

## THE NATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE ROMANIAN POPULATION AT THE 1ST DECEMBER 2021 CENSUS

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**ABSTRACT.** – **The National Structure of the Romanian Population at the 1st December 2021 Census.** This study aims to focus on the spatial distribution of the 21 ethnic groups at the level of geographical-historical provinces and counties, based on the final results recorded at the Population and Housing Census of 1st December 2021. Compared to the total stable population of 19,053,815 inhabitants, the Romanian ethnic group has a percentage of 77.68%, followed at a great distance by the Hungarians (5.26%) and the Roma (3.00%), after which the other 18 ethnic groups (Ukrainians, Germans, Turks, Russian-Lipovans, Tatars, Serbs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Croats, Greeks, Italians, Jews, Czechs, Poles, Ruthenians, Armenians, Albanians and Macedonians) all together represent only 0.92% of the total population. There is also the category *Other ethnicity* (Csangos, Gagauz, Chinese and other ethnicities from intra- and extra-community states) with 0.10%, as well as the category *Unavailable information*, which includes an important segment of the population of 13.04%.

**Keywords:** *Romania, census, statistics, nationalities, territorial distribution.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The analysis of the national structure of Romania at the census held on the 1st of December 2021 is based on the final results published by the National Institute of Statistics, on the website <https://www.recensamantromania.ro>,

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category *Ethno-cultural demographic characteristics*, chapters 2.1. *Population by ethnicity at the censuses from 1930-2021* (table 2.01), 2.2. *Resident population by ethnicity* (tables 2.02.1 and 2.02.2) and 2.7. *Resident population by current activity status and ethnicity* (table 2.07).

According to a similar study, in relation to the total resident population, a detailed analysis of the ethnic structure was considered through the 23 positions (C-Y), highlighted by absolute values, starting with *Romanians* (position C) to *Macedonians* (position W), and then continuing with the categories *Other ethnicity* (position X) and *Unavailable information* (position Y).

At the 2021 Population and Housing Census, Romania had a total stable population of 19,053,815 inhabitants, the majority of whom are ethnic *Romanians*, who account for 77.68% (14,801,442 people) of the country's total population. They are followed by *Hungarians*, whose percentage is 5.26% (1,002,151) and *Roma*, with 3.00% (569,477), then other 18 nationalities (0.92%, 176,309 people) and other registered categories (0.10%, 19,510 people), as well as the population with *Unavailable information* in terms of ethnicity, which has a percentage of 13.04% (2,484,926 people).

Comparing the situation with the penultimate census of 2011, we notice that a decrease in frequency was recorded for 18 ethnic groups, the most significant decline occurring in the *Romanian* ethnic group (from 83.45% to 77.68%, or 1,991,426 people less), in the same downward trend, but at a great distance, *Hungarians* (6.10% and 5.26%), *Roma* or *Gypsy* (3.09% and 3.00%), *Ukrainians* (0.25% and 0.24%), *Germans* (0.18% and 0.12%), etc..

Only one of the ethnic groups registered in Romania increased in absolute value between the two censuses, that is the *Italians* (3,203 and 4,039), but with a relative value of 0.02% in both census cases. A slight increase also occurs in the *Other ethnicity* category, from 0.09% (18,524) to 0.10% (19,510), while in *Unavailable information* the share increased by more than half, from 6.15% to 13.04% (with 1,248,116 more people).

Unlike the previous census, when the *Chinese* (2,017 people) and the *Csangos* (1,536 people) were registered separately, two new ethnic groups were introduced in their place, the *Ruthenians* (position T), with 834 people, and the *Albanians* (position V), with 645 people.

**Table 1.** The national structure of the population of Romania at the 01st December 2021 census, by counties and geographical-historical provinces

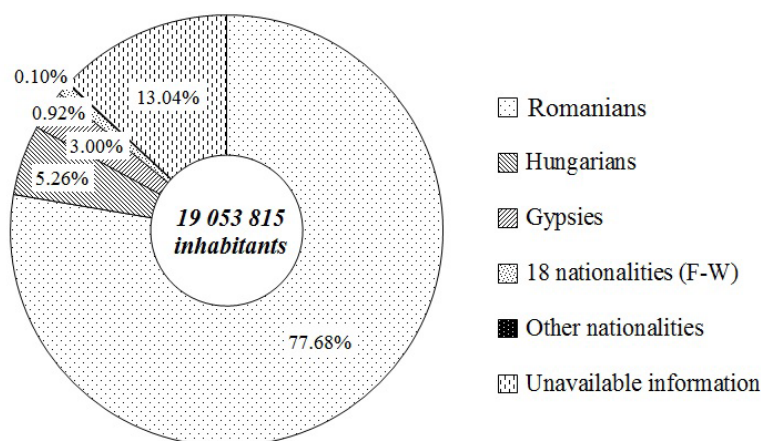
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y
No. crt.	Counties and geographical – historical provinces	Total table population	Romanians	Hungarians	Gypsies	Ukrainians	Germans	Turks	Russians - Lipovans	Tartars	Serbians	Slovaks	Bulgarians	Croats	Greeks	Italians	Jews	Czechs	Polish	Ruthenians	Armenians	Albanians	Macedonians	Other nationality	Unavailable information
	<b>ROMANIA</b>	<b>19053815</b>	<b>14801442</b>	<b>1002151</b>	<b>569477</b>	<b>45835</b>	<b>22907</b>	<b>20945</b>	<b>19394</b>	<b>18156</b>	<b>12026</b>	<b>10232</b>	<b>5975</b>	<b>4842</b>	<b>2086</b>	<b>4039</b>	<b>2378</b>	<b>1576</b>	<b>2137</b>	<b>834</b>	<b>1213</b>	<b>645</b>	<b>1089</b>	<b>19510</b>	<b>2484926</b>
1	Alba	325941	268753	11494	13041	19	544	29	10	*	3	17	6	*	*	68	14	8	4	20	*	*	-	124	31780
2	Bistrița-Năsăud	295988	247935	11049	11127	34	261	8	*	-	3	3	*	-	3	42	19	-	6	-	*	4	-	86	25398
3	Brașov	546615	416664	28221	23472	106	1853	60	105	15	22	12	22	8	76	194	81	*	20	*	14	5	5	770	74884
4	Cluj	679141	488212	78455	17802	250	567	91	89	20	27	56	21	8	68	223	139	14	26	17	83	22	7	1225	91719
5	Covasna	200042	42752	133444	9507	10	73	5	6	*	3	3	*	*	3	13	6	*	8	*	*	-	-	99	14101
6	Haghita	291950	33634	232157	4928	14	62	11	7	*	8	3	*	-	*	7	4	*	4	-	7	-	*	148	20949
7	Hunedoara	361657	300972	9180	5449	48	500	33	20	*	28	27	16	6	19	97	37	5	28	74	*	24	9	210	44870
8	Mureș	518193	252400	165014	44880	47	904	49	24	9	8	5	11	4	9	77	56	3	5	*	10	3	-	296	54378
9	Sălaj	212224	136552	40554	16706	25	40	3	*	*	3	760	*	-	*	46	32	*	-	-	4	-	-	75	17416
10	Sibiu	388326	313119	6112	12808	50	2716	47	39	4	22	*	9	3	28	73	23	5	19	-	19	*	-	296	52930
<b>I</b>	<b>Transylvania</b>	<b>3820077</b>	<b>2500993</b>	<b>715680</b>	<b>159720</b>	<b>603</b>	<b>7520</b>	<b>336</b>			<b>127</b>					<b>840</b>	<b>411</b>							<b>3329</b>	<b>428425</b>
1	Bacău	601387	502150	4561	14578	28	61	40	23	6	4	*	3	*	30	117	31	*	7	*	40	9	-	335	79358
2	Botoșani	392821	349889	28	4606	1587	17	21	587	*	5	*	-	*	12	61	32	-	7	3	75	4	-	82	35802
3	Galați	496892	413494	90	15366	52	50	60	113	*	4	-	8	-	94	75	33	3	*	-	23	5	3	151	67261
4	Iași	760774	613615	98	9964	145	83	84	1495	5	8	-	13	*	72	173	133	5	15	-	37	13	14	593	134207
5	Neamț	454203	391640	138	5761	46	46	31	136	*	5	4	3	*	31	119	29	*	7	*	54	*	-	116	56028
6	Suceava	642551	549813	91	13568	7916	475	28	1265	4	7	-	*	*	14	62	36	-	1667	182	35	11	*	168	67205
7	Vaslui	374700	317508	28	5267	12	9	7	30	-	-	*	3	-	5	39	13	*	*	-	*	3	*	58	51711
8	Vrancea	335312	289516	51	13723	11	9	21	4	*	-	*	*	-	5	64	9	-	4	-	3	4	-	76	31809
<b>II</b>	<b>Moldavia</b>	<b>4058640</b>	<b>3427625</b>	<b>5085</b>	<b>82833</b>	<b>9797</b>	<b>750</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>3653</b>						<b>263</b>	<b>710</b>	<b>316</b>							<b>1579</b>	<b>523381</b>
1	Constanța	655997	504344	313	6593	133	122	16121	4084	16918	20	4	72	3	232	117	37	*	15	*	189	28	52	1559	105039
2	Tulcea	193355	153094	51	3963	900	65	993	8010	106	*	*	34	*	266	65	8	-	*	-	25	4	6	567	25192
<b>III</b>	<b>Dobrudja</b>	<b>849352</b>	<b>657438</b>	<b>364</b>	<b>10556</b>	<b>1033</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>17114</b>	<b>12094</b>	<b>17024</b>			<b>106</b>		<b>498</b>	<b>182</b>	<b>45</b>				<b>214</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>2126</b>	<b>130231</b>
1	Argeș	569932	497410	102	17056	26	50	65	26	8	8	*	4	*	30	82	5	3	3	*	29	12	-	195	54814
2	Brăila	281452	239436	47	7435	22	18	143	1759	4	-	*	10	*	97	34	31	*	*	*	3	5	-	154	32248

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y
No. crt.	Counties and geographical – historical provinces	Total table population	Romanians	Hungarians	Gypsies	Ukrainians	Germans	Turks	Russians - Lipovans	Tartars	Serbians	Slovaks	Bulgarians	Croats	Greeks	Italians	Jews	Czechs	Polish	Ruthenians	Armenians	Albanians	Macedonians	Other nationality	Unavailable information
3	Buzău	404979	346825	55	17747	17	13	37	14	-	*	*	7	*	10	41	10	*	3	*	*	5	-	121	40067
4	Călărași	283458	236433	29	17546	9	12	237	13	128	-	*	16	*	3	22	*	*	5	-	*	*	4	124	28868
5	Dâmbovița	479404	417521	75	18981	20	35	54	20	*	465	4	1487	-	15	63	10	3	7	*	11	5	*	280	40341
6	Giurgiu	262066	223571	35	11964	8	16	62	9	10	6	-	8	-	7	21	4	3	*	-	12	9	*	259	26060
7	Ialomița	250816	204890	35	16063	10	5	70	207	8	3	-	5	*	8	24	*	-	*	-	3	4	*	230	29244
8	Ilfov	542704	431627	397	9186	93	167	690	191	122	26	8	92	*	133	148	94	10	25	*	43	14	14	2169	97444
9	Prahova	695119	605242	214	14024	36	96	158	38	13	7	9	13	-	74	96	23	6	10	-	6	8	*	313	74731
10	Teleorman	323544	282613	22	9457	6	9	15	6	*	*	*	32	-	5	11	3	-	*	*	*	-	-	109	31248
<b>IV</b>	<b>Muntenia</b>	<b>4093474</b>	<b>3485568</b>	<b>1011</b>	<b>139459</b>	<b>247</b>	<b>421</b>	<b>1531</b>	<b>2283</b>				<b>1674</b>		<b>382</b>	<b>542</b>								<b>3954</b>	<b>455065</b>
1	Dolj	599442	494409	87	29918	25	46	34	13	3	22	3	27	*	34	119	15	3	5	*	11	69	723	281	73592
2	Gorj	314685	280980	114	5883	26	21	12	9	-	7	4	*	*	9	43	*	*	*	-	3	158	4	45	27362
3	Mehedinți	234339	191250	54	12768	8	53	13	4	-	727	4	7	4	11	26	4	303	*	-	*	-	*	50	29050
4	Olt	383280	338684	39	9812	11	12	35	5	4	9	*	7	*	3	47	3	-	*	-	-	10	11	47	34537
5	Vâlcea	341861	302696	78	8234	16	39	37	9	7	8	-	*	-	7	40	4	*	3	-	*	3	-	68	30607
<b>V</b>	<b>Oltenia</b>	<b>1873607</b>	<b>1608019</b>	<b>372</b>	<b>66615</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>40</b>		<b>773</b>				<b>64</b>	<b>275</b>								<b>491</b>	<b>195148</b>
1	Arad	410143	317713	25731	16747	941	2000	66	27	*	510	3310	510	7	16	353	60	94	20	148	*	46	5	534	41301
2	Caraș-Severin	246588	195703	1424	5311	1502	1364	6	11	-	3408	65	17	4567	5	25	21	909	6	*	-	10	37	82	32114
3	Timiș	650533	484243	21285	12438	4131	4684	78	82	14	6447	939	3244	179	42	358	144	141	32	26	16	29	100	1002	110879
<b>VI</b>	<b>Banat</b>	<b>1307264</b>	<b>997659</b>	<b>48440</b>	<b>34496</b>	<b>6574</b>	<b>8048</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>120</b>		<b>10365</b>	<b>4314</b>	<b>3771</b>	<b>4753</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>736</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>1144</b>	<b>58</b>			<b>85</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>1618</b>	<b>184294</b>
1	Bihor	551297	347148	112387	36837	89	529	29	25	*	25	4860	15	*	40	180	135	13	25	5	3	49	4	464	48428
<b>VII</b>	<b>Crișana</b>	<b>551297</b>	<b>347148</b>	<b>112387</b>	<b>36837</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>529</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>25</b>	*	<b>25</b>	<b>4860</b>	<b>15</b>	*	<b>40</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>464</b>	<b>48428</b>
1	Maramureș	452475	342052	23153	11881	25690	548	13	17	-	13	14	*	*	10	96	52	*	10	333	47	5	-	156	48380
2	Satu Mare	330668	182750	93491	16340	1361	3722	7	8	-	4	61	*	3	*	45	77	-	3	*	*	*	-	90	32698
<b>VIII</b>	<b>Maramureș</b>	<b>783143</b>	<b>524802</b>	<b>116644</b>	<b>28221</b>	<b>27051</b>	<b>4270</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>25</b>		<b>17</b>	<b>75</b>				<b>141</b>	<b>129</b>		<b>13</b>					<b>246</b>	<b>81078</b>
<b>IX</b>	<b>Bucharest City</b>	1716961	1252190	2168	10740	355	1011	1342	844	719	147	41	239	*	553	433	906	22	123	*	390	56	80	5703	438876
	<b>ROMANIA</b>	<b>19053815</b>	<b>14801442</b>	<b>1002151</b>	<b>569477</b>	<b>45835</b>	<b>22907</b>	<b>20945</b>	<b>19394</b>	<b>18156</b>	<b>12026</b>	<b>10232</b>	<b>5975</b>	<b>4842</b>	<b>2086</b>	<b>4039</b>	<b>2378</b>	<b>1576</b>	<b>2137</b>	<b>834</b>	<b>1213</b>	<b>645</b>	<b>1089</b>	<b>19510</b>	<b>2484926</b>

**Source:** National Statistics Institute, Table 2.02.1- Stable population by nationality – counties, cities, towns and rural municipalities.

\* Very small numbers (lower than 3).

(-) Meaning they are not present.



**Fig. 1.** The ethnic structure of Romania at the 2021 Census.

## 2. STRUCTURE AND TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN ROMANIA

To simplify the analysis of the 21 nationalities, as well as other registered categories, taking into account the nomenclature, three main ethnic groups were put forward: *Romanian* (Romanian, Aromanian, Cic, Istro-Romanian, Macedonian-Romanian, Megleno-Romanian, Vlach), *Hungarian* (Hungarian and Szekler) and *Roma* (Roma, Argintar, Băieș, Bidinar, Boldean, Căldărar, Fierar, Gabor, Gembăș, Lăutar, Rudar, Spoitor, Ursar and Vătraș), followed by the category of other ethnic groups, which includes 18 minorities: *Ukrainians* (Ukrainian, Hahol, Hutsul, Hutan, Zaporozhian Cossack), *Germans* (German, Landler, Neamț, Saxon, Swabian, Șiptăr), *Turks*, *Russian-Lipovans* (Russian-Lipovan, Russian, Lipovan, Russian Starover), *Tatars*, *Serbs*, *Slovaks*, *Bulgarians*, *Croats*, *Greeks* (Greek, Hellenic, Greek Cypriot), *Italians*, *Jews*, *Czechs*, *Poles*, *Ruthenians* (Ruthenian, Rusyn), *Armenians*, *Albanians* (Albanian, Shqiptar) and *Macedonians*, respectively *Other ethnicities* (Csangos, Gagauz, Chinese and other ethnicities from EU states or non-EU states) and *Unavailable information* which includes the population whose ethnicity was not declared.

### 2. 1. The Romanian ethnicity

Archaeological remains, historical documents and 20th century censuses clearly show the presence and continuity of the Romanian population throughout the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space (Nimigeanu, 1996, p. 92). Following the evolution of the Romanian ethnicity at national level, starting from the first

general census, carried out on December 29, 1930, and until the one of December 1, 2021, we distinguish two distinct stages: one of growth (1930-2002), from 77.85% to 89.48%, and one of decline (2011-2021), from 83.45% to 77.68%.

Naturally, this ethnic group forms the densest and most compact layer of the total population (Erdeli & Cucu, 2005, p. 143), being homogeneously spread across all geographical regions of Romania, without a Romanian ethnic vacuum (Ilinca 1999, p. 79), the unitary and balanced character also being preserved in residential environments (50.47% in urban areas and 49.53% in rural areas). The only exceptions are Covasna and Harghita counties, where in 2021 there were shares of 21.37% (42,752 Romanians out of the total of 200,042 inhabitants of Covasna County), and 11.52% (33,634 Romanians out of the 291,950 inhabitants of Harghita County), attributed to the presence of the Hungarian population (Tofan, 2015, p. 22).

The drastic decrease of the Romanian ethnic group by 1,991,426 people is primarily due to the sharp geodemographic decline in the last decade, when the natural increase rate recorded a historical maximum of -6.3‰ in 2021, corroborated with external migration, which in the same reference year shows that 5,705,942 people had their residence or domicile abroad. Another cause can be attributed to the inadequate methodology in the census of the stable population, because without exaggeration we consider that over 90% of the population category included in the *Unavailable information* column is of Romanian ethnicity.

At the level of geographical-historical provinces, the highest relative (percentage) value appears in Oltenia (85.82%), and the lowest in Crișana (62.97%), the rest of the provinces registering the following frequencies: Muntenia (85.15%), Moldavia (84.45%), Dobrudja (77.40%), Banat (76.32%), Maramureș (67.01%) and Transylvania (65.47%).

At administrative-territorial level, the percentage of Romanians within the 41 counties and the Municipality of Bucharest varies significantly, the highest share being specific to Gorj County (89.29% of the total of 314,685 inhabitants of the county), and the lowest in Harghita County (11.52% of 291,950 inhabitants). In 26 of the counties, Romanians hold an almost absolute majority, with values over 80%, among which four counties in Transylvania stand out: Sibiu (80.63%), Alba (82.45%), Hunedoara (83.22%) and Bistrița-Năsăud (83.77%), followed by all the eight counties in Moldavia: Iași (80.66%), Galați (83.22%), Bacău (83.50%), Vaslui (84.74%), Suceava (85.57%), Neamț (86.23%), Vrancea (86.34%) and Botoșani (89.07%); Muntenia with nine of the ten counties: Ialomița (81.69%), Călărași (83.41%), Brăila (85.07%), Giurgiu (85.31%), Buzău (85.64%), Prahova (87.07%), Dâmbovița (87.09%), Argeș (87.28%) and Teleorman (87.35%); Oltenia with all five counties: Mehedinți (81.61%), Dolj (82.48%), Olt (88.36%), Vâlcea (88.54%) and Gorj (89.29%).

**Table 2.** The General Ethnic Structure of Romania, at the 2011 and 2021 Censuses

No. crt.	Ethnicity	2011	%	2021	%
	<b>Total resident population</b>	<b>20,121,641</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>19,053,815</b>	<b>100.00</b>
1	Romanian	16,792,868	83.45	14,801,442	77.68
2	Hungarian	1,227,623	6.10	1,002,151	5.26
3	Gypsy (Roma)	621,573	3.09	569,477	3.00
4	Ukrainian	50,920	0.25	45,835	0.24
5	German	36,042	0.18	22,907	0.12
6	Turkish	27,698	0.14	20,945	0.10
7	Russian-Lipovan	23,487	0.12	19,394	0.10
8	Tatar	20,282	0.10	18,156	0.09
9	Serbian	18,076	0.09	12,026	0.06
10	Slovak	13,654	0.07	10,232	0.05
11	Bulgarian	7,336	0.04	5,975	0.03
12	Croat	5,408	0.03	4,842	0.02
13	Greek	3,668	0.02	2,086	0.01
14	Italian	3,203	0.02	4,039	0.02
15	Jewish	3,271	0.02	2,378	0.01
16	Czech	2,477	0.01	1,576	0.00
17	Polish	2,543	0.01	2,137	0.01
18	Chinese	2,017	0.01	- <sup>3</sup>	-
19	Ruthenian	- <sup>4</sup>	-	834	0.00
20	Armenian	1,361	0.01	1,213	0.00
21	Csango	1,536	0.01	- <sup>5</sup>	-
22	Albanian	- <sup>6</sup>	-	645	0.00
23	Macedonian	1,264	0.01	1,089	0.00
24	Other	18,524	0.09	19,510	0.10
25	Unavailable information	1,236,810	6.15	2,484,926	13.04

<sup>3</sup> Included in *Other ethnicities*.<sup>4</sup> Included in Ukrainian ethnicity.<sup>5</sup> Included in *Other ethnicities*.<sup>6</sup> Included in *Other ethnicities*.

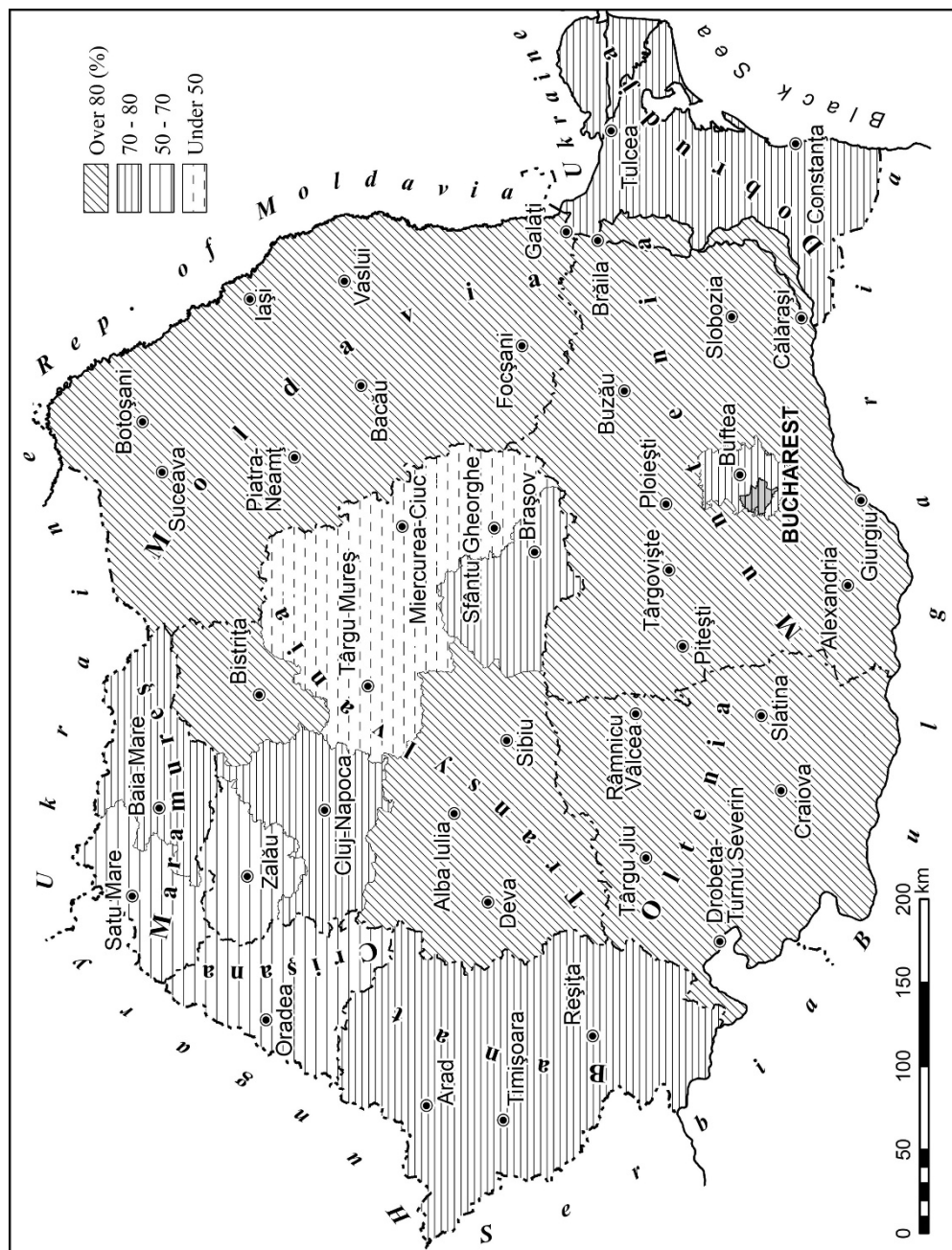


Fig. 2. The territorial distribution of Romanians at the 2021 Census.



Nine other counties have shares between 70-80% (Cluj, 71.89%; Timiș, 74.44%; Maramureș, 75.60%; Brașov, 76.23%; Constanța, 76.88%; Arad, 77.46%; Tulcea, 79.18%; Caraș-Severin, 79.36% and Ilfov, 79.53%), as well as Bucharest City with 72.93%.

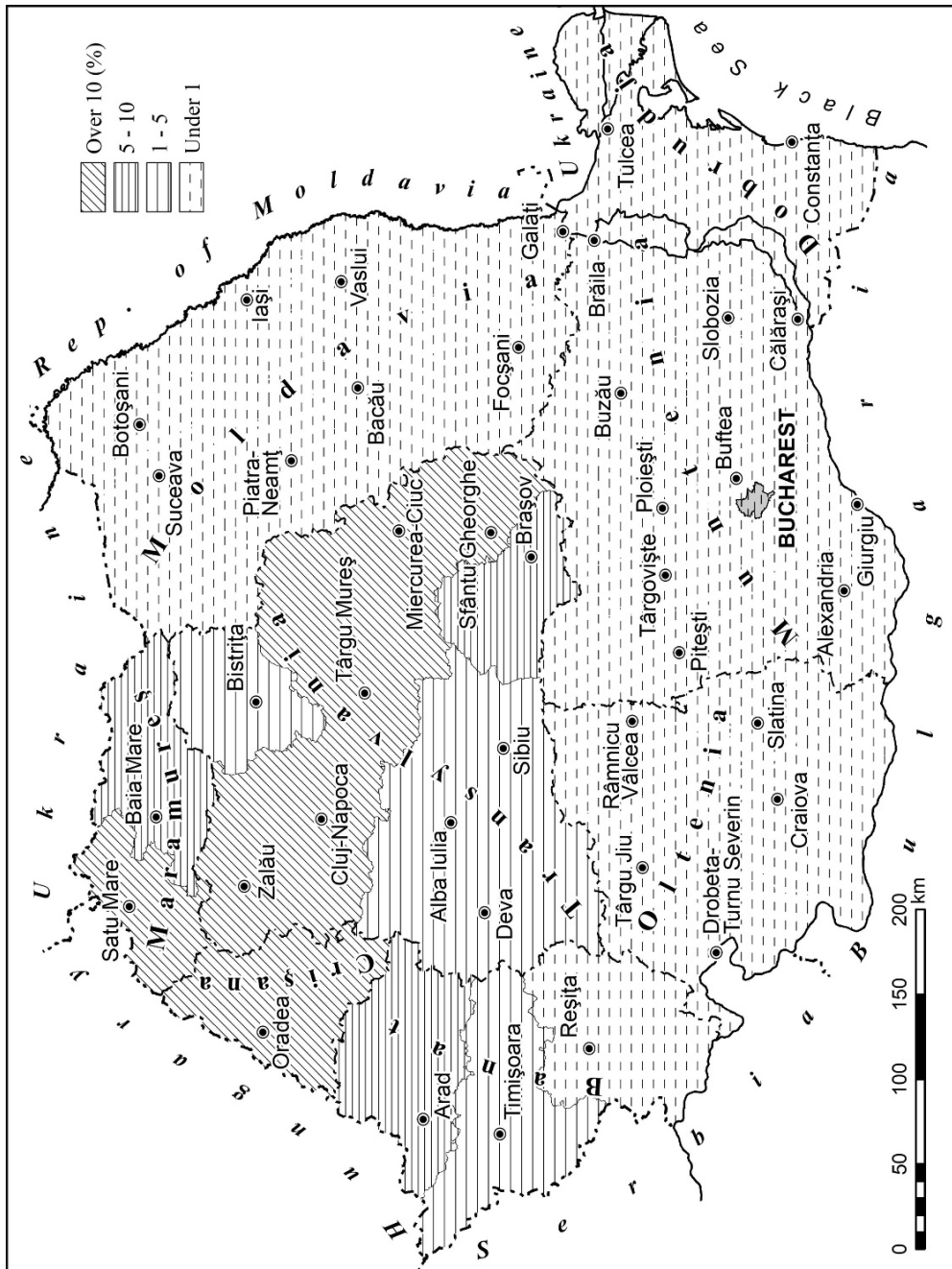
The 50-70% interval is solely present in three counties (Satu Mare, 55.27%; Bihor, 62.97% and Sălaj, 64.34%), and the one below 50% appears in the remaining three counties (Mureș, 48.71%; Covasna, 21.37% and Harghita, 11.52%).

## **2. 2. The Hungarian ethnicity**

It is the most representative national minority in Romania, which gradually entered, starting with the 11<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, when Hungarian kings desired to expand their territory in Transylvania (Pop, 1991, p. 7; Pop, 2004, p. 18), and to defend the eastern border against the Cumans and Tatars. They brought Szekler colonists, whom they completely assimilated (Cocean *et al.*, 2013, p. 128), settling them in the eastern part of Transylvania, in the inner mountain basins of Giurgeu, Ciuc, and Brașov (Giurescu & Giurescu, 1974, p. 197).

In order to create a bridge connecting the enclave in the “heart of the Carpathians”, the Hungarian state favored the further penetration of the Hungarian population, first in the Western Plain, where it occupied the most fertile lands in the valleys of Mureș, Crișul Repede, Barcău, Crasna and Someș rivers (Bodocan, 2001, p. 29; Pop & Niță, 2015, p. 55), and from there further East towards the Someșan Plateau and the adjacent area (Zalău, Cluj, Turda, Aiud), part of the Hungarian population being drawn in modern times by the coal, ferrous and non-ferrous metal mining in Maramureș and Hunedoara, as well as by logging operations in the Trotuș and Siret basins, where small colonies of Csangos were established (Geography of Romania, 1982, p. 89).

At the 2021 Census, 1,002,151 Hungarians were registered, corresponding to a weight of 5.26% of the total population of Romania. Regarding the numerical evolution of this ethnic group during the period 1930-2021, in terms of absolute values, we note an increase from 1,423,459 inhabitants in 1930 to 1,713,928 inhabitants in 1977, attributed to the economic recovery after the two world wars, and then it entered a continuous downward trend, following emigration to Hungary, reaching 1,002,151 people in 2021, who live together in normal relations alongside Romanians, 46.89% in urban areas and 53.11% in rural areas.



**Fig. 3.** The territorial distribution of Hungarians at the 2021 Census.

In terms of relative values, for the same reference period, there is a gradual decrease in the frequency of Hungarians on the territory of Romania, from 9.97% in 1930 to 5.26% in 2021, as a result of the action of several factors (low natural growth, high mortality and emigration, degradation of living conditions amid economic, social and political crises, etc.), which determined a different evolution, primarily within the Romanian population, but also among the other cohabiting ethnic groups (Ilieş, 1998, p. 58-61).

At the level of geographical-historical provinces, the presence of the Hungarian ethnic group records the highest weight in Crişana (20.40%, 112,387 Hungarians), Transylvania (18.70%, 715,680), and Maramureş (14.90%, 116,644), dropping significantly to 3.71% in Banat (48,440), concentrated especially around the large cities (Timişoara, Arad, and Lugoj), while in the southern regions (Oltenia, 0.02% and 372 Hungarians; Muntenia, 0.02% and 1,011), southeastern (Dobrudja, 0.04% and 364) and eastern (Moldavia, 0.13%, 5,085), their share is insignificant.

Following the situation of the distribution of Hungarians by county and in the City of Bucharest, we distinguish four ranges:

- *below 1%*, registered in 26 of the counties of Romania (Bacău, Botoşani, Galaţi, Iaşi, Neamţ, Suceava, Vaslui, Vrancea, Constanţa, Tulcea, Argeş, Brăila, Buzău, Călăraşi, Dâmboviţa, Giurgiu, Ialomiţa, Ilfov, Prahova, Teleorman, Dolj, Gorj, Mehedinţi, Olt, Vâlcea and Caraş-Severin) and in the City of Bucharest;

- *1-5%*, included in five of the administrative-territorial units: Sibiu (1.57%), Hunedoara (2.54%), Timiş (3.27%), Alba (3.53%), and Bistriţa-Năsăud (3.73%);

Braşov (5.16%) and Arad (6.27%), and the upper range of *over 10%* includes the remaining seven counties, where there was a massive colonization of Hungarian population: Cluj (11.60%), Sălaj (19.10%), Bihor (20.40%), Satu Mare (28.30%), as well as Mureş (31.80%), Covasna (66.70%), and Harghita (79.50%), where this minority forms an ethnically heterogeneous area (Tofan, 2014a, p. 87; Tofan, 2014b, p. 16). In communes such as Atit, Căpâlniţa, Lueta, Ocland, Porumbeni, Racu, Sântimbru, Satu Mare and Vârşag, the number of those who declared themselves of Romanian ethnicity was below the threshold of 10 people.

### ***2. 3. The Gypsy (Roma) ethnicity***

It is the third largest ethnic group (3.00% and 569,477 people), characterized by a high degree of dispersion, especially in the plains, hills and plateaus, and less so in the mountainous areas, with harsh climate and difficult

living conditions. As a whole, they had an oscillating evolution from one census to another (Pop & Rusu, 2014, p. 15), as a result of nomadism and an inconsistent way of self-identification (Vert, 2001, p. 107), which derives from the lack of integration into society and the lack of education, so that some of them declared themselves either Romanians or Hungarians, depending on the majority ethnicity they live with, and others were not censused (Rotariu et al., 2017, p. 87). Thus, Roma representatives have repeatedly contested the official census results, on the grounds that dozens of communities were intentionally omitted from the census, because according to their unofficial statistics, the real number would be closer to about 3,000,000 people, taking into account the phenomenon of oversizing family nuclei, which can be easily noticed in society.

**Table 3.** The General Ethnic Structure at Geographic-Historical Provinces level at the 2021 Census

Geographical-Historical Provinces	Romanian	Hungarian	Gypsy (Roma)	Other Nationalities	Unavialable information
Transylvania	65.47	18.70	4.18	0.40	11.22
Moldavia	84.45	0.13	2.04	0.49	12.90
Dobrudja	77.40	0.04	1.24	5.98	15.33
Muntenia	85.15	0.02	3.41	0.30	11.12
Oltenia	85.82	0.02	3.56	0.18	10.42
Banat	76.32	3.71	2.64	3.24	14.10
Crișana	62.97	20.40	6.68	1.18	8.78
Maramureș	67.01	14.90	3.60	4.14	10.35

Those from rural areas are the ones that predominate (67.78%, 386,038 people), however, regarding the spatial distribution of this ethnic group at the level of the eight geographical-historical provinces, the highest share was found in the region of Crișana, where they have 6.68% (36,837 people out of the total population of 551,297 inhabitants in Bihor County), and the lowest in Dobrudja (1.24%, 10,556 people out of the 849,352 of the province). In the remaining provinces, the situation is as follows: Moldavia (2.04% and 82,833 Roma), Banat (2.64% and 34,496), Muntenia (3.41% and 139,459), Oltenia (3.56% and 66,615), Maramureș (3.60% and 28,221) and Transylvania (4.18% and 159,720).

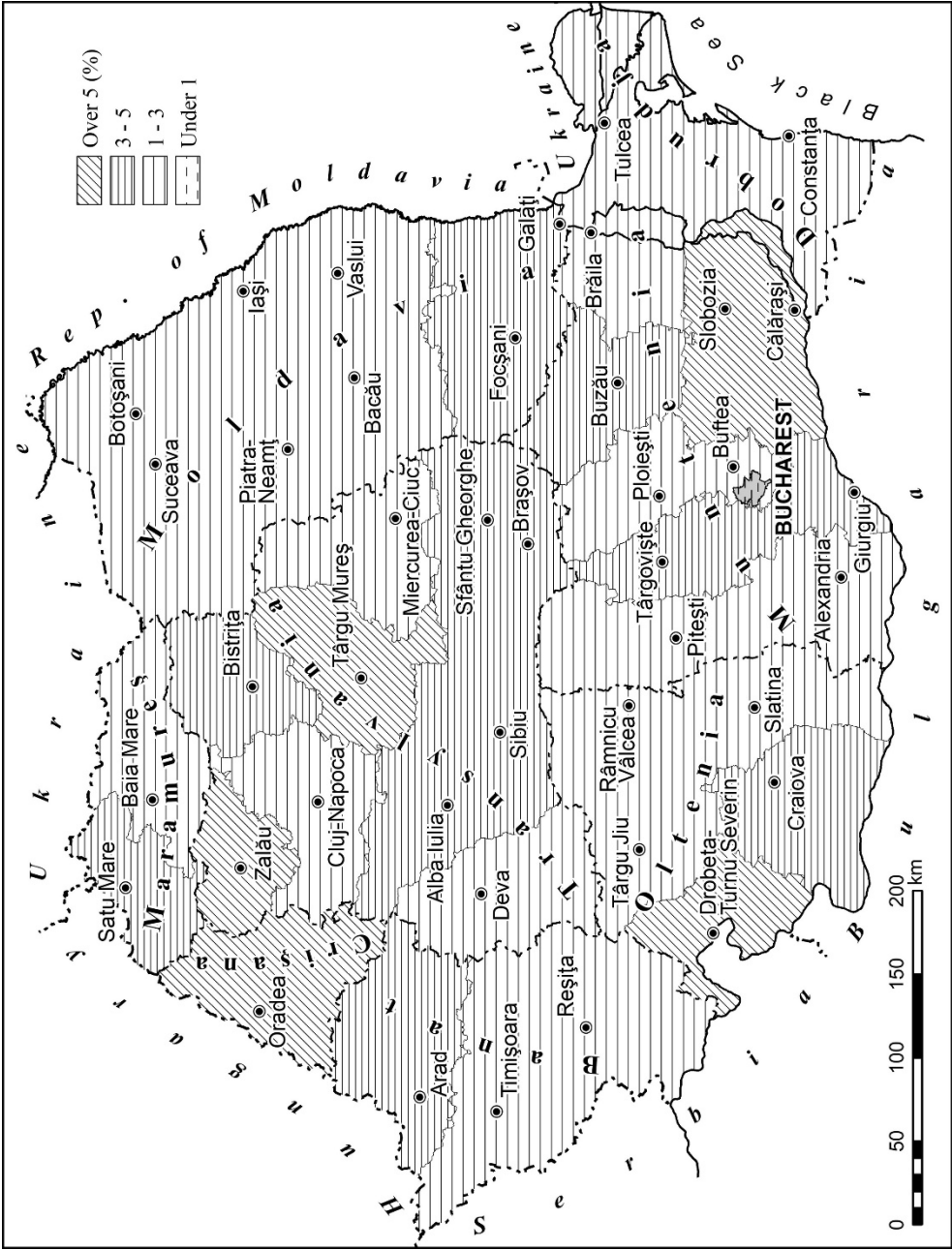


Fig. 4. The territorial distribution of Gypsies (Roma) at the 2021 Census.

Analysing the presence of this ethnic group at the administrative-territorial level, in the 41 counties and in the City of Bucharest, four classes may be established in terms of weight:

- *below 1%*, in which only the City of Bucharest is included (0.63% and 10,740 Roma out of the total of 1,716,961 inhabitants of the capital);
- *1-3%* in 22 counties of Romania, three in Transylvania (Hunedoara, Harghita, and Cluj), six in Moldavia (Botoșani, Neamț, Iași, Vaslui, Suceava, and Bacău), the two counties of Dobrudja (Constanța and Tulcea), five in Muntenia (Ilfov, Prahova, Brăila, Teleorman, and Argeș), three in Oltenia (Gorj, Vâlcea, and Ilt), two in Banat (Timiș and Caraș-Severin) and one in Maramureș (Maramureș);
- the interval between *3-5%* includes 13 counties, located in the central and northwestern part of Romania (Sibiu, Bistrița-Năsăud, Alba, Brașov, Covasna, Satu Mare), as well as in the eastern part (Galați and Vrancea), southeastern part (Dâmbovița, Buzău and Giurgiu), southern (Dolj) and western (Arad) parts;
- the upper class of *over 5%* is present in the remaining six counties (Mehedinți, 5.45%; Călărași, 6.19%; Ialomița, 6.40%; Bihor, 6.68%; Sălaj, 7.87%, and Mureș, 8.66%).

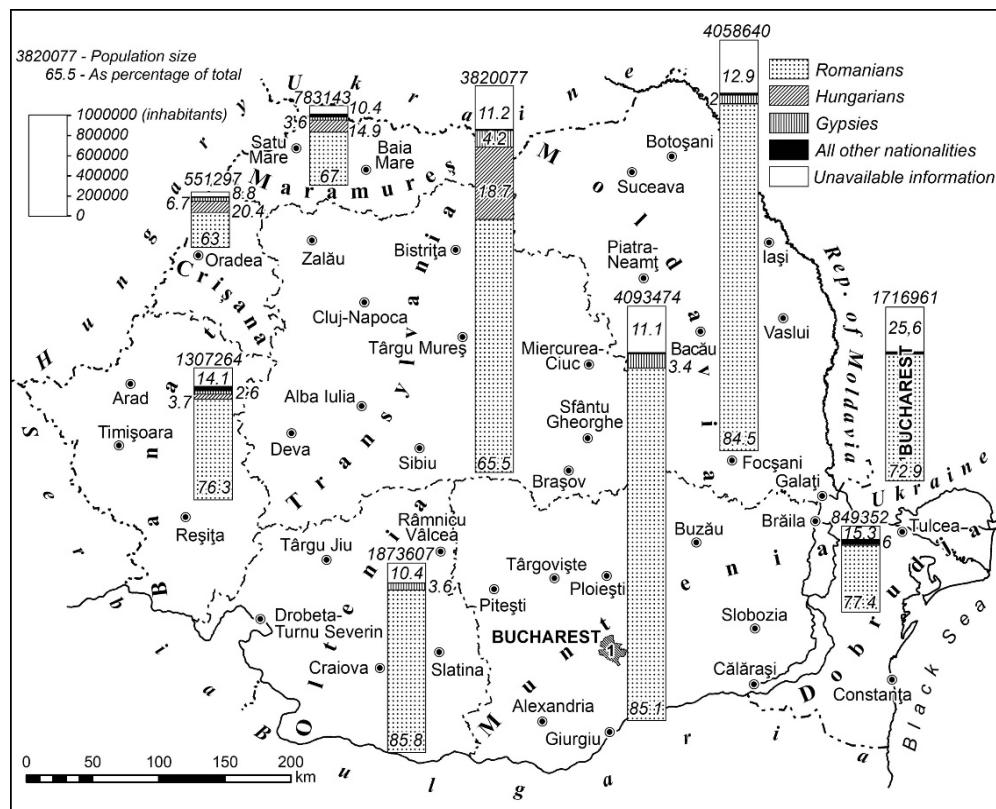
## ***2. 4. The category of other minorities***

The 2021 Census data also includes 18 other ethnic minority groups (between positions F-W), representing 0.92% (176,309 people) of the total population of Romania. These are: Ukrainians, Germans, Turks, Russian-Lipovans, Tatars, Serbs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Croats, Greeks, Italians, Jews, Czechs, Poles, Ruthenians, Armenians, Albanians, and Macedonians. The category *Other minorities* with 0.10% (19,510 people) is mainly made up by Asians (Chinese, Nepalese, Pakistanis, Philipinos, Indians, Sri Lankans, etc.), who came to Romania to work in construction, HoReCa, and more recently in transportation.

*a) The Ukrainian ethnic group* have settled the northern part of Romania ever since the 13<sup>th</sup> century, originating from Galicia and Ukraine and mostly occupying territories located in and around the mountain areas and along valleys. Like the previous three ethnic groups, it is characterized by a downward trend, from 0.25% (50,920) in 2011, to 0.24% (45,835), with the mention that 90% live in rural areas (41,361 people). The geographical-historical provinces that have the largest number of Ukrainians are Maramureș (27,051 people), Moldavia (9,797), and Banat (6,574), after which the values are constantly decreasing, namely: Dobrudja (1,033), Transylvania (603), Muntenia (247), Crișana (89) and Oltenia (86).

Categorised according to their numbers, we have the following situation: 25 of the counties have under 50 Ukrainians, with seven counties in Transylvania (Covasna, Harghita, Alba, Sălaj, Bistrița-Năsăud, Mureș, and Hunedoara); Moldavia with four counties (Vrancea, Vaslui, Bacău, and Neamț); Muntenia with nine counties (Teleorman 6 people, the lowest absolute value, then Giurgiu, Călărași, Ialomița, Buzău, Dâmbovița, Brăila, Argeș, and Prahova), and Oltenia entirely with the five counties (Mehedinți, Olt, Vâlcea, Dolj, and Gorj).

A number of eight counties fall within the *50-300 Ukrainians* interval (Sibiu, Galați, Ilfov, Bihor, Brașov, Cluj, Iași, Constanța), while over 300 are present in the City of Bucharest (355 Ukrainians), as well as in the counties of Tulcea (900), Arad (941), Satu Mare (1,361), Caraș-Severin (1,502), Botoșani (1,587), Timiș (4,131), Suceava (7,916), and Maramureș (25,690), concentrated especially on the territory of several communes in the Vișeu basin (Bistra, Leordina, Petrova, Poienile de sub Munte, Repedea, and Ruscova).



**Fig. 5.** The national structure of the population of Romania, by geographical-historical provinces, at the 2021 Census.

b) *Germans* were also colonized on the present territory of Romania by the Hungarian medieval kingdom, in two stages: the first, corresponding to the 12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, in which Saxons were brought from Saxony, Flanders, the Moselle region, and Luxembourg, being settled in the South and East of Transylvania, as an avant-garde at the Carpathian passes (Bran, Predeal, Turnu Roșu, Deda-Toplița and Tihuța), and the second (in the 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries), when massive colonizations of Swabians from the south-west of Germany (Baden, Alsace, Swabia), as well as Austria, took place in Banat, Crișana and Maramureș, leading to economic development through activities such as trade, mining, logging and agriculture (Pop, 1986, p. 46).

After 1990, this ethnic group was significantly reduced, when a significant number of people emigrated to Germany (Crețan, 2006, p. 81), the phenomenon continuing today, the share of Germans decreasing from 0.18% in 2011 (36,042 Germans) to 0.12% (22,907 people, of which 14,870 in urban areas and 8,037 in rural areas). In 2021, Germans are fifth among the 21 existing ethnicities. The highest concentration occurs in the areas where they settled, namely in Banat (8,048), Transylvania (7,520) and Maramureș (4,270), while the number in the other provinces is significantly reduced, the situation being as follows: Moldavia (750), Crișana (529), Muntenia (421), Dobrudja (187) and Oltenia (171).

At the county level, it is noted that the highest number of Germans is registered in Timiș (4,684 Swabians), and the lowest in Ialomița (5). In general, a number of 17 counties are below the threshold of *under 50* Germans, including one county in Transylvania (Sălaj), four counties in Moldavia (Vaslui, Vrancea, Botoșani, and Neamț), one in Dobrudja (Tulcea), seven in Muntenia (Ialomița, Teleorman, Călărași, Buzău, Giurgiu, Brăila, and Dâmbovița), and four in Oltenia (Olt, Gorj, Vâlcea, and Dolj); another 11 counties fall within the *50-300 range* (Bistrița-Năsăud, Covasna, Harghita, Bacău, Galați, Iași, Constanța, Argeș, Ilfov, Prahova, and Mehedinți); Suceava (475) and Hunedoara (500) counties have between *300-500* ethnic Germans, and the higher class of *over 500* is found in the remaining 11 counties, namely: Bihor (529), Alba (544), Maramureș (548), Cluj (567), Mureș (904), Caraș-Severin (1,364), Brașov (1,853), Arad (2,000), Sibiu (2,716), Satu Mare (3,722) and Timiș (4,684), as well as Bucharest City, with 1,011 Germans (0.05% of the 1,716,961 inhabitants).

c) *The Turkish ethnicity* is also included in the downward evolution curve from 27,698 Turks (0.14%) in 2011, to 20,945 (0.10%) in 2021, most of them being located in urban areas (12,424 people). In terms of territorial distribution, more than 75% live in Dobrudja, especially in Constanța County (16,121 people), where they have settled since the 15th century.

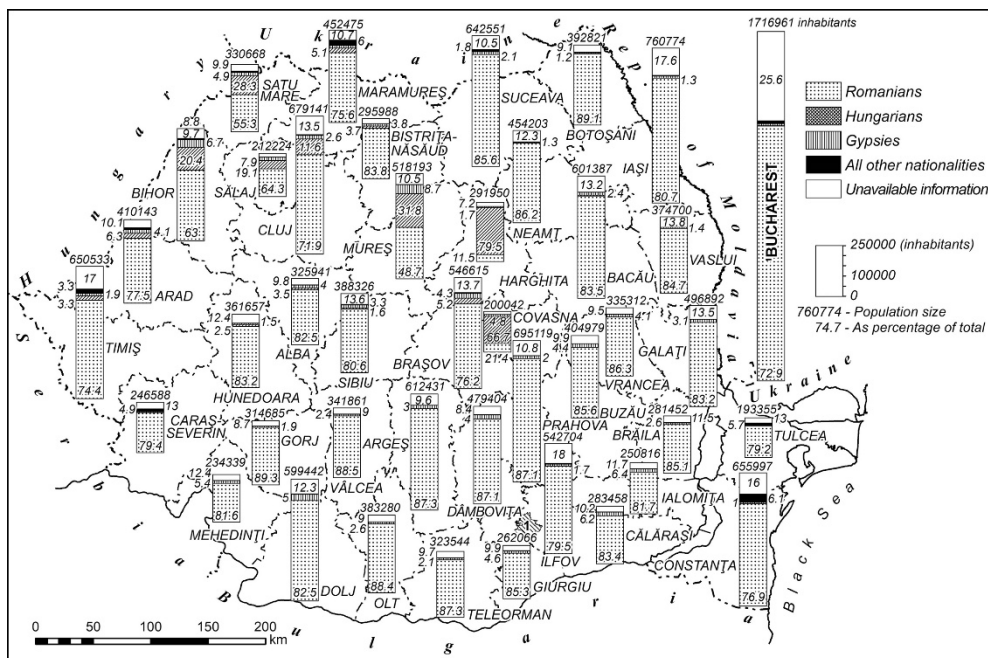


In the class of *under 50* people, 25 counties are included, then another 10 administrative-territorial units have values between *50 and 100*, while between *100 and 300* there are only three counties (Brăila, Călărași, and Prahova). The category of *over 300* Turks includes Ilfov (690), Tulcea (993), and Constanța (16,121), as well as the City of Bucharest, with 1,342 Turks, who carry out activities in the fields of trade and the food industry.

*d) The Russian-Lipovan ethnic group*, originating from Russia, from the lower course of the Don, came to Romania as a result of political-religious persecutions during the Russian Empire (Erdeli & Cucu, 2005, p. 155). Currently, they have a weight of 0.10% (19,394 people, of which 7,873 in urban areas and 11,521 in rural areas), presenting a particular concentration in the geographical-historical province of Dobrudja (12,094 people), where Tulcea County stands out with 8,010 people (the highest value), while their number decreases in Moldavia (3,653), Muntenia (2,283), Banat (120), Oltenia (40), and Crișana (25), while in Transylvania the numbers of this ethnic group cannot be precisely established, because in Bistrița-Năsăud and Sălaj it appears marked with an asterisk (\*), which means that it is a confidential value, i.e. the number of people is probably less than 3.

The class of *under 50* Russian-Lipovans includes 26 counties, of which six are in Transylvania (Covasna, Harghita, Alba, Hunedoara, Mureș, and Sibiu), three in Moldavia (Vrancea, Bacău, and Vaslui), seven in Muntenia (Teleorman, Giurgiu, Călărași, Buzău, Dâmbovița, Argeș, and Prahova), five in Oltenia (Mehedinți, Olt, Gorj, Vâlcea, and Dolj), two in Banat (Caraș-Severin and Arad), two in Maramureș (Satu Mare and Maramureș) and one in Crișana (Bihor). Seven counties are in the class of *50-300* Russian-Lipovans (Cluj, Timiș, Brașov, Galați, Neamț, Ilfov, and Ialomița) and *over 300* in the remaining six counties, namely: Botoșani (587), Suceava (1,265), Iași (1,495), Brăila (1,759), Constanța (4,084) and Tulcea (8,010), as well as the City of Bucharest with 844 Russian-Lipovans.

*e) The Tatar ethnic group* has a weight of only 0.09% (18,156 Tatars), being present alongside Turks and Russian-Lipovans also in Dobrudja (17,024 people). In the case of 13 counties it appears marked in the census with an asterisk (\*), and in Bistrița-Năsăud, Vaslui, Buzău, Gorj, Mehedinți, Caraș-Severin, Maramureș, and Satu Mare it appears marked with a hyphen (-), meaning they are not present. We distinguish two thresholds: one of *under 50* people, which includes 16 counties (Dolj, Olt, Sibiu, Brăila, Suceava, Iași, Bacău, Vâlcea, Argeș, Ialomița, Mureș, Giurgiu, Prahova, Timiș, Brașov, and Cluj) and another of *over 50* Tatars, registered in Tulcea (106), Ilfov (122), Călărași (128) and Constanța (16,918), as well as in the City of Bucharest, with 719 Tatars.



**Fig. 6.** The national structure of the population of Romania, by counties, at the 2021 Census.

f) *The Serbian ethnic group*, who settled mainly due to Ottoman, Austrian and Hungarian persecutions, is represented by 12,026 Serbs (0.06% of the total population of Romania), of which 5,473 people are in urban areas and 6,553 in rural areas. The area with the highest concentration is in the western and southwestern parts of the country, due to its proximity to Serbia. At the provincial level, the province of Banat stands out (10,365 Serbs), followed at a great distance by Oltenia (773), Transylvania (127), Moldavia (33), Crişana (25) and Maramureş (17), while in Dobrudja and Muntenia their exact numbers cannot be established, because the situation of confidentiality arises (\*, usually less than 3 people).

At the county level, the following hierarchy appears: *under 50* Serbs, in 29 counties, of which 10 in Transylvania, six in Moldavia, one in Dobrudja, five in Muntenia, four in Oltenia, Bihor in Crişana, and two in Maramureş; *over 50* people in the counties of Dâmboviţa (465), Arad (510), Mehedinţi (727), Caraş-Severin (3,408) and Timiş (6,447), with 147 Serbs registered in the City of Bucharest. In the counties of Tulcea, Buzău and Teleorman, they appear marked in the census with an asterisk (\*), and in Vaslui, Vrancea, Brăila and Călăraşi there are none (-).

g) *The Slovak ethnic group*, numbering 10,232 people, or 0.05% of the inhabitants of Romania, are distributed almost entirely in the western part of the country (Gubani, 2016, p. 450), with 4,755 people in cities and towns and 5,477 people in communes.

At the level of geographical-historical provinces, the order is as follows: Crișana (4,860 Slovaks), Banat (4,314) and Maramureș (75), while in Transylvania, Moldavia, Dobrudja, Muntenia and Oltenia the situation cannot be precisely established due to confidentiality. Therefore, the representation values are modest also at the county level, where two thresholds are drawn: that of *under 50* Slovaks in 16 counties, of which seven in Transylvania, one in Moldavia (Neamț), one in Dobrudja (Constanța), three in Muntenia, three in Oltenia, as well as the City of Bucharest with only 41 Slovaks.

The upper class of *over 50* Slovaks appears in seven counties, namely: Cluj (56), Satu Mare (61), Caraș-Severin (65), Sălaj (760), Timiș (939), Arad (3,310), and Bihor (4,860). In the counties of Sibiu, Bacău, Botoșani, Vaslui, Vrancea, Tulcea, Argeș, Brăila, Buzău, Călărași, Teleorman and Olt, there are less than 3 Slovaks, while in Galați, Iași, Suceava, Giurgiu, Ialomița, and Vâlcea this ethnic group is missing.

h) *The Bulgarian ethnic group* migrated north of the Danube during the 17<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, as a result of Ottoman persecution, but also to practice vegetable farming. They account for only 0.03%, i.e. 5,975 people (of which 2,186 in urban areas and 3,789 in rural areas), concentrated largely in Banat (3,771 Bulgarians) and Muntenia (1,674), while in the other provinces the values are insignificant: Dobrudja (106), Crișana (15), and in Transylvania, Moldavia, Oltenia and Maramureș we cannot know the exact number of this minority, as a result of the appearance of the confidentiality sign in the case of some of the counties belonging to them. For this reason, the classification by counties is very difficult to achieve, although it allows for the distinction of two categories: *under 50* people, specific to 25 counties (six in Transylvania, five in Moldavia, one in Dobrudja (Tulcea), eight in Muntenia, three in Muntenia, one in Banat (Caraș-Severin) and one in Crișana (Bihor)) and *over 50* people, specific to the counties of Constanța (72), Ilfov (92), Arad (510), Dâmbovița (1,487) and Timiș (3,244), as well as Bucharest City (239). In 10 counties (\*) appears, and in Botoșani (-).

i) *The Croatian ethnic group* counts 4,842 people (0.02%), who have their residence predominantly in rural areas (4,389 Croats), concentrated almost entirely in Banat (4,753, 91.97%). 4,567 Croats are residents of Caraș-Severin County, 179 Croats live in Timiș County, then there are eight Croats in Brașov

and Cluj, seven in Arad, six in Hunedoara, four people each in Mehedinți and Mureș, three people each in three other counties (Sibiu, Constanța and Satu Mare), in 19 counties and in the City of Bucharest an asterisk (\*) appears, and in 11 counties this ethnic group is missing (Bistrița-Năsăud, Harghita, Sălaj, Galați, Vaslui, Vrancea, Dâmbovița, Giurgiu, Prahova, Teleorman, and Vâlcea).

j) *The Greek ethnic group* with 2,086 people (0.01%) is present almost exclusively in urban areas (1,786 Greeks). At national level, they have a homogeneous distribution, in all administrative-territorial units, with different values from one place to another.

At the provincial level, the absolute values can only be known in six of them (Dobrudja, 498; Muntenia, 282; Moldavia, 263; Oltenia, 64; Banat, 63 and Crișana, 40), while in Transylvania (Alba, Harghita and Sălaj) and Maramureș (Satu Mare) the situation of confidentiality appears (\*). At the county level, the lowest known number of Greeks is three (Bistrița-Năsăud, Covasna, Călărași, and Ilt), and the maximum of 266 people in Tulcea. In 28 counties, the condition of *under 50* Greeks appears; the class of *50-100* people is recorded in six counties (Cluj, Iași, Prahova, Brașov, Galați, Brăila), and the higher class of *over 100* appears in Ilfov (133), Constanța (232) and Tulcea (266), as well as in Bucharest City (553).

k) *The Italian ethnic group* is the only minority that shows a slight increase in absolute numbers, from 3,203 people in 2011 to 4,039 people in 2021, emphasizing the fact that the relative value is 0.02% in both cases. Homogeneously spread throughout the country, more than half (2,533 Italians) live in urban areas.

At the level of geographical-historical provinces, they are present as follows: Transylvania (840), Banat (736), Moldavia (710), Muntenia (542), Oltenia (275), Dobrudja (182), Crișana (180), and Maramureș (141). Analyzed at county level, in a broader manner, we distinguish four categories, namely: *under 50* Italians, present in 17 counties; *50-100* people in 14 counties; *100-200* people in seven counties (Constanța, Bacău, Neamț, Dolj, Ilfov, Iași, Bihor, and Brașov), while the class of *over 200* Italians is specific to the counties of Cluj (223), Arad (353), Timiș (358), and the City of Bucharest (433).

l) *The Jewish ethnic group* is registered with 2,378 people (0.01%), being present almost exclusively in urban areas (2,171 people). In the counties of Călărași, Ialomița and Gorj it appears marked with an asterisk (\*) and for this reason the absolute values can only be given for Transylvania (411), Moldavia (316), Banat (225), Crișana (135), Maramureș (129), and Dobrudja (45). In the lower range of *under 50* people, 28 counties are registered; the class of *50-100* Jews includes six counties (Maramureș, Mureș, Arad, Satu Mare, Brașov, and Ilfov),

and the higher one of *over 100* includes the remaining four counties (Iași, 133; Bihor, 135; Cluj, 139 and Timiș, 144), as well as the City of Bucharest with 906 Jews.

*m) The Czech ethnic group* numbers 1,576 people, of which 446 in urban areas and 1,130 in rural areas, most of them being present in the South-West of Romania, in the geographical-historical province of Banat (1,144 Czechs), where Caraș-Severin County stands out (909), followed at a great distance by Timiș (141) and Arad (94), but also Oltenia, with Mehedinți County (303). As for the other administrative-territorial units, 14 of them have between 3-14 Czechs, another 14 counties are marked with an asterisk, and nine with a hyphen. In Bucharest City only 22 Czechs were registered at the Census of December 1, 2021.

*n) The Polish ethnic group*, comprising 2,137 people (521 in urban areas and 1,616 in rural areas), is present in Transylvania (120), Banat (58), Crișana (25), and Maramureș (13), while in the rest of the provinces we cannot establish their specific number due to the confidentiality situation that occurs at the level of some counties. Generally, two classes appear: a lower one of *under 50* Poles, specific to 39 counties, and the upper gap of *over 50* Poles, characteristic only of Suceava County (1,667) and Bucharest City (123), while they are absent in Sălaj.

*o) Ruthenians* replaced the Chinese ethnic group in the official statistics of the 2021 censuses, but, in the case of other censuses, Ruthenians had been analyzed together with the Ukrainians. In number of only 834 people (139 in urban and 695 in rural areas), they have an uneven spatial distribution, and due to their small number they cannot be assessed at regional level, except only for Crișana (5 people). At administrative-territorial level it is known that most of them are in the counties of Maramureș (333), Suceava (182), Arad (148), and Hunedoara (74), therefore in the upper threshold of *over 50* people. In 20 of the counties and in the City of Bucharest they are in the lower threshold of *under 50* people, and in the remaining 17 administrative-territorial units they were not registered.

*p) The Armenian ethnic group* with an absolute value of 1,213 people, present almost entirely in urban areas (1,114 Armenians), are recorded in Dobrudja (214) and Crișana (3). Their highest number is in Bucharest Municipality (390) and Constanța County (189), while *under 100* Armenians are recorded in 38 counties, and in Olt and Caraș-Severin there are none.

q) *The Albanian ethnic group* consists of only 645 people (404 in urban areas and 241 in rural areas), which at the level of geographical-historical provinces can be quantified only in Banat (85), Crișana (49) and Dobrudja (32). The highest value appears in Gorj County (158), then they are in the class of *under 100* people in 30 counties and in Bucharest City, the confidentiality situation being specific to Alba, Sibiu, Neamț, Călărași, and Satu Mare counties, while in Covasna, Harghita, Sălaj, Teleorman and Mehedinți counties they are not present.

r) *The Macedonian ethnic group* is the last minority quantitatively nominated in the 2021 Census, with an absolute value of 1,089 people, of which 876 in urban and 213 in rural areas. The most numerous are residents of Dolj County (723), followed by those from Timiș (100), Constanța (52), Caraș-Severin (37), Ilfov (14), Iași (14), Olt (11), after which their number drops below 10 people in the counties of Brașov, Cluj, Harghita, Hunedoara, Galați, Suceava, Vaslui, Tulcea, Călărași, Dâmbovița, Giurgiu, Ialomița, Prahova, Gorj, Mehedinți, Arad, and Bihor, while in the rest of the administrative-territorial units they are not present. There are 80 Macedonians in the city of Bucharest.

s) *Other ethnicities* include people belonging to ethnic groups, other than the 21 mentioned above, such as Csango, Gagauz, Chinese, Nepalese, Pakistanis, Philipinos, and so on, registering a slight increase from 0.09% (18,524 people) in 2011, to 0.10% (19,510 people) in 2021.

The highest value is recorded in urban areas (14,847, 76.10%), while rural areas have lower absolute and relative values (4,663, 23.90%) of such people. In the eight geographical-historical provinces, the situation is as follows: Muntenia (20.26%, 3,954), Transylvania (17.06%, 3,329), Dobrudja (10.90%, 2,126), Banat (8.29%, 1,618), Moldavia (8.09%, 1,579), Oltenia (2.51%, 491), Crișana (2.37%, 464) and Maramureș (1.26%, 246).

At the level of the 41 administrative-territorial units and in the City of Bucharest, we highlight four classes, namely: *under 100* people, which includes 12 counties (three from Transylvania, three from Moldavia, four from Oltenia, one from Banat and one from Maramureș); *100-300* people, present in 18 counties (five in Transylvania, three in Moldavia, eight in Muntenia, one in Oltenia and one in Maramureș); *300-500* people, which includes three counties (Prahova, 313; Bacău, 335 and Bihor, 464); while *over 500* people is characteristic of the remaining eight counties: Arad (534), Tulcea (567), Iași (593), Brașov (770), Timiș (1,002), Cluj (1,225), Constanța (1,559), Ilfov (2,169), and Bucharest City (5,703).

## 2. 5. *Unavailable information*

Recorded at position Y in the databases created by the National Institute of Statistics, this indicator appears for the second time in a census conducted in Romania, after the one in 2011. Against the backdrop of a deeply divided society, to which the conspiracy theories circulated during the COVID-19 pandemic contributed greatly, the spectacular increase in people who did not wish to declare their ethnicity, language or religion was evident (Netedu, 2012, p. 87-88). We are currently witnessing a doubling of this population segment, from 6.15% (1,236,810) in 2011, to 13.04% (2,484,926). 1,723,625 of these people are in urban areas, and 761,301 in rural areas. Moldavia (523,381) stands out first, with Iași County (134,207), followed by Muntenia (455,065), Transylvania (428,425), Oltenia (195,148), Banat (184,294), Dobrudja (130,231), Maramureș (81,078), and Crișana (48,428). In the City of Bucharest, under the heading *Unavailable information*, there are 438,876 people whose ethnic identity is unknown.

## 3. CONCLUSIONS

At the end of this approach, several general conclusions have been drawn:

- at the 2021 Population and Housing Census, out of the total stable population of 19,053,815 inhabitants, only 16,568,889 people declared their ethnicity. The difference of 2,484,926 people is included in the column Unavailable information, an indicator that we consider totally inadequate, as it not only prevents the exact tracking of the spatial-temporal evolution of ethnic groups at the level of geographical-historical provinces and counties, but also creates false leads in calculating the weight of this type of geodemographic structure, by relating it to the total declared population and not to the stable one;

- of all 21 nationalities, the largest number of “hidden ethnics” comes from the Romanian population, which in the last decade has “lost” 1,991,426 people, but nevertheless holds 77.68% of the total population, resulting in an extremely high ethnic homogeneity index of 9.82;

- if in the provinces in the South and East of the country (Oltenia, Muntenia, Moldavia), the Romanians have almost absolute shares, the same cannot be said about the center and West of Romania, where slow and permanent settlement of other ethnic groups (Hungarians, Germans, Ukrainians, Serbs, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Croats, etc.) took place, which determined essential changes in the national structure of the population;

- the most representative minority from a numerical point of view is the Hungarian one, representing 5.26%, with higher shares in several counties, such as: Cluj (11.60%), Sălaj (19.10%), Bihor (20.40%), Satu Mare (28.30%), Mureș (31.80%), Covasna (66.70%) and Harghita (79.50%);

- regarding the Roma population, we fully support the views of the representatives of this ethnic group that their number in reality is significantly higher than that included in the 2021 Census, a fact demonstrated by the high birth rate among this group;

- people of Ukrainian nationality are found in the border counties: Maramureș, Suceava, Satu Mare, Caraș-Severin, Botoșani, and Timiș; Germans are more numerous in Timiș, Caraș-Severin, Brașov, Arad, Sibiu, and Satu Mare; Turks, Russian-Lipovans, Tatars and Greeks live predominantly in Dobrudja, while Serbs, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians and Croats have the largest concentrations in Banat and Crișana;

- in the category of other ethnic groups, Asians stand out, mainly represented by Chinese, representing the “first wave” of foreign workers who arrived in Romania to plug the gap in the machine construction industry (electrical and electronic industry, spare parts industry), but also on construction sites in large cities (Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca, Iași, Constanța, Timișoara, Brașov). Later, Nepalese, Pakistanis, Philipinos and Indians were added as immigrants, attracted by the higher salaries compared to those received in their countries of origin, but also by the permissive conditions for employment;

- in terms of distriburion in rural and urban areas, it is noted that Romanians are evenly distributed in the two areas, the Germans, Turks, Tatars, Greeks, Italians, Jews, Armenians, Albanians and Macedonians are more present in urban areas, while Hungarians, Roma, Ukrainians, Russians-Lipovans, Serbians, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Croats, Czechs, Poles, and Ruthenians are mainly spread in rural areas;

- currently, 19 ethnic minorities are automatically represented in the Romanian Parliament (one MP each), while the Hungarians, by means of the political organization Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, have been participating in the electoral process since 1990, just like any political party.

The parliamentary group of national minorities is made up of the following associations and political formations: Union of Armenians in Romania; Union of Croats in Romania; Association of Macedonians in Romania; Union of Serbs in Romania; Bulgarian Union of Banat-Romania; Democratic Union of Turkish-Muslim Tatars in Romania; Russian-Lipovan Community in Romania; Cultural Union of Ruthenians in Romania; Democratic Forum of Germans in Romania; Turkish Democratic Union in Romania; Union of Poles in Romania; “Pro-Europe” Association of Roma Party; Association of Italians in Romania - RO.AS.IT;



Association of Albanian League of Romania; Democratic Union of Slovaks and Czechs in Romania; Union of Ukrainians in Romania; The Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania and the Hellenic Union of Romania.

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