

# Ethnic Groups Worldwide

*A Ready Reference Handbook*

DAVID LEVINSON

ORYX  
PRESS



*The rare Arabian oryx is believed to have inspired the myth of the unicorn. This desert antelope became virtually extinct in the early 1960s. At that time several groups of international conservationists arranged to have 9 animals sent to the Phoenix Zoo to be the nucleus of a captive breeding herd. Today the oryx population is over 1,000, and over 500 have been returned to the Middle East.*

© 1998 by The Oryx Press  
4041 North Central at Indian School Road  
Phoenix, Arizona 85012-3397

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from The Oryx Press.

Published simultaneously in Canada  
Printed and bound in the United States of America

∞ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Levinson, David, 1947–

Ethnic groups worldwide : a ready reference handbook / by David H. Levinson.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-57356-019-7 (alk. paper)

1. Ethnology—Handbooks, manuals, etc. 2. Ethnic groups—  
—Handbooks, manuals, etc. I. Title.

GN325.L46 1998

305.8—dc21

98-13274

CIP

In order to keep this title in print and available to the academic community, this edition was produced using digital reprint technology in a relatively short print run. This would not have been attainable using traditional methods. Although the cover has been changed from its original appearance, the text remains the same and all materials and methods used still conform to the highest book-making standards.

# EUROPE

## Introduction

This section covers Europe's ethnic groups and ethnic relations in European nations. Europe is defined here to include all of continental Europe and the British Isles, Iceland, Cyprus, and the former republics of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe, including Russia itself. The nations of Europe range from ethnically homogeneous (such as Poland) to ethnically pluralistic (such as Belgium) to ethnically heterogeneous (such as Spain and Italy). The most ethnically diverse is Russia, although that diversity is masked to some extent by the long history of Russian dominance of ethnic minorities.

### Types of Ethnic Groups in Europe

European nations contain a number of different types of ethnic groups. First, many nations, such as Germany, Poland, and the Netherlands, are heavily populated by a single ethnonational group—the Germans, Poles, or Dutch. An ethnonational group is the largest ethnic group in its nation and the carrier of the national language and culture. The second kind of ethnic group in European nations is ethnonational groups from one nation living in another (Poles in Lithuania and Ukraine, for example), where they are labeled national minorities. A third type of group, really more cultural than ethnic, is defined by national culture; for example, the French and the Italians. A fourth category is ethnolinguistic minorities such as the Saami in Scandinavia or the Ladin in Italy—groups of people who have been resident in the region for a long time and have maintained some degree of cultural autonomy. Except in Russia, such groups are not a major presence in Europe. Closely related to these groups is the

fifth type, regional ethnic minorities such as the Basques and Catalans in Spain and the Bretons in France—groups with a major presence in a particular national region, differing culturally from the nation's other ethnic groups. The sixth category is immigrants from outside Europe, most of whom left their nation of origin after World War II. These include guest workers from other European and Asian nations, as well as emigrants from former European colonies in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. The seventh and final category is ethnic groups whose people are present across Europe but have no homeland there; notably, Jews and Gypsies.

### Ethnic Relations in Europe

Ethnic relations take a variety of forms and have been affected by large-scale migration both within nations and across them. Across nations, ethnic relations are essentially peaceful, as reflected in the formation of the European Union and the likelihood of EU expansion of membership to Eastern European

nations—and the possible inclusion of these same nations in NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Within nations, the major conflicts are between national, regional, and ethnolinguistic minorities and the national governments, such as in Italy, Spain, and Ukraine. The conflicts involve demands by the minorities for autonomy and independence, demands that are resisted by the national governments. In some situations the conflict is peaceful, in others it is violent. In nations in Western Europe with large immigrant populations, conflict has developed in the 1990s over the number of immigrants that should be allowed and the role of these immigrants in national life. In many nations, immigrants are

seen as an economic and social burden, and laws have been enacted to restrict their numbers. For their part, immigrants complain about discrimination and believe that most nations would prefer that they return to their nations of origin and that members of dominant ethnic groups be given priority in employment, housing, and education. In the post-Communist era in Eastern Europe, there has been a resurgence of anti-Semitism and anti-Gypsy feeling. Consequently, a large number of Jews have immigrated to Israel and the United States, and many Gypsies have relocated to Western Europe, although anti-Gypsy sentiments also have resurfaced there.

## Europe Bibliography

- Abrahamsen, Samuel. *Norway's Response to the Holocaust*. New York: Holocaust Library, 1991.
- Akiner, Shirin. *Islamic Peoples of the Soviet Union: An Historical and Statistical Handbook*, 2nd ed. New York: KPI, 1986.
- Ardagh, John. *Cultural Atlas of France*. New York: Facts on File, 1991.
- Ardagh, John. *Germany and the Germans: An Anatomy of Society Today*. New York: Harper & Row, 1987.
- Batalden, Stephen K.; and Sandra L. Batalden. *The Newly Independent States of Eurasia: Handbook of Former Soviet Republics*. Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1997.
- Benet, Sula. *Abkassians: The Long-Living People of the Caucasus*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1974. (Georgia)
- Bennett, Linda A. *Encyclopedia of World Cultures*. Volume 4: "Europe." Boston: G. K. Hall/Macmillan, 1992.
- Bennigsen, Alexandre; and S. Enders Wimbush. *Muslims of the Soviet Empire*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Bodega, Isabel, et al. "Recent Migrations from Morocco to Spain." *International Migration Review* 29 (1995): 794–99.
- Boehm, Christopher. *Blood Revenge: The Enactment and Management of Conflict in Montenegro and Other Tribal Societies*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986. (Yugoslavia)
- Boissevain, Jeremy. *A Village in Malta*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1980.
- Castle, Stephen; and Mark J. Miller. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. London: Macmillan, 1993.
- Coleman, David, ed. *Europe's Population in the 1990s*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Coleman, David; and John Salt. *The British Population: Patterns, Trends, and Processes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Dima, Nicholas. *From Moldavia to Moldova: The Soviet-Romanian Territorial Dispute*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.

- Dornberg, John. *Central and Eastern Europe*. Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1995.
- Dornberg, John. *Western Europe*. Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1996.
- Duncan, W. Raymond; and G. Paul Holman, Jr., eds. *Ethnic Nationalism and Regional Conflict: The Former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1994.
- Durrenberger, E. Paul; and Gisli Palsson, eds. *The Anthropology of Iceland*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1989.
- Ehrhart, Hans-Georg; Anna Kreikemeyer; and Andrei V. Zagorski, eds. *Crisis Management in the CIS: Whither Russia?* Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995. (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Russia)
- Fortier, David H. "Brittany: 'Breiz Atao.'" In *Nations Without a State: Ethnic Minorities in Western Europe*, Charles R. Foster, ed., 136–52. (France)
- Foster, Charles R., ed. *Nations Without a State: Ethnic Minorities in Western Europe*. New York: Praeger, 1980.
- Fox, Robin. *The Tory Islanders: A People of the Celtic Fringe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978. (Ireland)
- Glenny, Michael. *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War*. New York: Penguin, 1992.
- Gmelch, George. *The Irish Tinkers: The Urbanization of an Itinerant People*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1987.
- Gurr, Ted R. *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993. (Italy, Norway, former USSR except Russia)
- Hooper, John. *The Spaniards: A Portrait of the New Spain*. New York: Viking, 1988.
- Horak, Stephan M. *Eastern European Ethnic Minorities, 1919–1980: A Handbook*. Littleton, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1985. (Albania, Bulgaria, Romania)
- Husband, Charles. "The Political Context of Muslim Communities' Participation in British Society." In *Muslims in Europe*, Bernard Lewis and Dominique Schnapper, eds., 79–97. (Great Britain)
- Jansen, Johannes J. G. "Islam and Muslim Civil Rights in the Netherlands." In *Muslims in Europe*, Bernard Lewis and Dominique Schnapper, eds., 39–53. (Netherlands)
- Jones, Trevor. *Britain's Ethnic Minorities: An Analysis of the Labour Force Survey*. London: Policy Studies Institute, 1993.
- Kelly, Aidan J. D. "Ethnic Identification, Association and Redefinition: Muslim Pakistanis and Greek Cypriotes in Britain." In *New Identities in Europe*, Karmela Liebkind, ed., 77–115. (Great Britain)
- Khazanov, Anatoly M. *After the USSR: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Politics in the Commonwealth of Independent States*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.
- Killingray, David. "Africans in the United Kingdom: An Introduction." *Immigrants and Minorities* 12 (1993): 2–27.
- King, Russell, ed. *Mass Migration in Europe: The Legacy and Future*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 1995.
- Kipel, Vitaut. *Byelorussian Statehood*. New York: Byelorussian Central Council, 1988. (Belarus)
- Krejci, Jaroslav; and Vitezslav Zelimsky. *Ethnic and Political Nations in Europe*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.
- Lange, Anders. "Identifications, Perceived Cultural Distance and Stereotypes in Yugoslav and Turkish Youths in Stockholm." In *New Identities in Europe*, Karmela Liebkind, ed., 169–218. (Sweden)
- Levinson, David, ed. *Encyclopedia of World Cultures*. New York: G. K. Hall/Macmillan, 1991–1995.
- Levinson, David. *Ethnic Relations*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1994.



- Lewis, Bernard and Dominique Schnapper, eds. *Muslims in Europe*. London: Pinter, 1994. (France, Germany, Great Britain)
- Liebkind, Karmela, ed. *New Identities in Europe*. Aldershot: Gower, 1989.
- Liebkind, Karmela. "Patterns of Ethnic Identification among Finns in Sweden." In *New Identities in Europe*, Karmela Liebkind, ed., 116–39. (Sweden)
- Levin, M. G.; and L. P. Potapov, eds. *The Peoples of Siberia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964. Translated by Stephen P. Dunn and Ethel Dunn. Originally published in Russian in 1956. (Russia)
- Longworth, Philip. *The Cossacks*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969. (Russia)
- Ludtke, Jean. *Atlantic Peaks: Ethnographic Guide to the Portuguese-Speaking Atlantic Islands*. Hanover, MA: Christopher Publishing House, 1989. (Azores, Madeira)
- Magocsi, Paul R. *Our People: Carpatho-Rusyns and Their Descendants in North America*, 3rd edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Mayer, Kurt. "Ethnic Tensions in Switzerland: The Jura Conflict." In *Nations Without a State: Ethnic Minorities in Western Europe*, Charles R. Foster, ed., 189–208. (Switzerland)
- McRae, Kenneth D. *Conflict and Compromise in Multilingual Societies: Switzerland*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1983.
- Minority Rights Group. *Minorities and Autonomy in Western Europe*. London: Minority Rights Group, 1991. (Netherlands, Switzerland)
- Motyl, Alexander J., ed. *The Post-Soviet Nations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992. (Russia)
- Nauck, Bernhard. "Changes in Turkish Migrant Families in Germany." In *Muslims in Europe*, Bernard Lewis and Dominique Schnapper, eds., 130–47. (Germany)
- Nielsen, Jorgen. *Muslims in Western Europe*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992. (France, Great Britain, Germany)
- Olcott, Martha B., ed. *The Soviet Multinational State: Readings and Documents*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1990. (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia)
- Olson, James S., ed. *An Ethnohistorical Dictionary of the Russian and Soviet Empires*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994. (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine)
- Peach, Ceri; and Günther Glebe. "Muslim Minorities in Western Europe." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18 (1995): 26–46. (France, Great Britain, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Netherlands, Germany)
- Pettai, Vello A. "Shifting Relations, Shifting Identities: The Russian Minority in Estonia after Independence." *Nationalities Papers* 23 (1995): 405–11.
- Pi-Sunyer, Oriol. "Dimensions of Catalan Nationalism." In *Nations Without a State: Ethnic Minorities in Western Europe*, Charles R. Foster, ed., 101–15. (Spain)
- Poulton, Hugh. *The Balkans: Minorities and States in Conflict*. London: Minority Rights Group, 1993. (Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia)
- Pristinger, Flavia. "Ethnic Conflict and Modernization in the South Tyrol." In *Nations Without a State: Ethnic Minorities in Western Europe*, Charles R. Foster, ed., 153–88. (Italy)
- Pribichevich, S. *Macedonia: Its People and History*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992.
- Raun, Toivo U. "Ethnic Relations and Conflict in the Baltic States." In *Ethnic Nationalism and Regional Conflict*, edited by W. Raymond Duncan and G. Paul Holman, Jr., 155–82. (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania)
- Roy, Olivier. "Islam in France: Religion, Ethnic Community or Social Ghetto?" In *Muslims in Europe*, Bernard Lewis and Dominique Schnapper, eds., 54–66. (France)

- Salt, John. *Migration and Population Change in Europe*. United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, Research Paper No. 19. New York: United Nations, 1993.
- Savigear, Peter. "Corsica and the French State." In *Nations Without a State: Ethnic Minorities in Western Europe*, Charles R. Foster, ed., 116–35. (France)
- Schierup, Carl-Ulrik; and Aleksandra Alund. *Will They Still Be Dancing: Integration and Ethnic Transformation among Yugoslav Immigrants in Scandinavia*. Umea, Sweden: Department of Sociology, University of Umea, 1986.
- Statteika, E. "Ethnic Minorities (Russians) in Lithuania." *Nationalities Papers* 23 (1995): 401–04.
- Suny, Ronald G. *The Making of the Georgian Nation*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.
- Svanberg, Ingvar. "The Turkish-Speaking Ethnic Groups of Europe." *Europa Ethnica* 5 (1984): 65–73.
- Sweeney, Jim; and Josef Weidenholzer, eds. *Austria: A Study in Modern Achievement*. Aldershot: 1988.
- Tägil, Sven. *Ethnicity and Nation Building in the Nordic World*. London: Hurst & Company, 1995.
- Taylor, Barry. *Andorra*. Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 1993.
- U.S. Committee for Refugees. *1995 World Refugee Survey*. New York: U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1995.
- Verdonk, Ambrose. "Young Spanish Migrants in the Netherlands and Switzerland on Their Ethnic Identity." In *New Identities in Europe*, Karmela Liebkind, ed., 140–68. (Netherlands, Switzerland)
- Weekes, Richard V., ed. *Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey*, 2nd edition. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Winchester, Hillary. *Contemporary France*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1993.
- Woolard, Kathryn A. *Double Talk: Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989. (Spain)
- Zaprudnik, I. A. *At a Crossroads in History*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1993. (Belarus)
- Zulaika, Joseba. *Basque Violence: Metaphor and Sacrament*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1988. (Spain)

# Albania

With a population of 3.4 million, Albania is in the Balkan region of southern Europe and is bordered by the Adriatic Sea on the west, Serbia on the north and northwest, Macedonia on the east, and Greece on the southeast. From the end of World War II to 1990, Albania was under Communist rule. From 1967 to 1990, the practice of any religion was banned by the government—it was the only officially atheistic nation in the world. Before then, Albania's population was primarily Muslim, with large minorities of Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic practitioners. Since the end of Communist rule in 1990, religious freedom has been restored—but the role of religion in Albania today is unclear.

## Ethnic Composition

Albania is an ethnically homogeneous society. **Albanians** have for centuries been the dominant ethnic group and today constitute about 95% of the population. They call themselves **Shiptare**, number about 3.3 million in Albania, and comprise two regional subgroups, the **Ghegs** in the north and the **Tosks** in the south. Gheg culture is notable for its clan structure (rare in Europe in the 20th century), extended families, and blood feuds. Religious, cultural, and linguistic differences that separated the two groups largely disappeared during the era of Communist rule, and today Albanians are seen as a single ethnic group. Albanians may be descended, at least in part, from the Illyrians who settled in the region some 4,000 years ago, and this ancestry has served to keep them distinct from neighboring Slavic peoples who moved into the region several thousand years later. The only other sizable groups in Albania are the Greeks and Vlachs.

**Greeks** constitute between 2% and 5% of the population and live mainly in the south along the border with Greece. Since the reopening of the border in 1990, many have moved to Greece.

The **Vlach** population is estimated at between 35,000 and 100,000. Formerly nomadic sheepherders, the Vlachs were settled forcibly by the Communist government and are now assimilated into Albanian society. Sometimes

considered Romanian because their language is similar, Vlachs are a remnant population descended from the Illyrians and Thracians who interacted with the Slavic population over the centuries in the Balkans.

Other groups in Albania include small communities of **Italians** and **Montenegrins** in the north, **Jews** in cities, **Gypsies**, **Slav Macedonians** in the southeast, **Armenians**, **Pomaks**, and **Blacks** descended from slaves brought from Africa during the rule of the Ottoman Empire.

## Ethnic Relations

Albania itself is free of major ethnic conflict, with the major conflicts involving ethnic Albanians and Serbs in the Kosovo region of neighboring Serbia (*see* Yugoslavia) and Albanians and Macedonians in Macedonia (*see* Macedonia). Under Communist rule (1946–90), Greeks were the object of discrimination, manifested in restrictions on using the Greek language, a closed border with Greece, and forced relocations. Forced assimilation, including restrictions on the use of Greek names and speaking Greek in public, has lessened since 1990 and the Greeks remaining in Albania have become more politically active. However, refusal by the Greek government since 1989 to accept many Albanians seeking entry into Greece has created animosity directed at the Greek minority in Albania.



# Andorra

**A**ndorra is a small nation in the Pyrenees mountains along the border between Spain and France. It has a population of 55,000, composed of 54% **Spaniards**, 29% **Catalans**, 6% **French**, 3% **Portuguese**, and the remainder mainly from other Western European nations. About 50% of the Spaniards and most of the French are not Andorran citizens, although they live in Andorra and have work permits. Foreign immigration is limited to the Spaniards and French, who may immigrate to work in Andorra.

**Andorran** is a national rather than an ethnic label, and individuals classified as Andorran are ethnically **Catalan** (see Spain). Catalan is the official language of Andorra, although French and Spanish are also commonly spoken. Roman Catholicism is the official religion; 94% of the people are Roman Catholics, the remainder being Protestant, along with a small number of Jews. Though small and landlocked, Andorra is a prosperous nation due to its thriving international banking operations and tourism. Because of governmental controls on immigration and the prospering economy, ethnic conflict is not an issue.

# Armenia

**A**rmenia is a small nation in southeastern Europe that is bordered by Georgia on the north, Azerbaijan on the east, Iran on the south, and Turkey on the west. With a population of 3.5 million, 94% of whom are ethnic Armenians, the Republic of Armenia is one of the most ethnically homogenous nations in the world. The Armenians and an Armenian state have been a presence in the region for over 3,000 years, although borders have shifted. Armenia has been ruled by Turks, Byzantines, Persians, and Russians, and was part of the Soviet Union for much of the 20th century. The modern nation is located in what was previously called Eastern Armenia. The area once known as Western Armenia, located within the borders of modern Turkey, was emptied of Armenians through the genocide and forced relocations of the early 20th century.

## Ethnic Composition

Armenia is ethnically homogeneous. **Armenians** have been a distinct ethnic group in the region for over 3,000 years and formed the first Christian nation in the world between A.D. 301 and 330. Religion, especially the Armenian Orthodox Church, remains a unifying force for Armenians both inside and outside Armenia. Other key features of Armenian culture include the large, extended family networks; the long and deep literary and artistic traditions; and ties to the homeland.

The **Khemsil**, Armenians who converted to Islam in the 18th century under Ottoman rule, live mainly in Turkey. Because of the frequent invasions of Armenia and rule imposed by other nations, many Armenians at various times over the millennia have been forced to

flee their homeland, and today there is a large Armenian diaspora. Because of this diaspora, the genocide in Turkey, and the antiquity of their ethnic identity, the Armenian experience is often likened to that of the Jews.

**Azerbaijani** were the second largest ethnic group in Armenia (2.6% of the population) during the Soviet era, but due to ongoing conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, nearly all have now fled or have been expelled.

**Russians** numbered 51,600 in 1989, but probably fewer than that live in Armenia in 1997—many left following Armenian independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. During the Soviet era, the Armenian government was a close ally of Russia, although relations turned hostile in the late 1980s when the Soviet government failed to meet Armenian demands for the unification of the Nagorno-Karabakh re-



gion in Azerbaijan with Armenia. Still, Russians in Armenia remain influential in economic affairs, and Armenians who speak Russian remain at an advantage in dealing with the Russian government and with foreign businesses located in Russia.

**Kurds** in Armenia numbered 56,000 in 1989, with Armenia having the largest number of Kurds of any of the former Soviet republics. This number is, of course, only a small percentage of the 23 million Kurds in the world, who are primarily in the Middle East. Kurds are mainly Sunni Muslims, and a large segment of the community is formed by those who fled Azerbaijan in the 1920s. Relations with the Armenians are peaceful though socially distant.

**Yezidis**, who numbered about 52,000 in 1989, speak Kurdish and are considered by many outsiders to be Kurds although they view themselves as a distinct ethnic group and live apart from the Kurds. Their distinctiveness rests on their unique religion, based on elements drawn from Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam; their belief that they are descended from Adam alone; avoidance of commercial activities; and a social structure of three castes: laypersons, and those with special religious status called *pyir* and *sheikh*. Yezidi relations with the Armenians are peaceful.

Other groups in Armenia include several thousand **Greeks** and **Ukrainians**.

## Ethnic Relations

Ethnic relations within Armenia are peaceful, with the nation's ethnic conflicts being mainly external and involving the neighboring Turkish Turks and Azerbaijani Turks—the Armenians are bitter enemies of both. The ongoing conflict with the Azerbaijanis is covered in the entry on Azerbaijan. Although tensions remain between the Russians and Armenians in Armenia, there is little threat of violent conflict.



*Armenian soldiers on the move in 1993 during the war with Azerbaijan over the Nagorno-Karabakh region.*  
Photo: Reuters/Corbis-Bettmann.

# Austria

**A**ustria, located in central Europe, is bordered by Germany and the Czech Republic on the north, Slovakia on the northeast, Hungary on the southeast, Slovenia and Italy on the south, and Switzerland on the west. Austria was created in 1918 through the unification of Vienna and the six German-speaking provinces of the defunct Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1945, Burgenland was added. To some extent, all eight provinces—Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Steiermark, Tirol, Carinthia, Salzburg, Vorarlberg, and Burgenland—retain something of their distinct cultural traditions. Since 1945, however, all have been incorporated into the emerging Austrian national culture through governmental control of the education system and media and a conscious effort to promote an Austrian identity separate from that of Germany. Austria has a population of 7,986,000 of whom between 95% and 99% are Austrian and speak the southern dialect of Ger-

man. Because Austria classifies ethnic identity on the basis of language, some non-Austrians who speak that dialect of German may be lumped in the Austrian category. "Austrian" is more a national designation than an ethnic designation, as Austrians are closely related to southern Germans in language and culture, especially to Bavarians.

## Ethnic Composition

**Austrians** are citizens of the nation of Austria, drawn together by their language (German), religion (Roman Catholicism), values that emphasize both the rural history of the nation and its modern sophistication, and a general desire to forge an identity separate from Germans. Forces working against an Austrian identity include the growing desire for unification with Germany and the cultural traditions of the regional cultures. Especially important are local, class-based networks in which individuals spend most of their lives. Austrian society is divided into five classes—farmers, workers, bureaucrats, wealthy landowners, and nobility. About 85% of Austrians are Roman Catholic.

Most of the other ethnic groups with sizable populations in Austria fall into two categories—guest workers, and populations near the borders of their homelands. The major guest worker groups are the Serbs and Turks, most of whom live in Vienna. The **Serbs** number perhaps as many as 250,000, while the **Turks** number about 100,000. Other guest workers come from Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Romania.

Groups from nearby nations include the **Croats**, numbering about 20,000, who live mainly in Burgenland where they were first settled by the Hapsburgs in the 17th century; **Czechs**, who migrated to Austria in the late 1800s and early 1900s in search of employment in Vienna and other major cities and are assimilated into Austrian society; **Hungarians**, numbering about 15,000, mostly farmers who live in Burgenland on the border with Hungary, their presence in Austria the result of post-World War I negotiations that placed the province within Austria's borders; **Slovaks**, who migrated to Austria in the late 1800s and early 1900s in search of employment in Vienna and other major cities and were rapidly assimilated into Austrian society; and **Slovenes**, numbering about 20,000, mostly farmers who have

lived for several thousand years in relatively isolated communities in Carinthia, and in the 20th century have been subjected to discrimination by the German-speaking majority in the region.

The **Gypsy** population is quite small, about 40,000, and both Roma and Sinti groups have lived in Austria since the 14th century. They currently live mainly in Vienna and Burgenland, where compulsory education and efforts to include them in the industrial workforce have not yet led to assimilation.

Vienna is a cosmopolitan city that draws residents from all over the world, including Iran, Russia, France, Spain, and the United States.

## Ethnic Relations

Austrian law classifies the Croat, Czech, Hungarian, Slovak, and Slovene minorities as official minorities, while Jews, Gypsies, Turks, and Serbs, and others are not so classified. Although official policy protects minority rights, mass executions and assimilation pressures before and following World War II have substantially reduced the populations of all minorities. Austrian law limits the number of guest workers allowed in the country, but because they can bring spouses and children, guest workers may account for almost 10% of the population. There is considerable anti-Semitism in Austria, although Jews number less than 10,000. There also is resentment of foreign workers (who constitute about 13% of Vienna's population) and a fear of being overrun by refugees from Eastern Europe. Austria has a history of strained ethnic relations with its neighbors: with Italy, based on the treatment of Austrian Tiroleans in northern Italy; with Romania, concerning the treatment of Austrians in Transylvania; and with Croatia and Slovenia, regarding the treatment of Croats and Slovenes in Burgenland.



# Belarus

**B**elarus (formerly called Belarussia or Byelorussia) is a small nation in Eastern Europe bordered by Latvia and Russia on the north, Russia on the east, Ukraine on the south, and Poland and Lithuania on the west. The population is 10.2 million, composed mainly of Slavic peoples—Belarusians, Russians, Ukrainians, and Poles. Ancestors of modern-day Belarusians have been settled in the region since the 9th century A.D. Once forming the core of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, by the 16th century the region came under Polish control, and in the 17th and 18th centuries under the control of Muscovy and then Russia. Belarus was closely linked to Russia during the 20th-century Soviet era, and it remains so in the 1990s.

## Ethnic Composition

Ethnically, nearly the entire population is Slavic. The largest group is the **Belarusians** (formerly called **Belarussians**, or **White Russians**), who number about 8 million, or 78% of the population. Their language is Belarusian, which is closely related to Ukrainian and Russian. Despite efforts to promote the use of Belarusian and its status as the national language since 1991, Russian is commonly spoken and remains the language of government. Since Belarus's independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, there has been an effort to begin to teach Belarusian in the schools. Nearly all Belarusians are adherents of Eastern Orthodoxy. Major distinguishing cultural features, which are now found mainly in rural areas, include distinctive red, white, and black colors in dress; an emphasis on fabric crafts; dramatic religious ceremonies; a style of folk music and song dating to pre-Christian times; and a form of Eastern Orthodoxy that combines indigenous practices such as harvest festivals with Christianity. There are large populations with Belarus ancestry in Canada, the United States, Australia, Ukraine, Russia, Poland, and Central Asia, although as immigrants, they have often been classified as Russians.

The three other Slavic peoples form about 20% of the population of Belarus, with **Poles** numbering about 418,000, or about 4% of the population (*see* Poland); **Russians** numbering about 1.4 million, or 13% of the population (*see* Russia); and **Ukrainians** numbering about 300,000, or 3% of the population (*see* Ukraine).

The only non-Slavic group of significant size is the **Jews**, estimated at anywhere from 75,000 to 112,000. The easing of restrictions on emigration and an increase in anti-Semitic rhetoric has led many Belarusian Jews to leave for Israel and the United States since the late 1980s.

## Ethnic Relations

Beginning in the 18th century and continuing on through the Soviet period, Belarusians were subject to a Russification campaign that restricted their political rights and language use, converted many from Roman Catholicism and indigenous religions to Eastern Orthodoxy, and made the country an economic appendage of Russia. Resistance to Russian rule emerged in the mid-1800s along with an increased sense of distinct Belarusian identity. In 1921, the territory that is now Belarus was divided among Belarus, Russia, Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia, and Russification continued, interrupted only by World War II, which devastated the nation. The Sovietization policies of the post-World War II era further Russified the population, with Russian replacing Belarusian as the primary language.

In 1991 Belarus became an independent nation, and Belarus experienced a cultural revival along with political independence. The relationship between Belarusians and the Ukrainians and Russians—associated with the old political order—is an ambivalent one. On the one hand, the groups are culturally and linguistically closely related and there is a long history of contact, although not always peace-

ful. On the other hand, Russian rule prevented the emergence of an autonomous Belarusian national culture and, to a large extent, replaced the Belarusian language with Russian.

The economic and political realities of the 1990s seem to have taken precedence over con-

cerns about cultural autonomy; in 1995 and 1996, Belarus and Russia entered into agreements that made them political and economic partners. Anti-Semitism has reappeared in the post-Soviet era, which is one factor encouraging Jews to leave Belarus.

## Belgium

**B**elgium is a small nation in northern Europe, bordered on the north by the North Sea and the Netherlands, on the east by Germany and Luxembourg, and on the south and east by France. It has a population of 10,082,000. Belgium is a modern, postindustrial society, with a highly educated population. The city of Brussels is the home of many agencies of the European Union and related institutions. Belgium became an independent nation following a revolt against the Dutch king in 1830. Although unified politically, Belgium is ethnically pluralistic and is sometimes cited by experts as a model of peaceful ethnic relations.

### Ethnic Composition

Belgium is a multicultural and bilingual society, with 55% of the population classified as Flemish, 33% as Walloon, and 12% as either German, Arabs from North Africa, Turk, Greek, Italian, or Spanish.

**Flemish (Flemings)** are defined primarily through residence in the Flemish region and by speaking Flemish dialects of Dutch. The Flemish are descended from the original Celtic inhabitants of what are now Belgian lands and the Romans and Franks who later ruled the region. Flemish culture has been heavily influenced by its location along major trade routes—shipbuilding was once a major economic activity, and shipping and small independently owned businesses are still common. Most Flemish are Roman Catholic, although many do not participate in church activities or do so only in a limited way. Flemish art, music, dance, and literature are a well known component of Western European civilization.

**Walloons** are identified through their residence in Wallonia and by speaking dialects of French. They, too, are descended from the original Celtic inhabitants of the region and Romans and Franks who arrived later. Walloons are mainly Roman Catholic, although participation in church activities is declining. Wallonia was traditionally a center

of industry and trade, and Walloon culture was heavily influenced by the French. While Walloons was once politically dominant, power has shifted since the 1960s to the Flemish, and the Walloons now see themselves as the weaker member of the partnership. Walloons constitute as much as 70% of the population of Brussels, although some are adopting the Dutch language in order to affiliate with the Flemish.

The major nonindigenous ethnic groups in Belgium are those formed by guest workers and their families from southern Europe, Asia, and Africa. **Greeks**, who numbered about 300,000 in 1985 but fewer in the 1990s, came as guest workers and work mainly in factories, the tourism trade, and construction. They are Greek Orthodox and live mainly in Wallonia. As most plan to return to Greece, they are little interested in, nor are they subject to, assimilation pressures.

**Italians**, who number fewer than 100,000, came mainly in the 1980s as guest workers in construction and industry. They are Roman Catholic, live mostly in Wallonia, and coexist peacefully with the Walloons and other European guest-worker communities.

**Arabs** are mainly from Morocco, with a smaller number from Algeria; they number about 150,000, and most reside in Wallonia or Brussels. They are Muslims and, along with

the Turks, form the poorest population in Belgium. They live in ethnic ghettos and have little social contact with the Belgians or with other ethnic minorities.

**Spaniards** number about 60,000. Most came to Belgium in the 1970s and 1980s as guest workers in tourism, construction, and industry. They are Roman Catholic and live mainly in Wallonia. As most plan to return to Spain, they are little interested in, nor are they subject to, assimilation pressures.

**Turks** number about 100,000, with most residing in Wallonia or Brussels. They are Muslims and, along with the Arabs, form the poorest population in Belgium. They live in ethnic ghettos and have little social contact with the Belgians or with other ethnic minorities.

**Germans** are another major nonindigenous group in Belgium. They number about 70,000 and live in the eastern part of Wallonia, near the border with Germany. Most German speakers in the country became Belgian citizens following the redrawing of the Belgian and German border in 1919. These German speakers enjoy some degree of legal, political, and cultural autonomy.

**Jews** in Belgium number about 40,000 and live in major cities, where they work as merchants or professionals.

Other non-guest worker groups include **French** near the border with France and a small **Russian** community composed of the descendants of those who fled Russia after the 1917 Revolution.

## Ethnic Relations

Relations between the Flemish and Walloons, while peaceful, remain distant. There are even

independent Flemish and Walloon national assemblies in Belgium's government. Flemish is the national language, however, and since the 1960s the Flemish have become politically and economically dominant.

Since Belgium's independence from the Netherlands in 1830, the relative power of the Flemish and the Walloons has been a major issue in Belgium. The issue is such a concern that there has been no official attempt to measure the populations of the two language groups since 1947. In the 1980s, the Belgian constitution was revised to distinguish among three communities—Flemish-, French-, and German-speaking—and three regions—Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels. Flemish live in the north and speak dialects of Dutch. Walloons live in the south and speak dialects of French. Brussels, a multicultural city, is officially bilingual, although the majority of its residents speak French as their primary language. Many Belgians speak not just French and Dutch, but also German and English. Although Belgium is sometimes described as a bilingual, bicultural nation, this is an oversimplification. The Flemish and Walloon groups are described by experts as "communities" rather than as ethnic groups, and individuals can move easily from one community to the other by learning to speak the other language.

Guest workers from southern Europe and North Africa were encouraged to come to Belgium in the 1970s and 1980s to fill vacancies in industry and construction, but in the 1990s concerns about the arrival of refugees from Africa and the former Yugoslavia have led to greater restrictions on settlement.



# Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (also known as Bosnia-Herzegovina) is located on the Balkan Peninsula in southeastern Europe. It came into existence in 1992 as part of the demise of Yugoslavia with Yugoslavia now consisting only of Serbs and Montenegrins. From the end of World War II until the 1990s, it was a multicultural republic within Yugoslavia. Bosnia-Herzegovina is bordered by Serbia (also known as Yugoslavia) on the east and south, and by Croatia on the north and west. The war that followed Bosnia-Herzegovina's independence in 1992 and ended in late 1995—involving the Bosnian Muslims, Croats, and Serbs—drastically altered the prewar population. In 1997, Bosnia-Herzegovina is a nation partitioned into two territories occupied by Bosnian Muslims, Serbs, and Croats and governed by a coalition government representing these communities under United Nations and NATO oversight. The population in 1996 was estimated to be about 2.6 million, a decrease of almost 2 million since 1991. The war resulted in about 1.3 million people being displaced within Bosnia, about 800,000 people becoming refugees elsewhere in Europe, and over 100,000 people having been killed.

## Ethnic Composition

Prior to independence and the war, Bosnia-Herzegovina was a multiethnic nation, composed of three distinct Slavic ethnic groups. Bosnian Muslims constituted 43.7% of the population, Serbs 31.5%, and Croats 17.3%. An additional 5.5% considered themselves Yugoslavians, and the remainder of the population consisted of a number of smaller groups including Vlachs, Slav Macedonians, and Gypsies.

**Bosnians** are a South Slavic ethnic group whose ancestors entered the region in the 6th and 7th centuries. They speak Serbo-Croatian with words added from Turkish, reflecting Ottoman rule of the region from the 15th century to the early 20th century. While Bosnia has been a distinct region in the Balkans for nearly 1,000 years, a sense of Bosnian ethnicity distinct from that of the Serbs and Croats emerged only in the 1800s and is based primarily on religious differences—Bosnians are Muslims, whereas the other groups are Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic. Another difference is that the Bosnians who converted to Islam were mainly urban professionals and business owners, while the Serbs and Croats were mainly rural farmers who were dominated by the Ottoman Turks and their Bosnian Muslim supporters. This pattern (Bosnians being mainly urban professionals) continues in modern times. In addition to religion, place

of residence, and profession, a distinct Bosnian identity has been maintained by Bosnians marrying other Bosnian Muslims or Muslims from Turkey. Bosnian Muslims live mainly in central Bosnia. Bosnians living elsewhere were displaced during the war by Serbs and Croats.

**Serbs** in Bosnia are called Bosnian Serbs to distinguish them from Serbs in Serbia proper, although there is little to distinguish the groups culturally. Serbs in Serbia assisted the Serbs in Bosnia during the 1992–95 war. The Serbs live in southern, eastern, and northern Bosnia and control 49% of the territory of Bosnia.

**Croats** in Bosnia live mainly in the west and central regions, and through the 1994 peace agreement with the Bosnian Muslims, they are now aligned with the Muslims in opposition to the Serbs. To what extent other groups that lived in the region are still present is unclear. It is likely that many fled or were displaced.

## Ethnic Relations

As part of Yugoslavia, Bosnia was a multiethnic nation of Bosnian Muslims, Serbs, and Croats. Although the three groups were generally localized in distinct regions, there was also considerable mixing, especially in the large cities. Ethnic tensions were thought to be minimal, and Bosnia was sometimes cited



*Bosnian Muslims praying in a cemetery in Sarajevo in 1991.*  
Photo: Reuters/Corbis-Bettmann.

as a model of an ethnically pluralistic society. This notion came to an abrupt end when the Bosnian Muslims and Croats voted for and declared independence in 1992, over Bosnian Serb objections. The resulting war, which was started by the Bosnian Serbs with the support of Serbs in Yugoslavia, was the worst war in Europe since World War II. It pitted the Bosnians against the Serbs and Croats, and the Croats against the Serbs. With a superior military force and tactics of "ethnic cleansing," the Serbs by 1994 had control of 70% of Bosnia and had killed tens of thousands of Bosnian Muslims, driven nearly two million out of the country or to the Bosnian-held sectors, and had destroyed hundreds of villages. The Serb offensive also included attacks on civilians, including the bombing of major cities such as Sarajevo, Gorazde, and Bihac. International outrage directed at the Serbs led to United Nations peacekeeping forces in the region, and in 1994 the Croats and Bosnian Muslims resolved their differences and allied against the Serbs. By 1995 the Serb advance had been halted and much of the territory they had

gained was returned to Bosnian or Croat control. In late 1995 a peace accord was reached; Bosnia-Herzegovina would be allowed to exist as a single nation with political power shared by a central government, a Muslim-Croat federation, and a Bosnian Serb republic. In elections held in September 1996, a three-person national presidency was elected, with one president each from the Muslim, Croat, and Serb communities, and the Bosnian president, who received the most votes, serving as chair. In the house of representatives,

28 seats are for representatives from the Muslim-Croat federation and 14 for those from the Bosnian Serb republic. In addition, the Bosnian Serb republic elects its own president and national assembly and the Muslim-Croat federation its own house of representatives.

Despite this political structure, the presence of about 40,000 foreign troops, and the indictment of former Bosnian Serb leaders for war crimes, peace is not secure. The desire of some Croat communities for unification with Croatia and fears of Serb desires for unification with Serbia raise questions about how long the multiethnic nation will survive. The Bosnian alliance with the Croats is based on the practical reality that the Bosnians require Croat support in any future war with the Serbs. Thus, the alliance is tenuous and the Croats have not been reluctant to keep Bosnians from resettling in territory now inhabited by Croats. For their part, the Serbs have refused to let Croats or Bosnians return to Serb-held territory, and attempts to do so have been met by forcible evictions.



# Bulgaria

**B**ulgaria is in the Balkan region of southeastern Europe and is bordered by Romania on the north, the Black Sea on the east, Turkey and Greece on the south, and Macedonia and Serbia on the west. Until 1989, it was ruled by a Communist government closely aligned with the Soviet Union. Since then it has been moving toward a democratic form of government and a capitalist economy. Bulgaria has a population of about 8.7 million.

Religion (Eastern Orthodoxy, Islam, Protestantism, and Roman Catholicism), social class distinctions, and urban/rural difference are important aspects of Bulgarian social organization. Traditionally, Bulgaria was a rural nation where most people lived by farming and herding sheep and goats. The economic sector was transformed in the 20th century to one dominated by industry and commercial agriculture, and the majority of the population now lives in urban areas.

## Ethnic Composition

Although ethnic Bulgarians form 85% of the population, Bulgaria is a multiethnic nation, due to the country's location at the crossroads of Asia and Europe and control of the region by the Muslim Ottoman Empire for nearly 500 years. The nation's population today is less diverse than in the past: some groups such as Albanians, Armenians, Czechs, Slovaks, Romanians, and Greeks are now remnant populations of less than 20,000 each.

**Bulgarians** number 7.5 million and constitute 85% of the population. They are descended from Slavic peoples who settled in the region between the 5th and 6th centuries, while the Bulgarian polity traces its roots to the Turkic peoples who entered the region in the 7th century. Most Bulgarians are Eastern Orthodox Christians, with adherence to indigenous beliefs continuing in rural areas. As the dominant group, they are subject to charges of attempting to force ethnic minorities to assimilate into Bulgarian society.

The largest minority category is **Muslims**, although there is cultural diversity within this categorization. **Turks**, nearly all of whom are Sunni Muslims, are the largest ethnic minority in Bulgaria, numbering about 750,000 or 8.5% of the population. They have lived in Bulgaria since 1396 and today live mainly in the south and northeast. The **Gagauz Turks** practice the Greek Orthodox religion, which distinguishes them from most other Turks who

are Muslims. About 12,000 live in Bulgaria, with the majority in Moldova, Ukraine, and Greece. **Pomaks**, Bulgarian Muslims who number about 280,000, live mainly in the Rhodope Mountains of southern Bulgaria. Their ancestors were converted to Islam during the period of Ottoman rule. Although they are Muslims, they speak Bulgarian and are ethnic Bulgarians.

Bulgaria has for at least 600 years had a large **Gypsy (Roma)** population, and estimates place their current number at anywhere from 260,000 to over one million. The majority live in large cities, although they are found in all regions of Bulgaria. Most work in service occupations or at low-level wage labor. The majority are Muslims, with a minority being Eastern Orthodox practitioners.

Two small remnant populations of long-time inhabitants are the **Sarakatsani** and the **Vlachs**. The **Sarakatsani** are a pastoral people located mainly in Greece, with a small number also in the border regions of southern Bulgaria. **Vlachs**, more commonly called **Karakatchans** in Bulgaria, live in the mountain regions of the north and west. Their number has been estimated at as many as 400,000, but that figure is almost certainly an overestimate. Sometimes considered Romanian because their language is similar, Vlachs are a remnant population descended from the Illyrians and Thracians who have interacted with the Slavic population over the centuries in the Balkans.



The final major group is the **Slav Macedonians**, who call themselves **Pirin Macedonians** after the southwestern region of Bulgaria where they live. Their population is approximately 200,000; their exact number is unknown, as official censuses systematically underreport them. Some segment of the group has always sought alignment with Macedonia, though the Bulgarian government has resisted such desires.

Other groups include several thousand **Albanians** and **Muslim Tatars**, **Circassians** closely tied to the Turks in the north, and remnant populations of **Jews (Sephardim and Ashkenazim)**, **Greeks**, **Russians**, **Slovaks**, **Czechs**, **Hungarians**, **Germans**, and **Armenians**.

## Ethnic Relations

Ethnic minorities in Bulgaria tend to live in villages in the south, although these communities are usually a mix of ethnic minorities and Bulgarians living together peacefully, for the most part. Ethnic relations with most minority ethnic groups are harmonious, save for with the Turks who are the object of both personal and official discrimination, the root of which is the Ottoman control of Bulgaria for almost 500 years beginning in 1396. During the Communist era, a largely ineffective policy of forced assimilation attempted to turn all non-Bulgarians into Bulgarians. In the post-Communist era since 1989, ethnic rivalries for power have been largely nonviolent, although the Bulgarians have been accused of using repressive tactics to silence political opponents. While concern remains about separatist interest in some groups, the harsher restrictions on ethnic groups have mostly ended since 1989.

During the rule of the Ottoman Empire from 1396 to the revolt of 1877, Turks ruled

the majority of Bulgarians, who feared assimilation into Turkish culture. Since Bulgarian independence, Turks have been discriminated against, and sizable numbers were expelled or allowed to return to Turkey in the 1950s, and again in 1989. In 1984, the Bulgarian government changed all Turkish names to Bulgarian ones and attempted to close mosques and restrict the worship of Islam. The Turks responded with hunger strikes, protests, and demonstrations, which were repressed by Bulgarian forces. Following the end of Communist rule in 1989, Muslim names were restored and the repressive policies ended, although animosity toward Turks remains, and both sides continue to negotiate the role of Turks in Bulgarian society.

During the Communist era, forced assimilation—such as banning religious practice and requiring Pomaks to use Bulgarian names—was the official policy. Since 1989 these efforts have largely ended, and Pomaks freely practice Islam. Tensions remain, however, with the Bulgarian majority, in part because Pomaks tend to identify more closely with the Islamic Turks.

Compulsory education and other government programs have lifted the Gypsies' economic status, but Communist government assimilation policies sought to eradicate their identity. Although they are considered inferior and are discriminated against in daily life, their large number assures them a role in democratic Bulgaria.

Until the fall of the Communist government in 1989, Slav Macedonians often were classified as ethnic Bulgarians by the government, their political parties controlled, and their leaders imprisoned. Although the situation has relaxed since 1990, Bulgarian opinion is still firm in opposition to Macedonian independence.

# Croatia

The Republic of Croatia, on the Balkan Peninsula in southeastern Europe, is bordered by Slovenia and Hungary on the north, Yugoslavia (Serbia) on the east, Bosnia-Herzegovina on the south, and the Adriatic Sea on the west. Croatia became an independent nation in June 1991 upon its withdrawal from Yugoslavia. Prior to that, it had been a unit of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and then one of the republics of Yugoslavia. Since it emerged as a distinct entity in the 7th century, Croatia was ruled by the Hungarians, Austrians, Italian city-states, and the Ottoman Turks. Its location in the northern Balkans and contact with European cultures have given Croat society a strong Western European flavor. From 1991 to 1996, Croatia—along with Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina—was involved in the largest and most devastating war in Europe since World War II. The 1996 population was about five million, although relocations caused by the war make population estimates difficult.

## Ethnic Composition

Prior to the wars in the 1990s, Croats (Croatians) accounted for 78% of the population, Serbs 12%, and a mix of other groups the remaining 10%. The wars have altered this mix, with about 190,000 Bosnians and Croats from Bosnia living as refugees in Croatia; 191,000 Croats living in different regions of Croatia than before the war; and about 100,000 Serbs living under United Nations protection in the Krajina region. In addition, some 60,000 Croats are living as refugees in other nations, a sizable percentage in Germany. Thus, it is likely that in the late 1990s, Croats form a greater percentage of the population than before independence in 1991, and Serbs a smaller percentage. Most of the Bosnian refugees in Croatia are expected to return to Bosnia eventually.

**Croats** are a southern Slavic people closely related to the Serbs and Bosnians. Religion (Roman Catholicism), language (the Croatian dialect of the Serbo-Croatian language), and loyalty to the Croat nation are important elements of Croat ethnic identity. In addition to these factors, Croats differ from the Serbs and Bosnians in cultural orientation—contact with western cultures has strongly influenced Croat education, science, art, and literature, while the Serbs have been more influenced by Eastern Europe and the Bosnians by the Ottoman Turks. The recent war with the Serbs resulted in the destruction of many important symbols

of Croat culture including churches, public buildings, cemeteries, and museums. The Croats on the Adriatic Sea were heavily influenced by the Italian city-states of Genoa and Venice, and Croats in that region are sometimes classified as **Dalmatians** and are considered a distinct Croat subgroup. Croats primarily are a rural people, with some 20% of the population involved in agriculture. The large extended family has, in the 20th century, been replaced by smaller nuclear families. Almost all Croats are Roman Catholic, with many pre-Christian practices incorporated.

**Serbs** in Croatia live mainly in the Krajina region near Serbia. Following Croatia's declaration of independence in 1991, the Serbs launched a war designed to solidify Serbian control and, some experts believe, to expand the boundaries of Serbia. Using tactics labeled "ethnic cleansing," the Serbs raped, tortured, murdered, and drove off the Croats living in the Serb-dominated region. By 1995 Croatia had regained control of much of the region and they, too, were accused of using "ethnic cleansing" to drive off the Serbs. A peace treaty signed in Paris in December 1995 ended the fighting but did not completely resolve the issue of territorial control.

Prior to the war, the other ethnic minorities in Croatia were mainly from neighboring nations: **Hungarians** (234,000), **Slovenes** (234,000), and **Bosnians** (400,000). Bosnian refugees from Bosnia have increased in number. There was also a substantial **Gypsy** popu-

lation before the war, which has likely decreased in size because of immigration to Western Europe.

## Ethnic Relations

Ethnic relations concern almost exclusively the relations between the Croats and Serbs in Croatia and the Croats and Serbs in general. Through most of the 20th century, the two groups have been linked in an uneasy political alliance, first in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and then, after World War II, in Yugoslavia. The Croats have long feared and strongly resisted what they perceive as Serb attempts to gain political control in the region, to impose the use of the Serbian dialect on Croatia, and to expand the territory of Serbia by taking land from Croatia. Differences in religion also have also led to difficulties between the groups. During World War II the Croats aided the Nazis while the Serbs violently resisted, and some Serbs blame the Croats for atrocities committed by the Nazis. The Balkan wars of the 1990s were marked by ethnic cleansing by both Serbs and Croats, although it is believed that the Serbs were the chief perpetrators. In Croatia, the Serbs have been promised regional autonomy



*Croatian civilians and Yugoslavian Serb soldiers face off during the 1991 conflict as Yugoslavia disintegrated. Photo: Reuters/Corbis-Bettmann.*

upon the successful implementation of a peace treaty. In Bosnia, the Serbs and Croats form separate political factions and live in separate regions.

# Cyprus

Located in the eastern Mediterranean Sea, Cyprus is an island nation separated since 1983 into the Republic of Cyprus (occupying the southern two-thirds of the island) and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (occupying the northern third). The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is recognized only by Turkey, while the Republic of Cyprus is recognized internationally. The island population is 736,000: 78% Greek Cypriots, and 18% Turkish Cypriots, with small numbers of Maronites and Armenians.

## Ethnic Composition

**Greek Cypriots** have lived on Cyprus since 1200 B.C. Most are members of the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus, which has been independent since A.D. 488. Central to Greek Cypriot identity is the concept of *enosis*—unification with Greece—which arose following

the formation of the modern Greek nation in the 1830s and spread and deepened during the period of British rule of Cyprus from 1878 to 1960. Today, the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church in political affairs has diminished, the economy is expanding, and Greek Cypriots see themselves as full members of the Western European community.



**Turkish Cypriots** are mostly descendants of Turks who settled on the island during the period of Ottoman rule (1571–1878). They are Muslims, supported by and closely affiliated with Turkey. In opposition to the Greek goal of *enosis*, Turks have desired *taksim*—division of the island into Greek and Turkish zones—to avoid becoming an ethnic minority. Since partition, the Turkish sector has not expanded economically and is still heavily dependent on agriculture and on support from Turkey.

In addition to Greeks and Turks, the other major ethnic groups are Armenians and Maronite Christians. **Armenians** arrived on Cyprus after World War I. Numbering fewer than 3,000, they form an urban trading class in the Greek sector. **Maronites** are Arabic-speaking Christians from Lebanon and Syria who have lived as farmers on Cyprus for over 400 years. They number several thousand and nearly all live in the Greek sector.

### Ethnic Relations

As a natural stopping place between Europe and the Middle East, the island has been ruled by various peoples and governments including the Greeks, Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines, various Mediterranean

states, the Ottoman Turks, and the British, although only the Ottoman Turks had a major influence.

Since the 1960s the island has experienced continuing ethnic conflict—sometimes violent—between the Greek and Turkish communities. Underlying the conflict are strong nationalistic sentiments in Greece and Turkey, British colonial policy that emphasized ethnic differences and kept the communities apart, and economic competition as the island industrialized. Both Turkey and Greece have been involved in providing support for their co-ethnics on the island. Since the mid-1970s, the Greeks and Turks have lived separately—Greeks in the south and Turks in the north. For the previous 400 years, the groups lived in neighboring villages or side-by-side in cities across the island. A United Nations peacekeeping force has been charged with maintaining peace along the border separating the two communities since 1963. While a full Cypriot cultural identity never developed, over the centuries both Turks and Greeks on Cyprus had a sense of being different from their co-ethnics on the mainland. At the same time, differences in language and religion—and, later, allegiance to their homelands—kept the two communities on Cyprus apart.

## Czech Republic

**T**he Czech Republic, in Central Europe, is bordered by Germany and Poland on the north, Slovakia on the east, Austria on the south, and Germany on the southwest and west. It came into existence on 1 January 1993 following the division of Czechoslovakia into the two nations of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The population is 10,940,000, 95% of whom are ethnic Czechs. The region that is now the Czech Republic enjoyed independence from the 10th to the early 17th centuries as the Bohemian Kingdom, and flourished as the cultural center of Central Europe. It was during this period that the strong and continuing literary, musical, and artistic traditions developed. Following several hundred years of decline, the Czechs became independent in 1918 with the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Since then, the borders have been redrawn a number of times. Today, the borders are largely congruent with areas of traditional Czech settlement, and the populations of Germans and Poles, which once formed large minorities, have decreased in size.

## Ethnic Composition

With Czechs forming 95% of the population, the Czech Republic is ethnically homogeneous. **Czechs** are a Slavic people whose ancestors have lived in what is now the Czech Republic since at least the 7th century. At times, the Czechs have been politically united with the Slovaks and other Slavic peoples. A distinct Czech nation and national identity have existed longer than a national ethnic identity in neighboring nations such as Germany. Czech culture can be described in a very general sense as notable for its emphasis on rational and pragmatic thinking, a long tradition of intellectual and artistic achievement, an ideology which during years of foreign rule emphasized passive resistance, the absence of religion as an organizing force, and a dichotomy between the rural/peasant culture of the small towns and the westernized culture of the larger cities. Most Czechs are Roman Catholic, Protestant, or atheist, but even for adherents, participation is limited to major holidays and rites.

The only other significant ethnic groups are Germans, Poles, and Slovaks near the borders with those nations, and Gypsies. **Germans** number approximately 150,000–200,000 and live in border regions in the north. They are a small remnant of the three million Germans who lived there before World War II, most of whom were deported across the border after the war. Germans are now classified as an ethnic minority.

**Poles** number about 80,000 and live in the mining region on the northern end of the bor-

der with Slovakia. Their numbers are increased substantially by workers and tourists who frequently cross the border. Fear of losing the region to Poland has led to efforts to control the political influence of Poles in the region.

**Slovaks** form about 3% of the population and live mainly near the Slovakia border.

**Gypsies**, including Rom, Sinti, and Vlach Gypsies (who are different from the Vlach of the Balkans), have been in the former Czechoslovakia for at least 600 years. Most have always lived in what is now Slovakia, and today about 165,000 live in the Czech Republic, many of whom resettled from Slovakia in the northern regions of the Czech Republic in settlements formerly occupied by Germans. The Gypsy population of the Czech Republic before World War II, long the object of persecution, was nearly annihilated by the Nazis and was the object of forced assimilation under the Communist government.

## Ethnic Relations

Ethnic relations in the Czech Republic are now peaceful, although minority participation in regional and national politics is carefully monitored and controlled. During the era of Czech-Slovak unification, relations between the groups were strained though peaceful. Czechs tended to see Slovaks as poor rural folk, while Slovaks often bristled at Czech dominance of the national economy and political system. Czechs continue to worry about German expansion from the north, west, and south.

# Denmark

**D**enmark is located on the most northerly extension of the West European Plain, which projects into Scandinavia as the peninsula of Jutland, pointing northward toward Norway and Sweden. Denmark also includes several hundred islands.

Denmark was once a larger nation. Its territory included Holstein and Schleswig to the south, taken by Germany in 1864, and the provinces of Scania, Halland, and Blekinge to the northeast, which became provinces of Sweden in 1660. Present-day Norway was part of Denmark from 1380 to 1814, and Denmark controlled Iceland from 1380 to 1918.

The Kingdom of Denmark today includes the Faroe Islands and Greenland, although both enjoy considerable freedom under a policy of home rule. Denmark is an industrialized, urban-

ized nation with a population of 5.2 million. Danish is the national language, but many Danes speak a second language—German was most common before World War II, and English is most common since then. Most residents (91%) are Lutherans, with Islam ranking second.

## Ethnic Composition

Denmark was ethnically homogeneous prior to World War II, with the only significant non-Danish groups being other Scandinavians and, in the south, Germans. Following the war, a large labor force migrated from southern Europe to Sweden, which led to a similar government policy in Denmark. The migration to Denmark expanded over the years to include people from Asia and the Middle East, as well as refugees from Africa, Europe, and Asia. In the 1990s, 23 different non-Danish ethnic groups were living in Denmark, each with a thousand people or more. However, the population is still largely homogeneous, as non-Danes total only 153,000, or 3% of the population. People of Swedish, German, and Norwegian ancestry have a low collective profile due to rapid assimilation, while other groups, notably Muslims from the Middle East and Asia, are visible minorities who also exhibit a somewhat stronger desire to preserve their cultural traditions.

**Danes** make up 97% of the population of Denmark. The term "Dane" can be traced to the Middle Ages when the Old Nordic term "Danir" was in use. The current sense of Danish ethnic identity emerged in the 19th century from the rural way of life followed for centuries by Danish peasants. Prior to the 19th century, Danish culture, as reflected by the elite living in cities, was heavily influenced by Western Europe, which tended to blur their distinctiveness as Danes.

**Icelanders** living in Denmark numbered 3,050 in 1990. Iceland is a former Danish colony and Icelanders are culturally and linguistically very similar to Danes. Icelandic immigrants have assimilated quickly and thoroughly into Danish society.

**Faroe Islanders** or **Faroese** form a second native population. They are the inhabitants of the Faroe Islands in the North Atlantic Ocean, a self-governing dependency of Denmark. Faroe Islanders are descended from Nordic peoples who settled the islands since 9th cen-

tury. The islands have been under Danish and Norwegian rule and were a Danish province from 1816 until 1948, at which time they became self-governing. Faroe Islanders see themselves as culturally distinct from the Danes and other Nordic peoples. Their way of life reflects a merging of traditional customs focused on fishing, sheepherding, hunting, with involvement in the modern world economy. Faroe Islanders are Lutherans within the Danish Lutheran Church. Relations with Denmark are generally harmonious, save for foreign policy disagreements resulting from Danish control of the island's foreign policy.

The "non-native" ethnic groups in Denmark can be lumped into a number of general categories—other Nordic peoples, Eastern Europeans, Western Europeans, Muslims, and southern Europeans.

Denmark is home to thousands of people of Norwegian and Swedish heritage. **Swedes** number 8,000 and are culturally and linguistically very similar to Danes, and thus are assimilated thoroughly into Danish society.

**Norwegians** number 10,000. Danes and Norwegians share a common history and speak dialects of the same language. Norway was a province of Denmark for over 400 years, and both were occupied by Germany during World War II. Norwegians, like Swedes, are assimilated completely into Danish society.

**Eastern Europeans** are mainly **Yugoslavs** and **Poles**. Immigrants of these nationalities first went to Sweden, and later to Denmark, in response to the increase in the demand for laborers following World War II. These people of Eastern European ancestry number about 14,000. Despite high levels of integration, a majority of Yugoslavs and Poles continue to harbor strong feelings of attachment to their country of origin and a desire for eventual return. Thus, these immigrants participate in two sociocultural systems—Denmark's, and that of Poland or Yugoslavia.

**Bosnians** number about 20,000, and most of them live in Denmark as temporary residents. While the majority are expected to re-



turn to Bosnia eventually, some are permitted to work in Denmark and may seek to be permanent residents.

The largest Western European groups in Denmark are the British, Germans, and Jews. **Britons** number about 10,000. Many are business persons or professionals, integrated but not assimilated into Danish society.

**Germans** number 18,000, and a large percentage live on the Jutland peninsula in Sonderjylland County, adjacent to the German border. German Danes in Sonderjylland County prefer to be identified both as part of a German minority and also as economically, socially, and politically integrated into Danish society. They are supported both by Danish and German governmental policies in their maintenance of ethnic networks, and individual Germans have the right to maintain or abandon their identification with the group.

**Jews** in Denmark number about 6,800. They began to arrive in Denmark as early as the 17th century and were fairly well integrated in Danish society by the beginning of World War II. In 1943 they faced deportation and extermination by the Nazis. In response, the Danes carried out a disobedience campaign against the occupying Germans to assist the Jews. It became a patriotic duty to hide Jews and help them escape to Sweden. Sweden, in turn, provided assistance and refuge to 6,000 Danish Jews who escaped over the Straits of Oresund.

**Muslims**, accounting for nearly 50% of the non-Danish population in Denmark, are mainly **Turks** (27,900), **Iranians** (8,400), and **Pakistanis** (6,300)—with considerably smaller numbers of **Iraqis** and **Kurds**. Most Bosnians are Muslim, too, but because they are European in appearance, they are not readily perceived as Muslim. All of these Muslim peoples tend to live in or near Copenhagen. Turks make up the single largest immigrant group in Denmark, with more than twice as many residents as any other group. Although Muslims are not a homogeneous group, they are often treated as such by those who focus solely on their adherence to Islam and ignore significant cultural differences, as well as the split between those who are Sunni and those who are Shi'ite Muslims.

**Southern Europeans** in Denmark are primarily **French** and **Italian** immigrants, who number almost 4,000. Most are wage laborers or fill special economic niches and are integrated into Danish society.

Other groups include small numbers of **Gypsies**, and refugees and asylum-seekers from **Ethiopia**, **Somalia**, **Sri Lanka (Tamils)**, and **Palestine**. **Vietnamese**, refugees from the Vietnam War who were allowed to settle permanently in Denmark, now number several thousand. They are not fully assimilated, although the second generation born in Denmark is participating more fully in Danish society.

## Ethnic Relations

Danish acceptance of other Nordic peoples and northern Europeans, the norm in the 20th century, has expanded to include other peoples only since World War II. Labor migrants (who began arriving in the 1950s) initially were treated favorably, but the liberal refugee policy began to be questioned in the 1980s as economic conditions deteriorated and the number and ethnic variety of refugees increased.

The earliest Muslim groups in Denmark arrived during the 1960s. Iranian immigrants, escaping the regime of the Shah, came to Denmark during the 1970s. A second wave of Iranians, trying to avoid the Iran-Iraq war, migrated during the 1980s. The Iranians have contributed to an increase in the number of Shi'ite Muslims, but the antagonism between Shi'ite and Sunni Muslims is considerably less than it is in Islamic countries. They cooperate to a certain degree and attend prayers together, although conflict between Muslim groups arises.

Political parties objecting to the admission of immigrants and refugees from non-European nations have appeared since the mid-1980s and reflect divisions in the Danish citizenry over this matter. In 1993, for example, Prime Minister Poul Schluter was forced to resign after an investigation showed that in the 1980s he had violated Danish policies by hindering the immigration to Denmark of Tamil refugees' families still in Sri Lanka. In the same year, however, new refugee and asylum policies were instituted to limit the arrival and stay

of refugees and asylum-seekers. These policies led to a decrease of more than 50% from 1993 to 1994 in the number of asylum-seekers admitted. Still, in 1995, Denmark ranked fourth in the world in the ratio of refugees and asylum-seekers granted residence to the total population, with one person resettled per 139 residents.

In Denmark, as in all the Scandinavian countries, there is a split in attitudes toward

Muslims, and there is much uncertainty over how to interpret Islamic culture and behavior. Most Danes do not know much about Islam and have misgivings about Muslim attitudes toward, or involvement with, radical political and religious movements. This uneasiness has been fueled in the 1990s by Kurdish terrorist attacks on Turkish targets in Denmark, and by Islamic fundamentalist protests at the Iranian mission in Copenhagen.

## Estonia

**E**stonia is the northernmost of the three Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. It has a population of 1,617,000 and is ethnically heterogeneous, with Estonians forming the majority of the population and Russians a large minority. Estonia has been a distinct political entity—or a conglomeration of non-unified entities—for over 1,000 years. From 1217 to 1917 and from 1940 until 1991, Estonia was under foreign rule by the Danes, Germans, Swedes, and—most recently—by the Russians. Independence came in 1991 with the demise of the Soviet Union.

### Ethnic Composition

**Estonians** number 963,000, constituting 61.5% of the population. Most Estonians are Lutheran, with a minority of adherents of Estonian Orthodoxy. Humans have lived in the territory that is now Estonia for at least 6,000 years, and modern Estonians trace their heritage to people who lived there over 2,000 years ago.

The long period of foreign rule resulted in the settlement of large numbers of **Swedes**, **Germans**, and **Russians** in Estonian territory. Most Swedes and Germans left at the start of World War II, while the Russian presence grew after Russian annexation of Estonia in 1940.

More than 300 years of Russian domination—from 1710 to 1991—have left a deep resentment of Russia and Russians, and a strong desire to establish an independent Estonia based on Estonian culture and ethnicity. **Russians** number 474,800, or 30.3% of the population. Most are workers who arrived in the post-World War II era. In the Soviet era, Russia transformed Estonia from an agricultural to an industrial nation, made it economically dependent on Russia, and controlled the

political process from Moscow. While Estonians are divided in their views as to the role of Russians in independent Estonia, changes in the language and citizenship laws, as well as preferences afforded Estonians in jobs and housing, suggest that the prevailing opinion is that the Russians either return to Russia or accept a reduced role in Estonian society.

**Belarusians** number 27,700, or 1.6% of the population. They are mainly urban workers settled in Estonia during the Soviet era, and as a small group, they are not a significant factor in the conflict situation. Few speak Estonian, and they tend to affiliate with the Russians.

**Finns** number 16,600, or 1.2% of the population. They are a largely rural people and are well assimilated into Estonian society, with some 74% speaking Estonian (41% speak it as their native language).

**Ukrainians** number 48,000, or 2.5% of the population. They are mainly urban workers settled in Estonia by the Russians. A small group, they are not a significant factor in the conflict situation. Few speak Estonian, and they tend to affiliate with the Russians.



significantly reduced the size of the community, and Finnish synagogues, schools, libraries, and other Jewish institutions barely managed to survive in the 1990s.

**Russian** immigrants number about 2,200. Russians migrated to Finland because of a common history and geographic proximity. Finland was part of Russia as a grand duchy from 1809 to 1917. Russia incorporated a huge portion of Finland in the 1940s and now shares Finland's entire eastern border. The Russian language is closer to Finnish than the Scandinavian languages, which also has made assimilation easier. Although there have been conflicts and tensions between the two nations in the past, primarily because of Russia's status as a world power and its imperialistic designs, relations between Finns and Russian settlers are harmonious.

**Turks** and other **Muslims** number about 1,000. Their nation of origin is not considered in the national census. Most live in Helsinki and are involved in commerce. Muslims first came to Finland in the middle of the 19th century, primarily from Turkey. Because of their small numbers, they are relatively "invisible" and have had difficulty maintaining the institutions needed for political participation in Finnish society.

European immigrants, other than those from northern Europe, form a significant portion of Finland's small immigrant population. However, even counted collectively, the number of those from Poland, Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Albania is insignificant compared with the often vast migrations across the borders of most other European nations. In comparison with other nations, the economic and political conditions in Finland are not attractive enough to draw other Europeans, nor is their presence

desired. None of these groups is large enough to establish a strong ethnic group identity, and therefore, individuals tend to blend into the dominant Finnish culture.

## Ethnic Relations

Swedish colonists and Swedish-speaking Finns, living primarily in southwestern Finland, have for centuries been the ruling elite. Finnish was considered to be a peasant language until the 19th century, when a nationalist movement made Finnish the official language of the country. Swedish is the second official language of Finland, spoken by about 6% of the population in 1990. The Swedish-speaking minority has declined in numbers over the years largely as a result of assimilation through marriage with Finnish speakers.

Linguistically, Finnish is the most distinct of the Scandinavian languages, which makes assimilation more difficult for immigrants from other Scandinavian countries. However, Danes and Norwegians assimilate very quickly, usually within a generation or two. In the last half-century, relations between the people of the Nordic countries have become even better. Relations between Danes, Norwegians, and Finns are excellent, more like intra-ethnic relations than interethnic relations (for example, there are long-range congruence of citizenship laws that give Danes and Norwegians, and other Nordic citizens, extensive rights in Finland).

Since the 1960s, measures have been taken to improve the Gypsies' standard of living, to settle them, to provide employment, and to outlaw racial discrimination. Still, Gypsies remain at the bottom of the Finnish social hierarchy.



Turks, and Arabs, these people are lumped together and defined by many French as one group—Muslims—and are viewed as resisting assimilation into French society. This resistance is manifested in the adherence to Islamic practices, which include daily prayer at mosques, fasting during Ramadan, scarves for women, and abstaining from pork and alcoholic beverages. In addition, many Arabs—who form the largest Muslim population—are distinguishable by their low socioeconomic status and are the object of economic, social, and religious discrimination. At the same time, many Muslim children have been born in France and many are citizens. Recent surveys indicate that a majority of the French believe that there are too many Muslims in France and that they threaten French cultural integrity. This view has been reflected in government actions in the 1990s designed to assimilate Muslims forcibly by repressing Islamic customs. The actions include arresting Muslims accused of supporting Islamic political movements in Africa or France, and in 1994, the banning of head scarves in schools for Muslim girls. Political action is centered in the National Front Party, which advocates deporting a majority of immigrants and giving French people priority in employment, social benefits, and housing. The underlying belief system of these policies is set forth by the National Front mayor of the southern city of Toulon: "We risk

being overwhelmed by an Islamic invasion from North Africa. In France bigamy is against the law. Yet we are importing bigamous, or even polygamous, unemployed foreigners and their children. The risk is that our country—a product of its heritage and its combined genes—will be transformed" (*New York Times*, 22 November 1996, A4).

Ethnic secessionist desires in Brittany and Alsace are no longer a threat, although in both regions demands for cultural autonomy and efforts to revive the regional languages continue. Similarly, Corsican demands for autonomy continue and revolve around perennial issues such as economic development, political autonomy, a right to use the Corsican language, and a right to control the Corsican education system. Although some of those in the resistance movement are committed to an independent Corsica, there seems to be only minimal support for that position among the Corsican population.

While anti-Semitism seems less a problem in France than in some other European countries such as Germany, the 1990s has seen a revival of anti-Semitic acts, including attacks on synagogues and Jewish cemeteries. Some people blame the large Muslim population in France for these attacks, while others attribute it to French anti-Semites and perhaps to a long history of anti-Semitism in France.

## Georgia

Georgia is located in southeastern Europe in the region where Asia and Europe meet. It is bordered on the north and northeast by Russia, on the southeast by Azerbaijan, on the south by Armenia and Turkey, and on the west by the Black Sea. It has a population of 5.5 million and is ethnically heterogeneous. The region has been inhabited for at least 7,000 years and has been the home of dozens of ethnic groups, most of whom merged to form new groups or were absorbed by more powerful groups over the millennia. The number of distinct ethnic groups in Georgia today is much smaller than it was even a few hundred years ago.

### Ethnic Composition

Ethnic Georgians comprise about 70% of the population, the remainder being made up of six groups: the Abkhaz, Armenians,

Azerbaijanis, Greeks, Ossetes, and Russians, each with a population exceeding 100,000, and several dozen other groups with populations ranging from a few thousand to 50,000. Georgia became an independent nation in 1991, and

as well as distinct patterns of speech associated with different urban centers such as Berlin, Munich, and Frankfurt. In the post-World War II years, there has been a strong effort by the government to diminish the role of regional cultures.

## Ethnic Composition

About 95% of people in Germany are ethnic Germans. The second largest ethnic group is the Turks, who number about 2 million. As a large, prosperous nation, Germany has also attracted significant minorities from elsewhere in Europe, Asia, Africa, and North America.

**Germans** are people whose parents are German, who speak the German language, and who are citizens of Germany. There are 76 million Germans in Germany and millions of people of German ancestry living around the world. The majority of Austrians and Swiss, as well as many Dutch, are of German ancestry, although they are no longer categorized as German. The most important of these criteria is ancestry, and Germans living outside Germany are considered ethnically German. About 45% of Germans in Germany are Protestant, 37% Roman Catholic, and 3% Muslim. Protestants are more heavily concentrated in the north and Catholics in the south.

There is a large population of people who are ethnically German living outside of Germany. The majority of the population of Switzerland and Austria are German-speaking, and sizable German populations are found near the German border in Poland, France, and Denmark, and near the Austrian border in northern Italy. Many Dutch are of German ancestry. The formerly sizable German population in the Czech Republic has now mostly returned to Germany, as have many Germans in Russia and Central Asia. In the United States, people of German ancestry are the second largest ethnic group (following the British), and there also are large German populations in Canada, Argentina, Paraguay, and Bolivia.

The only significant indigenous ethnic minority are the **Sorbs (Wends)**. They are a Slavic people identifiable as a distinct group in what is now southeastern Germany since the early 8th century. Sorbs are now bilingual in German and Sorbian due to contact with Czechs, Poles, and Germans. They number about 70,000, but the population is slowly de-

creasing through assimilation. At various times persecuted by their neighbors, and often seeking independence, the Sorbs are recognized as an official minority in Germany.

There are people from every European nation living in Germany. Probably the majority are guest workers from Eastern and Southern Europe. Eastern Europeans number nearly one million, the largest groups being **Bosnians** and **Poles** with smaller numbers of **Romanians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, and Albanians**. Most of these guest workers began arriving in Germany in the 1960s when contract labor agreements were made between their nations and Germany, and many subsequently brought their families. As the demand for labor declined in the 1970s and 1980s, the number of new arrivals decreased, but in the 1990s, many new Eastern Europeans arrived as refugees and asylum-seekers. Probably because they are European, antiforeigner resentment is less often directed at them than at the Turkish guest workers.

As with the Eastern Europeans, Southern Europeans came to Germany as contract laborers in the 1960s and 1970s and now enjoy somewhat protected status as members of other European Union nations. They include about 500,000 **Italians**, 300,000 **Greeks**, 135,000 **Spaniards**, and 85,000 **Portuguese**.

Western Europeans include **Austrians** (180,000), **Dutch** (111,000), **Britons** (95,000), and **French** (80,000), most of whom are students, government officials, businesspersons, financiers, and retirees.

**Danes** number about 75,000 and have a different historical relationship with Germany than do other Western European groups. They live in the Schleswig-Holstein region, which was part of Denmark until it was annexed by Germany in 1863. The region is now heavily populated by Germans who settled there after World War II, and Danes currently constitute only about 8% of the regional population. Conflict over political control was settled through a series of negotiations in the 1950s



# Greece

Greece is a nation in southern Europe bordered by Albania, Macedonia, and Turkey on the north; Turkey and the Aegean Sea on the east; the Mediterranean Sea on the south; and the Ionian Sea on the west. It has a population of 10,650,000. The Greek population is now mainly urban (83%), and urban-rural differences in lifestyle are important. Although people continue to articulate their regional loyalties, actual cultural variation is now much less than in the past.

## Ethnic Composition

The population is homogeneous in terms of ethnicity, religion, and language. Over 98% of the population is Greek, speaks Greek, and adheres to Greek Orthodoxy, the official religion (although religious freedom is guaranteed in the Greek constitution). Massive migrations in the 19th and 20th centuries led to the development of many large Greek communities outside Greece—mainly in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, Germany, and Russia—and as many people of Greek ancestry now live outside Greece as inside. There are few ethnic minorities in Greece,

the Turks being the most cohesive group and the object of most hostility.

**Greeks** as a distinct ethnic group emerged about 4,000 years ago. The origins of the ancient Greeks are unclear, and modern Greek culture is an amalgam of external influences and internal change. Major features of Greek cultural identity are the Greek language, Greek Orthodoxy, immersion in a network of kin, transfer of wealth to daughters when they marry, and a long tradition of migration, both within and outside Greece. Greece was ruled by the Ottoman Empire from 1453 to 1831. The modern Greek nation emerged following the 1821–1829 war with Turkey. Since then, other wars and treaties allowed for expansion northward and east and west. Population exchanges, as Greece expanded its borders with Serbia, Bulgaria, and Turkey, have made border regions with these nations essentially Greek.

The three largest ethnic minorities in Greece are the Albanians, Slav Macedonians, and Turks. **Albanians** number perhaps 100,000 in Greece and live near the Albanian border. Most long-term residents are Greek Orthodox and are assimilated into Greek society. The end of Communist rule in Albania in 1989 led to many Greek Albanians seeking residence in Greece, a desire blocked by the Greek government. Many Greek Albanians were turned back at border crossings, and others who had managed to enter Greece were expelled. Some estimates place the number of undocumented Albanians in Greece at as many as 300,000.

**Slav Macedonians** live in the Macedonia region of Greece, near the modern republic of Macedonia. They number about 200,000, and are in the same ethnic group as the Slav Macedonians in Bulgaria and Macedonia (but are no relation to the ancient Macedonians, a



*A priest in Mykonos. Adherence to the Greek Orthodox faith is a key element in Greek ethnic identity. Photo: Corel Corp.*



group of much historical and symbolic importance to modern Greeks). The Greek government does not acknowledge the Slav Macedonians as a separate people, calling them **Slavophone Greeks**. Throughout much of the 20th century, they have been the object of government discrimination: they have been forced to drop Slavic names, have been removed from government positions, and some Slav businesses have been closed. Today, the population of the Macedonia region is predominately Greek. Government concern about Slav Macedonian loyalty to Greece, and efforts by the Slav Macedonians to join the Republic of Macedonia, remain issues in Greece.

**Turks** live mainly in western Thrace near the border with Turkey and on islands near Turkey. Their number in Greece is unknown but may be as high as 130,000; the Greek government often lumps them with Pomaks and Muslim Slav Macedonians living in the same region. The majority are Muslims, although some are Eastern Orthodox Christians. Animosity between Turks and Greeks, in both Turkey and Greece, dates to the centuries of Ottoman rule. More recently, relations have been influenced by Greek fears that Turkey will attempt to take Greek land, by the ongoing conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and by what both nations perceive as the mistreatment of their people in the other nation.

The other ethnic minorities in Greece are small. **Gagauz Turks**, a Turkish ethnic group practicing the Greek Orthodox religion, are distinguished from most other Turks, who are Muslims. About 30,000 Gagauz Turks live in Greece.

**Pomaks** are Bulgarian Muslims, about 30,000 of whom live in their own villages or mixed-ethnic villages near the northwestern border with Bulgaria. Greek authorities generally classify them as Turks.

**Pontic** refers to small communities of Pontic speakers in southern Greece. Pontic is an ancient language from Asia Minor that was brought to Greece by people who migrated there from Greek settlements near the Black Sea in the early 20th century. Pontic-speaking people are assimilated into Greek society, and their language is nearly extinct in Greece.

Since 1990 more than 100,000 Pontian Greeks from the former Soviet Union have resettled in Greece, where their Greek ancestry makes them citizens. The pressure they have put on the Greek economy has made some Greeks resistant to their settlement.

**Sarakatsani** are Greek-speaking people in northwestern Greece and southern Bulgaria. They number less than 100,000, are ethnically Greek, speak Greek, and are Greek Orthodox. Their traditional sheep- and goat-herding economy and transhumant settlement pattern distinguish them from the general Greek population.

**Tsakonians** are a Greek pastoral people of the eastern Peloponnesos. They number several thousand and speak a dialect of Greek.

**Vlachs** live in mountain regions of the north and number perhaps as many as 100,000. Vlachs are a remnant population descended from the Illyrians and Thracians and have interacted with the Slavic and other peoples over the centuries in the Balkans. They speak a language similar to Romanian. In Greece, they are mainly Greek Orthodox. Vlachs today enjoy relative freedom in Greece, and since the 1980s there has been a revival of traditional Vlach culture. However, the official government position still is that they are Greeks.

**Gypsies** in Greece include both Christian and Muslim Roma, the Muslims being found mainly in Macedonia and western Thrace. Greek laws restricting the traditional Gypsy lifestyle have made the population more sedentary, although Gypsies still tend to exist on the margins of society. Estimates place their number at about 90,000.

## Ethnic Relations

In order to strengthen a sense of Greek nationalism, the Greek government attempts to minimize separate ethnic identities, and differentiates the population by language and religion, not by ethnicity. Thus, reliable census figures are not available, as anyone speaking Greek is counted as ethnically Greek. What were once significant Serb and Bulgarian populations have now largely disappeared through population exchanges in the 19th and 20th centuries. Greek relations with Turks liv-

ing in northeastern Greece remain strained, and Greeks continue to deny the existence of Slav Macedonians as a distinct group. Turks are discriminated against economically, live in substandard housing, have been the object of

systematic cultural and political repression, and generally believe that the Greeks desire either to remove all Turks from Greece or to assimilate them into Greek society.

## Hungary

**H**ungary, an Eastern European nation, is bordered by Slovakia on the north; Ukraine and Romania on the east; Romania, Yugoslavia (Serbia), and Croatia on the south; and Croatia, Slovenia, and Austria on the west. It has a population of 10,318,000. As a result of loss of land to neighboring nations after World War I and population transfers after World War II, Hungary is today a much smaller nation and much more ethnically homogeneous than it has been throughout most of its history. Hungarians account for 96% of the population, with Gypsies being the largest minority at about 500,000 people. Germans, Slovenes, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, and Romanians—who at times formed sizable groups in Hungary—are now much reduced in number and live mainly in border regions.

### Ethnic Composition

**Hungarians (Magyars)** number nearly 10 million in Hungary and 5 million in other nations—mainly Austria, Slovakia, Romania, Ukraine, Serbia, Croatia, the United States, and Canada. About two-thirds are Roman Catholic, 25% are Protestants, and 3% are Eastern Orthodox. In all three religious groups, pre-Christian beliefs and celebrations are combined with Christian beliefs and practices. Hungarians are descended from the Magyars, one of a number of tribes that migrated from Asia in the 9th century. They speak a Finno-Ugric language unrelated to the Indo-European languages spoken in neighboring nations. This difference in ethnic origin and language is a major factor in Hungarian ethnic identity.

**Gypsies**, who number about 500,000, are the largest non-Hungarian ethnic group in the nation and one of the largest Gypsy populations in any European country. They are a diverse group in Hungary and include various **Rom** groups, **Sinti**, **Boyash**, and **Romungro** Gypsies. About 50% of Gypsies engage mainly in trade, and the other 50% are wage laborers. Most live in their own communities, often in the poorest sections of towns or villages or in urban ghettos, and 75% live below the pov-

erty level. Government efforts in the 1980s have led to the development of Gypsy advocacy organizations, but this has done little to change their status as a poor and isolated minority, considered inferior by Hungarians—as elsewhere in Europe and throughout the world.

**Germans** number about 250,000, only about 10% of what their population in Hungary was in the early 20th century. Germans settled in Hungary during much of the 1700s. In the cities, many were assimilated into Hungarian society and had little to do with Germans living in rural areas. Many Hungarian Germans supported Nazi Germany during World War II and, after the war, the Hungarian government deported about 250,000 of them. After 1950, the remaining Germans were treated like other ethnic minorities, although many districts that had been mainly German were settled by Hungarians.

Other European minorities are **Romanians**, who number about 30,000 and live near the Romanian border; **Slovaks**, who number about 100,000 and live in isolated communities in the mountains along the Slovakia border; **Croats**, **Serbs**, **Slovenes**, and **Bosnians**, who (combined) number about 100,000 and live in border regions or in larger cities where they have assimilated into Hungarian society; and



forts to aid the economic development of the region and to stabilize the population, the Gaeltacht population has been declining steadily since the 1840s, and today much of the population is elderly.

**Irish Travellers** are ethnic Irish whose ancestors as long ago as the 5th century came to be viewed as a distinct group because of their nomadic lifestyle and occupation as metalsmiths. Although sometimes considered to be **Gypsies**—whom they resemble in lifestyle and with whom they have intermarried to a limited degree—Travellers are a distinct people of Irish ancestry. Because of their metalwork, they were known as **Tinkers**, a label now considered insulting. Travellers continue to live a primarily nomadic lifestyle, although they are now a more urban group and sell products to the settled Irish population. Travellers speak English as well as their own language, known as Cant or Shelta, and are mainly Roman Catholic. Government efforts in the 1960s to force them to live in permanent settlements have helped define the Travellers as a distinct group, and they and their advocates have resisted government interference in their lives. Travellers are found throughout the British Isles and a small number have immigrated to the United States.

The **British** in Ireland—English and Scots—account for about 3% of the population or 106,500 individuals (this number does not include Britons who identify themselves as Irish). British are mainly Anglicans and are labeled Anglo-Irish by the Irish, indicating their somewhat marginal position in Irish society. In various ways, the British in Ireland have become Irish and the Irish have become British, making generalizations about specific cultural features of the two groups and relations between the groups difficult. Relations generally are managed at the individual level, and someone of British ancestry who has married into an Irish family and converted to Roman Catholicism is more likely to be accepted as Irish than someone who is a Protestant.

Other groups consist mainly of **U.S. Americans, Canadians, Argentinians, and Australians** of Irish ancestry who have returned to settle in Ireland, as well as students and businesspersons of non-Irish ancestry from these and other nations. The largest of these groups are Americans, who number 30,000.

## Ethnic Relations

Ethnic relations in Ireland center on the relationship between the Irish and the small British population, as well as the more general relationship between Ireland and the Irish, and England and the English. During the nearly three centuries of English rule, Irish culture was changed markedly. Most important, the English banned the use of the Irish Gaelic language and made English the national language. The English also removed Irish farmers from some of the best land and settled English and Scot Protestants in their place. As colonizers, the English also controlled the economic system and relied heavily on English and Scots managers, while the Irish were relegated to the role of laborers. The English tended to view the Irish—and in some circles continue to view them—as ignorant, fun-loving drunks, inferior to the English. One irony of this English stereotype of the Irish as inferior is that the old and deep Irish literary tradition was disrupted by English efforts to suppress the use of Gaelic. That tradition has survived, however, although Irish literature is more often produced in English. For their part, the Irish deeply resented and resisted English colonization, revolted a number of times, and sought to maintain Irish culture in the teaching of Gaelic in secret “hedge schools” and through the formation of Gaelic associations. Relations between the Irish and British in Ireland are relatively harmonious though distant in the 1990s, save for the ongoing conflict in Northern Ireland, which is discussed in the entry on the United Kingdom.



who have settled in the region since World War II, South Tyroleans no longer form a large majority of the regional population. Although South Tyroleans are politically, culturally, and linguistically tied to other German-speaking peoples in what is now Austria for 14 centuries, the region was placed within Italian borders at the end of World War I following the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

**Albanians** number anywhere from 80,000 (those who continue to speak Albanian as their domestic language) to 250,000 (those who speak either Albanian or Italian). Albanians are the third largest ethnic minority, after the Friulians and the German speakers. The large number who speak Italian suggests considerable assimilation into Italian society, although a strong sense of Albanian identity remains. Albanians began settling in Italy in the 15th century, and they live in rural areas and cities throughout southern Italy. They are Roman Catholics. The end of Communist rule in Albania has created the opportunity for renewed ties between the Albanian community in Italy and the homeland and has created a stronger sense of ethnic identity for Albanians in Italy.

**Slovenes** number about 55,000 and live in the Trieste region in northeast Italy on the Slovenia border. They came under Italian control after World War II, and became part of Italy following a 1975 agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia. The division of the region also left a population of Italians now numbering about 35,000 across the border in the former Yugoslavia. The breakup of Yugoslavia has intensified demands by some groups in the Trieste region for the return of the territory to Italy. Slovenes have been concerned about their rights as an ethnic minority, and under a series of agreements dating to 1954 have been afforded various language rights by the Italian government. However, as a minority (about 10% of the population in the region), only the large community in Trieste near the Slovenian border regularly uses Slovene and maintains a vital community with its own cultural and education organizations. Slovenes are Roman Catholic.

**French**, numbering about 100,000, are the dominant group in the small, autonomous re-

gion of Val d'Aosta on the border with France. While Italian is the official language, French has official status as the second language of the region.

**Sardinians**, who number about 1.9 million, are the indigenous inhabitants of the island of Sardinia. Although they do not live on the continent, they have been linked to Italy since 1860 when the island became an autonomous region of Italy. Sardinian culture has been influenced over the millennia by cultural contact and often conquest by various other groups, including the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Arabs, and Spaniards. Sardinians speak local dialects of Sardinian and Italian. Nearly all are Roman Catholic. The traditional Sardinian culture, which continues to some extent to resist Italian development initiatives, is found in the highlands and is based on agriculture, herding, a strong sense of personal and family honor, and the village communities. Coastal communities and cities, which are more industrialized and commercialized, are more Italian in culture, and in these areas, the Sardinian language is being replaced by Italian.

Other groups include about 7,000 **Australian** and **Oceanic** migrant workers; a small number of **Catalan** speakers on Sardinia; and about 3,000 **Croatians** in Molise in southern Italy, who have been there since the 15th century but are now assimilated. Americans number about 129,000 and include mostly individuals of Italian ancestry who have returned to Italy from the **United States, Canada, Brazil, and Argentina**. Some are retirees who amassed enough wealth in the Americas to retire in Italy, while others are returning with the hope of finding better jobs.

## Ethnic Relations

Italians are culturally, politically, and economically dominant in Italy, although through a policy allowing slow, limited assimilation, they have granted some cultural and political autonomy to other ethnic groups of European ancestry. A major issue has been the status of the South Tyroleans in the north.

**Jews** number about 40,000, a number that is decreasing as many Jews are immigrating to the United States and Israel in the postindependence era.

Other groups include **Bulgarians, Gypsies, Greeks, Armenians, Poles, Germans, and Russian Old Believers**, together totalling about 4% of the population.

## Ethnic Relations

Since its independence in 1991, Moldova has experienced considerable ethnic conflict involving the Romanian Moldovans and the Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, and Gypsies. All these conflicts—of which the dispute with the Russians and Ukrainians is the most serious—center on the rise of Moldovan ethnic nationalism. Key elements of this nationalism include the use of the Latin alphabet (instead of Cyrillic), recognition of Romanian as the national language, the requirement that all residents speak and write Romanian, the rise of Moldovan political parties, and fear on the part

of the Russians and Ukrainians that Moldova eventually will affiliate with Romania. Most of the policies were enacted shortly after independence, and the Ukrainian and Russian population—heavily concentrated in the Trans-Dniester region east of the Dniester River on the Ukrainian border—reacted by forming a separatist movement which quickly turned violent. The Russian army entered the region in 1992 and remained for years, although pull-out was scheduled for the late 1990s.

In 1994, the sentiments of the Moldovan Romanian majority shifted from stressing ethnic nationalism and possible affiliation with Romania to maintaining ties with Russia and granting some freedom to all ethnic minorities, including the possibility of forming autonomous regions within the Moldovan nation. The Romanian-language laws were rescinded, and relations became more peaceful—although still tense—as Russian and Ukrainian separatists continued to press for an independent Trans-Dniester region tied to Ukraine.

# Monaco

**T**he Principality of Monaco is the second smallest nation in the world. It is located in southern Europe along the Mediterranean Coast and is bordered by France on the west and north and by Italy on the east. It has a population of 31,500, of whom only about 7,000 are citizens. The population is ethnically diverse: **French** are the largest group, constituting 47%; **Italians** make up 16%; and native **Monegasque** number 15%. The remainder of the population is composed of other peoples from Europe and North America. French is the official language, with most Italians also speaking Italian, and English commonly used as well. The ethnic heritage of Monegasques is unclear, although Italian influence is likely. Despite the ethnic mix, ethnic identity is not a salient feature of life in Monaco, as much of the population is wealthy and shares a lifestyle that centers around tourism, recreation, the arts, and sports.

# Netherlands

**T**he Netherlands is in north-central Europe, bordered by the North Sea on the west and north, Germany on the east, and Belgium on the south. It has a population of 15.2 million, about 1 million of whom are immigrants or the children of immigrants.



the Saami areas suited for agriculture, traded with the Saami and Norwegians. In the early phases of the colonization, they enjoyed certain tax privileges through the so-called *Birkarle* institution. The core areas of Kven settlement are the fjords of the counties of Finnmark and Troms, an area of about 60,000 square kilometers. In 1845, Kvens made up about 13% of the population of Finnmark. By 1875, there were about 3,500 Kvens in Troms (7.6% of the population) and in Finnmark, 5,800 (24.2%). The greatest concentration of Kvens was in the district of Varanger in Eastern Finnmark near the Russia-Finland border, and in Skibotn and Nordreisa in Northern Troms.

Norwegian fears of Russia were, to some extent, transferred to the Kven and the Finns: Russia at that time controlled Finland, and the concentrations of Kvens in northern Norway were very close to Norway's borders with Finland and Russia. The perceived Russian threat was an important factor in the adoption of an assimilation policy by Norway aimed at "Norwegianizing" the minorities. Fueled by strong nationalistic feelings, this policy lasted until World War II. A key feature of this policy was instituting Norwegian as the official language. Although the Kvens were not completely assimilated, by 1945 their sense of a unique identity and cultural distinctiveness had diminished. Many Kvens came to use Norwegian in their homes, even though Finnish was their mother tongue.

The ethnicization of Norway in the 1960s and 1970s stimulated the formation of many Kven organizations and activities promoting Kven identity. The official Norwegian attitude toward the Kven, however, did not change. Norwegian policy into the 1990s did not discourage Kven or Finnish organizations, but it did little to encourage or support Kven identity. Meanwhile, the use of the Finnish language by the Kvens continued to decline.

**Danes** number 17,500 and have migrated to Norway for centuries. Those who have become citizens and assimilated into Norwegian society are not included in this count, so the number of people with some Danish ancestry actually is higher than the above figure. In 1954, labor permits and visa requirements for

Danes, Finns, and Swedes were abolished, which further encouraged migration between the Nordic countries. Danes are the objects of "positive discrimination" in Norway (favored treatment), and Danes assimilate very quickly and totally, usually within a generation or two. In the last half-century, relations between the people of the Nordic countries have become even closer. The main basis for this integration is the sharing of language, culture, and history. Relations between Danes and Norwegians have continued to improve, despite Denmark's history of rule over Norway for 450 years. One result is the long-range congruence of citizenship laws that give Nordic citizens extensive rights in all Nordic countries.

**Swedes**, like Danes and Finns, have migrated to Norway for centuries. Oslo in particular has been a strong magnet for certain regions in southern and southeastern Sweden. Swedes also have assimilated very quickly in Norway. Relations between Norwegians and Swedes have improved since World War II, at which time many Norwegians disagreed with Swedish neutrality while Norway was occupied by Germany. The fact that Sweden was a close haven for escaping Norwegians during the war to some extent helped many Norwegians to overcome the resentment they felt over Swedish neutrality.

Other Western groups represented in Norway are the British and Americans. **Britons** number 12,500 and are the fourth largest non-Norwegian group. **U.S. Americans** living in Norway number 9,600. Many are returnees; that is, first- and second-generation emigrants to America who have returned to Norway.

The remaining major ethnic minorities are in Norway mainly due to the nation's liberal immigration laws. **Muslims**, primarily **Pakistanis** (11,600), **Turks** (5,000), and **Iranians** (5,000), together make up about 20% of the total non-Norwegian population. While these minorities do not form a homogeneous group, they are a Muslim minority in a predominantly Christian country.

**Vietnamese** number about 7,000 and arrived as refugees following the end of the Vietnam War. Norway's liberal refugee resettlement policy has enabled many to remain in Norway, where the second generation is assimilated.



# Poland

**P**oland, located in north-central Europe, is bordered by the Baltic Sea and Russia on the north; Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine on the east; Slovakia and the Czech Republic on the south; and Germany on the west. It has a population of 38,655,000, 98% of whom are ethnic Poles.

## Ethnic Composition

Poland is one of the most ethnically homogeneous nations in the world. The population also is religiously homogeneous, with 90% being Roman Catholic. For centuries prior to World War II, shifting political borders often placed large numbers of Germans, Russians, Lithuanians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, and Jews within the Polish polity. Consolidation of borders and massive population shifts during and following World War II have left Poland the homogeneous nation it is today. Non-Poles from neighboring nations mostly live in border regions near the nations of their forebears.

**Poles** are descended from a people who settled in what is now Poland perhaps as long as 4,000 years ago. Polish identity today rests on residence in Poland or Polish ancestry, speaking Polish, adherence to Roman Catholicism, and a strong identification with the Polish nation-state. Although Poland is politically in Eastern Europe and geographically in central Europe, Polish urban culture has been most heavily influenced by Western European culture. Approximately 13 million Poles or individuals of Polish ancestry live outside Poland, primarily in the United States, Belarus, Ukraine, and several dozen other nations. In overseas communities, ties to the homeland remain strong, and contact has increased markedly since the end of Communist control.

Closely related to the Poles are the **Kashubians (Kashubs)**, estimated at about 200,000. They speak two dialects of Polish and live in north-central Poland. They are mainly peasant farmers and choose to identify themselves as Kashubs rather than as Poles. Their religion is a mix of Christianity and their indigenous beliefs and practices.

The **Belarusian** population is estimated at from 250,000 to 500,000, and Belarusians live near the border with Belarus. They are rural

farmers and are assimilated into Polish society.

**Carpatho-Rusyns** are a people whose traditional homeland is on the south and north slopes of the Carpathian Mountains. Under the domination of various nations over the centuries, they have been called by a number of different names. In Poland, where they number about 60,000 (of a total of 850,000), they are often called **Lemkos** or **Carpatho-Ukrainians** and are categorized as Ukrainians. Like Ukrainians, they speak an East Slavic language and are adherents of Eastern Orthodoxy, but they consider themselves a distinct group with their own dialect and religious traditions, and they seek political autonomy in Poland.

**Germans** live mainly in the region known as Lower Silesia along the Poland-Germany border. Their number is estimated at 1.4 million and they are called Silesians. A smaller population of Germans is concentrated in northeast Poland in what was formerly East Prussia.

The ethnic category of **Silesian** is an amorphous and shifting one that includes Germans in Poland, Poles in Germany (in Upper Silesia), and Poles in Silesia, some of whom—since the unification of East and West Germany—have claimed German Silesian identity. Silesians speak a dialect of Polish heavily influenced by German.

The **Ukrainian** population is estimated at 200,000 to 700,000. Some Ukrainians still live in northern Poland where they were forcibly relocated from the south in 1947, while others who are assimilated into Polish society live in various regions of the country.

**Lithuanians** number about 10,000 and live in mainly Lithuanian communities on the Poland-Lithuania border.

Other groups include small communities (less than 20,000 each) of **Russians, Slovaks,**

### Greeks, Slovenes, and Muslim and Jewish Tatars.

The two major non-national ethnic minorities are the Gypsies and Jews. **Gypsies** number between 10,000 and 50,000 and include those who have been there for centuries and are largely settled, as well as more recent arrivals who continue to live a peripatetic lifestyle.

**Jews** numbered more than three million before World War II. Most either fled or were killed during the Holocaust. The population is now estimated at between 5,000 and 10,000 and consists mostly of older people living in large cities.

## Ethnic Relations

Ethnic relations in Poland are generally peaceful. Following the end of Communist rule in 1990, however, some groups, such as the Silesians, have been seeking more autonomy from centralized Polish rule, and Ukrainians have been seeking compensation for mistreatment during the Communist era. In the 1990s, Poland has also seen “anti-Semitism without Jews,” a phenomenon in which Jews are blamed for some of Poland’s social and economic problems, even though they are few in number and without influence in Polish affairs. Gypsies are relatively few in number and there is less discrimination and violence directed at them than in other Central and East European nations.

# Portugal

**P**ortugal, located on the Iberian Peninsula in southwestern Europe, is bordered by Spain on the east and north and by the Atlantic Ocean on the west and south. The Madeira and Azore Islands, autonomous regions of Portugal, are also covered in this entry, as is Macao, a Portuguese colony that will revert to China in 1999.

Portugal has a population of 10.5 million. The Portuguese are descended from one regional indigenous population, and the nation emerged as an autonomous political entity in 1140. Portuguese language and culture today are largely homogeneous with only small regional differences in dialect and a north-south difference in culture—the north considered to be more conservative and “Catholic.”

## Ethnic Composition

The overwhelming majority of the population is ethnically Portuguese and Roman Catholic. The non-Portuguese population is reported as 107,000; however, this is surely an undercount because citizens who are non-ethnic Portuguese from Portugal’s former colonies are counted as Portuguese, and at least 100,000 undocumented foreigners are not included in official counts. Thus, the total number of non-Portuguese is probably 250,000 or more; about 2.5% of the population. The largest foreign group is people of African ancestry, who account for 50% or more of the non-Portuguese population.

**Portuguese**, the indigenous people of Portugal, constitute about 99% of the population.

They are descended from the Lusitanians who settled the region 3,000 years B.C., with later influences from the Celts, Romans, Swabians, and Moors. Included in the Portuguese population today are *retornados*, Portuguese from overseas colonies who returned to Portugal in the 1970s. The nation’s culture is marked by north-south and urban-rural distinctions. In rural areas, traditional kinship, craft, religious, and medical practices are often combined with Roman Catholicism and economic and political reforms initiated in Lisbon. Parts of Portugal were farmed under the Roman *latifundia* system, in which estates were held by one family and farmed by serfs. That system has given way to a class-based society in which farming is declining and employment in the manufacturing and service sectors is growing.

**Brazilians** and other people from Latin America (primarily **Venezuelans**) number about 27,000. They are mainly returnees of Portuguese ancestry or people of mixed Portuguese and other ancestry. As many have easily assimilated into Portuguese society, the figure 27,000 probably represents only those who have arrived recently and are still counted as Brazilian.

**Goanese** number only a few thousand and are people of mixed Portuguese and Indian ancestry from the former colony of Goa on the west coast of India. Most are now assimilated into Portuguese society.

Azoreans and Madeirans are residents of Portuguese overseas departments. **Azoreans** are the residents of the Azores Archipelago in the Atlantic Ocean, first settled by the Portuguese in the mid-1400s. The modern population of 240,000 is multiethnic in origin, with Portuguese, **Italians**, **Germans**, **Britons**, **Spaniards**, *conversos* (Jews who converted to Roman Catholicism in the 1400s), **Moors**, and **Flemings** having settled on the islands at various times. A class system separates businessmen of foreign ancestry from the general population. Today, Azoreans are almost all Roman Catholic. The island is under Portuguese control, but the traditional, rural way of life contrasts with modern Portuguese influences. There has been a considerable amount of immigration to the United States.

**Madeirans** are the residents of the Madeira Archipelago in the Atlantic Ocean, first settled by the Portuguese in the early 1400s. The Madeira Archipelago is an autonomous region of Portugal with economic matters influenced by British interests. The population of about 260,000 is a mixture of the Portuguese, Britons, Spaniards, and Africans who have at various times settled on the island. Nearly all Madeirans are Roman Catholic, and the Church plays a major role in supporting Portuguese rule. There has been considerable immigration to South Africa and Canada.

**Macaoans** are ethnic Chinese from the colony of Macao, which is scheduled for return to China in 1999. Most are shopkeepers and more are expected to seek residence in Portugal as the deadline for the Chinese takeover of the island grows closer.

**Africans** number anywhere from 45,000 to well over 100,000 and came mainly from the former colonies of Angola and Mozambique, although undocumented immigrants also have come from North Africa. They are poor and live in ghettos in large cities such as Lisbon and Oporto and are the object of racial discrimination in housing, employment, and education.

**Gypsies** are estimated at between 20,000 and 100,000. They remain a poor, marginalized group unassimilated into Portuguese society. They, along with many Africans, occupy the bottom rung of Portuguese society.

Other groups include small numbers of **Romanians** and **Pakistanis** seeking asylum, and retirees and expatriates from the **United States** and **Canada** and from northern European nations such as **Great Britain** and **Germany**.

## Ethnic Relations

From the 1950s until 1981, Portugal was a nation of emigration, with workers immigrating to Brazil, Germany, France, and the United States, and their families often following. Today there is a Portuguese diaspora of nearly four million people, with the largest populations in Brazil, France, the United States, Canada, South Africa, Venezuela, and Spain. The flow of money from these nations back to families in Portugal, as well as frequent communication, return visits, and resettlement in Portugal, has altered Portuguese culture and involved it to a greater extent in the world economy. In 1973, the flow of emigrants slowed, and some Portuguese immigrants began returning to Portugal, primarily from other European nations. Diversification of the population began in the early 1960s. The breakup of the overseas Portuguese empire resulted in the repatriation of ethnic Portuguese from these outposts and migration to Portugal by those who had supported the Portuguese regimes in Angola, Mozambique, Goa, Macao, East Timor, and Brazil. Later immigrations brought indigenous people from these nations, as well as peoples from North Africa. Initially, a significant number moved on to other nations in Europe, but in the 1980s and 1990s,



relations with most other ethnic groups are difficult, ranging from open warfare (as with the Chechens) to peaceful conflicts over political and economic autonomy with virtually all other groups. Soviet government policies of the 1980s, which allowed far greater expression of ethnic identity, have continued in the post-Soviet era, leading to many local conflicts between Russian officials and indigenous peoples for political and economic control.

**Cossacks** were not an ethnic group, but rather a “military race”—mercenaries in the service of Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Poland, usually fighting against the Tatars and Turks and other non-Russian groups (although the first Cossacks were actually Tatars employed by the Russians). Early Cossack settlements were located near rivers that flowed south into the Black and Caspian seas. The largest and best known was the Don Cossacks, who lived on the Don River, served the tsar, and gave rise to other Cossack groups. The second largest group was the Zaporozhe Cossacks in the Ukraine, who mainly acted as pirates, raiding ships in the Black Sea. Both groups produced men for newer Cossack groups in Russia, Ukraine, and Siberia, or served as models for these new groups. Most Cossack groups were named after a river or the region where they lived. At first these groups were composed solely of men, but in the 17th century the custom changed—most Cossacks married, and settled family life became more common. The Cossacks served the governments of Russia, Poland, and Ukraine from the 1500s until the Russian Revolution. In the 1920s and 1930s, over one million were killed by the new Russian government, and Cossack settlements were destroyed. In the post-Soviet era, the Cossacks have reemerged as a group, with some claiming special status and offering to protect Russians living in other republics.

### Indigenous Peoples of the North

The term **Peoples of the North** refers to the 26 groups of indigenous peoples of northern Russia and Siberia who total about 560,000 people, a very small and widely dispersed population. Regular contact with Russians

dates to 1600s or earlier for some groups, and in all groups the contact either destroyed or seriously damaged the indigenous cultures. The traditional economy based on reindeer herding, hunting, gathering, or fishing was replaced by involvement in the fur trade and then wage labor. Traditional shamanistic religions were replaced with Russian Orthodoxy, Russian was made the language of daily life, nomadic bands were forcibly settled, and disease and forced relocations caused serious depopulation. While all groups experienced these impacts, there are differences in the degree to which traditional cultures have survived for Peoples of the North. At one extreme are

### Peoples of the North in Russia

Group	Area	Population
Aleut .....	Pribilof and Commander Islands	600
Chukchee .....	Northeastern Siberia	15,180
Chuvan .....	Northwestern Siberia	1,510
Dolgan .....	North of Arctic Circle	6,000
Enets .....	Northwestern Siberia	200
Even .....	Northeastern Siberia	17,200
Evenki .....	Central and Southern Siberia	30,000
Itelmen .....	Kamchatka Peninsula	2,500
Khanty .....	Northeastern Siberia	22,500
Koryaks .....	Kamchatka Peninsula	8,000
Mansi .....	Northwestern Siberia	8,500
Nanai .....	Western Siberia	12,000
Nenets .....	Northwestern Siberia	32,000
Nganasan .....	Northwestern Siberia	1,200
Nivkh .....	Sakhalin Island, Southeastern Siberia	4,500
Orochi .....	Southeastern Siberia	900
Orok .....	Sakhalin Island	200
Saami (Lapps) ..	Kola Peninsula	1,800
Selkup .....	Southwestern Siberia	3,500
Tofalar .....	South-central Siberia	750
Udegei .....	Eastern Siberia	2,000
Ulchi .....	Southeastern Siberia	2,500
Yakut .....	Northeastern Siberia	382,000
Yukagir .....	Northeastern Siberia	1,110
Yupik (Asiatic Eskimos) .....	Northeastern Siberia	2,000



number 165,000 in European Russia, with several thousand more scattered in Siberia. They live in the Republic of the Kalmykia-Khalmag Tangch, north of the Caspian Sea. They began migrating west in the late 16th century, eventually settling and coming under Russian control. In 1771, the majority of the population migrated back to China, and the remaining Kalmyk people are ancestors of the original population. Relations with the Russians were generally positive; Russians and Ukrainians settled in the Kalmykia region, and many Kalmyks became Cossacks. Under Soviet rule, Kalmyk demands for autonomy were violently repressed, and in 1943, the Kalmyks were deported to Siberia and their republic dissolved. In 1956 they began returning, although they are now a minority population in the republic. While relations with the Russians remain tense, the Kalmyks have stressed control of local mineral resources rather than political autonomy in the post-Soviet era. They are divided in religion among Lamaist Buddhism, Russian Orthodoxy, and atheism.

**Tatar** is a general label for people who are now adherents of Islam and/or claim to be descended from the Tatar-Mongols who invaded parts of Europe and Asia in the 13th century. In fact, most people so identified today are not direct descendants of the Mongols, but are, instead, descended from Turkic-speaking peoples who mixed with other groups and who took the name in the 16th century. The Tatars in the former Soviet Union number 6.6 million, with 5.5 million in Russia, making them the largest ethnic minority in the nation. Of the various Tatar groups, two are especially prominent—the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Tatars. Another large group, the **Siberian Tatars**, is now largely assimilated into the dominant Russian population or has mixed over the centuries with indigenous peoples in the region. **Crimean Tatars** number about 600,000 and live mainly in Central Asia. Only about 250,000 live in Crimea, which is now part of Ukraine. After several centuries of self-rule and cooperation with the Ottoman Empire, they came under Russian domination in the mid-1600s, and until they were deported to Central Asia and Siberia in 1944, Crimean Tatars were the object of Russification, Sovi-

etization, and genocidal policies. In Central Asia, they campaigned for return to Crimea. In the 1990s, the issue remains unresolved—Ukrainians and Russians in Crimea oppose their return. The **Volga Tatars**, numbering five million, live primarily in Tatarstan and Bashkirstan in Russia, but also in a number of other former Soviet republics. They are divided into three major subgroups: **Mishars**, **Kazanis**, and **Krjashen**, the last being Orthodox while the other two are Muslim. The Volga Tatars are descended from the Bulgars who inhabited the region during the Mongol invasions in the 14th century. Like the Crimean Tatars, they suffered from Russification and Sovietization, though not deportation. They have been among the leading advocates of ethnic rights, and with the fall of the Soviet Union, they have been demanding sovereignty for Tatarstan and surrounding republics and have been promoting a pan-Turkic movement. Their demands have been rejected by Russia, in part because of the rich oil reserves in the region and in part because of a fear of the influence of Islam in Russia.

**Altai** refers to a number of related groups numbering about 73,300 and who live in the Altai mountains in southern Siberia on the borders of China, Mongolia, and Kazakhstan. They are descended from Turkic and Mongolian peoples and have been a distinct group since the 6th century. Under Russification and Sovietization, they shifted from herding and hunting to agriculture, their religion was repressed although it survived in private, Russian became the official language, and Russian and Ukrainian settlers became the majority population in their region. Despite their small numbers, many Altai resisted assimilation, and since the 1980s there has been a pronounced cultural revival, focusing on their indigenous shamanistic religion.

**Koreans** number about 107,000 in Russia, representing about one-third of the Korean population in the former Soviet Union. At one time, all Koreans in Russia lived in the Russian Far East, but they were deported to Central Asia in 1937 and most have remained there. Many Koreans have taken Russian names and converted to Eastern Orthodoxy, so many are assimilated or identify themselves as Russians



indigenous languages with Russian, suppression of indigenous religions, conversion of subject peoples to Russian Orthodoxy, and the forced settlement of formerly nomadic peoples. Russification altered all of the non-Russian cultures of Russia and destroyed some of them. Cultures that were drastically changed by Russification are referred to as Russified, although usually at least some traditions were maintained, and many groups are now attempting to revive their indigenous languages, reduce Russian economic and political influence, and reverse environmental destruction of their lands caused by Russian and Soviet economic development programs. However, schools, hospitals, towns, factories, farms, and even features of the associated social order established by Russians are likely to remain.

The fall of the Russian Empire and the Bolshevik Revolution ended Russification. But, by the 1920s it was replaced by Sovietization, which retained three key features of Russification: replacement of indigenous languages with Russian, Russian settlement in non-Russian areas, and Russian control of the economy. Sovietization differed, however, in that its avowed goal was not expansion of the Russian Empire. Instead, its purpose was to suppress ethnic and regional loyalties, allegedly so that all people would prosper from being members of the Soviet state. Sovietization especially emphasized economic change, and in accord with Communist principles, private property was abolished, property ownership passed to the state, and workers were organized into various forms of collectives. In addition, the Russian Orthodox religion and other religions were banned. During the rule of Josef Stalin from 1926 to 1953, persecution of non-Russian groups was especially harsh, and millions of people accused of disloyalty were killed or forcibly relocated, including entire ethnic populations. As with Russification, Sovietization not only involved peoples in Russia, but peoples in all of the republics that formed the Soviet Union. Also as part of Sovietization, a number of semi-independent ethnic republics, regions, and districts were established in Russia. In theory, the ethnic group for which the republic was named was to have a considerable measure of au-

tonomy; in practice, many of these regions were heavily populated by Russians who exerted significant influence, and the government in Moscow maintained control.

Following the Soviet government's policy of "openness" and greater freedom for constituent republics and ethnic groups that began in the mid-1980s and the partial shift to a market economy a few years later, the Soviet Union disintegrated. By 1991, all of the former republics of the Soviet Union were independent nations, some allied as the Commonwealth of Independent States. Russia was again a single nation, not the center of an empire, although a nation with over 100 ethnic groups within its borders. In addition, millions of ethnic Russians still lived outside of Russia in the former Soviet republics, where—no longer supported by the government in Moscow—they had become an ethnic minority that the local people sought to displace.

In post-Soviet Russia, ethnic relations in the 1990s are characterized by six major trends:

- The revival of strong ethnic nationalism sentiments among most national and regional groups, which has led to many revolts against Russian rule. The longest and bloodiest of these has been the Russians' war with the Chechens in the Caucasus over Chechen independence.
- An indigenous rights movement among the Peoples of the North and other small groups who seek cultural autonomy and are attempting to revive their traditional cultures, especially their languages and religions. These peoples also seek to halt the Russian economic exploitation of natural resources in their regions, which has already caused catastrophic environmental damage in some locales.
- A revival of anti-Semitism and anti-Gypsy sentiment, despite the fact that many Jews have left and continue to leave Russia, and Gypsies are few in number. Both groups are scapegoated for Russia's economic problems.
- Ethnic conflict between rivals for economic and political control in some regions. Most rivalry involves Russians and a local ethnic group, but some is



Spain has a population of 39.5 million and is ethnically heterogeneous. Castilian Spanish is the official language, but an estimated 25% of Spanish citizens use another language in their homes. The 1978 constitution allows Catalan, Valencian, Euskera (the Basque language), Galician, and Majorcan to be considered co-official with Castilian Spanish.

## Ethnic Composition

While the overwhelming majority of the residents of Spain identify themselves as Spaniards, there are also a number of distinct regional minorities and linguistic minorities, and in recent years, an increasing number of foreign workers. Among the regional and linguistic minorities, the Basques are the only group actively engaged in an ethnic separatist movement, while the Catalans continue to press the government for greater regional autonomy. Other regional groups, including the Andalusians, Castilians, Galicians, and Leonese, are largely integrated into Spanish society. In addition, Spain has a growing population of immigrants from other parts of the world who choose to live there because of employment opportunities, low costs, and the favorable climate. Official estimates suggest that there are about 400,000 individuals from other nations currently in Spain. This is probably an undercount, especially in regard to people who immigrate there from North Africa. Immigration to Spain, particularly from elsewhere in Europe and the Americas, was motivated by the low housing costs from the 1960s on and by the opportunities provided for business development by economic expansion in Spain. During most of that period, however, Spain was also a country of emigration, as many Spaniards left for countries in western and northern Europe to work in the tourism, construction, and other industries. Since the 1980s, some of them have returned to Spain, while others have immigrated with their families and have evidently chosen to stay in these other nations, such as Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, and France.

Spain has a number of native populations. In addition to the Spaniards, there are the Andalusians, Basques, Catalans, Galicians, Canarians, Leonese, and Herders of the North. **Spaniard** is a national cultural designation rather than a name for a specific ethnic group.

Spain was settled over a period of thousands of years by Iberians, Goths, and Celtic peoples, and the Moors ruled part or virtually all of the Iberian peninsula from A.D. 711 to 1429, when Spain was unified under the Crown of Castille. Modern Spain and the modern Spanish people reflect all of these ancient influences, integrated with influences from the various regional cultures, including the Catalans, Leonese, Andalusians, and Galicians. Because of its political domination, modern Spain strongly reflects Castilian cultural influences, including Roman Catholicism (to which 95% of the population adheres), and the use of the Castilian dialect of Spanish as the official language. The Castilian influence is felt most in overseas Spanish communities and former colonies, particularly in the New World.

The four major regional groups that continue to maintain some degree of cultural autonomy are the Basques, Canarians, Catalans, and Galicians.

**Basques** live in northern Spain on both sides of the border between Spain and France. They number approximately 3 million in that region, 90% of whom live in Spain. The Basques refer to the region as Euskadi, meaning Country of the Basque. The origins of the Basque people are unknown, and their language is unrelated to any other language of Europe. Nevertheless, they have been a known population in the region for 1,000 years and have successfully resisted rule by various groups, including the Romans, Moors, French, and Castiles. The Basque region is one of the fastest growing and most rapidly developing regions of Spain. It is considered a highly desirable region in which to live and do business, and there has been a major influx of Spaniards into the region. The Basques are now a minority in Euskadi. The unique sense of Basque identity is based on a number of factors, including their long residence in the region; their resistance to outside rule; the



The ethnic complexity of Swedish society today is a recent development—prior to World War II, Sweden was extremely homogeneous in language and ethnic composition. The nation had a nationalistic, anteforeigner bias that was reflected in restrictive policies directed at non-Nordic immigrants. The belief underlying these policies was set forth in a 1927 bill before the Swedish Parliament, which stated that “the population of Sweden consists of an unusually unitary and blended race . . . the value of this can hardly be overestimated.” Other than Nordic immigrants, only a trickle of German, Walloon, Dutch, and Scottish immigrants found their way to Sweden from the Middle Ages on.

During World War II, Sweden was a neutral nation, and thousands of refugees fled to Sweden, primarily from Denmark, Norway, and Finland but also from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Sweden’s immigration policy changed, and migration to Sweden increased dramatically after the war. Population losses in many countries and lower birth rates combined with economic reconstruction programs created a demand for labor in Western Europe that could not be met within the countries themselves. Sweden, because of its neutral status during the war, was more prepared for post-war economic expansion than most other European countries, and along with Switzerland, was the first to open its gates to foreign labor. As a center of migration, it attracted streams of migrations from the Baltic area (1944–45), Poland (the years around 1945), Hungary (1956), and Yugoslavia.

Although labor migration ended in 1972, family members of earlier migrants have continued to arrive since then, and their children make up about 20% of the non-Swedish population. Sweden’s liberal immigration and refugee policies, its willingness to grant citizenship to non-Swedes, and its acceptance of non-Swedish cultures have encouraged immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers to come to Sweden and settle there. About 50% of the non-Swedes living in the country are citizens, and Sweden ranks first in the world in the acceptance of refugees, with a ratio of one person settled or granted asylum per 47 residents of the nation.

**Swedes** number 7.85 million and constitute 89% of the population of Sweden. They are descended from reindeer hunters who followed the herds from Central Europe to Sweden about 14,000 years ago. Although Sweden is traditionally an agrarian country, agriculture has virtually disappeared as a livelihood and has been replaced by manufacturing and services.

In addition to the Swedes, the **Saami (Lapps)** form another indigenous population. The Saami are the indigenous people of the tundra, taiga, and coastal zones north of latitude 62°. They number roughly 17,000, the majority of whom live in northern Sweden, although a large number also live in Stockholm. Their traditional mode of subsistence is reindeer herding, but they are also engaged in farming, fishing, and entrepreneurial pursuits. Early contacts between Saami and Swedes came through traders and tax collectors. Initially, Swedish authorities viewed the Saami simply as reindeer herders, and a policy emerged that was aimed at economic and ethnic segregation. The Swedish government introduced “agricultural borders” (*odlingsgransen*) in 1867 so that different peoples could exploit different features of the environment. The mountain plateaus did not suit the needs of the Swedish farmer, but they did accommodate the wide-ranging economic activities of the Saami, particularly their reindeer herding. By the end of the 19th century, the Swedish policy toward the Saami could be summed up as “let the Saami be Saami.”

The attitude of Swedish authorities to Saami culture has changed dramatically since World War II. An integral part of the new policy has been the acceptance of Saami cultural and social life as a responsibility of the state. The Swedish government coordinates activities centrally and delegates tasks to specifically Saami organizations. While traces of paternalism may still be present in Swedish policy, the Saami enjoy the freedom to pursue their own interests as a distinct ethnic group.

Sweden also has a sizable population of people from the three other Nordic nations. **Danes** are the fifth largest non-Swedish group, numbering 278,000. Danes, as well as Finns and Norwegians, have migrated to Sweden for



the cantons. As the largest group—and because of their dominance in banking, insurance, and industry—the German Swiss are capable of controlling some aspects of Swiss life. For example, hostility to non-Swiss is seen by some as reflecting German rather than general Swiss sentiments. The German Swiss population is about one-half Roman Catholic and one-half Protestant. German Swiss generally speak English, the language of global commerce, as a second language.

**Italian Swiss** number about 700,000, or 10% of the population, and live almost exclusively in two cantons in the south on the border with Italy. Agriculture has been replaced by banking, tourism, and industry, and cultural ties to Italy (especially to Milan) are stronger than those to other peoples in Switzerland. At various times, the Italian Swiss were under German domination, so various policies have been developed to protect Italian Swiss ownership of land and to revive traditional arts and crafts. Most are Roman Catholic with an overlay of local beliefs and practices. The Italian Swiss are citizens, which distinguishes them from Italian guest workers, although relations between the communities are close and they jointly support Italian Swiss schools, churches, and organizations.

**French Swiss** number about 1.2 million, or 18% of the population. They live mainly in western Switzerland near the French border. They speak French, are mainly Roman Catholic, and culturally are tied to Paris. There is some resentment of German hegemony, but they enjoy peaceful relations with the other major groups.

**Jurassians**, who number about 70,000, are the Catholic, French-speaking residents of Jura Canton, established in 1975 following ethnic conflict between Catholic French speakers and Protestant German speakers in Bern Canton dating to the early 1800s. The conflict was notable in the 20th century for the use of violence. Relations are now peaceful, but some Jurassians would prefer to have the canton enlarged to include Protestant French speakers in Bern.

**Romansch** are speakers of the Romansch language and live in the Canton of Graubunden (Grisons) in southern Switzerland. Number-

ing only 65,000, they are full members of the Swiss Confederation, although their language is slowly disappearing and the group is assimilating into the German Swiss and Italian Swiss communities as young people are drawn into urban Swiss society.

Additionally, there are substantial numbers of guest workers in Switzerland, along with small numbers of people from many other nations who either are wealthy or have arrived as refugees or asylum-seekers. **Spanish** guest workers began arriving in the early 1970s. They now number about 300,000 and include many children born in Switzerland. They work in unskilled jobs in tourism, industry, and construction, and as domestics. Chain migration, marriage within the community, Swiss hostility, and the presence of some 175 Spanish organizations suggest a strong ethnic identity.

**Italians**, in contrast to Italian Swiss, are guest workers who are dispersed throughout Switzerland and work in low-paid jobs in tourism, industry, and construction. They number about 400,000 and many now live in the Italian Swiss cantons in the south where industry has developed. Some are permanent residents while others cross the border daily to work in German Swiss-owned factories. They maintain ties both to Italy and the Italian Swiss community.

**Austrians** number 29,000, all of whom are native speakers of German and came to Switzerland to obtain skilled or professional employment.

**Tibetan** refugees fleeing Chinese rule in Tibet now number about 2,000. They have settled in Switzerland since 1960 with the aid of the Swiss Red Cross.

## Ethnic Relations

Relations among the three main Swiss groups are peaceful, despite differences in language and religion, and residential isolation in different cantons. Among factors promoting harmony are a world view that sees outsiders as hostile to the Swiss; a political system that places power in the local districts, cantons, and individual citizens; hostility to foreign residents; and a high standard of living. Relations are less friendly with guest workers, who con-



# United Kingdom

The United Kingdom encompasses the peoples of England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. Although often used synonymously with “United Kingdom,” Great Britain refers only to England, Scotland, and Wales. The United Kingdom is located off the northwest coast of continental Europe and has a population of 58.5 million. The population is heavily concentrated in England, with 2.9 million in Wales, 5.1 million in Scotland, and 1.6 million in Northern Ireland. The Scots and Welsh are descended from the early Celtic inhabitants while the English trace their ancestry from the Anglo-Saxons who conquered the region in the 6th and 7th centuries. However, there has been considerable mixture among these groups and with others such as the Danes. Wales came under English control in 1536, Ireland in the 1600s, and Scotland in the 1700s. When Ireland achieved full independence in 1949, England retained control of Northern Ireland. Unity across the political entities is achieved in large part by the use of the English language, adherence to Protestantism, and centralized rule from London.

## Ethnic Composition

Prior to World War II, the United Kingdom was an ethnically homogeneous society, with less than 1% of the population not of English, Irish, Scottish, or Welsh origin. Although for centuries people from Western Europe had settled in England, they had been quickly assimilated, and distinct ethnic communities, other than those formed by Jews, were rare. Similarly, Africans brought to the U.K. as slaves or servants, or those sent from British colonies for education in the early 20th century, did not form large ethnic communities. However, this situation changed within 25 years of the end of World War II as the British worldwide colonial empire disintegrated and hundreds of thousands of people of non-British ethnicity poured into England. Although non-British account for only 5% of the population, they are a major presence in many large cities, and the country’s ethnic composition—in England especially—now mirrors that of its former empire.

The British census classifies the population into the following categories:

- English, Welsh, Scots, or Irish
- Other European
- West Indian or Guyanese
- African
- Indian
- Pakistani
- Bangladeshi

- Arab
- Chinese
- Any other racial or ethnic group, or of mixed racial or ethnic descent

While this system does allow the identification of major ethnic groups in the U.K., it does not account for the full range of ethnicity found there. A more comprehensive system includes the following major groups, although it should be kept in mind that the U.K. has members of virtually every national ethnic group and many smaller groups living within its borders.

### British (Subjects of the United Kingdom)

- English
- Scots (Highland and Lowland)
- Welsh
- Northern Irish Protestants

### Linguistic Minorities

- Gael
- Cornish
- Manx

### Africans

- West Africans
- East Africans
- South Africans
- Afro-Caribbeans

### Asians

- Indians (Sikhs, Punjabis, Gujaratis)
- Pakistanis
- Bangladeshis
- Asians from Africa



one another but are full participants in British society.

**Jews** form the major religious minority. Jews have lived in the U.K. for over 1,000 years. They were expelled in 1290, and although a small number returned in the 1600s, most arrived after 1880. The current population is about 350,000 and is heavily concentrated in London. All branches of Judaism—Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform—are represented. The overwhelming majority are Eastern European Jews, although there is a thriving Sephardic community as well.

As Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Arabs, and some Indians are **Muslims**, there are over one million Muslims in the U.K., making Islam the third largest religious group. However, their identity as Muslims is a less salient feature to the general population than their identity as Asians or Arabs.

## Ethnic Relations

In the 1990s, the U.K. is often described as resembling the United States both in ethnic composition and ethnic relations. There are major differences between the two nations, but one similarity is the treatment of the “Black” population. In Great Britain, all non-Europeans, whether African, Arab, Afro-Caribbean, Indian, or South Asian are commonly lumped as Blacks, although Asians are sometimes treated as a separate category. But, even then, there is lumping—all South Asians are regarded as “Pakistanis.” Although official policy and laws are opposed to racial and ethnic discrimination, and programs have been funded to support minority cultures and languages, prejudice and discrimination remain a serious problem in British society. From the perspective of the White British, non-Europeans in the



*Black youths tossing stones at police during race riots in the Brixton section of London in 1981. Ethnically homogeneous before 1945, the United Kingdom is now a multicultural society. Photo: UPI/Corbis-Bettmann.*

U.K. are ranked on a scale of discrimination starting with the Pakistanis at the top, who experience the greatest persecution. Following the Pakistanis are Afro-Caribbeans, Africans, Arabs, and then Asian Indians. Although Indians are subject to less discrimination than other groups, they are often classified as Pakistanis and are treated accordingly. As a group, these “Blacks” form the lowest level of British society, live in the poorest inner-city neighborhoods, hold the lowest-paying jobs, are more likely to be unemployed, and have the least education. While minority groups have established ethnic organizations to represent their interests, they have little influence at the national level. White British see these newcomers as competition for scarce jobs in a changing economy and as placing a financial burden on British society through use of public-supported housing, education, and health care.

The failure of the U.K. in 1995 to support a European Union initiative to develop a common antiracism policy has led to charges by other nations that Britain is a racist society. Adding weight to these charges were new British policies in 1995 regarding asylum-seekers, designed to make it more difficult for them to remain in the U.K. At the same time, however, the U.K. has—since immigrants began