

Nationality in the census in Czech lands

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Definition of basic notions

As a consequence of historic and social factors, ethnic minorities are represented in the Czech Republic. In democratic countries, all minorities must enjoy identical rights and the possibility to develop their own cultural identity as majority society. Identifying ethnic structure is necessary in order to map where and for whom certain measures need to be developed chiefly in education and social services. Certain rights of ethnic minorities derive directly from the number of members of the specific nationality established in the census (for example, the establishment of a committee for ethnic minorities, the right to multi-language names and signs in villages, streets or state authorities' buildings, the right to education in the language of ethnic minority etc.).

After World War I in 1918 ended, the independent Czechoslovak Republic was formally construed as a national state of the Czechs and the Slovaks. But, in fact, the existence of ethnic minorities was always taken into account. The republic assumed the obligation to make possible natural cultural development to its ethnic minorities. This was agreed in peace treaties, in national legislation (Srb 1990). Today, when the Czech Republic integrated into the European Union, it must meet all criteria in the area of national policy standard in the developed countries.

A clear definition of the “nationality” notion is difficult. Giddens describes ethnicity as “cultural values and norms differentiating members of a certain group from other people” (Giddens 1999). Ethnic group is formed by members consciously sharing the feeling of cultural identity common to them and, at the same time, externally differentiating them. It is the awareness of the affiliation to a certain nation that Ortega y Gasset (1993) stresses as well. Generally speaking, “nationality is understood as an affiliation to certain nation, while we understand nation to be a community in the creation of which common history, common culture and common territory have the greatest influence” (Velký sociologický slovník 1996 – Big Social Sciences Dictionary).

A more detailed view shows that the Big Social Sciences Dictionary defines nation as a three-dimensional notion, with individual nations defined by three aspects – in cultural, political and psychological terms:

- 1) Most frequently, cultural identification includes the common language (mainly in Europe and in greater part of Asia), common religion (Near East) or common historical experience (mainly America and partly Africa);

- 2) Political existence of a nation is given either by its own country or by federative or autonomous status within a multi-national state;
- 3) Psychological dimension consists in subjective awareness of individuals of their affiliation to a specific nation.

In connection with the census, the issue arises as to how to operationalise the “nationality”, in other words, how to transpose theoretic assumptions of national affiliation into an empirically traceable form for statistic purposes. It has been subject to a long discussion as to what scale should be used to capture ethnic situation most aptly. The international statistical congress in Brussels held in 1853 indicated the consorting language (i.e. the language a man speaks in his immediate community) as the decisive criterion. The first modern census within the territory of Austria-Hungaria in 1869 did not enquire about national affiliation. Investigation of ethnic situation was conducted in Czech lands as late as 1880. At that time, the Austrian government decided to obtain statistical overview of nationalities for the needs of state and local administration. The previous resolution from Brussels was changed at statistical congress in St. Petersburg in 1872 and the mother tongue was taken to be the sign of ethnicity by the then expert public. But in the 1880’s Austria-Hungaria census, nationality was determined on the basis of the consorting language. The enquiry about the consorting language was included in all subsequent censuses in Austria-Hungaria in the years 1890, 1900 and 1910. Häufler (1970) assumes that mapping the ethnic structure of the population based on the consorting language resulted in considerable exaggeration of the numbers of members of majority nationalities. The distortion was also caused as a consequence of the statement that the Czechs living predominantly in German environment could not use another consorting language than German. This implies that the choice of the consorting language to determine the ethnic situation was unfortunate for Central Europe with its numerous ethnic minorities because the ethnic situation could only be demonstrated roughly in this manner. The first objective determination of ethnic situation in Czech lands was conducted only after the formation of the independent Czechoslovakia as part of censuses of the year 1921. At that time, nationality was defined on the basis of the mother tongue. Antonín Boháč, the organiser of the first and second post-war censuses in 1921 and 1930, proposed that tribal affinity be determined on the basis of the mother tongue and, in addition, that nationality be determined as a matter of personal conviction. The government, however, opted for definition of nationality based on tribal affinity, the sign of which is the mother tongue. To the contrary, after World War II, another method was chosen, i.e. declaration of nationality as a “personal national conviction”. In 1970, in addition to subjective decision on affinity to nationality, question concerning the mother tongue appeared as well. Both these aspects were the basis for the determination of nationality in the census of 1991 as well as in the latest census held in 2001. The 1980 census did not contain question concerning the mother tongue.

Censuses prior to 1921

Ethnic structure has been systematically monitored since 1880 in the Czech lands. That census contained, for the first time, question about ethnic affinity. Until 1910, determining ethnic situation was included in the censuses every ten years. The affinity to nationality was determined based on the consorting language (Umgangssprache).

Table 1: Ethnic structure of the Czech lands by Austrian language statistics

Year	Population based on consorting language (%)				Absolute figure of population present
	Czech	German	Polish	Other	
1880	62.5	35.8	1.0	0.7	8,222,013
1890	62.4	35.6	1.2	0.8	8,665,421
1900	62.4	35.1	1.6	0.9	9,372,140
1910	62.9	34.6	1.6	0.9	10,078,637

Source: Häufner 1970

During the period between 1880 and 1910, there were no major changes in the ratio of the two most frequently represented nationalities. Over the period under review, the Czechs constantly represented approximately 2/3 and the Germans 1/3 of the total population of the Czech lands. The number of Czechs in official statistics was, however, undervalued. Based on private censuses, organised by Czech national clubs, always several hundred thousand Czechs were registered as population using German as their consorting language in each of the Austrian censuses (Häufner 1970). Starting in 1880, the proportion of the population using Czech as their consorting language remained approximately at the same level for the subsequent twenty-year period. This was the case even if the Czech population had natural increase higher than the German population over the entire period under review. These data possibly suggest denationalisation or germanisation of the Czechs. A more significant change came around in the last Austria-Hungary census of 1910. The share of the Czechs rose by 0.5% to the detriment of the Germans (the number of members of other nationalities had not changed as opposed to the previous census). The trend of the increase of the share of the Czechs to the detriment of the Germans continued even in subsequent years mainly thanks to the Moravia and Silesia population. Here, the natural increase of the Czechs reached much higher values than the Germans.

Inter-war development of ethnic structure

After World War I ended, independent Czechoslovak Republic was formed in 1918. The first census of the population in the newly established state was held on 15.2.1921. The manner of determining nationality based on the consorting language used in the former Austria-Hungary was completely unsuitable for the purposes of modern census. The efforts to find definition of nationality that would make it possible to map the ethnic structure in Czechoslovakia best and most precisely resulted in the following decision: "Nationality shall be understood as a tribal affinity the main sign of which is usually the mother tongue" (1921 census). National determination of the Jews who were allowed to mark Jewish nationality even if they did not use Hebrew as their mother tongue defied this definition. The Czech and Slovak nationalities were not determined separately but were conceived as a single joint Czechoslovak nationality. But only a small percentage of the Slovaks lived in the Czech lands at the moment of the 1921 and 1930 censuses (approx. 0.4%). Therefore, for interpretation of the results we may consider the Czechoslovak nationality to be Czech in principle.

The results of the 1921 census showed major changes as opposed to the census of 1910. Although war caused absolute reduction in the size of the population, the numbers of the "Czechs" between 1910 and 1921 rose by 435,000 (in relative terms, almost by 5%). The number of "Germans" dropped by 426,000 (by 4%). Major reduction of the population of German nationality has several causes. The German side suffered higher war losses and, at the same time, had lower birth rates. Last but not least, another methodology used for the census contributed to this change. The Czechs who, under the Austria-Hungary, were registered as German consorting language population, claimed Czech nationality based on the new definition. Newly, over 30,000 Jews claimed their nationality, mainly from the German consorting language population.

Results of the census from 1930 did not bring any major surprising change as compared to the 1921 census. The definition of nationality was very similar: "Nationality is usually registered based on the mother tongue. Another nationality than the one for which the mother tongue bears witness, can only be registered provided that the person subject to census does not speak the mother tongue in his/her family or household and he/she has complete command of the language of the specific nationality. Jews may write Jewish nationality" (1930 census). The continuing trend of growing difference between the figures of members of the Czech and German nationality confirmed. Proportionately, Czech nationality increased. To the contrary, German nationality decreased by one percent.

Table 2: Ethnic structure of the population of the Czech Republic in 1921 and 1930

Nationality	Absolute		Relative in %	
	1921	1930	1921	1930
Czechoslovak	6,774,715	7,349,039	67.7	68.8
Russian and Ukrainian	13,343	22,657	0.1	0.2
German	3,061,369	3,149,820	30.6	29.5
Hungarian	7,046	11,427	0.1	0.1
Jewish	35,699	37,093	0.4	0.4
Polish	103,521	92,689	1.0	0.9
South-Slavic	--	4,749	--	0.0
Romanian	--	966	--	0.0
Roma	--	227	--	0.0
Other	10,038	5,719	0.1	0.1
Total	10,005,734	10,674,386	100	100

Source: 1921, 1930 censuses

After 1920, changes in distribution by nationality were influenced mainly by natural change of the population with parallel decreasing significance of migration and assimilation. Decrease of birth rates, that continued in the 1930s as well, had mainly economic causes (the world economic crisis) and suggested a relatively negative population development in the Czech lands. Ethnically, however, the situation continued to develop to the benefit of the Czech majority. Like before 1918, the depopulation process continued for the Germans.

The Czech majority was also reinforced by mirroring of nationalities or voluntary assimilation that occurred mainly through entering into mixed marriages because the second marriage partner was, naturally, of Czech nationality for the most part. In 1931 to 1933, 3% of the Czechs, 5% of the Germans, 86% of the Jews, 83% of the Poles and 22% of the Russians and the Ukrainians entered into non-homogenous marriages (Häufler 1970).

Natural population development was disturbed by World War II. The Munich dictate took up almost 30,000 square kilometres, representing almost 37% of the territory of the Czech lands, with approximately 3,500,000 people, of which approximately 400,000 were Czech (Macek 1995). But, based on newer data, the numbers of the Czechs living in the separated territory oscillated around 700,000 persons (Bartoš 1986). In 1939, the remaining territory was also occupied and the Böhmen-Mähren protectorate was declared.

Development of ethnic structure in the period after World War II until 1980

During World War II, there were no censuses in Bohemia. After the war, in 1947, a provisional register of population of the Czech lands was conducted (in 1946 in Slovakia). Here, however, nationality was not enquired about. Another official census was held as late as 1950. As in previous censuses, present population was investigated but the definition of nationality was different. Nationality was understood as “affinity to a nation, to whose cultural and work community the census subject is internally connected” (1950 Census) and the definition actually left the decision as to the affinity to nationality at the respondent’s opinion. The post-war antagonism to the Germans and the fear of displacement (more than 2.5 million Germans were displaced until 1947 from 2,645,000 in 1945), however, caused that many Germans in Bohemia (and Hungarians in Slovakia) failed to declare their nationality. Another change in this census was the acknowledgement of the independent Slovak nationality and cancellation of the Gipsy nationality. The justification behind the failure to acknowledge a separate Gipsy (or Roma) nationality was treated by the Institute for Ethnography and Folklorism. The main argument was the non-existence of own territory.

Following mass displacement of the Germans from the territory of Czechoslovakia, the representation of Czech nationality increased almost up to 94%. The Slovaks became the second most numerous group (3%). But their numbers were overestimated because all present population members were counted, i.e. including those with their permanent residence in Slovakia. German nationality finished third with less than 2%. The Roma who were coined a “social group” could not declare their cancelled nationality and, for the most part, they registered Hungarian or Slovak nationality. Also, the Jewish nationality disappeared from statistics (yet for another reason). During the war, Jews either fled Czechoslovakia or they were murdered in concentration camps. Representation of other nationalities in the total figures of the population has not changed massively.

Table 3: Ethnic structure of the population of the Czech Republic in 1950 and 1961

Nationality	Absolute		Relative in %	
	1950	1961	1950	1961
Czechoslovak	8,343,558	9,023,501	93.8	94.3
Russian and Ukrainian	258,025	275,997	2.9	2.9
German	13,384	19,549	0.2	0.2
Hungarian	70,816	66,540	0.8	0.7
Jewish	159,938	134,143	1.8	1.4
Polish	13,201	15,152	0.2	0.2
South-Slavic	--	3,957	--	0.0
Romanian	--	3,205	--	0.0
Roma	19,770	19,392	0.2	0.2
Other	11,441	10,095	0.1	0.1
Total	8,896,133	9,571,531	100	100

Source: 1950, 1961 censuses

Question about affinity to nationality was the same in 1961 as in 1950. But, for the first time, the resident population was investigated instead of the present population. Share of the Czech nationals in the population again reinforced slightly although natural growth in its membership was permanently lower than the average value of natural growth of the entire population. The cause was assimilation of other nationalities, mainly Slovaks, who possessed language prerequisites for assimilation. Newly, data for other nationalities were processed in this census (Bulgarians, Serbo-Croatian) whose share in the entire population was negligible and did not reach the one-thousandth out of all residents of the Czech Republic.

Table 4: Ethnic structure of the population of the Czech Republic in 1970 and 1980

Nationality	Absolute		Relative in %	
	1970	1980	1970	1980
Czech	9,270,617	9,733,925	94.5	94.6
Slovak	320,998	359,370	3.3	3.5
Ukrainian	9,794	10,271	0.1	0.1
Russian	6,619	5,051	0.1	0.0
Polish	64,074	66,123	0.7	0.6
Hungarian	18,472	19,676	0.2	0.2
German	80,903	58,211	0.8	0.6
Other	26,273	18,264	0.2	0.2
Not determined	9,947	21,036	0.1	0.2
Total	9,807,697	10,291,927	100	100

Source: 1970, 1980 censuses

The definition of nationality remained unchanged in the next census in 1970. But, in addition to the personal conviction of affinity to nationality, the mother tongue of the census subject was investigated as well. Czech nationality again slightly reinforced its position because here, also, all ethnic minorities

assimilated by entering into mixed marriages. For the first time, data for the Ukrainian and Russian nationalities were processed separately in this census. There were about half as much Ukrainians in the Czech Republic than the Russians as seen from the 1970 census.

Determining nationality based on the mother tongue in 1970 demonstrated that the number of population who declared Czech as their mother tongue was higher by 41,000 persons than the number of population claiming Czech nationality. Results for Slovak as the mother tongue were similarly heterogeneous as well. To the contrary, 54,500 residents less claimed Slovak as their mother tongue than Slovak nationality.

Also, everybody was allowed the freedom to express his/her own conviction as to ethnic affinity in the following 1980 census. Nationality based on the mother tongue was not monitored, however. Due to pro-population measures, the birth rate did increase in the Czech Republic in the 1970s, but no major changes in the ethnic structure were recorded, with the exception of decrease of the numbers of persons claiming German nationality. As opposed to results in the 1970 census, the number of German nationals dropped by almost a third (by 22,692).

Throughout the period after World War II (until the 1990 census), the Roma nationality was not officially acknowledged unlike in the pre-war censuses in the first republic. But, for the 1970 and 1980 censuses, the census officers were ordered to indicate the census-papers filled by the Roma with letter "A". When estimating who is and who is not a Roma, the census officer followed the records of the Roma population kept by the national committees and his/her own assessment of characteristic signs, for example, manner of living, language knowledge, anthropological features etc. In 1970, 60,279 residents were recorded as Romas in the Czech Republic and, in 1980, the number reached 88,587 (Langhamrová, Fiala 2003).

Development of ethnic structure after 1989

Until 1989 – the year of a major change in political situation and opening of the borders, the Czech Republic was in isolation from the surrounding "Western" world. This had significant impact on the ethnic structure. The first census in the new political and social economic conditions was conducted in 1991. But, in a relatively short period of two years – the new situation did not manage to reflect in a more significant manner in the results. The spectrum of nationalities surveyed expanded but the shares in the figures of members of new nationalities were very low. The newly or repeatedly established nationalities included the Moravian, Silesian, Roma, Jewish, Ruthenian, Greek, Bulgarian, Romanian, Austrian and Vietnamese. A small part of the population stated Czechoslovak nationality but this nationality was not officially established. In previous censuses, the Ruthenians were classified under the Ukrainian

nationality but different cultural as well as demographic characteristics of the Ruthenian population led to the decision to acknowledge the Ruthenians as a separate nationality. The need to introduce the Moravian and Silesian nationality became apparent only in the course of the census because 13.2% and 9.4% of the total population claimed Moravian and Silesian nationality, respectively.

Czech nationality (including Moravian and Silesian) again reinforced its position from the last census but only by 0.4%. This is the smallest increase for the entire period under review. A major decrease occurred for the Slovak nationality (by 12.4%). The assimilation process was one of the reasons. The Slovaks have had high birth rate in the Czech Republic. The age structure of the Slovak nationality, however, demonstrates that very few Slovak parents living in the Czech Republic enlist their children to Slovak nationality. Another reason consisted in outflux to the re-established Roma nationality. For the same reason (i.e. the outflux to the Roma nationality), there was a slight decrease in the numbers of Hungarian nationals. However, it is assumed that, overall, only about a fifth of the actual number of Roma nationals living in the Czech Republic enlisted to be Roma nationals. Based on registers of the national committees under the social care schemes, almost 150,000 Romas lived in the Czech Republic in 1989 (Kalibová 2001).

Based on results from the 1991 census, the Slovaks, the Hungarians, the Germans, the Ruthenians, and the Ukrainians have had the greatest tendencies to assimilate through entering into mixed marriages. For these nationalities, men and women entered into a marriage with a Czech partner more frequently than with a partner of the same nationality. Polish women entered into marriages with Czech partner also more frequently than with Polish partners. For Polish men, the numbers of Czech and Polish partners were equal. The Roma showed the greatest resistance against assimilation. Following the Moravians and Silesians, they entered the least into mixed marriages.

Along with a subjective decision on affinity to nationality, the 1991 census also investigated the objective sign of nationality – the mother tongue (like in 1970). Results of the investigation of nationality based on the mother tongue confirmed the correctness of results from 1970. Differences between results based on nationality and on the mother tongue became even greater. The figures of persons declaring Czech, Hungarian and Ruthenian nationality were lower than the numbers of persons with Czech, Hungarian and Ruthenian mother tongues. For other nationalities, the situation was contrary.

When monitoring the 1991 census results in greater detail, it is clear that the demographic characteristics of nationalities represented in the Czech Republic differ (we monitor nationality groups with more than 15,000 members). The Roma nationality was an exception. For it, the average number of children per one

woman exceeded other nationalities in all age groups. The Roma nationality differed also in its age structure. As the only one from the monitored nationalities, it had progressive share of age pyramid, the “young” age structure. The shape of age pyramids for the Moravian and Silesian nationality whose determination is rather psychological, historical and geographic than based in different demographic or other social characteristics, copies the shape of the age pyramid of the Czech nationality which (like other surveyed nationalities) had regressively-shaped age pyramid based on the 1991 census results, i.e. the “ageing” population.

Table 5: Ethnic structure of the population of the Czech Republic in 1991 and 2001

Nationality	Absolute		Relative in %	
	1991	2001	1991	2001
Czech	8,363,768	9,249,777	81.2	90.4
Moravian	1,362,313	380,474	13.2	3.7
Silesian	44,446	10,878	0.4	0.1
Slovak	314,877	193,190	3.1	1.9
Hungarian	19,932	14,672	0.2	0.1
Roma	32,903	11,746	0.3	0.1
Polish	59,383	51,968	0.6	0.5
German	48,556	39,106	0.5	0.4
Ruthenian	1,962	1,106	0.0	0.0
Ukrainian	8,220	22,112	0.1	0.2
Russian	5,062	12,369	0.1	0.1
Jewish	218	--	0.0	--
Greek	3,379	3,219	0.0	0.0
Bulgarian	3,487	4,363	0.0	0.0
Romanian	1,034	1,238	0.0	0.0
Austrian	413	--	0.0	--
Vietnamese	421	17,462	0.0	0.2
Czechoslovak	3,464	--	0.0	--
Albanian	--	690	--	0.0
Croatian	22,017	1,585	--	0.0
Serbian	--	1,801	--	0.0
Czech and Roma	--	698	--	0.0
Czech and Slovak	--	2,783	--	0.0
Czech and other	--	4,656	--	0.1
Moravian and Roma	--	9	--	0.0
Moravian and Slovak	--	74	--	0.0
Moravian and other	--	2,412	--	0.0
Slovak and Roma	--	77	--	0.0
Other combinations	--	2,269	--	0.0
Other	6,369	26,499	0.1	0.3
Not determined	22,017	172,827	0.2	1.7
Total	10,302,215	10,230,060	100	100

Source: 1991, 2001 censuses

The publication titled *Sčítání lidu, domů a bytů 2001* (Census of people, houses and flats 2001) states to the definition of nationality that “everybody shall fill in data on nationality based on his/her decision. (...) If a person claims more nationalities or none, this shall be recorded.” The mother tongue was, the same way as in the previous census in 1991, enquired about by a separate question. For the first time, also foreign nationals with long-term residency permit in the Czech Republic were included in the census. Following the evaluation of results, information for the Jewish and Austrian nationalities was not published separately. The Albanian and Serbian nationalities and selected combinations of two nationalities were newly introduced.

Compared to the previous investigation, in 2001, the number of census subjects of the Czech nationality increased in absolute figures. The national awareness of the Moravians and Silesians decreased in a major way. Apparently, a significant part of residents claiming these nationalities in 1991 again claimed Czech nationality in 2001. In absolute figures (Czechs + Moravians + Silesians), however, the representation of the Czech nationality decreased in relative numbers from 94.8% in 1991 to 94.2% in 2001. That is the lowest value since 1950. The results clearly suggest a trend of decrease of representation of traditional minorities (due to negative age structure) and increase in the numbers of new minorities (the Vietnamese, the Ukrainians, the Russians). As far as frequency of representation of these new ethnic minorities is concerned, change in the methodology of counting also played its role. Also, persons with long-term residency permit in the Czech Republic were included. The option of not mentioning any nationality was used by 1.7% of the subjects. The category of “undetermined” reached much lower values (between 0.1% and 0.2%) in previous censuses. Ageing of population continued with the Czech, Slovak, German, and Hungarian ethnic groups. On the other hand, the Roma and Vietnamese have had the youngest age groups. The share of ethnically heterogeneous marriages has been stable in the long run. In the 2001 census, it has again oscillated at around 10% of the total number of complete families (Morávková 2003). As compared to 1991, a third of people claimed the Roma nationality. The explanation of the causes behind this phenomenon, however, remains only speculative. The Roma more frequently stated the Roma mother tongue than the Roma nationality. Numbers of people based on the mother tongue were higher than numbers of persons based on the relevant nationality also for the Czechs, Slovaks and Germans. Even after the “undetermined” item was removed, 66,000 persons with the Czech mother tongue did not feel Czech based on nationality. Srb (2003) states that from 9,707,397 residents of the Czech mother tongue, only 9,525,265 residents claimed to be the Czechs in the 2001 census, 32,529 residents the Slovaks, 10,836 the Germans, 4,527 the Roma, 4,064 the Poles, 2,385 the Ukrainians, 2,196 the Hungarians, 560 the Ruthenians, 16,605 have claimed to be another nationality and for 108,430 residents of the “Czech mother tongue”, no declared nationality could be established.

Conclusion

Results of the latest census in 2001 imply that the Czech Republic still belongs among relatively homogenous states in ethnic terms. The historical context of its establishment and development significantly contributed to the homogeneity. Before the establishment of the independent Czechoslovak state, approximately one third of the population with German nationality lived in the territory of the Czech Republic. Relative representation of the German nationality in relation to the Czech nationality, however, continued to decrease throughout the entire period under review. Until World War I, when the population of German nationality decreased in a more significant manner, the reduction continued gradually. A principal turning point was the displacement of the Germans from the Czech territory after World War II. In the 1950 census, Czech majority was absolute (93.8%) and this share increased (again gradually) until 1991. Commencing in 1950, the Slovaks have been the most important ethnic minority. Their representation has oscillated around 3 to 3.5% over the past 40 years. Representation of other ethnic minorities (apart from the Germans) has not exceeded 1% throughout the period under review.

Table 6: Development of ethnic structure of the population of the Czech Republic (in %)

Nationality	Censuses in the years							
	1921	1930	1950	1961	1970	1980	1991	2001
Czech ¹	67.5	68.4	93.8	94.3	94.5	94.6	94.8	94.2
Slovak	0.2	0.4	2.9	2.9	3.3	3.5	3.1	1.9
Russian ²	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
Polish	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5
Hungarian	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
German	30.6	29.5	1.8	1.4	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.4
Other and undermined	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.8	2.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Ethnic structure of the population of the Czech Republic – Czech Statistical Office 1994, 2001 census

¹ In 1991 and 2001, including the Moravian and Silesian nationalities

² Including the Ukrainian and Ruthenian nationalities

In 2001, the share of representation of the Czech nationality dropped to the level of the 1961 census. But, after World War II, the differences in representation are within the order of tenths of percent. Until 1989, foreign migration was very restricted in the Czech Republic. By opening up borders, the option for people to migrate from many cultural contexts also opened up. Currently, every fiftieth person in the Czech Republic is of another than Czech citizenship (Chaloupková, Šalamounová). We may assume that the ethnic structure in the Czech Republic will continue to be more and more heterogenous.

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