

# **What do the national censuses of 2001 and 2011 say about ethnic minorities? An introduction to a study on the Slovaks in Hungary<sup>1</sup>**

Osamu Ieda

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## **Introduction**

Defining ethnicity is difficult, because an ethnicity depends on various factors, such as social, cultural, religious, political, economic, and

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was twice presented for discussion; first, at the international workshop in Selye University, Komárno, Slovakia on 12 September 2014, and second, at the research seminar of the Slavic-Eurasian Research Center, Hokkaido University, Japan on 3 March 2015. The author is grateful for the valuable and useful comments of the colleagues, which made the paper more relevant, though all responsibility is the author's for the paper.

even individual or perceptive conditions. Ethnicity also changes with the passage of time. Therefore, it is impossible to define ethnicity by only criterion. A rich literature on ethnicity, accordingly, points out that a mother tongue does not necessarily reflect the ethnicity. A national census, however, which is usually almost the only resource for analysing the long-term demographic changes of an ethnic minority in a country, gives, in general, a very simple definition, and keeps it for as long as possible.

The Hungarian census had kept the definition of ethnic minority via the mother tongue for more than one century since 1880.<sup>2</sup> Table 1 shows the demographic changes of the populations of ethnic minorities in the 20th century. The populations of ethnic minorities, according to the censuses, were gradually diminishing. How does the census, however, reflect the reality of ethnic minorities?<sup>3</sup> How decisive is the mother tongue in defining ethnicity? How significant is the ethnic population statistically, who have lost their ethnic mother tongue, though keeping their ethnic identity or ethnic consciousness? The literature has not yet investigated the statistical reality of the transitional ethnic population, loosing the ethnic mother tongue.<sup>4</sup> These are the main questions addressed by this paper, and we analyse these questions by examining the Hungarian national censuses of 2001<sup>5</sup> and

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2 Összefoglalás és módszertani megjegyzések, p.1.

[http://www.nepszamlalas2001.hu/hun/kotetek/04/04\\_modsz.pdf](http://www.nepszamlalas2001.hu/hun/kotetek/04/04_modsz.pdf) (3<sup>rd</sup> January, 2015). On this website, the results of the 2001 census are available. Hoóz István, Népszámlálás és Nemzetiség, *Kisebbségkutatás*, 2000, vol.9, no.4.

3 Many Romas did not declare themselves Roma, because they did not trust the confidentiality of the declaration; Tóth Judit, Az adathiány és fejlődés gátja, *Kisebbségkutatás*, 2010, no.4.

4 See Kocsis Károly, A Kárpát-medence változó etnikai arculata (1989–2002), 2003, no.1, pp. 706–714, analysing various censuses on ethnic minorities in Hungary and in its neighboring countries with a focus on the Magyar and Roma minorities. Ágnes Tóth ed. *National and Ethnic Minorities in Hungary, 1920–2001*. Social Science Monographs, Boulder, Colorado, 2005.

5 [http://www.nepszamlalas2001.hu/hun/kotetek/04/04\\_modsz.pdf](http://www.nepszamlalas2001.hu/hun/kotetek/04/04_modsz.pdf) (3<sup>rd</sup> January, 2015).

2011,<sup>6</sup> which introduced a new definition of ethnic minority. We then look into the Slovak case, which is the topic of the book, comparing it to other ethnic minorities in Hungary.<sup>7</sup>

## **National census of 2001 on ethnic minorities: A new definition**

Table 1 shows the general diminishing trend of ethnic populations in terms of the mother tongue in Hungary (in the current territory) from 1900 to 1990. We assume that a gradual assimilation of the ethnic minorities into the Magyar majority went on throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, though with some exceptional deviations. The drastic change in 1949 was the result of deportation of Germans from Hungary and the exchange operation of Slovak-Magyar residents between Czechoslovakia and Hungary after WWII. The early Kadar regime in the socialist era and the political transformation in 1989, however, brought a modest recovery of the populations of ethnic minorities.<sup>8</sup>

The year 2001 was an epoch-making year in the history of ethnic minorities in Hungary, since the Hungarian government essentially changed the definition of ethnicity in the national census. Four points comprise the essence of the change.<sup>9</sup> Firstly, a respondent could

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6 [http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/tablak\\_nemzetiseg](http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/tablak_nemzetiseg) (20<sup>th</sup> September, 2013).

7 The political and social backgrounds behind introducing the new definition are not investigated in this paper. The author presents a short viewpoint on post-communist developments of ethnic cultural autonomy in Hungary in O. Ieda, Local Government in Hungary, in O. Ieda ed., *Emerging Local Governments in Eastern Europe and Russia: Historical and Post-communist Developments*, Keisuisha, 2000.

8 Tót Ágnes és Vékás János, A népszámlálások nemzeti-etnikai adatai mögött rejlő politikai tényezők (1949-1990), *Kisebbségkutatás*, 2008, vol.17, no.3; Föglein Gizella, Nemzetiségi demográfiai dilemmák Magyarországon (1945–1980), *Kisebbségkutatás*, 2005, no.3, pp.366-377.

9 The UN and the EU jointly prepared a document about censuses which includes some guidelines on ethnic minorities in 2006; '426. Respondents should be free to indicate more than one ethnic affiliation or a combination

**Table 1: Ethnic Minorities in Hungary in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

Mother Tongue	1900	1910	1920	1930	1941	1949	1960	1970	1980	1990
Magyar	5,890,999	6,730,299	7,155,979	8,000,335	8,655,798	9,076,041	9,786,038	10,152,366	10,579,898	10,222,529
Armenian	..	..	..	122	..	..	..	..	..	37
Bulgarian	..	..	..	2,816	..	..	2,126	..	..	1,370
Croatian	68,161	62,018	58,931	47,332	37,885	20,423	33,014	21,855	20,484	17,577
German	604,751	553,179	550,062	477,153	475,491	22,455	50,765	33,653	31,231	37,511
Greek	..	..	..	82	..	..	..	..	..	1,640
Polish	..	..	..	5,160	..	..	..	..	..	3,788
Roma	5,662	9,799	6,989	7,841	18,640	21,387	25,633	34,692	27,915	48,072
Romanian	26,975	28,491	23,695	16,221	14,142	14,713	15,787	12,356	10,141	8,730
Rusyn	..	..	..	996	..	..	..	..	..	..
Serbian	24,254	26,248	17,132	7,031	5,442	5,158	4,583	11,177	3,426	2,953
Slovak	192,227	165,317	141,877	104,786	75,877	25,988	30,690	21,086	16,054	12,745
Slovenian	7,922	6,915	6,087	5,464	4,816	4,473	..	3,791	3,142	2,627
Ukrainian	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	674
Total minorities	929,952	851,967	804,773	675,004	632,293	114,597	162,598	138,610	112,393	137,724
Total Population	6,854,415	7,612,114	7,986,875	8,685,109	9,316,074	9,204,799	9,961,044	10,300,996	10,709,463	10,374,823

of ethnic affiliations if they wish so. 427. In order to guarantee the free self-declaration of ethnicity, respondents should be allowed to indicate “none” or “not declared” when asked for their ethnicity. Countries should explain in the census instructions and the census documentations how the ethnicity of children from mixed couples is determined’, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Conference of European statisticians, Recommendations for the 2010 censuses of population and housing, prepared in cooperation with the Statistical Office of the European Communities (EUROSTAT); [http://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/stats/publications/CES\\_2010\\_Census\\_Recommendations\\_English.pdf](http://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/stats/publications/CES_2010_Census_Recommendations_English.pdf) (6 March, 2015). Hungary earlier introduced the guidelines of the “more than one ethnic affiliation” and “not declared” principles into the national census than the UN and EU prepared the document. On the relations between the international regulations of national censuses and Hungarian legislation, see Körtvélyessi Zsolt, Népszámlálás, etnikai adatok és törvényhozás, *Kisebbségkutatás*, 2010, no.4.

declare, at most, three ethnicities as his/her own, instead of only the one before. Secondly, the census introduced four elements as criteria of ethnicity, instead of mother tongue alone previously. Thirdly, each ethnic element was regarded as a variable independent from the other ethnic elements. Fourthly, a respondent had the option of not declaring his/her ethnicity, having been obliged to do so before.

**Figure 1: Questionnaire of the 2001 census on ethnicity**

A következő kérdésekre az adatszolgáltatás nem kötelező!																	
Nemzetiségre, nyelvi kötődésre vonatkozó kérdések																	
	93	66	128	45	111	16	207	125	104	112	211	93	201	115	218	27	156
	Belga	Cigány (roma)	Eskó	Francia	Görög	Holland	Lengyel	Német	Ómlány	Francia	Ruszin	Szlovák	Szlovén	Magyar	Harmadik válasz		
23.1 Mely nemzetiséghez tartozónak érzi magát?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
egyéb, megpedig:	<input type="text"/>																
23.2 Mely nemzetiség kulturális értékeihez, hagyományaihoz kötődik?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
egyéb, megpedig:	<input type="text"/>																
23.3 Melyik nyelvet az anyanyelve?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
egyéb, megpedig:	<input type="text"/>																
23.4 Családi, baráti körökben milyen nyelvet használ általában?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
egyéb, megpedig:	<input type="text"/>																

This is the format of the questionnaire of the 2001 census, which asks questions on ethnicity.<sup>10</sup> The top instruction on the form

10 The survey for the census was carried out through interview in principle, but also by a respondent filling in the survey if preferred. The original text of the related questions is as follows:

“A 23–25. kérdésekre a válaszadás nem kötelező. Erre az adatszolgáltató figyelmét fel kell hívni! A 23.1-től 23.4 kérdéseknél kérdésenként legfőljebb három válasz jelölhető meg! 23.1 kérdés: Mely nemzetiséghez tartozónak érzi magát?

Az összeírt személy minden befolyástól mentesen – és állampolgárságától, anyanyelvétől, nyelvtudásától függetlenül – azt a nemzetiséget jelölje meg, amelyhez tartozónak érzi, érzése alapján vallja magát. A többes kötődések megjelölhetősége céljából legfeljebb három válasz adható.

23.2 kérdés: Mely nemzetiség kulturális értékeihez, hagyományaihoz kötődik? Legfeljebb három nemzetiség kulturális értékeihez, hagyományaihoz való kötődést lehet bejegyezni. A bejegyzések függetlenek a nemzetiséghez

in large, bold letters says: ‘Answering the following questions is not compulsory.’ The next phrase in solid white letters is ‘Questions relating to ethnicity and linguistic bonds’. In the next row, another instruction is written on the left-hand side: ‘A respondent can choose, at most, three ethnic minorities for each question’, and 15 options are given on the right-hand side, ‘Bulgarian, Roma, Greek, Croatian, Polish, German, Armenian, Romanian, Rusyn, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian, and Ukrainian’, which are the 13 officially recognised minorities in Hungary, and ending with two other options: ‘Magyar’ and ‘I do not want to answer’<sup>11</sup>. Following these descriptions, four

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tartozástól, illetve a nyelvtudástól. 23.3 kérdés: Melyik nyelv az anyanyelve? Anyanyelvként – minden befolyástól mentesen – azt az élőnyelvet kell megjelölni, amelyet az összeirt személy gyermekkorában (általában elsőként) tanult meg, s amelyen családtagjaival általában beszél, és anyanyelvének vall.

Tekintettel arra, hogy a nemzetiségi lakosság gyermekkorában több nyelvet tanul meg és beszél anyanyelvi szinten, ezért három nyelv megjelölésére van lehetőség.

23.4 kérdés: Családi, baráti közösségben milyen nyelvet használ általában?

Ennél a kérdésnél a népszámlálási családfogalomtól eltérően családi körnek tekinthető mindazon személyek csoportja – lakóhelytől, országhatártól, rokonsági foktól függetlenül –, akiket a megkérdezett családjának tekint.

Annál az egyedülálló személynél, aki azt mondja, hogy neki nincs senkivel családi kapcsolata, a kérdést üresen hagyni.”

A személyi kérdőív tájékoztatásul nemzetiségi nyelveken is elkészült (lásd ([http://www.nepszamlalas2001.hu/hun/kotetek/04/04\\_modsz.pdf](http://www.nepszamlalas2001.hu/hun/kotetek/04/04_modsz.pdf), 14<sup>th</sup> November, 2014)

11 The Hungarian Act no. 77, 1993 gives the definition of the ethnic minorities and describes their right to cultural autonomy. The criteria for the right are, for one thing, a population of more than a thousand, and, for the other, more than one hundred-years-old history of the minority in Hungary. Thirteen ethnic groups were officially calm to be ethnic minorities with cultural autonomy. The Jewish population was included, but no representative Jewish associations wanted to be qualified as official ethnic minority. As for some ethnic minorities, or, on the other hand, the way of ethnic grouping was questioned, because, for example, the Roma minority includes several groups such as “beas”, “lováni”, “romani”, and each of them might require classification as an independent ethnic minority; see Kiss Bernadette, *A nyelvhasználati jogok és a népszámlálás, Kisebbségkutatás*, 2010, no.4. Another similar example is the case of the southern Slavic minorities. ‘Sokác’, ‘vend’, or ‘bunyevác’ are the traditional ethnic groups, speaking in

questions are given on ethnicity:

23.1 ‘Which ethnicity do you feel you belong to?’

23.2 ‘Which ethnic cultural values and traditions do you bond with?’

23.3 ‘What is your mother tongue?’

23.4 ‘Which language do you generally use in the family or in your friendship community?’

Additional tutoring was given to the survey-taker to give oral instructions to a respondent. Question 23.1: ‘Mark the ethnicity to which you feel you belong, independently from any influence such as citizenship, mother tongue, and language ability. Declare your ethnicity on the basis of feeling. You can mark, at most, three ethnicities for the sake of guaranteeing your ability to declare plural ethnic bonds’. Question 23.2: ‘You can mark, at most, three ethnic bonds toward cultural values and traditions. Your declaration should be independent from your ethnic identity or language ability.’ Question 23.3: ‘Without regard to any influence, declare the active language as your mother tongue, which you learnt in your childhood (as a first language in general), which you ordinarily speak with your family, and which you conceive to be your mother tongue. You can mark three languages in consideration that children in an ethnic minority learn more than one language and speak them at the level of the mother tongue.’

We may formulate four ethnic elements on the basis of the four questions, as follows:

1) Ethnic identity (*nemzetiség*) through the first question. (EI)

2) Cultural bonds (*kulturális kötődés*) through the second question. (CB)

southern Slavic languages and living in Hungary for centuries. These ethnic groups cannot be categorised into today’s southern Slavic nations, such as Serbians, Croatians, Slovenians; Szarka László, *A három déli szláv nemzeti kisebbség. Etnikai változások a 2001. évi népszámlálási adatok tükrében*, in *Tér és terep: Tanulmányok az etnicitás és az identitás kérdésköréből*, eds. Kovács N., Szarka L. Budapest, 2003. pp.319–338. Migration is another serious question, concerning the census about the definition of ethnic minorities, because some ethnic minorities, which are not officially authorized for cultural autonomy, have much more population than the smaller official ethnic minorities; see Tóth Judit, *Népszámlálás és migrációs statisztika, Kisebbségkutatás*, 2010, no.4.

3) Mother tongue (anyanyelv) through the third question. (MT)

4) Language community, through the fourth question. (LC)

The 2001 census eventually enabled Hungarian citizens to declare their ethnicity in various ways, and regarded a respondent to be a member of an ethnic minority if the respondent chose at least one out of the four ethnic elements.

Table 2 shows the result of the 2001 census under the new definition.

The table demonstrates, for one thing, that the general diminishing trend would continue in the populations of ethnic minorities in terms of the mother tongue, since the values in the 2001-1 column (the

**Table 2: Populations of Ethnic Minorities in Hungary**

Minority	1900	1910	1920	1930	1941	1949	1960	1970	1980	1990	2001-1	2001-2
Magyar	5,890,999	6,730,299	7,155,979	8,000,335	8,655,798	9,076,041	9,786,038	10,152,366	10,579,898	10,222,529	9,546,374	9,627,057
Armenian	..	..	..	122	..	..	..	..	..	37	294	1,165
Bulgarian	..	..	..	2,816	..	..	2,126	..	..	1,370	1,299	2,316
Croatian	68,161	62,018	58,931	47,332	37,885	20,423	33,014	21,855	20,484	17,577	14,326	25,730
German	604,751	553,179	550,062	477,153	475,491	22,455	50,765	33,653	31,231	37,511	33,774	120,344
Greek	..	..	..	82	..	..	..	..	..	1,640	1,921	6,619
Polish	..	..	..	5,160	..	..	..	..	..	3,788	2,580	5,144
Roma	5,662	9,799	6,989	7,841	18,640	21,387	25,633	34,692	27,915	48,072	48,438	205,720
Romanian	26,975	28,491	23,695	16,221	14,142	14,713	15,787	12,356	10,141	8,730	8,482	14,781
Rusyn	..	..	..	996	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,113	2,079
Serbian	24,254	26,248	17,132	7,031	5,442	5,158	4,583	11,177	3,426	2,953	3,388	7,350
Slovak	192,227	165,317	141,877	104,786	75,877	25,988	30,690	21,086	16,054	12,745	11,817	39,266
Slovenian	7,922	6,915	6,087	5,464	4,816	4,473	..	3,791	3,142	2,627	3,180	4,832
Ukrainian	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	674	4,885	7,393
Total minorities	929,952	851,967	804,773	675,004	632,293	114,597	162,598	138,610	112,393	137,724	135,497	442,739
Total Population	6,854,415	7,612,114	7,986,875	8,685,109	9,316,074	9,204,799	9,961,044	10,300,996	10,709,463	10,374,823	10,198,315	10,198,315



populations of ethnic minorities based on the mother tongue) are, as a whole, lower than in 1990, from 137,724 to 135,788. For another thing, the table shows a drastic increase in ethnic populations, that is, the values in the 2001-2 column, which display the populations with any ethnic element, reflect the radical change in the definition of ethnicity. The new definition resulted in a significant increase from 137,724 in 1990 to 442,739 in 2001. A three- or four-fold, or even greater, increase is found in the cases of the Romas, Greeks, Germans, Armenians, Slovaks, and Ukrainians.

Table 3 shows that a greater increase in an ethnic population corresponds to a higher percentage of ethnic population without an ethnic mother tongue in 2001, with the exception of the Ukrainian

**Table 3: Populations of Minorities With or Without an Ethnic Mother Tongue**

Minority	1	2	3	4	5
	Total ethnic population in 2001	Population in 2001 with ethnic mother tongue	Population in 2001 without ethnic mother tongue	Increase in ethnic population: Ratio of 2001-2 to 1990 (%)	Significance of non-mother-tongue elements: Ratio of 3 to 1 (%)
Armenian	1,165	294	871	3,149	74.8
Bulgarian	2,316	1,299	1,017	169	43.9
Croatian	25,730	14,345	11,387	146	44.3
German	120,344	33,792	86,552	321	71.9
Greek	6,619	1,921	4,698	402	71.0
Polish	5,144	2,580	2,564	136	49.8
Roma	205,720	48,685	157,035	428	76.3
Romanian	14,781	8,482	6,299	169	42.6
Rusyn	2,079	1,113	966	187	46.5
Serbian	7,350	3,388	3,962	249	53.9
Slovak	39,266	11,817	27,449	308	69.9
Slovenian	4,832	3,187	1,645	184	34.0
Ukrainian	7,393	4,885	2,508	1,097	33.9
Total	422,739	135,788	286,951	321	67.9

case. This may suggest that a significant or major part of the ethnic minorities, who lost their ethnic mother tongue in the process of ‘assimilation’, had kept their ethnicity without linguistic elements but with a latent ethnic consciousness for decades. Meanwhile, they had been regarded as ethnic Magyars in the national censuses. The post-socialist ethnic discourses, however, generated ethnic consciousness. At any rate, for the first time, the ethnic minorities, or Hungarian citizens in general, were given an official opportunity to declare their ethnicity on the basis of ‘free selection’ among the 14 (including Magyar ethnicity, or 15, if giving no answer is included) alternatives.

### **Typology of the ethnic minorities**

Here, we classify the ethnic minorities through evaluating how each ethnic element contributes to preserving or (re-)vitalising ethnicity.

Table 4 gives various combinations of the four elements, which is composed of 15 variants altogether. The main viewpoint for grouping the combinations in the table is ‘with ethnic mother tongue’ or ‘without ethnic mother tongue’.

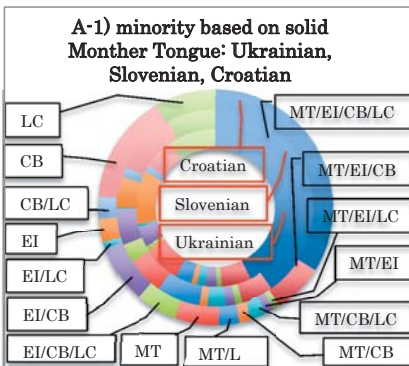
The following figures signify the typology of the ethnic minorities, based on the patterns of combinations of the four elements in Table 4. Type A-1 represents a solid role of ethnic mother tongue. Namely, this type comprises half of all the populations of ethnic minorities who declare their ethnicity via the ethnic mother tongue [(MT/EI/CB/LC)+(MT/EI/CB)+(MT/EI/LC)+(MT/EI)+(MT/CB/LC)+(MT/CB)+(MT/LC)+MT]. Type A-2, a variant of Type A-1, shows a smaller weight of the populations declaring their ethnicity via the ethnic mother tongue. Type B represents the dominant (three-quarters) role of non-ethnic-mother-tongue elements (EI, CB, LC). Type B-1 is the first variant of Type B with a well-balanced mixture of three elements. Type B-2 is the second variant with a larger role of cultural bonds. Type B-3 is the third variant with a larger role of ethnic identity.

**Table 4: Combination of Ethnic Elements in the 2001 Census**

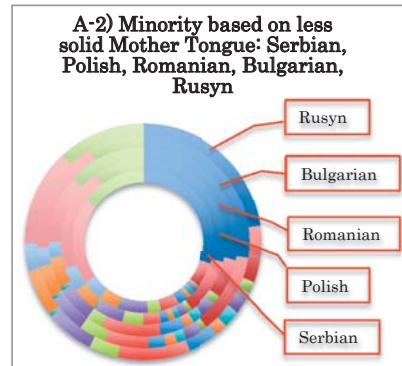
Minority	Mother Tongue and								Ethnic Identity and					Cultural Band and		Only LC	Total
	EI, CB And LC	EI And CB	EI And LC	EI	CB And LC	CB	LC	Only MT	CB And LC	CB	LC	Only EI	LC	Only CB			
Armenian	172	39	7	5	9	3	20	39	23	175	2	197	8	407	59	1,165	
Bulgarian	637	285	21	63	34	41	60	158	93	135	11	113	65	403	197	2,316	
Croatian	8,717	1,758	237	295	577	423	704	1,615	1,435	2,086	219	850	767	3,924	2,123	25,730	
German	18,242	5,032	651	1,028	1,841	1,358	1,913	3,709	7,631	21,668	778	7,075	4,875	27,562	16,981	120,344	
Greek	1,442	264	16	34	24	33	23	85	190	408	14	141	99	3,680	166	6,619	
Polish	1,497	568	47	85	57	63	80	183	209	301	12	243	246	1,042	511	5,144	
Roma	36,970	3,960	1,021	1,029	970	332	2,047	2,109	6,812	72,966	1,123	66,103	1,052	6,146	3,080	205,720	
Romanian	4,168	1,008	228	383	294	253	630	1,518	416	915	105	772	391	1,717	1,983	14,781	
Rusyn	475	162	33	64	48	35	90	206	84	137	10	133	77	274	251	2,079	
Serbian	2,216	409	42	78	84	70	168	321	223	477	24	347	338	1,462	1,091	7,350	
Slovak	5,684	1,039	177	389	486	536	677	2,829	3,168	4,246	361	2,629	1,931	9,541	5,573	39,266	
Slovenian	1,946	255	58	76	144	65	341	295	150	286	9	245	81	502	379	4,832	
Ukrainian	3,155	446	80	171	126	89	245	573	65	315	35	803	106	477	707	7,393	
Total	85,149	15,186	2,611	3,695	4,685	3,298	6,978	13,601	20,476	103,940	2,701	79,454	10,028	56,730	33,042	441,574	

MT: mother tongue, EI: ethnic identity, CB: cultural bonds, LC: language community

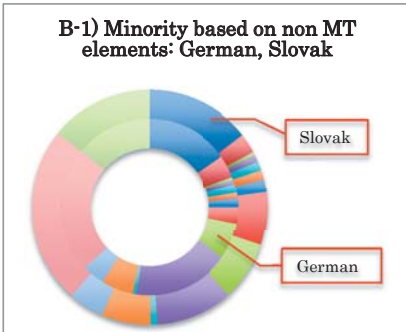
**Figure 2: Type A-1**



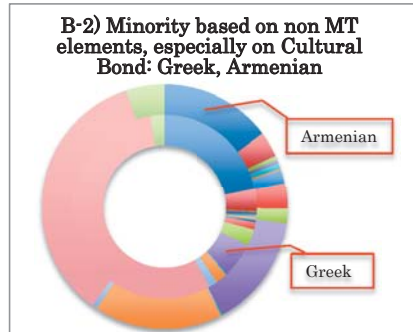
**Figure 3: Type A-2**



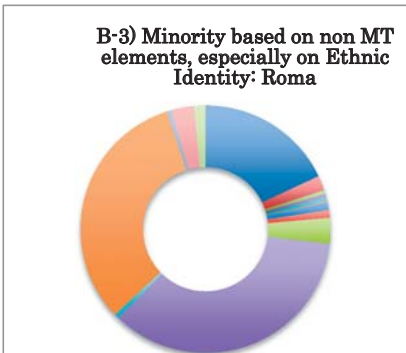
**Figure 4: Type B-1**



**Figure 5: Type B-2**



**Figure 6: Type B-3**



Type A-1 is an ethnic minority that preserves a stronger role of the ethnic mother tongue in combination with the other three elements. Namely, more than one-third of the ethnic population lives in an active ethnic community, where the members speak their ethnic mother tongue not only among family members but also on the streets, and identify themselves strongly as a particular ethnic minority through cultural bonds and individual identity. This type has a broader spectrum of combinations of mother tongue with other elements, and altogether two-thirds of the ethnic populations declared their ethnic language to be their mother tongue. Type A-1 includes the Ukrainian, Slovenian, and Croatian minorities.

Type A-2 has less significance of the portion with all elements, and, instead, shows a considerable weight of cultural bonds and language community, though this type still preserves a sufficiently extensive spectrum of combinations of mother tongue with other elements, similar to Type A-1. Namely, more than half of an ethnic population regards their ethnic language to be their mother tongue. Type A-2 comprises the Serbian, Polish, Romanian, Bulgarian, and Rusyn minorities.

Type B has a very limited role of ethnic mother tongue, characterised by a short spectrum of the combinations of mother tongue with other elements. The range is altogether from one-quarter to one-third of the total ethnic population. Type B-1 includes the German and Slovak minorities. Type B-2 includes the Greek and Armenian minorities. Type B-3 comprises the Roma minority.

The Germans and Slovaks were the largest minorities in pre-war Hungary, and the Romas are the largest minority in post-socialist Hungary. Consequently, we may suggest that a large size means no guarantee of preserving the ethnic mother tongue. Instead, the largest ethnic minorities may depend on cultural bonds or ethnic identity for preserving/re-vitalising their ethnicity.

## **The census of 2011 and typology of the ethnic minorities**

Analysing the data on ethnic minorities in the 2001 census, we classified the 13 ethnic minorities into two major groups and five sub-groups on the basis of four ethnic elements. This typology should be tested through the following censuses. However, the 2011 census did not fully continue the practices in 2001. The 2011 census accepted only dual ethnicity instead of the triple ethnicity in 2001 and only three ethnic elements—mother tongue, ethnic identity, and language community—instead of the four elements in 2001.

Table 5 shows the results of the 2011 census on ethnic minorities. The table is much simpler, compared to that of 2001.

**Table 5: Combination of Ethnic Elements in the 2011 Census**

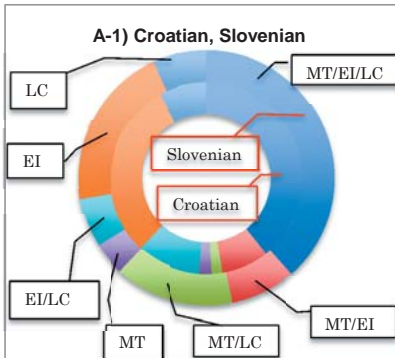
Minority	Mother Tongue and				Ethnic Identity and		LC	Total
	EI and LC	EI	LC	Only MT	LC	Only EI		
Armenian	257	73	14	100	61	2,902	164	3,571
Bulgarian	1,054	328	227	1,290	276	1,898	1,199	6,272
Croatian	10,536	2,121	493	566	2,870	8,034	2,154	26,774
German	26,170	6,852	2,757	2,469	18,215	80,714	48,519	185,696
Greek	1,333	342	42	155	442	1,799	529	4,642
Polish	2,130	636	115	168	582	2,382	988	7,001
Roma	42,631	8,578	2,102	1,028	12,914	244,834	3,496	315,583
Romanian	7,797	3,290	1,046	1,753	2,643	12,615	6,497	35,641
Rusyn	527	236	51	185	230	2,330	323	3,882
Serbian	2,420	663	279	346	811	3,316	2,203	10,038
Slovak	6,521	1,880	647	840	5,024	16,222	4,074	35,208
Slovenian	1,244	267	488	138	204	670	223	2,820
Ukrainian	1,541	1,094	288	461	402	2,596	1,014	7,396

The following figures are drawn using the same method as in the 2001 census. The results of the classification are very similar to the patterns in the 2001 census. We can finally categorise minorities into two main groups, i.e., Type A and Type B, and then into sub-groups within the main types, just as for the 2001 census. The reason that Type B has only two sub-groups in 2011 is very simple; it is because the 2011 census did not ask the question on the ethnic element of cultural bonds.

Another parallel between 2001 and 2011 is the contents of the groups. Each group includes the same ethnic minorities as in the 2001 census, with some exceptions. Type A-1 comprises Croatian, Slovenian, and Ukrainian in 2001, compared to Croatian and Slovenian in 2011; Type A-2 comprises Polish, Romanian, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Rusyn in 2001, compared to Polish, Romanian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, and Greek in 2011; Type B-1 comprises

German and Slovak in 2001, compared to German, Slovak, and Serbian in 2011; Type B-2 and 3 comprises Armenian, Roma, and Greek in 2001, compared to Armenian, Roma, and Rusyn in 2001.

**Figure 7: Type A-1**



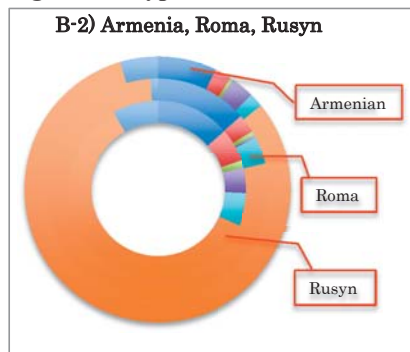
**Figure 8: Type A-2**



**Figure 9: Type B-1**



**Figure 10: Type B-2**



The third important factor in the 2011 census is the further extensive increase in the ethnic populations who declared themselves members of an ethnic minority (see Table 7). In total, the increase was almost 50% from 422,839 to 644,524. With this significant increase in the ethnic population, the typology in 2001 is basically verified as being effective for categorising the ethnic minorities in the census

2011, too.

**Table 6: Population of Ethnic Minorities in the 2011 Census**

Mother tongue	1900	1910	1920	1930	1941	1949	1960	1970	1980	1990	2001-1	2001-2	2011	2011 to 2001-2 (%)
Magyar	5,890,999	6,730,299	7,155,979	8,000,335	8,655,798	9,076,041	9,786,038	10,152,366	10,579,898	10,222,529	9,546,374	9,627,057	8,409,049	-
Armenian	..	..	..	122	..	..	..	..	..	37	294	1,165	3,571	307
Bulgarian	..	..	..	2,816	..	..	2,126	..	..	1,370	1,299	2,316	6,272	271
Croatian	68,161	62,018	58,931	47,332	37,885	20,423	33,014	21,855	20,484	17,577	14,326	25,730	26,774	104
German	604,751	553,179	550,062	477,153	475,491	22,455	50,765	33,653	31,231	37,511	33,774	120,344	185,696	154
Greek	..	..	..	82	..	..	..	..	..	1,640	1,921	6,619	4,642	70
Polish	..	..	..	5,160	..	..	..	..	..	3,788	2,580	5,144	7,001	136
Roma	5,662	9,799	6,989	7,841	18,640	21,387	25,633	34,692	27,915	48,072	48,438	205,720	315,583	153
Romanian	26,975	28,491	23,695	16,221	14,142	14,713	15,787	12,356	10,141	8,730	8,482	14,781	35,641	341
Rusyn	..	..	..	996	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,113	2,079	3,882	187
Serbian	24,254	26,248	17,132	7,031	5,442	5,158	4,583	11,177	3,426	2,953	3,388	7,350	10,038	137
Slovak	192,227	165,317	141,877	104,786	75,877	25,988	30,690	21,086	16,054	12,745	11,817	39,266	35,208	90
Slovenian	7,922	6,915	6,087	5,464	4,816	4,473	..	3,791	3,142	2,627	3,180	4,832	2,820	58
Ukrainian	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	674	4,885	7,393	7,396	100
Total minorities	929,952	851,967	804,773	675,004	632,293	114,597	162,598	138,610	112,393	137,724	135,497	442,739	644,524	148
Total Population	6,854,415	7,612,114	7,986,875	8,685,109	9,316,074	9,204,799	9,961,044	10,300,996	10,709,463	10,374,823	10,198,315	10,198,315	9,937,628	-

Table 6 and 7 show various patterns in the changing populations of ethnic minorities from 2001 to 2011. The various patterns can be grouped into three Groups; Group 1 is the case where the ethnic population increased significantly. The cases of increase are in the majority, including eight ethnic minorities out of thirteen. Group 2 is a stagnating minority. The Croatians and the Ukrainians belong to this Group. Group 3 is a declining case. The Greeks, Slovaks, and Slovenians lost a significant part of their ethnic populations in a decade.



**Table 7: Changing Populations and Ethnic Elements (1)**

Minority	Mother Tongue				Ethnic Identity				Language Community				Cultural Bonds
	2001	2011	Change	%	2001	2011	Change	%	2001	2011	Change	%	2001
Armenian	294	444	150	51	620	3,293	2,673	431.1	300	496	196	65.3	836
Bulgarian	1,299	2,899	1,600	123.1	1,358	3,556	2,198	161.9	1,118	2,756	1,638	146.5	1,639
Croatian	14,345	13,716	-629	-4.4	15,597	23,561	7,964	51.1	14,779	16,053	1,274	8.6	19,687
German	33,792	38,248	4,456	13.2	62,105	131,951	69,846	112.5	52,912	95,661	42,744	80.8	88,209
Greek	1,921	1,872	-49	-2.6	2,509	3,916	1,407	56.1	1,974	2,346	372	18.8	6,140
Polish	2,580	3,049	829	32.1	2,962	5,730	2,768	93.5	2,659	3,815	1,156	43.5	3,983
Roma	48,685	54,339	5,654	11.6	189,984	308,957	119,973	158.4	53,075	61,143	8,068	15.2	129,208
Romanian	8,482	13,886	5,404	63.7	7,995	26,345	18,348	229.5	8,215	17,983	9,768	118.9	9,162
Rusyn	1,113	999	-114	-10.2	1,098	3,323	2,225	202.6	1,068	1,131	63	5.6	1,298
Serbian	3,388	3,708	320	9.4	3,816	7,210	3,394	88.9	4,186	5,713	1,527	36.5	5,279
Slovak	11,817	9,888	-1,929	-16.3	17,693	29,647	11,954	67.6	18,057	16,266	-1,791	-9.9	26,631
Slovenian	3,187	2,137	-1,650	-51.8	3,025	2,385	-640	-21.2	3,108	2,159	-949	-30.5	3,429
Ukrainian	4,885	3,384	-1,501	-30.7	5,070	5,633	563	11.1	4,519	3,245	-1,274	-28.2	4,779
Total	135,788	148,569	12,781	9.4	313,832	555,507	241,675	77	165,970	228,767	62,797	27.5	300,328

Table 8 is the result of sorting the ethnic minorities according to the magnitude of the total changes in the populations from 2001 to 2011. Graph 1 displays Table 8 in a more visible way. Namely, Graph 1 clearly indicates that the main reason for the increasing populations of ethnic minorities in the decade since 2001 is the rapidly spreading ethnic identity among the Hungarian citizens, who had supposedly lost their ethnic mother tongue, and even their ethnic identity.<sup>12</sup> This

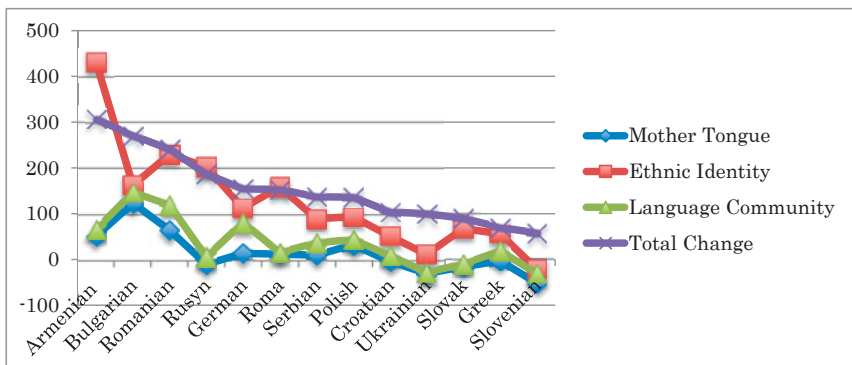
12 Ágnes Tóth & János Vékás analyse the process of the spreading ethnic identity between the two censuses of 2001 and 2011 in terms of 'dissimilation', considering the factors of age, economic activity, education, migration; National and Ethnic Minorities in Hungary in the Period 2001–2011 – Ethno-Demographic Trends as Reflected in the Census Data, *Hungarian Statistical Review*, 2014, special no.17, pp.95-112.

phenomenon is true even in the cases of those ethnic minorities whose populations were stagnating or diminishing, with the exception only of the Slovenian case.

**Table 8: Changing Populations and Ethnic Elements (2) (%)**

Minority	Mother Tongue	Ethnic Identity	Language Community	Total Change	Group
Armenian	51.0	431.1	65.3	307	1
Bulgarian	123.1	161.9	146.5	271	
Romanian	63.7	229.5	118.9	241	
Rusyn	-10.2	202.6	5.6	187	
German	13.2	112.5	80.8	154	
Roma	11.6	158.4	15.2	153	
Serbian	9.4	88.9	36.5	137	
Polish	32.1	93.5	43.5	136	
Croatian	-4.4	51.1	8.6	104	2
Ukrainian	-30.7	11.1	-28.2	100	
Slovak	-16.3	67.6	-9.9	90	3
Greek	-2.6	56.1	18.8	70	
Slovenian	-51.8	-21.2	-30.5	58	

**Graph 1: Changing Patterns and Ethnic Elements (%)**



## The Slovaks in the censuses of 2001 and 2011

The Slovak minority in Hungary is classified as Type B-1 and Group 3 in the typology. In other words, the role of the ethnic mother tongue is limited and those people who have an active and passive ability in the ethnic mother tongue are diminishing even after introducing the new ethnic definition in 2001. In general, the ethnic mother tongue and language community seems to have less and less significance for the Slovaks in preserving/(re)vitalising the Slovak ethnicity. Instead, ethnic identity and cultural bonds play an increasingly important role in sustaining ethnicity among the Slovak community in Hungary.

Why is the Slovak minority losing its ethnic mother tongue and depending more on ethnic identity and cultural bonds? We may suggest that this is the major trend in Hungary for any ethnic minority, as Table 8 and Graph 1 show. However, more Germans, for example, who are categorised into Type B-1 as with the Slovaks, now speak their ethnic mother tongue than in 2001.<sup>13</sup> Not all ethnic minorities lose the significance of linguistic elements. In the case of the Slovaks,<sup>14</sup> it is pointed out that Slovaks, generally, feel only cultural bonds with Slovakia, because, firstly, they have a strong affiliation to their birthplace and its natural environment; secondly, they still preserve the historical consciousness of “Hungarus” [Hungarus means those non-Magyar people in the age of the Hungarian Kingdom, who preferred to associate themselves with the kingdom]; thirdly, the resident exchange after WWII “resulted in such serious damages that the Slovak communities [in Hungary], which had been relatively closed ethnically and which had guaranteed preservation of the

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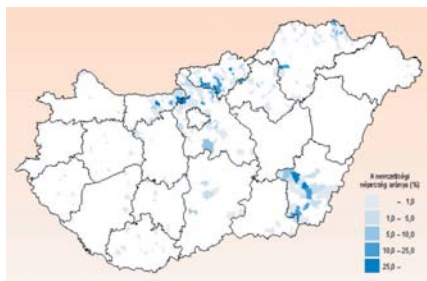
13 The Germans, the Slovaks, the Slovenians, the Romanians, and the Serbo-Croatians were given the possibility to learn their ethnic language or to learn in their ethnic language in the socialist era; see Imre Anna, Nemzetiségi oktatás és oktatáspolitiká Magyarországon a hatvanas években, *Kisebbségkutatás*, 2008, no.3.

14 Szabó Orsolya, Csévi ember cséviül beszéljen, és akkor azt meg lehet érteni; Piliscsév – egy szlovák falu egykor és ma, *Kisebbségkutatás*, 2002, no.2. p.195.

ethnic language, traditions, and culture for the Slovak minority, were irreversibly dissolved and destroyed.” We may additionally suggest a hypothetical explanation, that is, the geographical isolation from their ethnic mother country in the case of the Slovaks living in Békés County in the southernmost region of the country. Namely, the spatial distance would hinder the Slovak minority from developing everyday contact with Slovaks in Slovakia. The geographical location of the ethnic minorities in Hungary is, for some ethnic minorities, beneficial, because they live along the borders, and they can re-vitalise their ethnic linguistic ability in daily-life contacts over the state borders. The Serbians, Croatians, and Romanians are good examples of this case.

We need and expect further interpretation in the case of the Slovaks, since our field surveys are now ongoing, and we are planning to investigate two Slovak residential areas in Hungary, southern Hungary and the northern border regions near to Slovakia in the following years.

### Residential Areas of the Slovaks



The shaded areas indicate the density (%) of ethnic populations in the municipalities. <http://www.nepszamlalas2001.hu/hun/kotetek/04/kartogram.html> (20<sup>th</sup> January, 2015)

### Conclusion

The national censuses of 2001 and 2011 provide renewed possibilities for analysing ethnic minorities from a transitional and statistical

perspective of their changing reality. This paper gave a primary result from this perspective; however, the result is still an introduction to further examination on the changing ethnic minorities, including the Slovaks in Hungary. The most important value of the data in the national censuses of 2001 and 2011 is comprehensiveness of the ethnic minorities as a whole in Hungary, making it possible to bridge the numerous monographs on individual ethnic minorities<sup>15</sup>.

The original aim of the book and of the paper is to explore the latest developments in the relationship between the Slovaks and the Hungarians over the Danube River. It is hoped that this paper will contribute to a better understanding of the Slovaks in today's Hungary, charting them as a whole and as a part of multi-ethnic Hungarian society.

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15 Tóth Ágnes ed., *National and Ethnic Minorities in Hungary, 1920-2001*. New York: Social Science Monographs, 2005. See in the case of the Slovaks, Gyivicsán Anna, *Anyanyelv, kultúra, közösség : a magyarországi szlovákok*, Budapest, 1993. A series of *Tér és terep*, published by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Centre for Social Sciences, Institute for Minority Studies, includes various studies on the ethnic minorities in Hungary, such as Eiler Ferenc, *A magyarországi német kisebbség kronológiája 1987-2000*, in Szarka László, Kovács Nóra eds., *Tér és terep. Tanulmányok az etnicitás és az identitás kérdésköréből*, Budapest, 2002. pp. 437-461.