

WESTERN SLAVONIA – DEVELOPMENT OF THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION*

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On the basis of historical sources and the results of the population censuses the authors analyse the development of the ethnic composition in Western Slavonia. Croats here are the autochthonous population, and the contemporary heterogeneous ethnic structure is a consequence of secondary colonisation in this region during Ottoman occupation, and especially after their withdrawal at the end of 17th century. Croats are here the ethnic majority. From the first, censuses until the middle 20th century they were a relative majority, and since 1948 they formed an absolute majority of the population.

Zapadna Slavonija – razvoj narodnosnog sastava

Na temelju povijesnih izvora i rezultata statističkih popisa stanovništva autori analiziraju razvoj narodnosnog sastava kraja. Hrvati su autohtono stanovništvo a sadašnji heterogeni etnički sastav posljedica je sekundarne kolonizacije kraja u vrijeme osmanlijske okupacije a naročito nakon njihova povlačenja u 17. stoljeću. Hrvati su većinski narod s time što su od početka statističkih popisa stanovnika do sredine 20. stoljeća imali relativnu a od 1948. g. i apsolutnu većinu.

In this work, the term Western Slavonia will refer to the region of five former (until 1993) municipalities of Croatia. Three of them (Da-

ruvar, Grubišno Polje and Pakrac) are in the basin of the Ilova river (which drains the slopes of the Bilogora, Papuk and Psunj mountains),

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and the other two (Nova Gradiška and Novska) are in the Posavina (Sava Valley) part of the region. Thus, it is

a combination of the Poilovlje (Ilova Basin) and Posavina zones.

The total surface area of the territory in the borders of the above-mentioned municipalities is 3,166 km², in which 157,332 people lived in 307 settlements in 1991, or 49 persons/km² (the average for the Republic of Croatia is 81 persons/km²). The largest settlements, with the largest concentration of non-agricultural activity, are the municipal centers, where in 1991 43,453 persons or 27.7% of the total population lived. The territory is ethnically quite complex. The Croats are an absolute majority of the population (55.1%), while the Serbs are the second largest group (28.8%), and there are also Czechs, Hungarians, Italians and other nationalities. It is thus a relatively thinly populated region characterized by smaller settlements and a low level of urbanization, and a complex ethnic composition in which the Croats make up the majority.

Even though the Serbs make up less than a third of the total population, in 1991 they staged an uprising against the government of the Republic of Croatia (with the help of Greater Serbian nationalists and the former Yugoslav Army, at the time already Serbian) and proclaimed it a part of their so-called »Republic of Serbian Krajina«. The local non-Serbian population, with help of the rest of Croatia, was able to liberate most this territory from Serbian paramilitary formations. But, in spite of this, the largest part of this region

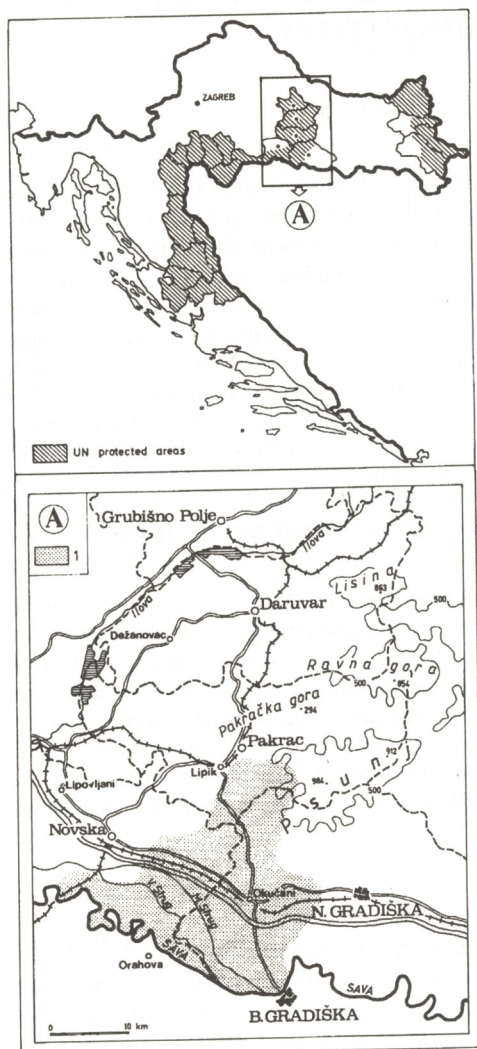


Fig. 1. A UNPA Sector West
1 Occupied area

Sl. 1. A UNPA sektor zapad
1 Okupirano područje

(the whole Daruvar, Grubišno Polje and Pakrac municipalities, as well as a small western part of the Nova Gradiška municipality and an eastern part of the Novska municipality) was included in the regions under the protection of the U.N. and called UNPA Sector West.

It should be stressed that the largest part of the cited 28.8% Serbian population in Western Slavonia lives in the Poilovlje zone, while there are very few in the Posavina area. This means that the Serbs of Western Slavonia are not territorially linked with the neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina, which they also claim as a Serbian state. At the same time, the Posavina part of Western Slavonia is important for highway and railroad traffic and connects eastern Croatia with the rest of the country, which is, because of the Serbian occupation of the southern part of Western Slavonia, totally closed to all traffic.

The purpose of this article is to briefly show that the changes in the organization and the ethnic structure of the area through the years prove the unjustness of Serbian claims to this part of the Republic Croatia.

Organization and population of the area before Turkish conquest

The organization and population of Western Slavonia can only be reliably researched from the 14th century, and this on the basis of data on

the number of Catholic parishes recorded in 1334 (1).

The border between the Zagreb and Pečuh diocese passed through this territory at that time, so that the municipalities of Daruvar, Grubišno Polje, Pakrac and Novska belonged to the medieval Zagreb diocese, and Nova Gradiška fell under the Pečuh diocese. In this time there were two archdeaconships on the territory of the Zagreb dioceses, Gušće and Svetačje, and one in the Pečuh diocese, Požeška. The Gušće archdeaconship covered the territory of the municipalities of Grubišno Polje and Virovitica, as well as parts of Bjelovar and Đurđevac. This archdeaconship had a total of 32 Catholic parishes, of which about 10 are on the territory dealt with in this text. The Svetačje archdeaconship covered the territory of the Daruvar, Pakrac and Novska municipalities, and contained 34 Catholic parishes. In the Požega archdeaconship, about 10 Catholic parishes were located in the territory of Western Slavonia.

On the basis of these facts it can be estimated that in the first half of the 14th century there were between 50 and 60 Catholic parishes in Western Slavonia. It is notable that in this time period, there was no other religious group in the region except Catholics. From this follows that in the first half of the 14th century Western Slavonia was a purely Catholic and Croatian territory. The eventual arrival of a small number of foreigners belonged to the army and represented an unrelated, foreign de-

mographic element. Besides this, the territory was incorporated into the Croatian administrative-territorial jurisdiction, so that its larger part (mainly the Poilovle region) belonged to the Križevci prefecture (županija), and the smaller part to the Požega prefecture.

This relatively uniform population of autochthonous Croatian inhabitants remained a characteristic of this region all up until the first half of the 16th century, that is until the arrival of the Ottoman Turks, which is reflected in the census of church parishes from 1501 (2). It is believed that in the Toplica (today's Daruvar Municipality) and Pakra (Pakrac) districts there were only between 16,000 and 20,000 residents at the start of the 16th century. It can be projected that along with Svetačje in Posavina, and parts of the districts of Gušće and Požega, the whole region had at the time around 50,000 residents and this exclusively autochthonous Croats.

Ottoman Turkish Period 1554–1687

The number of residents of this region began to decrease significantly after the first half of the 16th century, and this out of fear of the Ottoman army, which was approaching from the southeast. The region was gradually depopulated. Numerous data and documents show the flight of the autochthonous Croatian population towards the west, over the Ilova (3), some all the way into Štajerska and Kranjska (Slovenia)

(4), or towards the north over the Drava into Hungary and Austria (Gradišće-Burgenland) (5). In Gradišće a small number of the descendants of these settlers resisted assimilation with the Germans and Hungarians and today still speak the Croatian language.

Because of the flight of the indigenous Croatian population to the west and northwest, the Turks found the region almost empty when they finally conquered it in 1544. To hold this territory they had to resettle and reorganize it.

In the former population centers muslim settlers were brought in, and with islamization, a majority of the indigenous Croatian residents joined them (6). The quick and relatively easy conversion of the indigenous Croats to Islam should not be surprising considering the fear of the Turks, who would take away indigenous populations into slavery or impose various taxes, of which the worst was the blood-tax. There was an especially great fear of the inhuman activities of the irregular bands of Orthodox border guards serving the Turks, who mercilessly looted, burned and killed the indigenous population. On the other hand, accepting Islam not only meant security, but also various privileges. It does not have to be forgotten that the only example the people had to follow were their former nobles, and the leading noble family of this territory – the Svetački nobles – converted to Islam (7). For the further settlement of this territory, during this period

the Ottomans brought in transhumant cattle-herders (8), over 10,000 Orthodox settlers, mainly members of the families of the martologs (Orthodox Christian border guards in the service of the Ottomans) (9). These martologs came into this territory during the course of the conquest (in itself a precursor to ethnic cleansing, which is in fact what these border guards carried out). Today it is hard to estimate how much of this Orthodox population was Vlach and how much Serb (10), as the process of slavization (Serbization) of the Vlachs, or rather the old Balkan cattle-herders of Roman descent, was already under way, and only finished towards the end of the 19th century. Proof of a large population of Vlachs is also the name »Mala Vlaška«, which a larger part of this territory was called after their settlement, as well as the phrase »vlaški«, used for a long time to refer to these people, and this not to refer to cattle-herders or meant in an insulting sense (11). However, a majority of Serb writers referring to this and other migrations, such as M. Grbić (12), D. Ruvarac (13), A. Ivić (14) and others, do not even attempt to touch the question of the Vlachs, they simply change them into Serbs from the original documents without any sort of explanation. They also do not mention the privileges that the Peć Orthodox Patriarchate had in the Ottoman Empire, a cause for the spread of Orthodoxy which only later, at the end of the 19th century, began to be identified with Serb nationality. This

traditional cattle-herding orthodox population was in general settled in most parts of the Papuk and Psunj foothills, as well as the slopes of Bilogora. The unceretain and quite swampy lowland area along the Ilova river bordering Austria was in the 143 years of Ottoman rule unsettled and grew over with forest (15).

When the Turks conquered this territory they established their own administration and state authority. The territory was first incorporated into the Bosnian sanjak, and later, in 1557, it was transferred into the newly founded Začasna (Čazma) sanjak. With the weakening of Ottoman authority the center of the sanjak moved towards the east, in 1565 in Pakrac, and by 1570 to Cernik (16).

To strengthen its position in relation to the considerably successful Turkish military organization, Austria organized a military frontier in 1580 (17 & 18) in which parts of the Western Slavonian regions dealt with in this text were included. This included the Poilovlje area that roughly coincides with today's Grubišno Polje municipality, as well as the Posavina area. The regions of the Daruvar and Pakrac municipalities were not included in the military frontier. The military frontier was later, in the middle of the 18th century, organized into regiments, so that the area of the Grubišno Polje municipality was in the Bjelovar regiment, and the Posavina region was in the Gradiška regiment (its headquarters were in Nova Gradiš-

ka). All of the fortifications, military garrisons and fuedal lands were put under military administration (19).

The establishment of the military frontier prevented the possibility of raids and pillaging of the martologs in the areas west of the Ilova (20). This caused great dissatisfaction among the martologs and this led to revolts as well as their resettlement on the Austrian side. The first defections of these martologs to the Austrian side were already recorded in 1587 (21). The Austrian frontier soldiers were given a number of privileges which caused further immigration of the martologs, and to the further depopulation of the Turkish part of the region. In this way, Orthodoxy, and with it later the Serbian nationality, spread west of the Ilova. The relatively recent ethnogenesis of these Serbs from Vlachs is shown by the fact that the Croatian population in this region still refer to the Serbs as Vlachs, and not in an insulting sense nor to refer to them as cattle-herders, because as farmers they did not differ from the Croatian population. However, the migration of the martologs already brought about the depopulation of this territory during the course of the turkish occupation.

The Post-Ottoman Period

With the withdrawal of the Turks from Western Slavonia in 1687, the territory was once again left almost barren. The muslim population retreated into Bosnia with the Turks, and with them the indigenous Croats

who had converted to Islam. They left behind stable settlements where they had cultivated the land. In a period of less than 150 years, this region was left almost empty for the third time. New colonization came quite quickly after the Turkish withdrawal, and it was carried out by the military authorities (in the military frontier which lasted until 1881) and the landed nobility (in the areas under civilian authority). Even so, the colonization went slowly at first, because under the conditions of feudalism, only free peasants could move (22).

There were differences between the Poilovlje and Posavina areas in the colonization during the post-Ottoman period. In the Poilovlje region there were four different colonial tides: the first was made up of Croats and Serbs from Bosnia; the second was made up of Croats from the Sisak Posavina region and from the region of the Križevci regiment, which was mainly made up of descendants of the martologs who crossed over earlier (23); the third and fourth were made up of Croatians from Gorski Kotar, Lika and Velebit littoral foothills (24). In the second half of the 18th century, more intensive settlement was promoted by the Janković counts, who were the owners of Daruvar, Sirač and Pakrac estates (25). From then up until the first half of the 19th century, the settlers were mainly Croatians from Gorski Kotar and Lika, who were gradually joined by Croatians from Croatian Zagorje and Prigorje. They

mainly settled the swampy lowlands along the Ilova river. The Jankovići were the first to bring in foreign settlers (26). The first to come were German craftsman, merchants and officials, and later Hungarian peasants from the Janković holdings in Hungary. In the 1820s they were joined by Czechs as well (27). But the first real »boom« of settlement occurred only towards the end of the 19th century, caused by an agrarian crisis (28). Many Croatian peasants were adversely affected by the crisis, so they sold their property and left this territory (many even emigrated overseas), and their land was resettled by new colonists from all over the various parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (29): Germans (30), Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Italians and others, which caused a large growth in the number of inhabitants and a greater heterogeneity of the ethnic composition (31).

In the Posavina region the settlers came from other nearby territories. In the 17th and 18th centuries the territory was settled by Croats and Serbs from Bosnia. In the 19th century this Bosnian immigration diminished, but did not end. A stronger wave of immigration began from Lika, Gorski Kotar, neighboring Polonje, Moslavina, and some from Croatian Zagorje. There was also a noticeable number of Serbs from Lika, Banija and Kordun.

With the cited ethnic cleansing of the autochthonous Croatian population and the subsequent secondary colonization, this earlier ethnically pu-

re Croatian area became the most heterogeneous part of the Republic of Croatia. Even so, the Croatian inhabitants lived here continually, and are the most numerous from the very first population census. The great value of this ethnically complex area is that all of the non-Croatian inhabitants consider the Republic of Croatia as their homeland. This was best expressed in the common and spontaneous resistance of the Croats and the non-Croatian inhabitants against the Serbs, who staged an armed uprising against the Republic of Croatia in 1991 and tried to declare this area a part of a Greater Serbia.

Change in the Number of Inhabitants from 1857 to 1991

The change in the number of inhabitants in Western Slavonia can be followed only from 1857 when a population census was instituted. In the period from 1857 until 1991 the number of inhabitants in this territory grew from 87,373 to 157,332 persons, or an 80% increase. This means that in a period of 134 years the population of this territory did not even double. This increase in the number of inhabitants was a result of two opposing trends of fluctuation in the number of inhabitants, namely its growth until 1931 and its decrease from 1931. The number of inhabitants of this region very likely grew all up until 1941, but because of the start of the Second World War a census of the population was not held, there is not data for the actual

Tab. 1. Changes in the number of inhabitants in the municipalities of Western Slavonia, 1857–1991.

Tab. 1. Promjene broja stanovnika u općinama zapadne Slavonije u razdoblju 1857–1991.

Municipality	1857	1869	1880	1890	1900	1910	1921
Daruvar	13252	18682	20970	27312	31599	36275	35410
Grubišno Polje	11729	13607	14275	20372	23875	24922	24582
Nova Gradiška	32098	35326	35282	41351	45721	53457	51439
Novska	16843	18522	18444	21803	23578	26128	25097
Pakrac	13451	17263	18509	25049	28591	32331	31143
Total	87373	103400	107480	135887	153364	173113	167671

Municipality	1931	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991
Daruvar	38831	35849	37242	37348	34471	31424	30092
Grubišno Polje	25672	20788	22091	21037	18333	15756	14206
Nova Gradiška	57202	59090	61068	63126	63754	61267	60749
Novska	26801	23613	24153	24395	23953	24530	24696
Pakrac	34147	27828	29293	29834	28679	27903	27589
Total	182653	167168	173847	175740	169190	160880	157332

Korenčić, M., *Naselja i stanovništvo SR Hrvatske 1857–1971*, Republički zavod za statistiku SR Hrvatske, Zagreb 1979.

Statistički godišnjak SR Hrvatske, Republički zavod za statistiku SR Hrvatske, Zagreb 1989.
 Popis stanovništva 1991, Narodnosni sastav Hrvatske po naseljima, Dokumentacija 881, Republički zavod za statistiku, Zagreb 1992.

change in the number of inhabitants in this territory for the decade before World War II.

In the period before 1931 the population of the territory grew by 109%, or more than doubled and this mainly in the first 33 years, that is, up until 1890. In this relatively short time the population of the territory grew by 55.5%. The number of inhabitants did increase after 1890, but not with the same intensity as earlier. The growth trend in the number of inhabitants was interrupted only during the intercensus period from 1921 to 1931, which corresponds to the First World War and the first post-war years. According to the da-

ta from the statistics the decreasing trend in the population began in 1931 as in a number of predominantly agrarian regions in Croatia. But in this territory the decrease in the population was most expressed in the beginning of decrease trend, or rather in the intercensus period from 1931 to 1948. In 1948 the population was less than in 1931 by 15,845 persons, or 8.5%. Under the assumption that the population of this region grew until 1941, which is very likely, then the fall in the number of inhabitants in the intercensus period from 1931 to 1948 was actually greater than the above cited number. After 1948 until 1961, the

population grew somewhat, but this growth did not compensate for the loss from 1931 to 1948. After 1961 the number of inhabitants fell constantly. It must be noted that in the changes in the population in this territory already described there were no major differences between the individual regions, especially not between the municipalities more conveniently located for traffic (Nova Gradiška and Novska) and the internal municipalities in Poilovlje (Daruvar, Grubišno Polje and Pakrac). This is important to mention because there are differences in the ethnic composition between these two regions. Until 1931 the population grew somewhat quicker in the internal municipalities of Poilovlje (from 1857 until 1931 it grew from 43.9% to 54%), and from 1931 in the Posavina municipalities (from 1931 until 1991 it grew from 45% to 54.3%). This

changes in the population of this territory in general correspond with changes trends in the populations of other predominantly agrarian regions in Croatia, but there are certain peculiarities.

Until 1931 the population growth of this region was greater than the average population growth for Croatia (73%), apparently the result of its relatively late start in the secondary colonization, which is why the influx of settlers in this region was still quite large at the end of the 19th century. So the population growth of this region in this period is a result not only of natural increase of the native residents but also the settlement of newcomers. The relatively quick fall in the population during the intercensus period between 1931 and 1948 is probably a result of the war, in which this region was often the scene of battles,

Tab. 2. Intercensus changes in the total population, natural growth and migratory balance.

Tab. 2. *Međupopisne promjene ukupna stanovništva, prirodnog priraštaja i migracijske bilance*

Municipality	No. Population		Change in the number of inhabitants		Natural increase			Total	Migratory balance
	1961	1991	1961 – 1991 Absolute	– 1991 %	1961 – – 1970	1971 – – 1980	1981 – – 1990		
Daruvar	37348	30092	–7256	–19,5	+1021	+44	–915	+150	–7406
Grubišno Polje	21037	14206	–6831	–32,5	–8	–601	–1016	–1625	–5206
Nova Gradiška	63126	60749	–2377	– 3,9	+3161	+1961	+506	+5628	–8005
Novska	24395	24696	+301	+1,2	+1144	+765	+339	+2248	–1947
Pakrac	29834	27589	–2245	–8,1	+964	+527	–391	+1100	–3345
Total	175740	157332	–18408	–11,7	+6282	+2696	–1477	+7501	–25909

Republički zavod za statistiku Zagreb, Dokumentacija 72, 99, 128, 162, 198, 234, 209, 346. Prirodno kretanje stanovništva 1990, Dokumentacija 835, Zagreb 1992.

and it was also subsequently occupied by the Communist Partisans.

The decline in the population after 1961 is the result of a process of deagrarianization which intensified in all agrarian regions in Croatia at this time. The process of deagrarianization can be defined as the abandonment of agricultural activities by typically agrarian populations to take on different occupations. It is a matter of a demographic change caused by economic factors. The decline in the population after 1961 can really be seen as a result of deagrarianization when the change in the number of inhabitants is considered a consequence of the relation between the natural population growth and migratory balance.

In the last 30 year period (from 1961 until 1991), the statistically confirmed decline in the population was 18,408 persons, or 11.7%. But, if the population loss is taken from the concurrent population growth, than the decline is considerably greater, coming out to 25,909 persons or 16.5%. This number of 25,909 is a result of a negative migratory balance, or rather a greater number of emigrants than settlers. Not only was all of its natural growth lost due to emigration, but also a part of its population from previous censuses, and this not only from the territory as a whole, but also its individual municipalities. The whole area and its municipalities are therefore depopulated. All of the municipalities had a negative migratory balance, but Daruvar, Nova Gradiška, Novska

and Pakrac this originated out of the conditions of natural growth, and in Grubišno Polje from natural decline.

In the period from 1961 to 1991, the region as a whole experienced a positive natural growth, which, however, was the result of the high natural growth until 1980, when a period of natural decline began. Even so, there were considerable differences in the natural growth changes between the Posavina municipalities and the interior Poilovlje municipalities. In the Posavina municipalities the natural growth continued to a lower extent even after 1980, while all of the Poilovlje municipalities experienced a natural decline that had already started in 1980, and in the Grubišno Polje municipality it started in 1964, so that from 1966 it would continue until today.

It is apparent that the change in the number of inhabitants in this territory was no longer just a result of natural growth or decline, but a result, above all, of the migratory balance, or rather, intensive emigration. However, natural growth and decline and emigration can be seen as the result of economic circumstances. Emigration can be conditioned by the departure of the work force from agriculture into other occupations, most of them outside of the territories of the municipalities. It is especially intense in the economically weaker municipalities, that is, those in which agriculture remained the main source of employment and income. As it is the younger generations that usually emigrate, this is

Tab. 3. Composition of the population of the municipalities by religion in 1880 and 1890.

Tab. 3. *Sastav stanovništva općine prema vjeroispovijesti 1880. i 1890. godine*

Municipality	Total	R	E	L	I	G	I	O	N	S
		Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Greek Orthodox	Evangelists	Jews	Others or unknown			
1880										
Daruvar	20970	10968	1	9181	570	248	2			
Grubišno Polje	14275	6372	–	7842	24	37	–			
Nova Gradiška	35282	25907	–	9172	37	166	–			
Novska	18444	12087	–	6281	8	68	–			
Pakrac	18509	7629	–	10106	632	109	33			
Total	107480	62963	1	42582	1271	628	35			
1890										
Daruvar	27312	15369	8	10175	1328	420	12			
Grubišno Polje	20372	110766	1	9194	309	98	4			
Nova Gradiška	41351	30414	2	10649	94	186	6			
Novska	21803	14220	1	7350	129	101	2			
Pakrac	25049	11430	20	11689	1600	300	10			
Total	135887	82199	32	49057	3460	1105	74			

Političko i sudbeno razdjeljenje Kraljevinah Hrvatske i Slavonije i repetitorij mjesta, Zagreb, 1889, Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska vlada.

Političko i sudbeno razdjeljenje Kraljevinah Hrvatske i Slavonije, Zagreb 1892, Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska vlada.

reflected in the fall in natural population growth. This kind of process was best expressed in the economically most underdeveloped municipality – Grubišno Polje, in which the population fell the most from 1961 to 1981 (32.5%).

Changes in the Ethnic Composition from 1880 to 1991

The original Croatian ethnic character of this region was changed dramatically by the above-mentioned process of secondary colonization. Along with the Croats, who are an autochthonous people here, there are descendents of many different

nationalities also living in this territory. However, a more detailed count of the people by nationality cannot be confirmed until 1900, because for the period before there is no suitable statistical data. A definitive picture of the ethnic composition before 1900, and this indirectly, can be obtained only by referring to data on the composition of the population by religion from the censuses in 1880 and 1890.

According to the data from these two censuses, at the end of the 19th century Roman Catholics were numerically superior in this region, and by 1890 their number had fallen to 60.5% of the total population. This means that at the end of the

Tab. 4. National composition of the municipalities, 1900–1991.
 Tab. 4. Narodnosni sastav općine od 1900. do 1991. godine

Municipality	Total population	Croats	Serbs	Hungarians	Czechs	Germans	»Yugoslavs«	Others
1900								
Daruvar	31599	3729	11134	4996	7745	3499	-	496
Grubišno Polje	23875	7293	10423	2516	3093	387	-	163
Nova Gradiška	45721	31331	11374	636	990	777	-	613
Novska	23578	13458	7958	555	955	270	-	382
Pakrac	28591	6910	13230	2825	1813	2216	-	1597
Total	153364	62721	54119	11528	14596	7149	-	3251
%	100	40,9	35,3	7,5	9,5	4,7	-	2,1
1910								
Daruvar	36275	5246	12449	5869	8398	3469	-	844
Grubišno Polje	24922	7345	10779	2758	3300	432	-	299
Nova Gradiška	53457	37129	12728	556	868	671	-	1505
Novska	26128	14347	8884	538	893	244	-	1222
Pakrac	323331	8601	15169	2784	1553	2083	-	2141
Total	173113	72677	60009	12505	15012	6899	-	6011
%	100	42,0	34,7	7,2	8,7	4,0	-	3,5
1948								
Daruvar	35849	11700	12472	2395	8385	438	-	459
Grubišno Polje	20788	7588	7834	1489	3721	25	-	131
Nova Gradiška	59090	44988	12131	106	672	21	-	1172
Novska	23613	16370	4981	231	745	17	-	1269
Pakrac	27828	10227	12569	1029	1639	99	-	2265
Total	167168	90873	49987	5250	15162	600	-	5296
%	100	54,4	29,0	3,1	19,1	0,2	-	3,2
1953								
Daruvar	37242	12441	13045	2169	8525	523	85	454
Grubišno Polje	22091	8741	8089	1473	3582	24	20	162
Nova Gradiška	61068	46572	12625	100	642	47	133	949
Novska	24153	16019	6032	206	1187	16	35	658
Pakrac	29293	10455	13420	982	2155	385	122	1774
Total	173847	94228	53211	4930	16091	995	395	3997
%	100	54,2	30,6	2,8	9,3	0,6	0,2	2,3
1961								
Daruvar	37348	12883	13297	1838	8307	-	107	916
Grubišno Polje	21037	8104	7821	1237	3628	-	25	222
Nova Gradiška	63126	48020	13559	54	372	-	264	857
Novska	24395	15938	6546	179	598	-	47	1087
Pakrac	29834	11163	13981	857	1523	-	68	2242
Total	175740	96108	55204	4165	14428	-	511	5324
%	100	54,7	31,4	2,4	8,2	-	0,3	3,0

Continuation Tab. 4: National composition of the municipalities, 1900–1991.
Nastavak Tab. 4: Narodnosni sastav općine od 1900. do 1991. godine

Municipality	Total population	Croats	Serbs	Hungarians	Czechs	Germans	»Yugoslavs«	Others
1971								
Daruvar	34471	12237	12178	1297	7384	130	704	541
Grubišno Polje	18333	7253	6633	990	3025	14	193	225
Nova Gradiška	63754	47063	14414	59	229	18	1042	929
Novska	23953	15860	5874	117	438	14	357	1293
Pakrac	28679	10752	13171	599	1145	119	1008	1885
Total	169190	93165	52270	3062	12221	295	3304	4873
%	100	55,1	30,9	1,8	7,2	0,2	2,0	2,9
1981								
Daruvar	31424	8907	9528	749	5708	61	5582	889
Grubišno Polje	15756	5676	4555	607	2279	9	2140	490
Nova Gradiška	61267	42567	11267	39	136	15	5595	1648
Novska	24530	15060	5194	75	329	11	2290	1571
Pakrac	27903	8473	10703	374	797	36	5865	1655
Total	160880	80683	41247	1844	9249	132	21472	6253
%	100	50,2	25,6	1,1	5,7	0,1	13,3	4,0
1991								
Daruvar	30092	10459	10074	571	5572	62	1653	1701
Grubišno Polje	14206	6015	4540	498	1953	9	636	555
Nova Gradiška	60749	43692	12572	25	89	15	1810	2546
Novska	24696	16556	5402	63	220	4	675	1776
Pakrac	27589	9896	12813	273	718	47	1346	2496
Total	157332	86618	45401	1430	8552	137	6120	9074
%	100	55,1	28,8	0,9	5,4	0,1	3,8	5,9

Note: The ethnic composition is only listed for the years in which statistics were recorded by settlement. The census of 1900 and 1910 did not record nationality, only religious affiliation and spoken language (Umgangssprache). The number of the Serbs from these two years corresponds to the number of Greek Orthodox (even if there were members of other nationalities among them besides the Serbs), while the number of Croats was determined by subtracting the number of Greek Orthodox from the number of inhabitants listed under »Croatian or Serbian« language.

Političko i sudbeno razdjeljenje Kraljevinah Hrvatske i Slavonije, Zagreb 1889, Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonska-dalmatinska vlada.

Političko i sudbeno razdjeljenje Kraljevinah Hrvatske i Slavonije, Zagreb 1892, Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonska-dalmatinska vlada.

Popis žiteljstva 1900. u Kraljevinah Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, Zagreb 1914, Kraljevski zemaljski statistički ured u Zagrebu.

Popis stanovništva 1910. u Kraljevinah Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, Zagreb 1914, Kraljevski zemaljski statistički ured u Zagrebu.

Popis stanovništva 1948, 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981: tabloграмi po naseljima, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb.

Popis stanovništva 1991, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb 1992.

19th century, Roman Catholics were an absolute majority in this region as a whole as well as in its constituent parts in the framework of its five municipalities. Members of the Greek Orthodox church, with 36.1% of the total population, the second most numerous group in these years. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the composition of the population by nationality on the basis of their religious affiliation. This is true for both the Roman Catholics and the Greek Orthodox. The Roman Catholics were not only Croatian, but also the majority of the other nationalities. It is even harder to determine the nationality of members of the Greek Orthodox church because these people were the descendants of Vlachs, Serbs and Russians, and because the ethnogenesis of Vlachs into Serbs was still underway at the end of the 19th century.

Even if the members of the Greek Orthodox church are identified as Serbians, at the end of the 19th century they would still not have an absolute majority in this region, nor in any of its individual municipalities. More precise figures on the ethnic composition of this region cannot be determined for the entire first half of the 20th century, either. The results of the censuses from 1900 and 1910 were organized by settlements, but only according to religion and language, and not by nationality. The results of the censuses from 1921 and 1931 were organized according to nationality but only in the framework of the municipalities and

not by individual settlement. As the territories of the municipalities changed with time, the data on their ethnic composition cannot be juxtaposed. The 1948 census was organized on the basis of the »narodni odbor« (a regional »people's« committee of several adjacent smaller settlements) in place at the time. These included the settlement, some of which are no longer under the jurisdiction of the same municipalities today. In this work, the national division of the population of these »narodni odbors« by the settlements where they lived is done by a free estimate, but on the basis of the national composition of these settlements from 1991. However, the number of such settlements with an arbitrarily confirmed national composition is small, and does not considerably influence the ethnic structure of the municipality in which they are located now. Because of this the national composition of the municipalities in 1948 can be adopted according to the data used in this work.

The ethnic composition of the region at the beginning of the 20th century can be approximately estimated indirectly on the basis of the above-cited data on the number of individuals by religion and language spoken from 1900 and 1910. Using this data, the number of Serbs in this work matches the number of members of the Greek Orthodox church, while the number of Croats is determined by taken out the »acquired« Serbs from the number of inhabitants cited in the rubric (cen-

Tab. 5. Change in the number and ethnic composition of the destroyed Croatian village of Španovice (later the new Serbian village of Novo Selo).

Tab. 5. *Promjene broja i narodnosnog sastava spaljenog hrvatskog sela Španovica, odnosno novog srpskog sela Novo selo*

Year	Total	Roman Catholics	Greek Orthodox	Greek Catholics	Evangelists	Jews	Others			
1880	548	545				3				
1890	738	713	12			13				
	Total	Croats	Serbs	Slovenians	Hungarians	Czechs	Italians	Germans	»Jugoslavs«	Others
1990	999	940	18	19	5	14	1	2		
1910	1289	1219	30	14	8	14	2	2		
1948	120			together with the Dragović settlement						
1953	247	28	207	8		1		3		
1961	271	41	221				1		6	2
1971	248	14	227					2	37	5
1981	194	4	153						3	
1991	191	9	177					1		1

Političko i sudbeno razdjeljenje Kraljevinah Hrvatske i Slavonije, Zagreb 1889, Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonska-dalmatinska vlada.

Političko i sudbeno razdjeljenje Kraljevinah Hrvatske i Slavonije, Zagreb 1892, Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonska-dalmatinska vlada.

Popis žiteljstva 1900. u Kraljevinah Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, Zagreb 1914, Kraljevski zemaljski statistički ured u Zagrebu.

Popis stanovništva 1910. u Kraljevinah Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, Zagreb 1914, Kraljevski zemaljski statistički ured u Zagrebu.

Popis stanovništva 1948, 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981: tablogrami po naseljima, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb.

Popis stanovništva 1991, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb 1992.

sus) of the »Croatian or Serbian« language. The number of the remaining nationalities is determined on the basis of their individual languages.

The data on the ethnic composition for 1900 and 1910, acquired by the process described above, show that in this territory Croats were the largest part of the population (42% in 1910) while the Serbs were the second in number (34.7% in 1910). The remaining 23.7% of the population was made up by the

so-called »other« peoples, among them the most numerous were Czechs, Hungarians and Germans. In this period the Serbs did not have an absolute majority in even one of the municipalities of the territory. In all municipalities the absolute majority was held by non-Serbs. Croats were an absolute majority in the Posavina municipalities, that is Nova Gradiška and Novska, while in Daruvar the »other« inhabitants were the majority. In the remaining two municipalities of the Poilovlje, Gru-

bišno Polje and Pakrac, the Croats and the »others« together made up an absolute majority of the population.

The insufficiency of the data on the national composition of the region during the 38 year period from 1910 until 1948 makes it impossible to continually follow its changes, which makes it difficult to draw any conclusions on the origins of the changes in the national structure, and these changes are considerable. Namely, it cannot be confirmed to what extent the changes in the national composition are due to political and economic factors during the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and to what extent they are due to the conditions of the war in this territory during World War II.

Even so, it is a fact that in the 38 year period from 1910 until 1948 the ethnic composition became more homogenous. The number and percentage of Croats grew, as did the number of Czechs, while the number and percentage of the remaining peoples decreased. In 1948 the Croats were a majority (54.4%). Serbians were second, but their proportion in the total population decreased from 34.7% to 29%. The number of Germans by far went down the most in this region, as in the rest of Yugoslavia, as they almost disappeared (in 1910 there were 8,899 Germans in this territory, but in 1948 only 600). The numbers of Hungarians went down by more than 50 percent (in 1910 there were 12,505, and in 1948 there 5,250). In 1948 the Croats

were not only a majority in the region as a whole, but also in both Posavina municipalities, and along with the Czechs and Hungarians in all three Poilovlje municipalities. Thus, in 1948 the Serbs were not an absolute majority in any of the municipalities of this territory.

It is evident that these changes in the national composition are partly the result of demographic processes during the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (primarily seen in the decrease in the number of Hungarians and Serbs), and also of the Second World War (seen in the disappearance of the Germans). That the population of the territory was afflicted during the course of the war is shown by the example of the large and prosperous Croatian village of Španovice, surrounded by Serbian villages on the slopes of Psunj along the Pakrac-Požega road. Španovice was burned down in 1942 by the Partisans, and on its ruins a new village was built, but now called Novo Selo, with a Serbian population. The settlement's demographic structure was totally changed. Španovice is the best known and most explicit example of the suffering of the inhabitants of this region and this to the extent that it led to total changes in the ethnic structure of the settlement. The subsequent changes in the ethnic structure of this territory from 1948 until 1991 can be followed on the basis of official statistical data, as censuses were regularly carried out in this period.

The relation in the ratio of Croats to Serbs in the total population of the region at the end of 1948 were basically stable until 1991, in that the percentage of Croats rose insignificantly (0.7%) and the percentage of Serbs went down slightly (1.1%). The number and portion of the remaining nationalities, however, did decrease significantly, mainly the Czechs (from 15,162 to 8,552 persons, or 9.1% to 5.4% of the total population) and the Hungarians (from 5,250 to 1,430 persons, or 3.1% to .9%). In 1991 the Croats were an absolute majority of the population in this region as a whole as well as in the Posavina municipalities, and along with the Hungarians and Czechs, in all three of the Poilovlje municipalities as well. Even at this point the Serbs were not an absolute majority in any of the municipalities in this region.

In the decade from 1971 to 1981 there was a significant drop in the number and proportion of all nationality groups in this territory and this to the benefit and growth of a national group that would declare itself as »Yugoslav« in the 1981 census. A juxtaposition of the data on the number and proportion of the population by individual nationality in 1981 in comparison to 1971 shows that the »Yugoslavs« came from every national group and, in relation to their number in the total population, almost in identical proportions. Yet, because of the changing political mood already taking place in the former Yugoslavia, primarily because

of pressure from Serbia, the opinion of the local population regarding »Yugoslavism« changed quickly and dramatically, and the 1991 census shows that most people declared their own nationality.

This »excursion« of a certain amount of people of each national group as »Yugoslavs« and their relatively quick return to their own nationality shows the following:

– that the inter-ethnic relations in the region were good all up until the demands that »all Serbs must live in one state« and

– that »Yugoslavism« was not determined by some firm political belief but rather by political opportunism of a certain number of people of all national groups.

Changes in the population of municipal centers, 1857–1991

Only the municipal centers of the five municipalities are larger and functionally more complex settlements. Of the five municipal centers, Nova Gradiška (pop. 14,044 in 1991), Daruvar (pop. 9,748), Pakrac (pop. 8,197) and to a certain degree Novska (pop. 3,501) have urban characteristics. Besides the functions that go along with the status of a municipal center, they also had other functions, that is, those which not only served the needs of the local population, but also of the people living in outlying areas. These are all younger settlements, founded during the period of the secondary colonization of the region, some of them

Tab. 6. Changes in the population of the municipal centers, 1857–1991.

Tab. 6. *Promjene broja stanovnika u općinskim središta 1857–1991. godine.*

Settlement	1857	1869	1880	1890	1900	1910	1921
Daruvar	616	1101	1283	1663	1846	2644	2953
Grubišno Polje	970	1202	1544	1703	1873	2229	2238
Nova Gradiška	1852	2529	3000	3045	3592	4275	4279
Novska	1037	1132	1054	1352	1728	1951	1886
Pakrac	1076	1721	1761	2089	2762	3254	3122
Total	5551	7685	8642	9852	11801	14353	14478

Settlement	1931	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991
Daruvar	3673	5093	5367	6429	8464	9661	9748
Grubišno Polje	2262	2381	2591	2655	27411	3060	35011
Nova Gradiška	4905	6340	7548	9229	11580	13293	14044
Novska	2797	2972	3504	3844	5118	6877	8053
Pakrac	3642	3558	3988	4926	6136	7361	8197
Total	17279	20344	22998	27083	34039	40252	43543

Korenčić, M., *Naselja i stanovništvo SR Hrvatske 1857–1971*, Republički zavod za statistiku SR Hrvatske, Zagreb 1979.

Statistički godišnjak SR Hrvatske, Republički zavod za statistiku SR Hrvatske, Zagreb 1989.

Popis stanovništva 1991, Narodnosni sastav Hrvatske po naseljima, Dokumentacija 881, Republički zavod za statistiku, Zagreb 1992.

on locations that were already settled in the pre-Ottoman period (Daruvar, Pakrac), and some in totally new places (Nova Gradiška). In accordance to their significance these settlements developed quicker than their surrounding areas in terms of population, especially after World War II. In 1857 5,551 people lived in them (6.3% of the total population of region), and in 1991 43,545 people (27.7%), which means that in that considerably above this median population growth of the municipal centers (1,582%), while that of Grubišno Polje was well below the median (315%). The populations of Nova Gradiška, Novska and Pakrac grew relatively close to the median (758–761%).

Changes in the ethnic composition of the municipal centers, 1880–1991

Trying to determine the ethnic composition of the municipal centers provokes some of the same problems that were present when trying to find the ethnic composition of the municipalities, and this is a result of a lack of sufficient relevant statistics. But the determination of the ethnic composition of municipal centers is rendered more difficult because the census of 1948 was not held by settlement, but by »narodni odbor«, which, when dealing with the municipal centers, included their nearby surrounding settlements (their suburbs). It must be stressed that in

Tab. 7. Composition of the population of the municipal centers by religion in 1880 and 1890.

Tab. 7. *Sastav stanovništva općinskih središta prema vjeroispovijesti 1880. i 1890. godine*

Settlement	Total	R E L I G I O N S						Others or unknown
		Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Greek Orthodox	Evan- gelists	Jews		
1880								
Daruvar	1283	954	1	120	49	158	1	
Grubišno Polje	1544	769	–	755	14	6	–	
Nova Gradiška	3000	2235	–	691	18	56	–	
Novska	1054	1010	–	36	–	8	–	
Pakrac	1761	1255	–	401	25	80	–	
Total	8642	6223	1	2003	106	308	1	
1890								
Daruvar	1663	1264	1	126	68	193	11	
Grubišno Polje	1703	866	–	792	23	22	–	
Nova Gradiška	3045	2334	–	607	19	82	3	
Novska	1352	1255	–	63	9	25	–	
Pakrac	2089	1441	–	450	26	171	1	
Total	9852	7160	1	2038	145	493	15	

Političko i sudbeno razdieljenje Kraljevinah Hrvatske i Slavonije i repertorij mjesta, Zagreb, 1889, Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska vlada.

Političko i sudbeno razdieljenje Kraljevinah Hrvatske i Slavonije, Zagreb 1892, Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska vlada.

a majority of situations, these suburbs grew out of the narrower municipal centers (in Table 6 shown as independent settlements) into individual settled areas. Because of this, the changes in the ethnic composition of the municipal centers from 1900 are also shown in the framework of the »narodni odbor« (1948), as only this way of presenting the data enables a comparison of the changes in the ethnic composition in the entire period from 1900 until 1991.

The first data that can give an approximation of the national composition of the municipal centers are the censuses from 1880 and 1890,

done on the basis of religion. From these it can be seen that in the second half of the 19th century all five municipal centers were numerically dominated by Roman Catholics. Members of the Greek Orthodox church were the second in number with only fifth of the population. In this period the Greek Orthodox population was not an absolute majority in any of the municipal centers, and their proportion of the population in these centers noticeably decreases. It is important to mention that in the second half of the 19th century, the Greek Orthodox inhabitants in the municipal centers are

considerably smaller in number in comparison to their presence in the municipalities as a whole.

Somewhat more concrete statistics on the national composition of the municipal centers can be determined from the censuses held at the start of the 20th century, in 1900 and 1910, recorded according to religion and language spoken. From this data it can be seen that at the start of the 20th century the Croatians (50.6% in 1910) and other non-Serbian nationalities, primarily Germans, Czechs and Hungarians (altogether 32.8%), dominated the municipal centers numerically. Serbians made up 16.6% of the municipal centers. In 1910, Croatians were an absolute majority in the towns of Nova Gradiška, Novska and Pakrac, the remaining not-Serbian population in Daruvar, and the Croatians along with the other non-Serbs in Grubišno Polje. Thus, at the start of the 20th century, Serbs were not an absolute majority in any of the municipal centers.

The data obtained from the 1948 census show a considerable change in the ethnic composition of the municipal centers from 1910. In this 38 year period, the proportion of Croatians grows considerably (from 50.6% to 66.2%), and the proportion of the remaining non-Serbian peoples falls (from 32.8% to 18.1%), and this primarily due to the departure of the Germans (from 6.4% to 0.2%) and a large decrease in the Hungarian population (from 10.5% to 3.5%). At the same time the number of Serbs

and Czechs grew somewhat, but their proportion of the total population in relation to 1910 decreases: from 16.6% to 15.7% for the Serbs, and from 12.5% to 10.8% for the Czechs. With this growth in number, the Croatians became the majority nationality in all of the municipal centers, with an absolute majority in Daruvar, Nova Gradiška, Novska and Pakrac, and with a plurality in Grubišno Polje. It must also be emphasized that in all three of the Poilovlje municipal centers, Daruvar, Pakrac and Grubišno Polje, after the Croats the most numerous were the non-Serbian inhabitants, not the Serbs themselves.

In the subsequent period from 1948 until 1991 the national composition of the municipal centers once again underwent considerable changes. The population of the municipal centers further grew, but not at the same rate for every nationality. The total population of the municipal centers grew by 98%, and with this, the number of Croatians increased by 64%, Serbians by 222% and the remaining nationalities together by 45%! Because of this unequal population growth there were drastic changes in their proportion in the total population of the municipal centers. The proportion of Croats went down from 66.2% to 54.9%, and the non-Serbian population from 18.1% to 13.2%. At the same time, the proportion of Serbs increased from 15.7% to 25.8%.

In spite of these proportional changes in the total population of

Tab. 8. Ethnic composition of the municipal centers, 1900–1991.

Tab. 8. *Narodnosni sastav općinskih središta od 1900. do 1991. godine*

Municipality	Total population	Croats	Serbs	Hungarians	Czechs	Germans	»Yugoslavs«	Others
1900								
Daruvar	3734	765	605	767	1238	315	-	44
Grubišno Polje	2303	497	815	410	503	72	-	6
Nova Gradiška	4245	2900	702	153	116	276	-	98
Novska	2027	1652	118	74	62	25	-	96
Pakrac	3625	1469	630	324	582	454	-	166
Total	15934	7283	2870	1728	2501	1142	-	410
%	100	45,7	18,0	10,8	15,7	7,2	-	2,6
1910								
Daruvar	4748	1201	685	841	1358	553	-	110
Grubišno Polje	2653	748	834	465	461	120	-	25
Nova Gradiška	5082	3431	762	205	141	227	-	316
Novska	2443	1957	136	143	98	26	-	83
Pakrac	4377	2424	796	375	360	302	-	120
Total	19303	9761	3213	2029	2418	1228	-	654
%	100	50,6	16,6	10,5	12,5	6,4	-	3,4
1948								
Daruvar	7311	3825	1345	411	1455	41	-	234
Grubišno Polje	2777	1187	557	360	629	5	-	39
Nova Gradiška	6340	4848	1043	29	96	7	-	317
Novska	4081	3568	339	4	49	3	-	118
Pakrac	4597	3205	659	68	497	9	-	159
Total	25106	16633	3943	872	2726	65	-	867
%	100	66,2	15,7	3,5	10,8	0,2	-	3,6
1953								
Daruvar	7678	4078	1460	336	1519	42	57	186
Grubišno Polje	3022	1451	602	355	563	4	2	45
Nova Gradiška	8370	6425	1405	35	94	19	56	336
Novska	4394	3779	448	16	67	3	6	75
Pakrac	5015	3332	823	56	446	24	54	280
Total	28479	19065	4738	798	2689	92	175	922
%	100	66,9	16,6	2,9	9,5	0,3	0,6	3,2
1961								
Daruvar	8814	4436	2061	315	1698	-	75	229
Grubišno Polje	3099	1428	789	273	545	-	16	48
Nova Gradiška	9973	7674	1810	24	59	-	96	310
Novska	4884	4122	625	14	32	-	5	86
Pakrac	6061	3874	1375	71	450	-	33	258
Total	32831	21534	6660	697	2784	-	225	931
%	100	65,6	20,3	2,1	8,5	-	0,7	2,8

Continuation Tab. 8: Ethnic composition of the municipal centers, 1900–1991.
Nastavak Tab. 8: Narodnosni sastav općinskih središta od 1900. do 1991. godine.

Municipality	Total population	Croats	Serbs	Hungarians	Czechs	Germans	»Yugoslavs«	Others
1971								
Daruvar	10239	4778	2666	273	1837	23	414	248
Grubišno Polje	3138	1255	983	259	469	5	76	91
Nova Gradiška	12267	8943	2256	32	52	10	637	337
Novska	6463	5050	1028	9	411	1	122	212
Pakrac	7460	3912	2187	74	386	12	552	337
Total	39567	23938	9120	647	2785	51	1801	1225
%	100	60,5	23,0	1,6	7,0	0,3	4,5	3,1
1981								
Daruvar	11535	3750	2759	252	1718	23	2638	395
Grubišno Polje	3921	1135	997	161	412	4	601	111
Nova Gradiška	13865	9089	1701	17	31	8	2545	474
Novska	8378	5400	1474	11	36	5	1052	400
Pakrac	8662	3101	2373	46	278	8	2388	468
Total	45861	22475	9304	487	2475	48	9224	1848
%	100	49,0	20,3	1,1	5,4	0,1	20,1	4,0
1991								
Daruvar	12297	4543	3657	175	2006	18	1008	890
Grubišno Polje	3838	1489	1309	164	411	3	255	207
Nova Gradiška	14566	10653	2263	9	28	7	900	706
Novska	9675	6784	1821	11	39	2	339	679
Pakrac	9544	3958	3685	54	295	20	663	869
Total	49920	27427	12735	413	2779	50	3165	3351
%	100	54,9	25,5	0,8	5,6	0,2	6,3	6,7

Note: 1. So that the ethnic composition can be shown continuously, in this Table (as opposed to Table 6) the settlements are arranged as they were in 1948, when the census was held in the framework of the »narodni odbor« and not by individual settlement. DARUVAR includes: Daruvar, Daruvarski Vinogradi, Donji Daruvar, Lipovac, Ljudevit Selo and Vrbovac Podgorski. GRUBIŠNO POLJE includes: Grubišno Polje and Poljani. NOVA GRADIŠKA includes: Nova Gradiška (the city) and Magić Mala. NOVSKA includes: Bročice, Trupovo Polje, Stari Grabovac and Novska. PAKRAC includes: Pakrac and Prekopakra. All of these cited settlements of the individual »narodni odbor« are actually constituent parts of individual municipal centers.

2. The number of Croats and Serbs for 1900 and 1910 was determined using the method explained in Table 4.

Političko i sudbeno razdjeljenje Kraljevinah Hrvatske i Slavonije, Zagreb 1889, Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonska-dalmatinska vlada.

Političko i sudbeno razdjeljenje Kraljevinah Hrvatske i Slavonije, Zagreb 1892, Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonska-dalmatinska vlada.

Popis žiteljstva 1900. u Kraljevinah Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, Zagreb 1914, Kraljevski zemaljski statistički ured u Zagrebu.

Popis stanovništva 1910. u Kraljevinah Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, Zagreb 1914, Kraljevski zemaljski statistički ured u Zagrebu.

Popis stanovništva 1948, 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981: tablogrami po naseljima, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb.

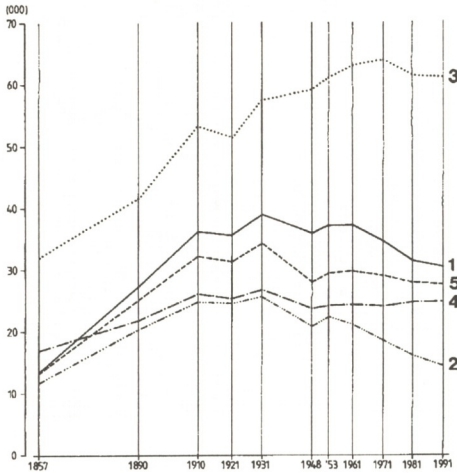


Fig. 2. Changes in the number of inhabitants in the municipalities of Western Slavonia 1857–1991.

Sl. 2. Promjena broja stanovnika u općinama Zapadne Slavonije 1857–1991.

1–Daruvar, 2–Grubišno Polje, 3–Nova Gradiška, 4–Novska, 5–Pakrac

the municipal centers, Croats remained the majority nationality in all of them, and this with an absolute majority in Nova Gradiška and Novska and a plurality in Pakrac, Daruvar and Grubišno Polje. The second most numerous in the municipal centers were no longer the non-Serbian nationalities, but the Serbs. Nevertheless, even up to the present the Serbs have not been able to get an absolute majority nor a plurality in any of the municipal centers. From the previous expositions, it can be seen that the proportion of Serbs is considerably greater in the

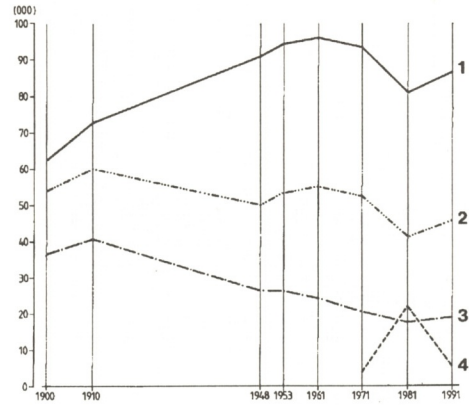


Fig. 3. National composition of the municipalities of Western Slavonia 1900–1991.

Sl. 3. Narodnosni sastav općina Zapadna Slavonija 1900–1991.
1–Croats, 2–Serbs, 3–Others, 4–Yugoslavs

municipality as a whole than their proportion in the municipal centers, which means that they were primarily an agrarian population. Until 1948, they were less than a fifth of the population of the municipal centers, so that in this sense they were in third place numerically, after the Croats and the other non-Serbian nationalities. But, after 1961 their proportion in the population of the municipal centers increased rapidly, and the proportion of the other nationalities fell at the same time.

This large increase in the number and proportion of Serbs along with the concurrent fall in the proportion of the rest of the population

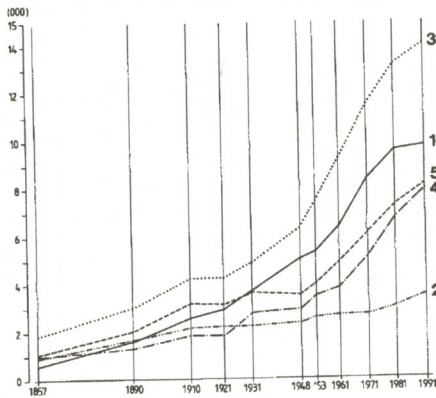


Fig. 4. Changes in the population of the the municipal centers 1857–1991.

Sl. 4. Promjena broja stanovnika općinskih središta 1857–1991.
1–Daruvar, 2–Grubišno Polje, 3–Nova Gradiška, 4–Novska, 5–Pakrac (Table 6).

of the municipal centers after 1961 is not specific to this region. A similar phenomenon can be seen in a large number of municipal centers throughout Croatia where there was a considerable number of Serbs. This phenomenon was analyzed in four municipal centers in Northern Dalmatia in particular (32). It was observed that the proportion of Croats employed was far below their proportion of the population there, while the number of employed Serbs was well above their proportion of the population. This kind of imbalance is a result of biased employment politics on the part of the municipal authorities after 1961.

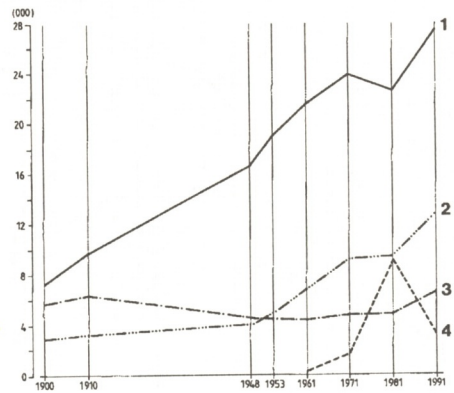


Fig. 5. Ethnic composition of the municipalities of Western Slavonia 1900–1991. (Table 7).

Sl. 5. Narodnosni sastav općinskih središta Zapadne Slavonije 1900–1991.
1–Croats, 2–Serbs, 3–Others, 4–«Yugoslavs»

In fact, after 1961 the municipalities legally (1955) became political-territorial and »basic social-economic communities«, whose authority over the development of the municipalities was extensive, and this became unhindered after the kotars (administrative territorial districts) were abolished in 1965. Gradually almost all of the municipalities' dependence on the governmental organs of the Republic of Croatia disappeared. This authority was almost totally in the hands of the Serbs in those municipalities where they were a large part of the population. The municipal authorities in various ways, primarily through employment policies, directly

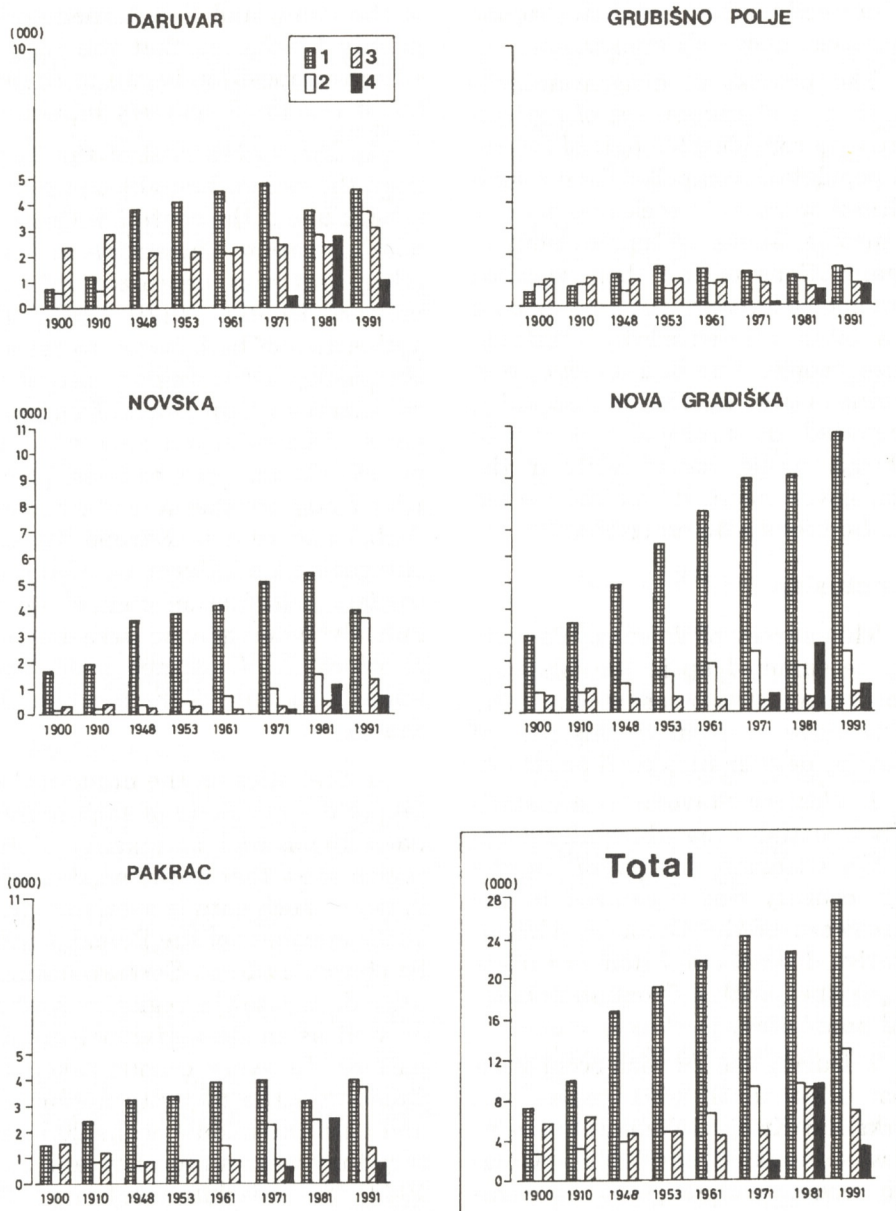


Fig. 6. Ethnic composition of the municipal centers of Western Slavonia 1900–1991. (Table 7).

Sl. 6 Narodnosni sastav općinskih središta Zapadne Slavonije 1900–1991. 1–Croats, 2–Serbs, 3–Others, 4–«Yugoslavs»

or indirectly influenced demographic processes, above all emigration.

The process of deagrarianization, that is abandonment of agriculture by a considerable part of the rural population, compelled former agricultural workers to seek new sources of income, above all employment in organizations of the then so-called workers collectives. As employment was often influenced by ethnicity, these people, who had no chance of finding work in the municipality, emigrated. In municipal centers with a larger proportion of Serbs in the local government, it was most often non-Serbs who emigrated.

Conclusion

This survey of Western Slavonia can be summed up in the following conclusions which show that the Serbs have no right to this part of Croatia, neither historical or ethnic:

1. Western Slavonia is a historically Croatian area which all up until the Ottoman occupation in the 16th century was organized in the framework of the Croatian administrative districts and Roman Catholic parishes, with a Croatian nobility and population.

2. During the Turkish occupation from 1554 until 1691 (when the Turks left Kraljeva Velika) the region was desolated, the original Croatian secular and religious organization of the area abolished, and the autochthonous Croatian inhabitants were reduced in number (either killed or emigrated). The Turks settled some new people on the slopes

of the Psunj and Papuk mountains, mainly Vlachs, so that the region's ethnic composition began to change, but it remained sparsely inhabited.

3. The withdrawal of the Turks from the region brought one part of it back under the control of Croatian administration (županija) and the other part was organized into the military frontier (until 1881). The authorities of both began to resettle this depopulated region (secondary colonization) with Croats from other parts of Croatia, but also with people of different nationalities, primarily from southeast (Vlachs and Serbs) and central Europe (Czechs, Hungarian and Germans). This secondary colonization created an ethnically heterogeneous area but one in which the Croats lived continuously, in spite of the demographic changes.

4. Statistics on the numerical totals of the members of each individual religion and nationality of this region show that in the whole period in which such data is available (from 1857) members of the Roman Catholic church and non-Serbian nationalities dominate the region as a whole as well as in its individual municipalities. In every census taken the Croats are the majority nationality, and until the middle of the 20th century they were a plurality, and after 1948, an absolute majority. The Serbs, in the entire period that recorded statistics are available, were never an absolute majority in this region, nor in any of its individual municipalities.

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Sažetak

ZAPADNA SLAVONIJA – RAZVOJ NARODNOSNOG SASTAVA

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U članku je analiziran sadržaj na osnovi kojeg se mogu izvući slijedeći zaključci:

1. Zapadna Slavonija je povijesno hrvatski prostor koji je sve do turske okupacije u 16. stoljeću bio organiziran u okvirima hrvatskih županija i rimokatoličkih crkvenih župa, s hrvatskim plemstvom i hrvatskim stanovništvom.

2. U vrijeme turske okupacije od 1554. do 1691. godine (kad Turci napuštaju Kraljevu Veliku) kraj je opustošen, prvobitna hrvatska svjetovna i crkvena organizacija prostora srušena, a autohtono hrvatsko stanovništvo (stradavanjem i iseljavanjem) reducirano na mali broj. Turci po okolnim padinama Psunja i Papuka naseljavaju nešto novog stanovništva, pretežno Vlaha, pa kraj počinje mijenjati etnički sastav ali je još uvijek slabo naseljen.

3. Povlačenjem Turaka kraj jednim svojim dijelom dolazi pod vlast obnovljenih hrvatskih županija, a dijelom pod Vojnu Krajinu (do 1881.). Vlasti oba ta dijela ovaj gotovo pust kraj naseljavaju (sekundarna koloni-

zacija) Hrvatima iz ostalih područja Hrvatske, ali i stanovništvom drugih narodnosti, pretežno iz jugoistočne (Vlasi, Srbi) i srednje Europe (Česi, Mađari i Nijemci). Tom sekundarnom kolonizacijom stvoren je heterogen etnički prostor, u kojem je kontinuirano živjelo samo hrvatsko stanovništvo.

4. Statistički popisi o brojčanom odnosu pripadnika pojedinih vjeroispovijesti i narodnosti ovog kraja pokazuju da su u njemu tokom čitava razdoblja otkad se obavljaju popisi stanovništva (od 1857. godine) brojčano prevladavali pripadnici rimokatoličke vjeroispovijesti i nesrpske narodnosti i to kako u kraju u cjelini, tako i u njegovim pojedinim dijelovima u okvirima općina. Hrvati su u vrijeme svih popisa stanovništva većinski narod ovog kraja s time što su do sredine 20. stoljeća imali relativnu, a od 1948. g. apsolutnu većinu. Srbi ni u jednom razdoblju statističkih popisa nisu u ovom kraju, pa ni u njegovim pojedinim dijelovima u okviru općina, imali natpolovičnu većinu.

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