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UDC 376.744(497.1)

THE EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN YUGOSLAVIA (RESULTS OF THE 1981 CENSUS)*

The expansion of education which has been at work in all the developed countries and many developing countries has displayed important qualitative aspects in addition to the quantitative ones (the increased number of pupils, students, teachers, professors, schools, faculties). The democratisation of education is probably the most important qualitative aspect in the development of education. The emancipatory character of education is enhanced in direct relation to its democratisation, and this has two essential components: the development of the personality of the individual and the optimal ordering of human resources. Under this conception, the democratisation of education appears doubly rational: with regard to the individual and with regard to the global society.

The democratisation of education can therefore be defined in two ways. On the global level, it can be defined as the process of equalising the participation of various social groups in the educational system in relation to their numbers in the global social system. This equalising refers to very different social groups: layers/strata, sex, ethnic groups, as well as age groups (permanent education). On the individual level, it may be as the equalisation of the opportunity for the individual - without regard to sex, age, class or affiliation to an ethnic group, in the field of education - to develop as a creative personality to the limits which are determined above all by their capabilities, ambitions and interests. The more the democratisation is intensive, the greater the opportunities for the individual to express his own personality are.

For the democratisation of education itself, the development of institutionalised foundations, which grow during the process, is indispensable, viz. (1) increase (growth); (2) diversification; and (3) decentralisation of the educational system. A greater accessibility to education is made possible through these processes. By way of illustration, it should be noted that the number of students in Yugoslavia increased more than six-fold in the period from 1949/50 to 1979/80, while the number of faculties increased nearly four-fold during the same period, and the number of colleges nearly seven-fold. While in 1949/50 there were faculties in ten cities in Yugoslavia, by 1979/80 there were faculties in as many as 46 cities.

These data indicate that a strong institutional basis has been created in the educational system, which has made possible the development of the process of democratisation, although this has

* Original: Serbo-Croatian

not been equally successful in all its aspects. It is interesting that this development has been generally in relation to the equalising of opportunity between the sexes and between ethnic groups, and slower in relation to different generations (or in the increase of the participation of the older generations in permanent education), or when the question was one of equalisation between various layers of the population.

The dynamics of change in the educational system are best seen in the field of elementary education, the teaching of literacy (Table 1). In 1981 in Yugoslavia, 10.4% of the population over the age of 15 was illiterate. Of this percentage, a much higher number of women than men were illiterate (as many as one million more).

The lowest rate of illiteracy is that among the Slovenes (0.8%) and the highest among the Romanies (Gypsies) (34%), the difference being as much as 34 percentage points. Among the Slovenes, illiteracy no longer really exists since it is only present among the older generation, while one third of the Romany population over 15 years of age is illiterate. This great difference is much more due to cultural-historical reasons than to the inaccessibility of the compulsory eight-year schooling.

Table 1

Number and Percentages of Illiterates Among the Inhabitants of Yugoslavia over the Age of 15 (in 1981)

	Total	Number of Illiterates		Percentage of Illiterates		
		Men	Women	All	Men	Women
Total	1,764,369	370,686	1,393,683	10.4	4.5	16.1
Slovenes	10,803	4,797	6,006	0.8	0.6	0.8
Czechs	276	100	176	1.6	1.3	1.8
Slovaks	1,621	588	1,033	2.4	1.8	2.9
Ruthenians	562	198	364	2.9	2.1	3.6
Yugoslavs*	31,646	5,777	25,869	3.5	1.3	5.6
Italians	534	181	362	3.9	2.9	4.9
Hungarians	15,686	5,274	10,412	4.4	3.1	5.4
Croats	241,023	48,950	192,103	6.9	2.3	10.5
Macedonians	86,775	23,127	63,648	8.6	5.0	12.7
Montenegrins	35,435	4,461	30,974	8.1	2.0	14.2
Rumanians	4,792	1,399	3,393	10.5	6.5	14.2
Serbs	796,513	145,450	651,063	12.3	4.6	19.8
Bulgarians	4,413	835	3,560	13.8	5.4	23.2
Muslims	239,731	47,026	192,705	17.5	6.9	28.1
Turks	13,526	3,815	9,711	20.9	11.6	30.7
Albanians	222,218	62,671	161,147	22.4	12.1	33.9
Romanies	31,111	10,194	23,917	34.8	20.8	48.8

Source: Documentary material, 1981 Census.

* Yugoslav has two accepted meanings. In the first place it subsumes all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, i.e. citizenship. It can also be applied, at the individual's choice, in the sense of nationality, for census and other purposes.

There are seven ethnic groups with illiteracy rates above that of the Yugoslav average, which is 10.4%. These are Rumanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Muslims, Turks, Albanians and Romanies. Ten ethnic groups are below this average: Slovenes, Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Yugoslavs, Italians, Croatians, Macedonians and Montenegrins.

In absolute numbers, there is the greatest illiteracy amongst the Serbs. The large number of illiterates within this nationality group can be partially explained by the fact that the Serbs and Croats are the most numerous ethnic groups in Yugoslavia, although in the case of Serbia, underdevelopment also plays a part. The greater number of illiterates among the Muslims and Albanians is associated with the relatively young population make-up and underdevelopment.

The ethnic groups with illiteracy rates below the Yugoslav average are characterised by a relatively low differential between the illiteracy of men and women, while those above the Yugoslav average are characterised by large differences in illiteracy with regard to sex. Thus, the difference amounts to 0.2% for the Slovenes, while for the Romanies it amounts to as much as 28%. In the case of the Montenegrins, who are among the ethnic groups with an illiteracy rate below that of the Yugoslav average, the difference between men and women amounts to a high 12.2%, which is due to the patriarchal life and the position of women in it. There are also great differences in the degree of illiteracy between men and women in the ethnic groups with the Muslim tradition: Muslims 21.1%, Turks, 19.1% and Albanians 21.8%.

Table 2

Structure by School Education of the Population of Yugoslavia over the Age of 15 (in 1981)

	Total	No Schooling & Grades 1-3	Grades 4 - 7	Elementary School	More Than Elementary School
Total	100.0	17.3	26.8	24.2	31.1
Yugoslavs	100.0	7.6	17.0	23.1	51.9
Montenegrins	100.0	14.3	20.3	23.5	42.1
Slovenes	100.0	3.5	22.5	32.4	41.2
Italians	100.0	12.6	36.6	16.3	33.9
Czechs	100.0	6.7	42.3	17.0	33.4
Croats	100.0	14.8	31.7	20.5	32.7
Ruthenians	100.0	8.2	28.5	30.6	32.2
Macedonians	100.0	13.5	26.9	27.2	32.2
Serbs	100.0	19.8	27.9	22.2	29.9
Hungarians	100.0	12.4	26.7	33.2	26.9
Bulgarians	100.0	21.0	30.7	20.7	24.2
Slovaks	100.0	7.3	31.9	37.0	23.4
Muslims	100.0	25.6	27.0	25.5	21.8
Rumanians	100.0	18.3	32.0	31.7	17.1
Albanians	100.0	29.2	20.2	34.6	15.9
Romanies	100.0	47.3	29.4	17.2	4.6

Romanies, Turks, Albanians and Muslims. This again confirms that the differences in education between the generations decrease more quickly with the universal education of the population, which can be seen very well in the higher levels of education.

If we examine the lower level of education, the differences between the entire population and the 25 - 34 age group are also very noticeable. In all the ethnic groups, the number of those without any schooling or with grades 1 - 3 of the primary school is lower in the 25 - 34 age group than in the total population. The differences are the greatest among the Albanians, Bulgarians, Muslims and Turks, which means that among those ethnic groups taken as a whole, an intensive process of the schooling of the younger generation is taking place, and that the differences between the generations are very pronounced.

If we look at the percentages of the population aged 25 - 34 with secondary, college or university education, an orientation towards different levels of schooling emerge among the various ethnic groups (Table 4). In the 25 - 34 age-group, the Yugoslav average of completed secondary school is 80.3%. Below this average are the Yugoslavs, Italians, Croats, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Rumanians and Albanians. Above it are the Slovenes, Ruthenians, Czechs, Serbs, Hungarians, Slovaks, Muslims, Turks and Romanies. The highest proportion amongst those with completed secondary school are from the Romany ethnic group (93.2%), and the lowest from the Bulgarian (70.6%). We can conclude from the data presented that the proportion of those among the educated who have completed secondary school varies in relation to the level of literacy or development in the territorial units in which the ethnic group concerned is most concentrated. The ethnic group of Romanies displays a high consistency of various characteristics, while in the remaining ethnic groups, especially those from the undeveloped regions of Yugoslavia, the process of education is rapid and unequal. This inequality is reflected in the fact that the number and structure of those with an education higher than elementary among the individual ethnic groups do not correspond either to the development of the region in which they are concentrated or to the needs of these regions which, under the conditions of a non-existent labour market and low mobility of labour, give rise to the conditions for permanent unemployment.

The inequality - which is a natural consequence of accelerated development (in this case the development of the educational system) - is especially noticeable in relation to the universities. The proportion of the educated population aged 25 - 34 attending university (faculty) is above the Yugoslav average among the Yugoslavs, Montenegrins, Italians, Czechs, Croats, Macedonians, Bulgarians and Rumanians, and below among the Slovenes, Ruthenians, Serbs, Hungarians, Slovaks, Muslims, Albanians, Turks and Romanies. The highest proportion of the university educated population is among the Rumanians (14.8%) and the lowest among the Romanies (2.7%). Those that have a higher proportion than the Slovenes (9.9%) are the Albanians (10.5%), the Muslims (10.6%), the Serbs (10.7%), the Macedonians (13.7%), and the Montenegrins (14.2%), i.e., those ethnic groups which are linked to the undeveloped parts of Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavs, Montenegrins, Croats, Italians, Czechs, Serbs, Bulgarians and Romanies are below it. It is clear that various factors have influenced these groupings: age groups, economic structure, tradition, educational policies, etc.

On the level of Yugoslavia as a whole, there has been a considerable levelling of differences between those with grades 4 - 7 (26.8%) and those with completed elementary school (24.2%). However, the largest group is that with an education level higher than elementary school (31.1%). If we compare our four educational categories with regard to the highest percentages of the population of each ethnic group, four types stand out. In the first is the largest number of those with an educational level higher than the compulsory eight years (Yugoslavs, Montenegrins, Slovenes, Croats, Ruthenians, Macedonians and Serbs). In the second is the highest number of those who have completed elementary school (Hungarians, Slovaks, Albanians). The third comprises the largest number of those who have finished grades 4 - 7 of elementary school (Italians, Czechs, Bulgarians, Muslims, Rumanians and Turks), while the final group is the one with the highest number of those without any schooling or with grades 1 - 3 of primary school (Romanies). Only to a certain extent can these differences be accounted for in terms of the activity structure of the population by ethnic groups (agrarian - non-agrarian). They are much more related to various cultural-historical factors, different levels of development and the characteristics of the educational systems within the defined territorial border and different horizons of the members of individual ethnic groups, as well as various educational traditions.

The development of the educational system in Yugoslavia has been particularly intensive precisely in the field of education above the elementary school level (secondary, colleges and universities). Hence, the differences in the percentages of these categories in terms of individual ethnic groups is very important. While in Yugoslavia in 1971 the percentage of those with an education higher than elementary was 20.3%, by 1981 this figure had risen to 31.1%. In 1981, the following ethnic groups were above the Yugoslav average: Yugoslavs, Montenegrins, Slovenes, Italians, Czechs, Croats, Ruthenians and Macedonians. All these groups, as well as the Hungarians and Slovaks, have an illiteracy rate below that of the Yugoslav average. If we compare the data of 1981 with those of 1971, it can be seen that the Macedonians and Montenegrins were below the Yugoslav average in 1971 and above it in 1981, while the Hungarians were above the Yugoslav average in 1971 and below it in 1981.

The much better structure of the population as a whole in all the ethnic groups in 1981 compared to 1971 is largely due to the spread of education and its democratisation, for which a solid institutional groundwork has been created, but also to the biological processes of aging and death, i.e. gradual disappearance of the least educated generations.

The speed and strength of the changes in educational structure of the various ethnic groups are the result of numerous factors. It is interesting that in the period from 1971 to 1981, the change in the percentage of those with an education higher than elementary has been the greatest among the Montenegrin ethnic

group (from 15.3% to 42.1%) and the least among the Yugoslavs (from 47.3% to 51.9%).

To eliminate large differences in the age structure of various ethnic groups, which are very significant with regard to the stages of their demographic transition, it is necessary to look at the extracted generation group of 25 - 34 years (Tables 3 and 4). The process of regular education is already largely behind this age group, so that different social positions and different opportunities for the individuals of the same age in different parts of the country and in various ethnic groups can readily be seen.

Table 3

Structure by Education of 25-34 Age Group in Yugoslavia
(in 1981)

	Total	No Schooling & Grades 1-3	Grades 4 - 7	Elemen- tary School	More than Elementary School
Total	100.0	3.6	19.6	26.9	49.5
Yugoslavs	100.0	1.3	7.3	21.1	69.9
Montenegrins	100.0	1.5	10.8	22.3	65.3
Italians	100.0	2.5	11.2	20.6	65.0
Slovenes	100.0	0.9	16.8	21.8	60.1
Ruthenians	100.0	1.9	11.5	27.5	58.8
Czechs	100.0	2.2	13.0	26.4	57.9
Croats	100.0	0.7	17.1	24.3	54.7
Macedonians	100.0	1.9	15.9	30.0	51.9
Serbs	100.0	2.8	20.0	28.0	48.9
Bulgarians	100.0	2.4	15.2	36.5	45.7
Hungarians	100.0	3.2	19.5	33.1	43.8
Slovaks	100.0	2.5	19.6	38.2	39.1
Muslims	100.0	8.1	31.9	25.8	30.9
Rumanians	100.0	9.9	25.5	33.0	30.6
Albanians	100.0	9.6	26.7	37.4	26.1
Turks	100.0	10.9	35.8	32.3	20.8
Romanies	100.0	35.7	38.2	18.6	6.2

In comparison with the ethnic groups taken as a whole, the differences are diminishing. This becomes even more clear if the Romany ethnic group is excluded from the comparison. In all the ethnic groups with the exception of the Rumanians, Albanians, Turks and Romanies, the largest group of the population aged 25 - 34 is those with an education higher than elementary. Comparing this age group with the total population of the ethnic groups listed, an important spectrum of differences emerges. Specifically, the differences are more marked between the 25 - 34 age groups in those ethnic groups which are above the Yugoslav average. Thus the difference is the greatest with the Italians, Ruthenians, Czechs and Montenegrins, and the least with the

It should be stressed that the relative order of the ethnic groups in regard to the rate of illiteracy is largely the same as at the time of the previous census.

There are marked differences between ethnic groups at higher levels of education (Table 2). The highest rate of persons without schooling or with only one to three grades of primary school is precisely in the groups with the highest illiteracy rates: Romanies (47.3%), Albanians (29.2%), Turks (27.2%) and Muslims (25.6%); and the lowest rate among the groups with a low number of illiterates: Slovenes (3.5%), Czechs (6.7%), Slovaks (7.3%) and Yugoslavs (7.6%). The Romanies are the only group in which the number of those without schooling or with only one to three grades of primary school is greater than the number in any other category. Thus, high illiteracy and elementary school dropout are interrelated.

The differences in the lowest educational category among the literate population are very large, ranging from 3.5% for the Slovenes to 47.3% for the Romanies. They are less pronounced in the next category (grades 4 - 7), where the percentage ranges from 17% for the Yugoslavs to 42.3% for the Czechs. For this category, it is characteristic that there are not very great differences between the ethnic groups with a high rate of illiteracy, characterised by social and demographic underdevelopment, and the groups with the opposite characteristics. So the difference between the Slovenes (20.3%) and the Albanians (20.2%) is almost nil. However, the differences can be observed when these data are broken down into age groups, as unfinished elementary school is typical of the older generations in developed regions.

In discussing elementary schooling, there is a further levelling of differences between of those ethnic groups belonging to underdeveloped regions characterised by a high level of illiteracy and the others. This can be seen if we compare the percentage of those that have finished the elementary school amongst the Slovenes (32.4%) and the Albanians (34.6%). The difference between the ethnic group with the lowest rate of completion of elementary school (Italians) and the ethnic group with the highest percentage in this category (Slovaks) is 20.7%.

This levelling of differences is encouraging at first sight. However, in the case of the Slovenes, the high percentage of those with elementary school is associated with a high percentage of those with more than elementary school (41.2%), while in the case of the Albanians, this is so to a much smaller extent (15.9%). Thus, with ethnic groups which, taken as a whole, lack education, a high percentage of the population with completed elementary school may be considered an important success for the policy of development. With those ethnic groups which are, on the whole, more educated, the trend towards a decrease in the number of those with completed elementary school is due to higher levels of education.

If the ethnic groups are compared on the basis of those with completed elementary school to the Yugoslav average (24.2%), it can be seen that the Slovenes, Ruthenians, Macedonians, Slovaks, Rumanians, Albanians and Turks are above this level, whereas the

Table 4

Educational Structure of the Population Aged 25 - 34, Based on Types of School in Yugoslavia (in 1981)

Nationality	% School Education 25-34 Age Group	Total	Secondary Total	Vocational School	High School	Technical School	College	University
Total	49.5	100.0	80.3	43.6	9.6	27.1	8.2	11.5
Yugoslav	69.9	100.0	77.0	36.7	11.3	29.0	8.5	14.5
Montenegrin	65.3	100.0	76.7	37.9	12.1	26.7	9.1	14.2
Italian	65.0	100.0	77.4	34.0	20.2	20.2	12.0	13.6
Slovene	60.0	100.0	81.6	54.2	6.1	23.1	8.5	9.9
Ruthenian	58.8	100.0	80.7	50.2	7.2	23.3	8.7	10.6
Czech	57.9	100.0	80.8	46.1	7.5	27.2	7.7	11.5
Croatian	54.7	100.0	79.9	46.6	8.3	25.0	8.4	11.7
Macedonian	51.9	100.0	78.9	33.9	16.2	28.6	7.8	13.7
Serbian	58.9	100.0	81.6	43.9	8.9	28.8	7.7	10.7
Bulgarian	45.7	100.0	70.6	26.3	20.6	23.7	12.7	16.7
Hungarian	43.8	100.0	84.9	54.7	7.2	23.0	6.7	8.4
Slovak	39.1	100.0	83.2	51.9	9.3	22.0	7.4	9.4
Muslim	40.9	100.0	82.1	55.2	6.4	20.5	7.3	10.6
Rumanian	30.6	100.0	73.0	37.1	9.4	26.5	12.2	14.8
Albanian	26.1	100.0	78.6	20.2	21.7	36.7	10.9	10.5
Turkish	20.8	100.0	84.4	42.6	17.8	24.0	8.8	6.8
Romany	6.7	100.0	93.2	62.6	5.0	25.6	4.1	2.7

An analysis of the data relating to the proportion with higher education (colleges, training schools) shows that above the Yugoslav average there are the Yugoslavs, Montenegrins, Italians, Slovenes, Ruthenians, Croats, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Albanians and that below there are the Czechs, Macedonians, Serbs, Hungarians, Slovaks, Muslims, Turks and Romanies.

Those ethnic groups which have a greater proportion of those with secondary schooling have fewer with college and university education.

In respect to secondary schooling, all the ethnic groups, except for the Albanian, have the highest proportion of those that have completed vocational schools (for skilled or highly skilled workers), followed by technical schools and, least of all, high schools. The largest proportions of those that have completed schools for skilled or highly skilled workers are among the Romanies (62.6%), Muslims (55.2%), Hungarians (54.7%), and Slovenes (54.2%). The Bulgarians (26.3%), Macedonians (33.9%) and Italians (34%) have the lowest proportion. Data on those that have finished high schools are to a great extent complementary to the previous data. The proportion of Albanians (21.7%) is the greatest and the proportion of the Romanies (5.0%) and the Slovenes (6.1%) is the least.

The proportion of those who have completed technical schools is largely the same among the various ethnic groups.

It may be concluded that the development of the educational system in Yugoslavia was influenced by educational policies more than the actual needs. This is especially noticeable at the higher levels of education. The consequence of this is that the ordering of the proportions of the different ethnic groups remains roughly the same from census to census in respect of the unfinished elementary school or illiteracy, while there are great differences in the order of the groups at the higher levels of education. It may be assumed that, given the trend towards decreasing and rationalising the network of colleges and universities, future changes will be more balanced and in accord with the real needs of the development of individual regions of Yugoslavia.

APPENDIX 1

SCHOOL QUALIFICATIONS OF THE POPULATION OF YUGOSLAVIA IN 1981

Nationality	Total	No School & Primary School Grades 1-3	Grades 4-7	Completed Elementary School	More Than Elementary School
Total	16,936,907	2,924,309	4,545,216	4,103,426	5,277,885
Montenegrin	435,767	62,501	88,264	100,839	183,378
Croat	3,463,855	511,293	1,098,464	711,127	1,133,298
Macedonian	1,005,616	135,353	270,133	273,127	323,481
Muslim	1,367,750	349,779	369,399	329,048	297,003
Slovene	1,356,827	46,992	304,881	439,303	558,839
Serbian	6,461,422	1,278,106	1,803,326	1,429,438	1,930,076
Albanian	993,464	289,971	200,862	343,271	157,768
Bulgarian	32,028	6,728	9,845	6,621	7,756
Czech	17,221	1,153	7,336	2,925	5,746
Italian	13,639	1,725	4,996	2,228	4,624
Hungarian	358,930	44,645	95,741	118,994	96,693
Romany	98,002	46,358	28,815	16,837	4,566
Rumanian	45,393	8,315	14,520	14,375	7,758
Ruthenian	19,512	1,607	5,568	5,974	6,273
Slovak	66,412	4,863	21,194	24,597	15,539
Turk	64,648	17,682	21,008	17,715	8,144
Yugoslav	888,583	67,526	150,898	205,489	461,665

Source: Documentary material of PS (Census) 1981

Note: Totals include also those (not entered elsewhere in the table) whose school qualifications are unknown.

APPENDIX 2

SCHOOL QUALIFICATIONS OF THE POPULATION AGED 25-34 IN YUGOSLAVIA (IN 1981)

Nationality	Total	No School & Primary School Grades 1-3	Grades 4-7	Completed Elementary School	More Than Elementary School
Total	3,589,229	130,024	705,025	965,828	1,776,638
Montenegrin	96,120	1,454	10,393	21,456	62,715
Croat	659,261	17,738	112,789	160,027	360,969
Macedonian	236,967	4,428	37,704	71,014	123,000
Muslim	314,091	25,642	100,082	80,979	97,240
Slovene	273,538	2,416	45,608	59,620	164,436
Serbian	1,354,784	38,681	270,769	379,698	663,342
Albanian	217,862	20,974	58,222	81,447	57,000
Bulgarian	4,834	117	736	1,672	2,209
Czech	2,814	63	367	742	1,628
Italian	1,724	43	193	356	1,121
Hungarian	60,249	1,935	11,728	19,933	26,418
Romany	24,135	8,614	9,232	4,501	1,490
Rumanian	7,942	789	2,024	2,619	2,427
Ruthenian	3,440	67	396	945	2,023
Slovak	12,574	310	2,469	4,805	4,941
Turk	14,767	1,616	5,284	4,769	3,075
Yugoslav	258,856	3,447	18,953	54,632	180,950

Source: Documentary material of PS (Census) 1981

Note: Totals include also those (not entered elsewhere in the table) whose school qualifications are unknown.

APPENDIX 3

EDUCATED POPULATION AGED 25-34 IN YUGOSLAVIA (IN 1981)

Nationality	Total	Secondary School	School for Skilled & Highly Skilled	Grammar School	Tech. School	College	University
Total	1,776,638	1,426,700	774,977	170,751	481,152	145,210	204,728
Montenegrin	63,715	48,151	23,502	7,719	16,889	5,771	8,793
Croat	360,969	288,431	168,333	29,827	90,271	30,381	42,157
Macedonian	123,000	96,534	41,750	19,640	35,144	9,642	16,824
Muslim	97,240	79,897	53,581	6,253	19,963	7,052	10,291
Slovene	164,436	134,579	86,683	9,973	37,923	14,055	16,302
Serbian	663,342	541,272	190,185	58,164	191,258	51,405	70,665
Albanian	57,000	44,790	11,527	12,370	20,893	6,224	5,986
Bulgarian	2,209	1,561	581	457	523	280	368
Czech	1,628	1,316	750	123	443	125	187
Italian	1,121	834	381	227	226	135	152
Hungarian	26,418	22,437	14,437	1,915	6,085	1,767	2,214
Romany	1,495	1,392	935	75	382	62	41
Rumanian	2,427	1,770	901	228	641	296	359
Ruthenian	2,023	1,633	1,015	146	472	175	215
Slovak	4,941	4,115	2,568	458	1,089	364	463
Turk	3,075	2,595	1,310	528	757	271	209
Yugoslav	180,950	139,295	66,402	20,379	52,512	15,406	26,249

Source: Documentary material, Census 1981