	No	160000	176195	193455	236981	183340	175094	176838	175199	188332	204346
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Croats	No	63966	81842	85939	108615	121096	122869	148250	139729	134892	111596
	%	40.0	46.4	44.4	45.8	66.0	70.2	83.8	79.7	71.6	54.6
Italians	No	78641	79100	91944	98266	34473	18858	14263	11502	7726	15306
	%	49.1	44.9	47.5	41.5	18.8	10.8	8.1	6.6	4.1	7.5
Other ²	No	17393	15253	16072	30100	27771	33367	14325	23968	45714	77444
	%	10.9	8.7	8.1	12.7	15.1	19.0	8.1	13.7	24.3	37.9

Source: *Narodnosni i vjerski sastav stanovništva Hrvatske 1998-1991. g.* (National and Religious Composition of the Population of Croatia, 1880-1991; 5 volumes). Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku, 1998.

¹ In the framework of the municipalities of Buje, Buzet, Labin, Pazin, Poreč, Pula and Rovinj (territorial division as of 1993).

² Others: mostly Slovenes and (after 1961) "Yugoslavs," as well as (after 1971) "regionals."

The emigration of Italians reduced the total population of the region and altered its ethnic structure. The basic features of these changes will be shown using the example of Istria, the largest area of Croatian territory under Italian rule up to 1943 in terms of surface area, which also had the largest share of Italians in its total population.

CHANGES IN THE ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF ISTRIA AFTER 1943

Up until 1910, Croats and Italians accounted for 90 percent of Istria's total population, and that during this entire period their individual share in the total population of Istria was relatively equal, with lesser oscillations to the advantage of one or the other. The census data over this entire period show that the Italians did not have even a simple majority at any time. The majority was held by the Slavic peoples, and this mostly Cro-

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

ats and then Slovenes. These relations changed to the advantage of the Italians only during the 1910-1931 period for the reasons already stated above. The emigration of Italians (and some Croats) during the 1943-1953 period once more changed the ethnic composition of Istria, this time causing a considerable increase in the number of Croats. However, some other changes came about, generally caused by the immigration of new populations.

.....Out of this number, those born in:					
Total population	The same municipality	Other municipalities in Croatia	Other republics of the former Yugoslavia	Other states	Unknown
202883	129763	42385	26210	4514	11
100%	63.06	20.89	12.96	2.22	0.01
Compared to the Republic of Croatia (in %)					
100%	66.40	21.42	9.84	2.32	0.01

Data obtained on the basis of preliminary results of the 1991 census.
Source: S. Žuljić. *Hrvatska Istra*. Zagreb, 1994.

❶ TABLE 3
The Population of
Istria by Place of Birth
(1991)

After the period of emigration of Italians (and some Croats), new populations settled in Istria. This immigration did not, however, have any of the characteristics of a mass colonization of wider proportions, nor was it tied to the agrarian reforms as was the case in the Danubian areas of Croatia and other parts of Yugoslavia. This immigration primarily had the features of the more or less spontaneous arrival of individuals or smaller groups of people (Žuljić, 1989).

The structure of Istria's population (1991) according to place of birth shows that there was massive inter-municipal migration, generally from the predominantly rural interior to the largely urban coastal region. Only a fifth of Istria's population (1991 census) settled there from other parts of Croatia, and only about ten percent from the other republics of the former Yugoslav federation and other states. Settlers from other Yugoslav republics increased the share of other, non-Croatian nationalities.

A review of the national structure of emigrants from other republics of the former Yugoslavia and other states shows that among them there is a considerable number of Serbs and Muslims, as well as those emigrants who registered themselves as "Yugoslavs" or as Istrians (regional affiliation) in the 1991 census. These emigrants greatly increased the number and share of the population which is listed as "other" in Table 2. But the share of the "other" population drastically grew during the censuses of 1981 and 1991. The increase in 1981 was primarily influ-

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

enced by the registration of a part of the Istrian population as "Yugoslavs." Their number had already reduced greatly by 1991 (at the beginning of the Serbian aggression against Croatia, many "Yugoslavs" returned to their own nationality), but during the 1991 census a considerable number of "Istrians" appeared, primarily at the expense of the number of Croats. On the basis of national affiliation, the number of Croats in 1991 was 54.6 percent, while on the basis of native language it was 75.6 percent. The reasons for the appearance of such a considerable number of "regionals" requires a separate study.

TABLE 4
National Composition
of the Settled
Population of Istria,
1991.

	Number	Percent
Total Population	202,838	100.00
Newly-settled population	30,735	15.14
National composition		
Croats	6,619	21.53
Italians	711	2.13
Slovenes	2,204	7.17
Muslims	4,744	15.43
Serbs	5,748	18.7
"Yugoslavs"	2,671	8.69
Regionals	1,211	3.94
Others	6,827	22.21

Source: S. Žuljić. *Hrvatska Istra*. Zagreb, 1994.

THE ORIGINS AND DISTRIBUTION OF GERMANS IN CROATIA AND THEIR EMIGRATION FROM CROATIA

As opposed to the Italians, who were at least partially an old component of the ethnic structure of Croatia, the Germans are a more recent element, for they settled in Croatia after the withdrawal of the Ottomans from the Pannonian region, i.e. in the eighteenth century and afterwards. While the majority of the Italians inhabited the coastal part of Croatia along the Adriatic Sea, the Germans in Croatia mostly settled its Danubian areas, or rather the areas along the Danube River, primarily in Baranja, the eastern part of Slavonia and Western Srijem. Although in terms of their numbers they were the third largest national minority up to World War II (after the Serbs and Italians), their share in the total population of Croatia never exceeded 3.6 percent (1900).

Settlement of Germans in the Pannonian Region

There were already Germans in the Pannonian region, and in Southeastern Europe, even before the Ottoman conquest, but these were isolated cases. Generally they were miners, tradesmen and merchants who lived and worked in larger cities (as

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

“guests”). The settlement of Germans in larger numbers and on more extensive tracts of the Pannonian lowlands came only after the withdrawal of the Ottomans from the Pannonian region, or more precisely, after the Peace of Karlowitz in 1699 and Požarevac in 1718. Most of the Germans came from Hungary and southern Germany, or Schwabia. They primarily settled the areas of Baranja (between the Danube and Drava Rivers), Bačka (between the Danube and the Tisza), Banat (east of the Tisza) and in Srijem and Slavonia (between the Sava and the Danube). With regard to the origins of the majority of these settlers, these areas are called *Donauschwäbischen Lebensbereiche* (Lendl, 1940) in German studies.

Out of the individual and unconnected “*Donauschwäbische*” areas already settled in the eighteenth century, the zone of German settlement extended continually thanks to massive settlement during the nineteenth century. Germans became a significant ethnic component of this part of the Pannonian plain. They were mixed with other nationalities, mostly with Hungarians, Serbs and Croats, as well as other settlers (Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Slovaks and others). In 1931, in terms of their numbers, the Germans were the largest ethnic group in Baranja, the second largest in Srijem (after the Serbs), the third in Slavonia (after the Croats and Serbs) and in Bačka (after the Hungarians and Serbs). On average, they made up to 20 percent of the population in these areas (Stiperski, 1993).

The aforementioned areas of German colonization were primarily included in the borders of Yugoslavia after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1918), in which 493,630 Germans lived in 1931 (on the basis of data on religion and native language). However, a part of these areas, i.e. Baranja, Slavonia and the Croatian part of Western Srijem, was within the borders of the Republic of Croatia, a federal unit of the former Yugoslav federation. In 1931, approximately one fifth of all Germans in the former Yugoslavia, about 100,000 persons, lived in the borders of the Republic of Croatia.

The Germans settled over a longer period from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century, and partially up to the very beginning of World War I. They colonized a wide belt of the Pannonian plain, and they settled in various ways. Here we will show a more detailed account of their settlement using the example of Western Slavonia, an area whose colonization was already mentioned earlier.

Settlement of Germans in Eastern Slavonia

Western Slavonia is the most ethnically complex rural area of Croatia, settled during the economic colonization lasting from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries with various nationalities, including Germans. The Germans were never the most

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

numerous national group here, nor is this area the area of primary settlement of Germans in Croatia. But the method of German settlement in Western Slavonia is relatively better known than in other parts of Croatia, which is why it is being shown here.

We already spoke of the causes and conditions of colonization in Western Slavonia after the withdrawal of the Ottomans (1687) in the section on Italian settlement. German families already appeared in this area at the beginning of the eighteenth century, so that the tax registers of the Pakrac estates (1736) show that there are five families with German surnames out of a total of 195. In the part of the area under the administration of the Military Frontier, the Germans also received land from the Imperial Hoffkammer. However, the arrival of a larger number of German colonists was significantly influenced by the arrival of Count Janković (1760), who held estates in the Daruvar area (Kempf, 1930). He founded a colony of German textile workers in Daruvar (Tuchmacherkolonie) as well as a glass-blowing shop, all with German employees. He also brought in Germans to administer his estates, and to work as foresters (cutting down forests, clearing trees and underbrush from the land, making wood coal and potash). The colonization of Germans during the eighteenth century was the "fundamental period" (Gründungszeit) of their settlement. It is characterized by the spatial dispersal of the German colonies and their mingling with the members of other nationalities. Under such circumstances, a part of the German colonists of this "fundamental period" of their colonization already became Slavized after the second generation (Lendl, 1940).

The mass settlement of Germans only began in earnest in the second half of the nineteenth century. Up until then the spatial dispersion of German settlement gradually grew into more or less contiguous settlements. However, new settlements with German agricultural populations were established. These Germans settled the more spacious parts of Western Slavonia. While settlement during the "fundamental period" was assisted by the authorities (the Military Frontier and the estate holders), now the colonization was conducted under the influence of the effect of "daughter-settlements" (*Tochtersiedlung*). The colonization of Germans and the creation of their settlements also strengthened the already existing German settlements. It was only this colonization in the second half of the nineteenth century which led to a concrete German contribution to the region's landscape and functional content.

The colonization of the Germans in the second half of the nineteenth century consisted of several shorter periods of intense settlement, i.e. at times when forests were being cleared, when existing settlements were being bolstered and new settlements were being created. These were the so-called "clearing periods" (Rodungsperiode). The first such clearing period

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

lasted from 1865 to 1867, the other from 1878 to 1886, and the third from 1897 to 1914. The Germans thus continuously settled in this area until the beginning of World War I (Lendl, 1940).

Through this settlement, by 1900 the Germans were the third national group in Western Slavonia in terms of their numbers, who settled from the Austro-Hungarian lands and the neighboring German provinces. There were 6,314 of them (9,538 Czechs and 7,821 Hungarians) in the territory of the Daruvar and Pakrac municipalities (which make up the majority of Western Slavonia). There were gathered in generally ethnically homogenous settlements. Out of the total 143 settlements in the aforementioned two municipalities, there were no Germans in as many as 89 of them, while they had a simple majority in eleven settlements. In numerical terms, they were the second largest group in six settlements and third largest in five settlements. This number of Germans and their level of spatial concentration did not change much up to the 1910 census, when new settlement practically stopped.

Number and Distribution of Germans in Croatia

Approximately three fourths of the Germans in Croatia lived in its Danubian area, i.e. in Slavonia, Baranja and the western part of Srijem, and in only four of their municipalities (Beli Manastir, Osijek, Vinkovci and Vukovar) along the Danube they accounted for over 60 percent of the population. The remaining Germans lived in other parts of Croatia, primarily in the cities.

TABLE 5
Number and Regional
Distribution of
Germans in Croatia

Year	Croatia	Eastern Croatia ¹		
		Total	4 Danubian municipalities ²	Other locations
1900		100.0%	62.2%	37.8%
	115,966	85,781	53,398	32,383
	100.0%	74.0%		
1910		100.0%	63.1%	36.9%
	119,429	83,423	52,658	30,765
	100.0%	69.9%		
1948		100.0%	80.4%	19.6%
	10,141	7,950	6,393	1,557
	100.0%	78.4%		
1991		100.0%	77.3%	22.7%
	2,635	1,211	936	275
	100.0%	46.0%		

Source: *Narodnosni i vjerski sastav stanovništva Hrvatske 1998-1991. g.* (National and Religious Composition of the Population of Croatia, 1880-1991; 5 volumes). Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku, 1998.

¹ Regions: Baranja, Slavonia and Western Srijem (Croatian part).

² Municipalities: Beli Manastir, Osijek, Vinkovci and Vukovar.

Municipality ¹	All inhabitants	Number		Settlements	Germans in settlements in which they were a majority			
		Germans No	%		No. of settlements	No. of inhabitants	Germans No	% ²
Beli Manastir	50,943	13,655	26.8	52	8	12,688	8,966	64.3
Osijek	65,430	19,408	29.7	36	7	37,805	16,467	84.8
Vinkovci	54,023	11,272	20.1	40	4	13,696	6,763	60
Vukovar	42,385	8,323	19.6	29	4	4,514	2,396	28.8
	212,781	52,658	24.7	157	23	68,703	34,592	65.7

Source: *Narodnosni i vjerski sastav stanovništva Hrvatske 1998-1991. g.* (National and Religious Composition of the Population of Croatia, 1880-1991; 5 volumes). Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku, 1998.

¹ Municipalities according to the territorial division of 1991.

² The share of Germans in settlements with a majority of Germans in the total number of Germans in the entire municipality or region.

TABLE 6
Share of Germans in
Settlements in Which
They Were a Majority
(Relative or Absolute)
in 1910

In 1910, on the eve of World War I, when new emigration essentially stopped, the Germans accounted for a fourth of the total population in these four Croatian municipalities, and they were the second largest population group after the Croats. They inhabited a wide area, but most of them were concentrated in a smaller number of generally ethnically homogeneous settlements. They were a majority in 23 (out of a total of 157) settlements. In their majority settlements they accounted for over 65 percent of the population. They were both urban and rural populations. They accounted for the majority of the population in the municipal seats as well, i.e. in the towns of Beli Manastir, Osijek and Vinkovci, and the second largest ethnic grouping in Vukovar.

There are no data on the number and share of Germans within the framework of these four settlements in 1931, but it is generally known that these figures remained almost unchanged until the beginning of World War II. The number and share of Germans in the total population of these four settlements made them the second largest nationality. However, immediately before the conclusion and after World War II the number of Germans fell to a symbolic value.

Exodus of the Germans and Changes in the Ethnic Structure

The Germans practically disappeared, and not only from these four Croatian Danubian municipalities, but also from all of Croatia and the former Yugoslavia. There was a drastic forced exodus of Germans which partially began just before the end of the war, and partially immediately after the end of the war. This forced exodus was only a part of the exodus of Germans from all European countries which came under the influence of the USSR after World War II. The Germans of the

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

Croatian Danubian area were an industrious and respectable component of the local inhabitants, and they were especially progressive in agriculture. Their exodus was not caused by the intolerance of the local population, because such intolerance did not exist. The exodus was rather caused by ideological considerations, conditioned by relations during World War II. Intolerance toward the Germans as the aggressor during the war was transferred, after the war, onto the local German population, some of whom were encompassed in German military units, whether voluntarily or by force. When Germany lost the war, these Germans were forced to leave the region and their property without financial compensation.

After the departure of the Germans, the new authorities resettled people from other parts of the country into their deserted homes in a planned and well-organized process. This colonization was tied to agrarian reform, according to which new farm holdings were limited to a maximum of 10 ha of arable land. This colonization considerably changed the ethnic composition of the population of the four municipalities.

Out of the total number of inhabitants of these municipalities in 1981, 53 percent were new postwar settlers. As much as 67.7 percent of the resettled population came from other parts of Croatia, while 19.7 percent came from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The remaining small percentage of the resettled population generally came from Serbia, i.e. from Vojvodina. The new settlers from these regions were predominantly Croats, while a lesser number were Serbs. The largest share of the Croats among the new settlers were from Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Vojvodina, while the Serbs were generally colonized from parts of Croatia with considerable Serbian po-

TABLE 7
National Composition
of the Population of a
Part of Eastern
Croatia, 1900-1991¹

Nationality		1900	1910	1948	1961	1981	1991
Total	No	195689	212781	258582	322254	388674	402152
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Croats	No	63287	70830	148765	197238	211323	248897
	%	32.2	33.3	57.5	61.2	54.4	61.9
Serbs	No	38974	38759	63105	82248	79321	91612
	%	19.9	18.2	24.4	25.5	20.4	22.8
Germans	No	53398	52658	6393	-	706	936
	%	27.3	24.7	2.5	-	0.1	0.2
Hungarians	No	33015	41760	29487	26600	16741	15031
	%	16.9	19.6	11.4	8.2	4.3	3.7
Others ²	No	7015	8774	10832	16568	80556	45676
	%	3.6	4.2	4.2	5.1	20.8	11.4

Source: *Narodnosni i vjerski sastav stanovništva Hrvatske 1998-1991. g.* (National and Religious Composition of the Population of Croatia, 1880-1991; 5 volumes). Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku, 1998.

¹ In the framework of the municipalities of Beli Manastir, Osijek, Vinkovci and Vukovar (territorial division as of 1993).

² Others: mostly Ruthenians and Ukrainians, and "Yugoslavs" (since 1961).

Municipality	Total population	Resettled		Emigrated from:					
		population %	No	Same munic.	Other Croatian munic.	Bosnia- Herze- govina	Serbia	Other former Yugoslav republics	Other & unknown
Beli Manastir	53409	53.3	28480	13268	8305	3163	2260	379	1105
Osijek	158817	55.7	88413	14579	50641	12839	6284	1358	2716
Vinkovci	95245	50.1	47751	11513	19050	13092	2924	356	816
Vukovar	81203	51.1	41507	7276	14720	11428	6745	370	968
Total	388674	53.0	206151	46636	92716	40522	18213	2463	5601
%			100.0	22.6	45.0	19.7	8.8	1.2	2.7

Source: *Popis stanovništva, domaćinstva i stanova 1981, Doseljeno stanovništvo* (Census of Population, Households and Homes in 1981, Emigrant Populations), Dokumentacija 508, Zagreb: Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Croatia, 1987.

TABLE 8
Resettled Populations
According to Regions
from which They
Emigrated, 1981

pulations, but also from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The ethnic structure changed greatly. The share of Croats grew considerably, as did that of the Serbs, although to a lesser extent. The share of Hungarians, who were the third largest population group up to 1931, began to gradually decline. After World War II, the Serbs became the second largest population group in terms of numbers, replacing the Germans in this regard. The data from the 1981 census show a drastic rise in the "other" population category, which is a result of the appearance of a larger number of "Yugoslavs" of both Croatian and Serbian nationality. However, by 1991 their number and share in the population fell just as drastically, because even before the 1991 census national intolerance had grown immensely throughout the former Yugoslavia. The largest number of "Yugoslavs" began to register themselves under their original nationality.

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DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

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Iseljavanje Talijana i Nijemaca iz Hrvatske tijekom i neposredno poslije Drugog svjetskog rata

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Zagreb

Hrvatska je zemlja stalnog iseljavanja koje, premda različitog intenziteta, traje od devetnaestog stoljeća do danas. Prema nekim procjenama, u razdoblju u kojem su vođene pouzdane statističke zabilježbe, odnosno od 1880. do 1991. godine, otprilike 1.2 milijuna ljudi je iselilo s područja današnje Republike Hrvatske, i to uglavnom Hrvata. U razdobljima intenzivnijeg iseljavanja iz Hrvatske posebno je značajno vrijeme od 1943. do 1948. godine, jer je u tih pet godina više od 250,000 ljudi napustilo Hrvatsku, većinom Talijana i Nijemaca. To je ujedno i najveći odlazak nehrvatskog stanovništva s teritorija Republike Hrvatske.

DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 9 (2000),
BR. 1 (45),
STR. 19-39

CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
EMIGRATION...

Razmjerno je malo pisano o tom iseljavanju Talijana i Nijemaca, pa je to, stoga, tema ovoga rada. Tekst obrađuje porijeklo, zatim useljavanje, prostornu raspoređenost i iseljavanje Talijana i Nijemaca, temeljeno isključivo na podacima iz različitih popisa stanovništva.

Die Abwanderung von Italienern und Deutschen aus Kroatien in der Zeit während und unmittelbar nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg

Ivan CRKVENČIĆ
Zagreb

Die Abwanderung von Bevölkerungsgruppen aus Kroatien ist ein Phänomen, das in unterschiedlicher Ausprägung vom 19. Jahrhundert bis auf den heutigen Tag zu beobachten ist. Einigen Schätzungen zufolge haben im Zeitraum von 1880 bis 1991, in dem verlässliche Statistiken geführt wurden, etwa 1,2 Millionen Menschen das Gebiet der heutigen Republik Kroatien verlassen, wobei es sich zumeist um Kroaten handelte. In den Zeiten stärkerer Abwanderung sind besonders die Jahre von 1943 und 1948 relevant, da in diesen fünf Jahren mehr als 250.000 Menschen, größtenteils Italiener und Deutsche, ins Ausland gingen. Dies ist zugleich die umfangreichste Abwanderungswelle nicht-kroatischer Bevölkerungsgruppen, die je auf dem Territorium der Republik Kroatien verzeichnet wurde. Über diesen Emigrationstrend italienischer und deutscher Volksgruppen wurde bislang relativ wenig geschrieben, so dass ihn der Autor im vorliegenden Aufsatz thematisiert. Bearbeitet werden Herkunft, Zuwanderung, räumliche Verteilung und Abwanderung der in Kroatien lebenden Italiener und Deutschen, und zwar ausschließlich aufgrund von Angaben aus verschiedenen Volkszählungen.