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Emigrace z Československa a pocit zrady: Národ vs. rodina

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Master Dissertation

Emigration from Czechoslovakia
and the Feeling of Betrayal:
Nation vs. Family

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Bc. Anna Maršíková

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ABSTRAKT

Až do 90. let 20. století bylo území dnešní České republiky vnímáno převážně jako území, odkud se odcházelo. Navzdory (anebo možná kvůli) takto dlouhé tradici emigrace se postojе vůči osobám, které z různých důvodů zemi opustily, zdají být stále spíše ambivalentní. Koncept emigrace jako zrady se objevuje často jak v akademické literatuře, tak v populárních publikacích, filmech či seriálech a ve veřejných debatách. Tato diplomová práce se zabývá otázkou, jaké je skutečné vnímání emigrantů těmi členy rodiny, kteří v letech 1948 až 1989 zůstali v komunistickém Československu; definuje možné důvody tohoto vnímání; a zkoumá dopady emigrace na československou, respektive českou společnost.

Podle většiny autorů je důvodem negativních postojů československé společnosti vůči emigrantům komunistická propaganda. Na základě analýzy přístupu k emigrantům a re-emigrantům a situaci vzniklé po Sametové revoluci v roce 1989 a díky kombinaci pohledů dvou generací autorka této práce argumentuje, že komunistická propaganda související s emigrací měla v krátkodobém horizontu značný vliv, ale z dlouhodobého hlediska existují další významné faktory přispívající k formování pocitu zrady v kontextu emigrace.

Klíčová slova: emigrace, exil, pocit zrady, identita, národ, rodina, propaganda

ABSTRACT

Until the 1990s, the territory of the current Czech Republic has been predominantly seen as a place of emigration. Despite (or maybe because of) such a long history of emigration, the approach towards people who, for different reasons, left the country seems to be rather ambivalent up to the present day. The notion of emigration as a betrayal is appearing frequently, both in the existing academic literature as well as in the production of popular publications, movies or series and in a public discourse. This thesis is questioning the real perception of emigrants in the eyes of family members, who stayed in communist Czechoslovakia in between 1948 and 1989, defines the possible reasons behind the respective perception and examines the impact of emigration on the Czechoslovak, respectively Czech society.

The majority of authors identifies the communist propaganda as the cause of the negative attitudes of Czechoslovak society towards emigrants. By analysing the approach towards emigrants and re-emigrants and situation after the Velvet Revolution in 1989 and by combining the opinions of two generations, the author of this thesis argues that the communist propaganda related to emigration had a considerable impact in the short-term perspective, but in the long-term perspective there are another strong factors contributing to the construction of the feeling of betrayal in relation to emigration.

Key words: emigration, exile, feeling of betrayal, identity, nation, family, propaganda

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1. INTRODUCTION

In a long-term perspective many researchers are focused on life of immigrants, their establishment in new societies, adaptation and integration or for example immigrants' economic and cultural impact on host societies. Many authors are dealing with political aspects of immigration, others survey the life of immigrant families, education etc. There is no doubt that immigration is a big challenge not only for researchers. But what about the second side of the same phenomenon – emigration? Naturally, emigration is an inevitable element of the process of migration which accompanies the humankind as long as immigration. However, as far as we can see, the research topics related to emigration are mostly limited to the issue of brain drain and economic impacts, diasporas and only recently we can observe an increase in studies on the effects of emigration on family relations.

One of the major aims of this thesis is to present the phenomenon of emigration in a wider contextual framework, not only as the process of leaving a country and settling in another one. For this purpose, I have chosen the case of emigration from communist Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1989. From the historical point of view, the Czech lands have been seen as a territory of emigration rather than a place of immigration. During the period of communism, however, people in Czechoslovakia experienced completely new dimensions related to emigration. Closed borders, restrictions on travelling and a very limited possibility to leave, persecution, monitoring, imprisonment and anti-emigration political propaganda became the new reality of lives behind the Iron Curtain. Something we now consider as one of the basic human rights, the right to leave a country, was deconstructed. Emigration usually affects not only people who are leaving, but also people who stay. Nevertheless, due to the regime's official negative approach towards emigration and emigrants, the life of some family members (who stayed in the country) was even more touched by the decision to leave Czechoslovakia than emigrants themselves.

Indeed, I am fully aware that the case of Czechoslovakia is not unique in terms of migration policies or extent of emigration waves. In many aspects, especially in relation to border controls and prevention of emigration, the situation in Czechoslovakia can be compared to other totalitarian or dictatorial regimes (USSR states, Cuba or even North Korea). At the same time, we can find many countries with much higher emigration rates, such as Portugal or Ireland, where even contemporary statistics on emigration are

comparable to the number of people fleeing from Czechoslovakia at the time of the most extensive emigration waves. Then why emigration from Czechoslovakia should deserve an attention of researchers?

The debates around the presidential elections in the Czech Republic in 2012/13 represent a perfect illustration proving that there is a clear and profound basis for a research in this direction, when a campaign of Miloš Zeman was based on the nationalist and populist claims, including the one accusing his rival candidate Karel Schwarzenberg that he left the country for his own well-being while his fellow citizens suffered during the communism. This discussion reflects on one of the highly repetitive features related to emigration from communist Czechoslovakia – the feeling of betrayal and misdoing shared by certain fellow citizens. Having an emigrant history in our family, I have always been surprised by the public discourse and emotions that accompany the phenomenon of emigration from Czechoslovakia. In this thesis, I try to present this discourse and to identify possible reasons behind the concept of emigration as betrayal in as broad context as possible with regards to the complexity of the issue.

Despite the fact that this thesis is dealing with the historic events, it is not a history analysis. It rather offers a perspective of a representative of generation which is looking for answers to events and processes that took place in not so distant past – processes which this generation couldn't influence, but has to live with their direct consequences. The phenomenon of emigration from communist Czechoslovakia is full of paradoxes which can be fascinating for a generation living in Europe at the beginning of the 21st century, benefiting from the freedom of movement within the Schengen area, when (with a little bit of exaggeration) own will is the only limit for movement. Indeed, this thesis doesn't have the ambition of bringing answers to all relevant questions, but it tries to look into links of history to present approach and to define possible interpretations of such links. In order to understand the context, it is needed to cover the whole period of 1948 – 1989 with the overlap to deeper history, as well as to the two decades after the Velvet Revolution. However, with regards to the extent of the presented paper, I have decided to focus mainly on the emigration wave after the 1968, because of its importance and because of the fact that the events following the Warsaw Pact invasion in August 1968 are still present in the collective national memory and the living memory of individuals who experienced the communism, but at the same time the generation born after the fall of communism is not very familiar with those moments of the Czech history.

It is necessary to highlight that, unless indicated otherwise, the expression ‘emigration from Czechoslovakia’ in this thesis means the emigration from the Czech part of the republic. Similarly, the terms ‘Czechoslovakia’ or ‘communist Czechoslovakia’ include both state forms from 1948 to 1989 (1990) – ČSR (Czechoslovak Republic, February 1948 - July 1960) and ČSSR (Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, July 1960 - March 1990). If the term ‘Czechoslovakia’ refers to the period of 1918-1938 (the First Republic), the period of 1938-1939 (Czech-Slovak Republic or the Second Republic), the period of 1945-1948 (the Third Republic) or the period of 1990-1992 (ČSFR or the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic), the respective year is stated in the text.

The thesis is structured into 3 main sections with 7 chapters (including the introduction and the conclusion). Each chapter is dealing with one specific aspect of emigration from Czechoslovakia, and in a certain way, each chapter could serve as an introduction to an individual paper. The first section includes the interpretation of terms ‘emigration’ and ‘exile’; defines the theoretical and methodological framework and research design (chapters 2 and 3); and introduces the historical development, dimension and structure of emigration (chapter 4). The second part is focused on the attitudes of the regime towards emigrants and their families. It examines the consequences of emigration for emigrants, as well as for non-emigrating family members; and the role of the regime propaganda in the formation of negative attitudes (chapter 5). The third section is the core of the research. It is trying to answer the question, whether the presentation of the topic in media, academic discourse and in intellectual circles is based on the real perception of the phenomenon by the public. It is questioning the construction and effects of the feeling of betrayal itself by using the data gained through the research. This third part includes the chapter *Perception of emigrants by non-emigrating public*, which is composed of sections *Current discourse* (chapter 6.1) and *Results of the survey* (chapter 6.2). The aim of this part is to complete a picture of emigration from Czechoslovakia and to show that this seemingly past historic process is active up till now.

I have started this research on the grounds of my personal interest and this fact was the main reason why I have chosen to use the first person and maybe a more subjective way how to introduce the topic. However, in the subsequent chapters the third person will be used.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

“[While] in history the exile was a punishment by those who were in power to those who sought for power or wanted to undermine it, in the modern time exile was often an expression of the free will and the free decision: a person opted for exile, because he could not live home as he wanted or as he imagined”

Pavel Tigríd¹

Emigrants – political emigrants – exile – refugees. Essentially, all of those terms are used to describe a group of people, who left a country. While the last three terms (political emigrants, exile, refugees) are usually perceived almost as synonyms, in case of the discourse accompanying the phenomenon of emigration from Czechoslovakia each of the terms is bearing a different value, which is ascribed to individual members of the group (of people, who left the country). The Tigríd’s introductory quotation (TIGRID, 1990, p.14) reflects the fact that the meaning and also the understanding of certain terms change over time and/or with context. At the same time, the meaning of all of the terms above varies depending on who is using them – and in certain connotations the expressions serve as a tool of propaganda. Interestingly, the communist regime was able to cause both types of exile mentioned by Tigríd – the forced exile as a ‘punishment’ for those, who were not willing to conform (especially publicly active personalities), and the exile of people who left more or less voluntarily² (which in the perspective of the regime was the highly undesirable phenomenon, as developed further in the thesis).

In general, authors and researchers distinguish the two types of emigration – economically-driven and politically-driven. The term ‘emigration’ is usually used as a denomination for the economically- or personally-driven emigration and is put in a direct opposition to the three remaining terms ‘political emigration’, ‘exile’ and ‘asylum’ (or ‘refugees’). However, it is obvious that the terms are not used as synonyms. For instance, Jiří Kolaja differentiates between two types of emigrants – a

¹ Pavel Tigríd was a Czech writer and one of the leading persons of the Czechoslovak exile, later a politician. He was born in 1917 in Prague and died in 2003 in France. In 1939 he emigrated from Czechoslovakia and cooperated with the Czechoslovak exile government in London. After the war Tigríd shortly returns to Czechoslovakia, but due to his strong anti-communist opinions, he leaves Czechoslovakia once again. In abroad, he is very actively involved in anti-regime activities (for example, he publishes an important exile magazine *Svědectví* – Testimony). After the revolution, Tigríd becomes a Minister of Culture (1994-1996).

² Another important issue for a discussion would be to what extent the decision to leave the country was voluntary, when people were persecuted in various forms by the regime only for their descent, opinions or activities.

refugee and a “normal” emigrant. According to Kolaja, “the political refugee constitutes a special social type” who left his country against his will and is usually not able to stay in touch with his homeland (KOLAJA, 1952, p.289). Based on this definition, the majority of emigrants from communist Czechoslovakia would fall into the category ‘refugee’. But Kolaja adds:

“In general, the social type of political refugee is characterized by a strong sense of obligation to do something about the situation in the old country, an attitude which distinguishes him from other immigrants. Should he lose it, he would cease to be a political refugee by definition.” (KOLAJA, 1952, p.291)

Thus, not only the reason(s) behind the emigration itself is important for being perceived as a refugee/political emigrant/emigrant etc. The differentiation is based on the individual’s activities in his/her new country and their relation to the homeland, such as the involvement in anti-communist movements, publishing of the samizdat literature etc. (and probably more importantly the level and intensity of activities, or the visibility of involvement). This categorization (made by the public, researchers or even emigrants themselves) then leads to the attribution of certain social, political or economic status:

“While the word ‘emigration’ is by majority of Czechs understood as a denomination of more or less voluntary abandonment of home from economic reasons, the term ‘exile’ contains much higher moral and ideological quality” (PERNES, 2005, p.11)

Nevertheless, the efforts to ‘categorize’ emigrants were often based on rather stereotypical and simplified patterns. The fact that a person obtained a refugee status on the basis of the international law does not necessarily mean that s/he was actively involved in anti-communist activities in the new country and yet they did not lose their status, as Kolaja argues (which proves that the definition of ‘refugees’ used by many authors differs from the nowadays concepts). Also the term ‘political emigration’ can be misleading – it can express both the political reasons for emigration and the political activities against the regime in the former homeland, which does not necessarily overlap. The initial quotation indicates that Tigrid’s conception of ‘exile’ diverges from the general understanding of the term as well. The phrase “a person opted for exile, because he could not live home as he wanted or as he imagined” would imply that he uses the term ‘exile’ as a delimitation of the space (the emigrants’ destination) rather than the definition of a political and social unit struggling for an independence of the

homeland or the change of the regime (and as such, his definition of 'exile' would not differentiate between political and other types of emigration). The following definition suggests that Tigríd's apprehension of the term 'political emigration' is close to the Kolaja's concept of 'refugees': "Political emigration usually strove [...] for one and only thing: for the disintegration, fall and crushing of the governmental or state power that created it (*note – the political emigration*)" (TIGRID, 1990, p.11). In order to avoid all the possible semantic inaccuracies, in this thesis the term 'emigration' is used as a neutral term encompassing all the meanings – simply as one part of the migratory processes and an opposite of the term 'immigration'.

In case of Czechoslovakia in the period of 1948-1989 the 'power' which emigrants (among many others) wanted to undermine, to use once again Tigríd's words, was the communist regime represented by "some mixture of the Party³, the police, the army, and the Soviet Union" (ASH, 1990, p.92). A well-known Czech sociologist Jiřina Šiklová in her article *Přežití a přizpůsobování v totalitním režimu* (Survival and adaptation in the totalitarian regime) argues that this power, "[...] the totalitarian regime, precisely because it is totalitarian, thus general, complete, total, is trying to influence not only the everyday life, but also the moral, conscience, simply the most intimate what a person has" (ŠIKLOVÁ, 2009, p.11). People, who decided to leave the country, suddenly happened to be out of reach of this influence, which itself represented a threat to 'the power'. Very soon, the regime elaborated many means how to at least partially regain the domination over the lives of emigrants (some of them are described in the chapter *Official approach towards emigration*). One of them was the depiction of emigrants as traitors. Tigríd writes about the presentation of the post-1968 emigrants that "[...] 'new, treacherous emigration', the result of the August events, [was] the target of hateful campaigns of Husák's governance of the Party and of concentrated firing of consolidated howitzers of mass information" (TIGRID, 1990, p.95). Jiří Diamant summarizes the general rhetoric used by the regime as follows:

"[...] our public was for more than forty years systematically manipulated by the official propaganda and emigrants were discommended, maligned and suspected from subversive activities against the state and the nation. They were depicted as traitors of the homeland and self-seekers, opportunists, speculators, nouveau riche,

³ The Party is a widely used abbreviation of the Communist Party (of Czechoslovakia) – Komunistická strana Československa (KSČ).

simply as people without character who do not loathe using any method to subvert the republic.” (DIAMANT, 1995, p.135)

One of few authors, who directly put the communist discourse (outlined above) in the context of other factors with the potential to influence the perception of emigrants as traitors by the public, is Ladislav Holý⁴. He points out that not everyone, who shared the opinion that emigration is a betrayal, did identify himself/herself with the regime’s perspective:

“The government’s attitude to emigration was straightforward: it was a betrayal of the country, the nation, or socialism. Although people may not have always agreed with what the Party construed as being betrayed (particularly if it was socialism), the notion of betrayal was not culturally alien to them. It was an appropriate gloss for abandoning the whole of which one was inherently a part – a morally despicable act paralleling the violation of the Christian Fifth Commandment: ‘Honor thy father and mother’.” (HOLÝ, 1996, p.66)⁵

Holý’s text implies that the answer to the question ‘What did emigrants betrayed (in the eyes of Czechs)?’ lies in the relation of individual’s to a “whole” – the nation, the homeland, the country, the family. This thesis is trying to outline what is considered as the “whole” which was betrayed by emigrants in the Czech context⁶.

⁴ Ladislav Holý, an important Czech anthropologist, was born in 1933. He studied ethnography and prehistory. After emigration in 1968 he directed the Livingston museum in Zambia, than he became a lecturer in Great Britain (Belfast, St. Andrew).

⁵ Holý’s critique of the Czech society in the book titled *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation* is outstanding especially for the detachment with which he depicts and analyzes the roots of the Czech traditions and images of the contemporary (post-revolution) Czech milieu. The authors of a book review describe Holý’s reflection as follows:

“Without being tied too much with the reality, he describes it with a distance, from a higher perspective, which allows him an undivided view and a more thorough understanding of relations between phenomena of the late normalization and transformational era of our history. He is coming from a different cultural circle, which liberates him from the narrowness of sentimental identification with the local culture and the necessity to paint it pink. Only the cold outside perception reveals the real motives, attitudes, concepts, classifies images and self-images, which Czechs are having about themselves.” (ÚSTAV PRO STUDIUM TOTALITNÍCH REŽIMŮ, n.d.)

It is the rather bitter confrontation of the ‘different cultural circle’ and the original/newfound cultural circle which made the Holý’s publication a great illustration of the clash experienced by many reemigrants to the homeland (and one of the most cited texts related to the Czech national identity).

⁶ For a definition of the ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’ see the Annex II. The author of this thesis briefly summarizes the conception of these two terms as defined by Arnošt Gellner. Essential characteristics of the construction of the Czech national identity are examined within the contextualization of the findings.

3. RESEARCH STRATEGY

3.1 Methodological framework

The research is constructivist in ontological terms and is conducted in the framework of theory of 'New Historicism'. Following the essential characteristics of ontology, specifically the constructivist position, the research is based on the presumption that the social reality is formed and continuously shaped by social actors. In opposition to the objectivist position, it is assumed here that the social reality, which is in this case the conception of emigration as betrayal, is not independent of social actors (such as the historical, social, political and cultural context). This research is thus examining the role of these social actors within the given reality. It means that the author argues that the perception of betrayal in relation to emigration from communist Czechoslovakia as social reality was constructed by specific agents and is trying to explore the impact of individual agents over time. In relation to the above mentioned approach, the framework of the 'New Historicism' theory will help to survey the resources used in this thesis in the light of historical, political, social and cultural context and other circumstances which are important for understanding of the meaning and for conducting a proper analysis of the included information.

3.2 Research design

The idea behind this research originated at the beginning of 2010 within the JMMIR course Theorising Migration I: Theorising Migration and Borders, led by Dr. Jure Gombač. A final paper to this course was entitled *Borders Crossed from Inside: The Case of Czechoslovak Emigree in Canada* and some ideas from the paper has been transferred to this thesis. Also a final paper to another course, Migration and Small Nations: The Slovenian E/Immigrants between Tradition and Contemporary, supervised by Dr. Kristina Toplak, was focused on emigration from Czechoslovakia. Its' title was *Art as a Reason for Flight: The Case of Czechoslovakia* and it examined an important factor of emigration – the freedom of artistic expression. The very first draft of the research was delivered in June 2010 within the course Research Methodology for Transcultural Contexts under the guidance of Dr. Lydia Potts. Further, the research paper with the title *Exile as Betrayal: Discourse on post-1968 Emigration from Czechoslovakia* was produced within the same course. On 6th October 2012, the topic of the thesis was presented by the author within an international conference *Challenges*

of International Migration in Europe organized by the University of Economics in Prague, Czech Republic. On 20th March 2013, the author presented the research design and preliminary findings of the thesis within a course *Theories and Politics of International Migration* in Norrköping, Sweden.

Research questions

- What were the consequences of emigration for emigrants and their family members, who stayed in the country?
- Is the presentation of the feeling of betrayal in relation to emigration in media, academic discourse and intellectual circles based on the real perception of the phenomenon by the public? If so, was/is the feeling of betrayal related to the nation or to the family?
- What was the role of the communist regime propaganda in the formation of attitudes towards emigration and emigrants?

Main objectives

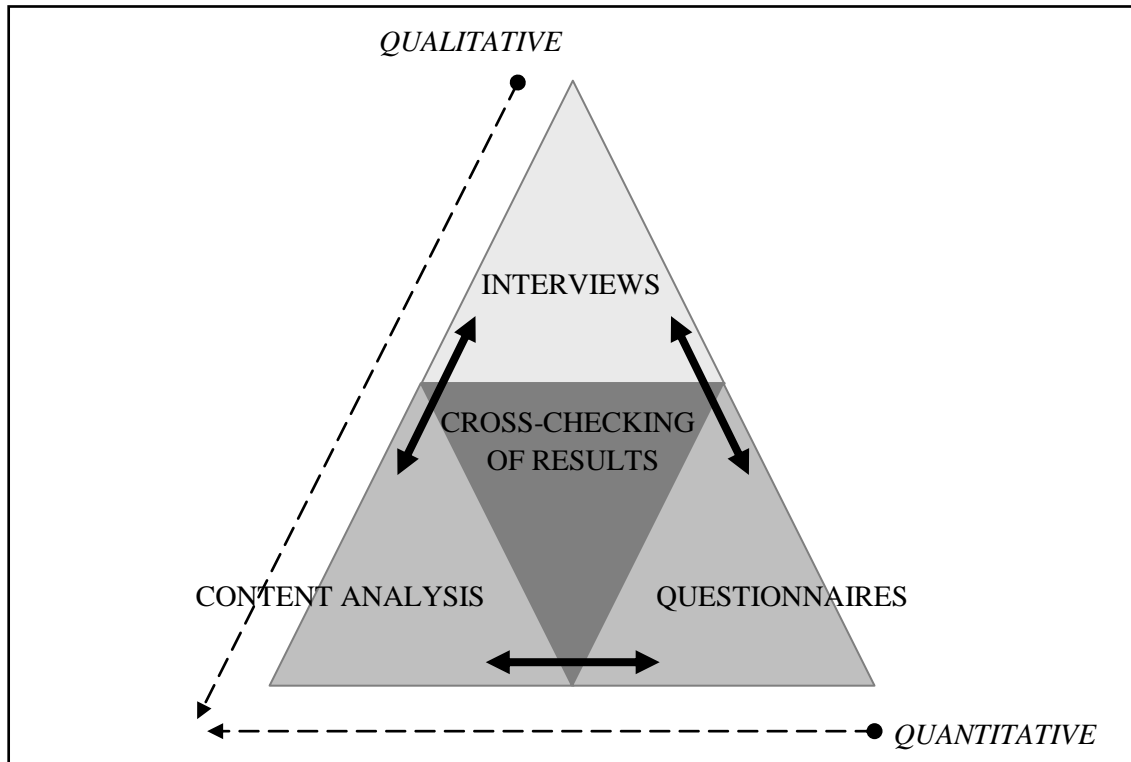
- to present the phenomenon of emigration from communist Czechoslovakia in a wider contextual framework
- to characterize the impact of emigration on Czechoslovak/Czech society
- to examine the attitudes of non-emigrating family members towards emigrants
- to define whether emigration was/is regarded as a betrayal of a nation/a family

Methods

The research is using the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. In other words, a multi-strategy approach is employed. The original research scheme was based on the strategy of triangulation, where a content analysis, interviews and questionnaires were intended to represent equally important methods of collecting and analyzing of data. Despite the fact that the strategy of triangulation has been used eventually, the author considered the volume of gathered materials and the extent of this thesis and decided to use interviews only as a complementary constituent to questionnaires and the content analysis, which therefore became the essential methods, the basis of this research. As depicted in the diagram below (Box 1), the strategy of triangulation is

providing the cross-checking needed for the verification of results of individual methods.

Box 1: Triangulation within the framework of multi-strategy approach



Content analysis

Despite the fact that some data will be quantified (such as estimated numbers of emigrants mentioned in individual resources), the prevailing approach for the analysis of data included both in primary and secondary resources will be the inductive qualitative content analysis. The author's conception of the qualitative content analysis is based on the following Bryman's definition: "It comprises a searching-out of underlying themes in the materials being analyzed [...]. The processes through which the themes are extracted is often left implicit" (BRYMAN, 2004, p.392). Hence, the author will be searching for the themes and topics occurring in the examined literature and resources, while leaving the methods of extraction rather open without a strict delimitation as in case of quantitative methods (as for example in case of the questionnaires, as shown below). The author will focus on the occurrence of the themes broadly defined as follows:

- estimated extent of emigration

- emigration as a betrayal of nation, family
- attitudes towards emigrants in the Czechoslovak/Czech societies
- frequency of occurrence of individual themes

Following the approach of ‘New Historicism’, it is also important to take into account the type of resources and the relation of authors of surveyed materials towards the topic, because both aspects might play a role in differentiating between the objective and subjective, official and public or intellectual and popular levels of the surveyed phenomenon. Relations of authors towards the topic are divided into the categories (which can sometimes be difficult to determine):

- author is a Czech emigrant, re-emigrant
- author is a Czech, who did not emigrate
- author is a foreigner

The resources are divided into following categories:

- academic literature
- popular resources (memoires, TV documents)
- internet discussions
- newspaper articles, TV news
- official documents (legal acts etc.)

The results of the content analysis will be included in all further chapters and the overall summary will be given in the chapter 8 together with results of other two methods.

Interviews

As mentioned above, interviews represent only a complementary method of data gathering and analysis. The author conducted two interviews which, obviously, cannot be considered as a representative sample. However, the author believes that both interviews stand for a relevant additional value within the research. The two interviews are qualitative (in-depth), which provided space for more open and detailed answers and gave respondents the opportunity to express their personal perspectives. This approach has been chosen in order to learn not only the direct answers to the set of questions, but also to find out what is important and relevant for interviewees in relation to the researched topic. In a way, the author became a listener who, by asking questions, supported the will of respondents to share their experiences and personal attitudes and who listened to what they want to say.

Box 2: Interview I - summary

<i>Method:</i>	Unstructured interview
<i>Interviewer:</i>	Anna Maršíková (author)
<i>Interviewees:</i>	E. M. and J. M.
<i>Position of interviewees:</i>	Family members of a person, who emigrated from Czechoslovakia to Canada in 1968
<i>Recording method:</i>	Digital voice recorder (Olympus WS-650S)
<i>Date:</i>	24-01-2010
<i>Duration:</i>	1 hour 5 minutes
<i>Setting:</i>	Jiřice u Humpolce, Czech Republic – family house, informal setting
<i>Language:</i>	Czech – informal, sometimes incoherent (repeating words, expressions, frequent pauses)
<i>Implementation to the thesis:</i>	In the form of excerpts in the text of the thesis; Transcribed and stylistically adapted interview in the Annex IX.
<i>Notes:</i>	<p>Upon the request of interviewees to stay in anonymity, only initials of their names are used. Persons included in the interview:</p> <p>E. M. and J. M. are grandparents of the author E. M. is wife of J. M. D. K. is brother of E. M. who emigrated to Canada in 1968 M. K. is wife of D. K. D. H. is brother of M. K who emigrated in 1968 J. K. is brother of E. M. and D. K. T. M. is father of the author, son of E. M. and J. M. R. K. is son of J. K. Adam is son of D. K. and M. K. Dana is daughter of D. K. and M. K.</p> <p>Names of D. K.'s children are replaced by randomly selected names.</p>
<i>Reference in the text:</i>	(E. M. and J. M., 2010)
<i>Reference:</i>	E. M. and J. M., 2010. <i>Interview on emigration</i> . Interviewed by Anna Maršíková. [audio recording] Jiřice u Humpolce, Czech Republic, 24-01-2010.

The first interview was conducted even before the first draft of the research design, in January 2010. It served as an introductory probe for a final paper within JMMIR course, but it resulted into an important source of information and basically became an impulse for further research. The interview with author's grandparents, E. M. and J. M., was focused on their memories connected with the emigration of the interviewee's brother, who left the country in 1968 with his wife and two small children. The interview was unstructured, only with defined basic areas of interest. In its form, it was close to a life history interviewing, because – among other aspects – excerpts of personal correspondence were quoted (life history method, see BRYMAN, 2004, pp.322-323). The interview took place in a family setting, in a house of author's grandparents. Despite the informal and generally relaxed atmosphere, at the very beginning interviewees did not feel comfortable being recorded. After a detailed explanation of the purpose of the interview and description of technicalities, the initial discomfort disappeared. It was also obvious during the interview that it is not easy for the interviewees to talk about some moments of the family history, even though they came up with those moments themselves. Upon the request, some personal stories were not included into the transcription used in this thesis. Twice the interview was interrupted by another family member. For the third time the interview was interrupted when the interviewee went for the personal correspondence related to the topic. However, the breaks did not influence the continuity of responses. The language (Czech) was very unofficial, sometimes incoherent and difficult for transcribing. On several occasions, the interviewees developed dialogues between themselves. In such cases, the interviewer did not interfere and let the dialogue to evolve in order to get as much additional information as possible. The transcription of the interview is enclosed in the Annex IX. The text in the annex is a translation from Czech to English. It is a shortened version of the interview and it has been stylistically adapted. Nevertheless, the content is fully preserved, only for example repeating words or expressions were left out. Parts including the personal stories or segments irrelevant to the research were removed. Also, in few cases, the order of individual segments (small fragments) was changed with the aim to present the story to a reader in a more compact form – from reasons of emigration, through the process of emigration and its consequences to the question of return.

Box 3: Interview II - summary

<i>Method:</i>	Semi-structured interview
<i>Interviewer:</i>	Anna Maršíková (author)
<i>Interviewee:</i>	J. R.
<i>Position of interviewee:</i>	Person, who emigrated to the USA in 1969 and returned to the Czech Republic after the fall of Communism
<i>Recording method:</i>	Digital voice recorder (Olympus WS-650S)
<i>Date:</i>	18-05-2011
<i>Duration:</i>	36 minutes
<i>Setting:</i>	České Budějovice, Czech Republic – office at the Faculty of Education, rather formal setting
<i>Language:</i>	Czech – formal language
<i>Implementation to the thesis:</i>	In the form of excerpts in the text of the thesis
<i>Notes:</i>	Upon the request of the interviewee only her initials are used. The initial set of questions: What is your perception of the concept of emigration as betrayal? Do you have any personal experience related to this concept? How did it feel to know that you probably would not be able to come back any time soon? How did your family perceive your emigration? Do you know if your family experienced some kind of problems on the basis of your emigration? What did you experience after the return to the Czech Republic?
<i>Reference in the text:</i>	(J. R., 2011)
<i>Reference:</i>	J. R., 2011. <i>Interview on emigration</i> . Interviewed by Anna Maršíková. [audio recording] České Budějovice, Czech Republic, 18-05-2011.

The second interview was conducted in May 2011 with J. R., a re-emigrant who left Czechoslovakia in 1969 with her husband, when she was 27. The interview was focused on the process of returning to the homeland after almost 25 years in the USA. Because of the fact that J. R. spent her professional career in emigration and in the academic sphere, the aim and the focus of the interview were different from the one with emigrant's family members. The interview with J. R. was semi-structured with following set of initial questions: What is your perception of the concept of emigration as betrayal? Do you have any personal experience related to this concept? How did it feel to know that you probably were not able to come back any time soon? How did your family perceive your emigration? Do you know if your family experienced some kind of problems connected to your emigration? What did you experience after the return to the Czech Republic? Also the setting was different, more official. The interview took place in the author's office. After the assurance that only initials will be used in the research, the interviewee had no problem being recorded. During the interview, it was obvious that the interviewee has experience in public speeches. The language (Czech) was rather formal and answers were fluent. In spite of the professional approach of both the interviewee and the interviewer, the interviewee was very open and answered all the questions without hesitation, even if the question was more personal. This might have been given by two factors. First, J. R. described herself as being open-minded and "very sociable, rather optimistic, active" (J. R., 2011), which are indeed qualities facilitating any conversation. Second, the author had a pleasure to meet J. R. on several occasions within the mutual cooperation on a project before, which means that a relation has been established prior to the interview itself. Excerpts of this interview are used directly in the text of this thesis.

Questionnaires

The research is based on two versions of questionnaires, which vary in the objective and the target group (see below). This quantitative method was used with the aim to gather a larger volume of data that could serve as a basis for this thesis. Even though the preparation of the questionnaires (from the definition of objectives and target groups, though the drafting of questions and consultations, outlining the layout and piloting, to the preparation of the paper version of documents ready to distribution) was more time-consuming than other methods, such as interviews, the data collection and data analysis phases were more efficient and less time-consuming. Questionnaires are self-completed

and are composed of open, closed and fixed-choice questions. The questionnaire designed for younger generation is group administered (see *Distribution of questionnaires and data collection*). The questionnaires were distributed in Czech. Due to the fact that the questions contain terminology which is transferable to English only with certain loss in meaning – as discussed in the previous chapter – both Czech and English versions are included in the annexes in order to prevent potential misinterpretations of the survey results (see Annex VI, VII, VIII and IX plus Annex IV and V for the introductory letter).

Objectives and target groups

Behind the decision to use two different questionnaires for two different target groups is the effort to gain data on the perception of emigration by two generations – one that lived during the communism and experienced all the restrictions related to the movement of people, and one that was born after or just before the fall of the communist regime. For this reason, the first target group was defined as ‘persons of the age of 26+ who lived in Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1989’. For simplification, the author refers to the questionnaires for this target group as ‘Questionnaire 26+’. The second target group was defined simply as ‘persons of the age of 16 to 26’. The questionnaires for this target group are marked as ‘Questionnaire 26-’. At the time of the distribution of questionnaires, people born before 1986 fell within the category 26+ and people born in 1986 and later fell within the category 26-. This division originated mainly from the need to set up a dividing line between the two groups. However, the author took into consideration also another aspect. In case a person was born in 1986 or later, there was almost no chance that the person could have been influenced by the official communist propaganda implemented in the schooling system – including the kindergartens. Thus, it is presumable that the opinions (in this case towards emigration and emigrants) of persons born after 1986 were formed by different agents, not the communist propaganda. The author is aware that the system or the curricula did not change overnight after the Velvet Revolution; however, if the teachers continued to use the same teaching methods, approaches and materials even after the fall of communism, it would mean that the way of teaching was based on their personal beliefs and attitudes rather than official politics (and it is one of the objectives of this thesis to argue what were the causes of the personal beliefs and attitudes during the communist period).

The connecting element of the two, at first sight distinct phenomena – emigration from communist Czechoslovakia and emigration in general – is the question ‘Is there a difference in the perception of emigration between the two generations?’. This intermediate step will help in answering the research questions. The Questionnaire 26+ is more connected to the research question ‘Is the presentation of the feeling of betrayal in relation to emigration in media, academic discourse and intellectual circles based on the real perception of the phenomenon by the public? If so, was/is the feeling of betrayal related to the nation or to the family?’, while the Questionnaire 26- is related rather to ‘What was the role of the communist regime propaganda in the formation of attitudes towards emigration and emigrants?’.

Formulation of questions and survey layout

Given the fact that the researched topic is rather theoretical, thus difficult to transfer to the practical level, it was necessary to compose a complex survey with more detailed questions. However, it means that the answers had to be very carefully formulated – both regarding the content and the language. To ensure that questions were precise, but at the same time understandable, several consultations with the supervisor occurred and the questionnaires were tested by the author’s family members (their answers are not included in the results). However, as shown in the section below, where a detailed description of both versions of questionnaires and individual questions is provided, some questions still should have been defined more clearly.

In sections, where the objective of the questions is to find out the respondent’s feelings and attitudes, the option ‘I don’t know’ is not included in the offer of responses. The author presumed that, after a consideration, everyone should know how s/he feels about the respective issue and the options ‘definitely agree’, ‘rather agree’, ‘rather disagree’ and ‘definitely disagree’ thus represent a solid response scale. The very moment of reflection upon the question was important for the research and the possibility to mark the option ‘I don’t know’ would in a way facilitate the omission of the reflection.

The layout of the questionnaires was simple, without question-answer grids or other tables. The author believes that by putting questions below each other, respondents got more space to focus only on the relevant question without being distracted by lines and other phrases. Despite the fact that this approach made the questionnaire longer than necessary, the graphically unified form might have point out that the author cares about the responses.

Distribution of questionnaires, data collection and sample

The issue of approaching the target group was also problematic. The original idea was to make an online survey and to distribute the questionnaires in an electronic form via e-mail addresses. With regards to the technical requirements put on respondents (needed technical equipment, access to the e-mail account, technical skills) this idea seemed unlikely to be efficient, especially with the older generation. Also, the low response rate was expected. As a result, the author decided to distribute the questionnaires in a printed version. Within two days (see Table 1 below) five groups of students were asked to fill in the questionnaires, one group of students at the Faculty of Health and Social Studies (students of study programmes Special Pedagogy and Special Pedagogy – Tutorship) and four groups of students at the Faculty of Education (students of study programmes Geography in the Public Administration, Civic Education, Russian Language for European and International Business and Teacher Training within various subjects – questionnaires were filled directly in the classes). After the completion of the Questionnaire 26-, each student was asked to keep two copies of the Questionnaire 26+ and to ask his/her parents/grandparents/other persons fitting into the target group to fill in the documents. Questionnaires 26+ were distributed only to those students willing to deliver it to the relevant respondents. Out of 121 students, who were present, 119 filled in the questionnaire (98.3 %) and 82 accepted two copies of questionnaires 26+ for their relatives. Out of 164 questionnaires 26+, 52 (31.7 %) were returned completed. There were two possibilities how to return the questionnaires – either to send a scanned copy to the e-mail address stated in the introduction, or to leave the envelope in the author's office at the Faculty of Education. The majority of respondents brought the envelope in person, only 3 questionnaires were sent via e-mail.

Even though the questionnaires were distributed locally, the sample did not include only residents from the region of South Bohemia. No question regarding the place of residence of respondents was included in the questionnaire, because at that stage of the research it was not relevant; nevertheless, due to the fact that students of the University of South Bohemia come from all the regions of the Czech Republic, it can be presumed that the sample covers a wider geographical area than for example a method of structured interviews with random respondents interviewed in streets/place of residence (as traveling to different cities would be cost- and time-demanding).

Table 1: Distribution of questionnaires

Group/Subject	Type	Date of distribution	Distributed questionnaires	Returned questionnaires
ZSF Intercultural Education ¹	26-	04-01-2012	21	21
	26+	04-01-2012	28	52/164 (in total)
PF Political System of the Czech Republic ²	26-	05-01-2012	30	30
	26+	05-01-2012	28	52/164 (in total)
PF Political System of the Czech Republic ³	26-	05-01-2012	13	12
	26+	05-01-2012	18	52/164 (in total)
PF Principles of Multicultural Education ⁴	26-	05-01-2012	28	27
	26+	05-01-2012	44	52/164 (in total)
PF Basics of Political Science ⁵	26-	05-01-2012	29	29
	26+	05-01-2012	46	52/164 (in total)

ZSF Faculty of Health and Social Studies, University of South Bohemia (Zdravotně sociální fakulta Jihočeské univerzity)

PF Faculty of Education, University of South Bohemia (Pedagogická fakulta Jihočeské univerzity)

1 Field of study: Special Pedagogy; Special Pedagogy – Tutorship

2 Field of study: GEVES (Geography in the Public Administration)

3 Field of study: Civic Education

4 Field of study: RJEMO (Russian Language for European and International Business); Teacher Training

5 Field of study: GEVES (Geography in the Public Administration); Teacher Training

Data analysis

For the data analysis, the author decided to use the online survey tool SurveyMonkey.com. First, it was needed to create identical online versions of the questionnaires, which was complicated by the fact that the original questionnaire was not built as an online survey. In the online version it was necessary to add question logics etc. in order to produce a fully functioning survey. Eventually, the online and paper versions matched. Finally, all the collected answers were uploaded online. This relatively time-consuming method, however, brings its indisputable advantage in the form of easily accessible and already processed data. It is possible to browse, filter or

crosstab responses, create charts and download all results. In addition, the created survey can be used any time in the future for potential further rounds of the research.

Limits of the research

As outlined earlier in this text, the research sample is not representative for the entire population of the Czech Republic. First, the number of respondents (especially in case of Questionnaire 26+) is not respectively high. The author presumes that the lower response rate of questionnaires 26+ is given mainly by the fact that the research was conducted at the end of semester and those students, who were not able to submit the envelopes with questionnaires by the end of the designated period personally, did not use the alternative way of submission (via e-mail). Also the sensitivity of the issue should be considered as a reason for a lower response rate for the group 26+. Second, the fact that the questionnaires were distributed through groups of students increases the possibility that the results will vary from results potentially provided by other groups of people. All the students are studying humanities, so no representative of for example technically oriented fields of study was included. Generally, it can be presumed that students of humanities have a closer relation to questions connected to studies of migration or interpersonal relations, which might have had an impact on the research results. In addition, almost 74 % of respondents in the category 26- were women; it has to be considered as an influential factor as well. Also the fact that university students have probably different circles of contacts than people outside the academia affected the composition of the sample of the Questionnaire 26+ respondents. Within the sample of the Questionnaire 26+, less than 4 % of respondents have a basic school education, less than 29 % have an upper secondary education including apprenticeship (without the school-leaving exam), more than 48 % have an upper secondary education (with the school-leaving examination) and more than 15 % have a university degree. In comparison with the composition of entire population according to the education, the education of the sample is higher than the average. The data of the Czech Statistical Office show that 17.6 % had the basic education, 33 % had an upper secondary education including apprenticeship (without the school-leaving exam), 31.2 % had an upper secondary education (with the school-leaving examination) and 12.5 % had a university degree in 2011 (ČESKÝ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD, 2012a). Table 2 shows the difference.

Table 2: Composition of population according to the education

Education	Sample (%)	Entire population (%)*
Basic	3.8	17.6
Upper secondary – apprenticeship	28.8	33.0
Upper secondary – school-leaving exam	48.1	31.2
University	15.4	12.5

* (ČESKÝ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD, 2012a)

Despite the fact that during the process of formulations of questions the author tried to consider as many eventualities as possible and several consultations and the questionnaires piloting took place, some individual misunderstandings occurred (described further within the overview of individual questionnaires). However, only in one case a questionnaire was not completed (Questionnaire 26+) and in less than 5 cases one or two questions were skipped. In very few cases the question logic was not respected by respondents, but this was most probably caused by the inattention of individuals rather than the inconvenient system, because the vast majority of responses was unproblematic.

With regards to all the limitations mentioned above, the results of this survey cannot be generalized, but are valid only for the group of respondents; nevertheless, due to the strategy of triangulation used in this research, the results are confronted with outcomes of the two other methods and thus represent an important part of the research.

Questionnaire 26+: Overview

Box 4: Questionnaire 26+

<i>Type:</i>	Self-completed
<i>Target group:</i>	Persons of the age of 26+ who lived in Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1989
<i>Distribution period:</i>	4 th – 5 th January 2012
<i>Data collection:</i>	9 th – 31 st January 2012
<i>Estimated time needed for completion:</i>	10 minutes
<i>Method of distribution:</i>	The target group was reached through students of the University of South Bohemia – Faculty of Education (parents, grandparents).
<i>Distributed questionnaires:</i>	164
<i>Returned questionnaires:</i>	52
<i>Response rate:</i>	31.7 %
<i>Research topic:</i>	Impact of emigration on life in Czechoslovakia in 1948 – 1989
<i>Research objective:</i>	To examine the perception of emigration by people, who for different reasons did not emigrate from Czechoslovakia, and how the emigration of their relatives might have influenced the lives in Czechoslovakia.

The Questionnaire 26+ is accompanied by a cover letter providing basic information to respondents. It is explaining the reasons why the author is asking for cooperation within the research and its objective. It also includes information on the approximate time needed for the completion of the form and a contact to author in case respondents have some questions, comments or stories they would like to share.

The questionnaire contains 30 open, closed and fixed-choice questions divided into 8 areas, including the introductory part which examines the respondents' gender, year of birth and education. The first question is related to the respondents' background, as well as to the issue in general – the question 'Do you know someone who emigrated from Czechoslovakia in between 1948 – 1989?' is important for the rest of the survey, because 1) it indicates the extent of the phenomenon of emigration by answering the question 'Do people actually know emigrants?'; 2) it provides information about the respondents' potential relation to emigrants; and 3) it represents a basis for following questions (due to the questions logic). The second question is composed of a set of sub-questions dealing with the process of emigration of the respondents' relatives. This section is rather complementary and its aim is to monitor the circumstances of emigration itself (legal, illegal, economic, political etc.). The most important part of this section is the last question (2 f) where respondents were asked to write in their own words what, in their opinion, was the reason of emigration of their relatives. The third question 'Did you or did you not (personally or someone else from your family) experienced some form of discrimination – persecution which you ascribe to the fact that someone close to you emigrated?' is related to the consequences of emigration for non-emigrating family members. The important aspect here is the factor of personal perception of the possible discrimination, when respondents are directly connecting the emigration of a relative to the persecution they experienced. The question 4 searches for reasons behind the decision not to leave the country and whether these are rather referring to the family, homeland or fellow-citizens. Questions 5 and 6 relate to the feeling of the betrayal. The author decided not to ask directly if the respondents share the feeling of betrayal in connection to emigration, but if they came across this attitude shared by other people (and if so, then how often and by whom). The author's concern was that if asked directly, respondents would probably not state their real feelings anyway. The objective of the last section, which includes 10 questions – statements, is to find out personal attitudes and opinions of the respondents towards the researched issues. In spite of the fact that the author tried to phrase the questions unambiguously, two questions would need to be formulated more clearly. The statement 'Emigrants had the right to leave Czechoslovakia and live wherever they wanted' might imply both the moral right to leave the country despite the restrictions by the regime and at the same time the legal right to leave the country (practically meaning that the regime did not prevent people from leaving). The author realized this ambiguity after an observation of

the incoherence in answers of individual respondents. This statement will thus be analyzed with reserve. Also the very last statement ‘Emigrants, who returned to the country after 1989, contributed with their activities and sharing of experiences to the transition towards democracy and to the general development of the Czech society’ has to be analyzed with cautiousness, because the statement implies that the Czech society is developed and that it completed the transition, which might have influenced the response of people, who do not believe that it is the true state of reality. The author noticed the other meaning of this sentence after reading a note made by a respondent.

Questionnaire 26-: Overview

Box 5: Questionnaire 26-

<i>Type:</i>	Self-completed, group administered
<i>Target group:</i>	Persons of the age of 16 to 26
<i>Distribution period:</i>	4 th – 5 th January 2012
<i>Data collection:</i>	4 th – 5 th January 2012
<i>Estimated time needed for completion:</i>	10 minutes
<i>Method of distribution:</i>	Questionnaires were distributed in classes at the University of South Bohemia – Faculty of Education
<i>Place of distribution:</i>	České Budějovice, Czech Republic
<i>Distributed questionnaires:</i>	121
<i>Returned questionnaires:</i>	119
<i>Response rate:</i>	98.3 %
<i>Research topic:</i>	Emigration and emigrants in the eyes of the young generation
<i>Research objective:</i>	To find out how the current young generation perceives people, who emigrated from the Czech Republic and settled in abroad.

The introductory information was provided to students directly in the class and the author was present during the time of completion of questionnaires, which eliminated the risk of a misapprehension of questions by students and no accompanying letter was necessary. The Questionnaire 26- is composed of 22 closed and fixed-choice questions divided basically into two sections. The introductory part examines again the respondents' gender and year of birth, as well as his/her background. An important aspect related to the research is whether the respondent spent more than a month in abroad or not (if yes, what was the reason of the stay), whether s/he would like to spend

some time in abroad in the future and whether the respondent knows someone living in abroad for more than one year. All these questions might represent an influential factor within the research, because it can be presumed that people, who already went abroad to work or study, are more open to the idea of emigration. An important section of the introductory part is the question ‘What are your main reasons why you do not want to settle permanently in abroad?’ (in case that an answer to the previous question ‘Can you or can you not imagine to settle permanently in abroad?’ is negative). The response scale is similar to the response scale of the question ‘What were your main reasons for staying in Czechoslovakia?’ within the Questionnaire 26+. It is therefore possible to compare answers of the two generations. Also the question ‘Do you know someone who has been living in abroad for more than one year?’ aims at finding out if the respondent has some friends or relatives in abroad and if it is relevant to the feelings and approaches stated in the last section of the questionnaire. The objective of the last section, which contains 13 questions – statements, is to examine the personal attitudes and opinions (as in case of the Questionnaire 26+). Two thirds of the statements were formulated in the same way as in case of Questionnaire 26+. Hence, the data gained through both versions of the questionnaires are fully comparable. The rest of statements are related to emigration in general, not to emigration from communist Czechoslovakia, and the aim is to gain the data which could help to clarify the influence of the communist propaganda on the perception of emigration.

As in case of the Questionnaire 26+, also in the Questionnaire 26- there were two ambiguous questions. In the question ‘Do you know someone who has been living in abroad for more than one year?’ it might be misleading whether ‘someone’ refers to Czechs (emigrants) or simply foreigners living in their countries of origin. Even though the author believes that in the context of the questionnaire the real meaning should be clear, it is possible that some respondents could understand it in other way. Also the last statement of the Questionnaire 26- (‘Emigrants, who returned to the country after 1989, contributed with their activities and sharing of experiences to the transition towards democracy and to the general development of the Czech society’) has to be analyzed with cautiousness for the same reasons as in case of the Questionnaire 26+.

Resources

Generally, it is possible to argue that there is a lack of scholar literature which directly examines the impact of emigration on the Czech/Czechoslovak society. For this reason,

the author of this thesis combines resources which can be divided into several categories. First category includes resources dealing with such issues as the Czech nation, identity and collective memory. For being able to answer the research questions (especially the one regarding the role of communist regime propaganda in the formation of attitudes towards emigration and emigrants), it is necessary to understand the shared values and to outline the construction of the Czech national identity in the context of historical events, traumas and conflicts. Second category addresses the historical and political context related to the period of communism. It includes academic analysis of the events of 1968, concepts of borders and implications of the division by the Iron Curtain, as well as popular publications designed with the aim to spread information on all possible aspects of communism and totalitarianism in Czechoslovakia to a wider public. Third category deals with the issues of migration and population in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic in general. The literature covers the reasons (political, economic, other), extent (statistics) and forms of emigration waves. The sources that focus on this part of the phenomenon of emigration are relatively numerous. It is valid to say that the history of emigration from Czechoslovakia is a well-covered side of the issue. The fourth category is focused on reemigration and relations between reemigrants and the Czech(oslovak) society. Only few authors are conducting research on relations of the Czech society and emigrants in abroad/diasporas and thus the literature on this topic is rather limited. The last, fifth category reflects on the need to identify the means used by the communist regime to influence the public attitudes towards emigrants. For this purpose, the author is combining the legal and other official documents in order to outline the legal framework and sources on propaganda and media.

For further reading, the interested readers can find a bibliography – a list of resources gathered by the author during the research – in the Annex II. The form of citations used in this thesis is based on the Harvard referencing system within the updated international norm ISO 690:2010. The validity of links to all online resources was verified on 11-05-2013.

4. STRUCTURE OF EMIGRATION

4.1 Historical context

The emigration history of the Czech lands follows the usual emigration patterns in terms of migratory push as well as pull factors, often overlapping each other⁷. Throughout the history, it is possible to identify the politically or religiously motivated emigrations (forced migration, exile), economic emigrations, and also emigrations based on the general social development. Also the choice of destinations was in case of emigrants from the Czech lands generally based on the common principles – people settled in countries geographically close (such as Germany or Austria), culturally close (such as Poland and East European countries), historically or politically close (such as France) or in countries with a better economic and political situation (such as the traditional immigrant states Canada and the USA). The emigration to countries of Latin America represents an interesting peculiarity based primarily on the need to search for alternatives to the mentioned traditional destinations.

The first more notable emigrations from the Czech lands were evoked by the religious conflicts in the 15th century during the Hussite period and more importantly after the Battle of White Mountain (Bitva na Bílé hoře) in November 1620⁸. As Zdeněk R. Nešpor (2002, p.35) points out, religion played an important role in the emigration processes until the end of 18th century. The religiously and politically motivated emigration was replaced by the economic emigration in the half of the 19th century⁹, which was fully in accordance with the migratory trends in countries of Western and Central Europe. According to Nešpor, this group of economic emigrants represent “a new type of the Czech emigration”, which in combination with the later political and economical emigration lasted during the whole 20th century and was characteristic (among others) by the active participation in the associations of compatriots and

⁷ Indeed, any categorization of migration processes is complicated, because the reasons for leaving one country and entering another one and the factors influencing the decisions are as particular as individual cases, but there are still some general traits that form broad categories used for example by researchers in order to assign specific status to migrants etc.

⁸ The Battle of White Mountain is an important event not only from the historical point of view, but also one of the sensitive moments for the Czech national identity. The battle represents the defeat of the Bohemian Estates and the reinforcement of the domination of foreign rulers over the Czech lands.

⁹ The publication *Češi v cizině: 1850-1938* (Czechs in abroad: 1850-1938) by Jaroslav Vaculík contains a very detailed analysis of Czech emigration, diasporas and emigrant groups in European as well as overseas countries (Russia, Poland, Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, France, other European countries, USA, Canada, Latin America and other countries).

diasporas¹⁰ and at the same time by the rather limited contact with the home country (NEŠPOR, 2002, p.35; BROUČEK and GRULICH, 2009a, p.12). According to Brouček and Grulich¹¹, approximately 60 thousand people per year left the Czech lands and Slovakia before the First World War (2009a, p.9). During the war, number of emigrants decreased to the minimum. After the establishment of the independent Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, it was expected that the reasons for emigration would disappear and that the emigration would stop (and the reemigration of Czechoslovak citizens from abroad was supported). However, the period when the reemigration was higher than emigration lasted only few years. In the 1920s, the emigration flows from Czechoslovakia reached almost the same levels as before the war. The economic crisis of the early 1930s and the Second World War reduced migratory flows in the world and Czechoslovakia was no exception. (BROUČEK and GRULICH, 2009a, p.9-10)

The modern post-war emigration waves are delimited by the three breaking years, 1948, 1968 and 1989. The beginning of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia, the beginning of the Soviet-driven ‘normalization’ and the beginning of the transition to the democratic system (due to the recent development in the Czech Republic and the increasing support for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, it will be the task for the next generations to evaluate whether the year 1989 represents the end of communism – or the communist regime). The takeover of power over Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union started directly after the WWII and was facilitated by the generally shared feelings of gratitude for the (partial¹²) liberation at the end of the WWII. The gained 40 % of votes (in the Czech part of the Republic) in the elections of 1946 granted the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia the legitimate share in the governing bodies (National Constituent Assembly, National Front). The rising influence of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union reached the peak in February 1948 when the representatives of the non-communist parties in the government resigned to their posts of ministers as a protest against the emerging situation. As a result,

¹⁰ For example, Vaculík introduces his book with the information that in the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic there were “5 800 Czech and Slovak associations, 330 schools and 150 newspapers and journals” in the world (VACULÍK, 2007, p.5).

¹¹ Stanislav Brouček and Tomáš Grulich belong among few authors who are conducting research on relations between the Czech society and emigrants in abroad/diasporas. Their book *Domáci postoje k zahraničním Čechům v novodobých dějinách (1918-2008)* (Domestic attitudes towards Czechs in abroad in the modern history (1918-2008)) encompasses both the analysis of reasons behind emigration since 1918 and the depiction of official policies towards emigrants and their relatives in the respective period, while using mostly the primary resources, such as archive folders of StB or period newspapers, which are otherwise accessible only with difficulties.

¹² Part of the south-western Bohemia was liberated by the US Army.

members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia were nominated to those posts and the communists fully overtook the power in Czechoslovakia. The Communist Coup marked the history of the Czech lands for several decades and completely changed the life in the country. Činátl briefly summarizes the main characteristics of the everyday reality:

“Action Committees of the National Front executed the complex “purification” of the society. People were dismissed from universities, fired from work, from security and army, also interest associations such as Sokol were subjected to the purges. Thousands of people lost their electoral rights, politically unreliable were even forcedly resettled.” (ČINÁTL, 2009, p.59)

One of direct implications of the newly established regime was a new wave of emigration (the extent and the form is outlined below). In the period following the Communist Coup, many organizations were assisting Czechoslovak refugees in the world. Some of them were established specifically in order to help Czechoslovak emigrants, for instance, Czechoslovak Relief Committee for Political Refugees, American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees¹³, Canadian Committee for Czechoslovak Refugees or Social Service for Czechoslovak Refugees in Austria, but also international organizations working with refugees were involved in the assistance – ICEM (Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, later IOM) and IRO (International Refugee Organization, later UNHCR) (see for example JEŘÁBEK, 2005).

The second half of the 1960s was an important period for Czechoslovak society. The communist regime was slowly changing in the form. The strict and severe regime of 1950s was becoming more liberal. The ‘Prague Spring’ in 1968 was a response to the big part of the society calling for better life conditions and freedom. Pavel Tigrid (1990) in his book *Politická emigrace v atomovém věku* (Political emigration in the atomic era) implies that official liberalization of the situation in society (general conditions at work, more liberal migration policies, less uncompromising censorship in art and literature, etc.) promised a real implementation of the so called ‘socialism with human face’. However, the policy development was not based on the will of a nation or the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

¹³ The publication *Českoslovenští uprchlíci ve studené válce* (Czechoslovak Refugees in the Cold War) describes the whole period of functioning of the American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees since its establishment until the termination of its activities in 1990. The author of the book, Vojtěch Jeřábek describes mainly the financing and the overall functioning of the fund, but he provides also a valuable depiction of the cooperation with other international organizations and the actual help to the refugees.

“[...] the Prague Spring signaled the beginning of the end of the monolithic power of one Party, it means the decomposition of a regime [...]. Moscow did recognize this signal correctly and in time.” (TIGRID, 1990, p.85)

As a direct response to the efforts of part of KSČ to implement changes in the direction of policies in Czechoslovakia, the Moscow leaders organized the so called ‘fraternal assistance’ – the Warsaw Pact invasion¹⁴ on 21 August 1968 and the occupation of the Czechoslovak territory, which disrupted all the expectations of Czechoslovak society¹⁵. The Invasion caused an immediate wave of emigration. The subsequent ‘normalization’ guided from Moscow caused a slow return to the previous ‘normal’ situation which became unacceptable for many citizens and represented a further reason for emigration. As for example Jiří Diamant (1990) argues, the process of normalization could not be executed directly after the Invasion. It was necessary to proceed progressively in order not to attract attention of the West and the public in Czechoslovakia. Nešpor calls this meantime as the “preparation period” (NEŠPOR, 2002, p.47). In spring 1969 the censorship was re-introduced (Prečan, 1991, p.15 in NEŠPOR, 2002, p.47), the borders were closed again in October 1969 and the vetting processes were intensified. As well, many officials of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (top members included) who were involved in the process of liberalization were persecuted and removed from office (DIAMANT, 1990; NEŠPOR, 2002, p.47).

The following excerpt illustrates the motives and mainly the relative facileness (in terms of technicalities, not emotional or other decisions) of emigration directly after the Invasion:

- A. M.: What was the reason that made D. K. emigrate?
E. M.: He was an artist, open-minded, and he was not allowed to express himself freely. Every canvas he made had to be approved by a committee, as songs and films did. His paintings were abstract, non-conventional, and he was very limited.
A. M.: How did he manage it?
E. M.: It was in August. They (*note – D. K.’s family*) called us, when the Russians arrived, they called that they can’t stay there, that there is a shooting and that they are close to the Radio. I don’t know where is the Radio...

¹⁴ Diamant indicates that the number of soldiers of the Warsaw Pact armies who occupied Czechoslovakia in August 1968 reached 800 000 (DIAMANT, 1995, p.14).

¹⁵ For further information see the book *Sovětská intervence v Československu 1968* (Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia 1968). Jiří Valenta offers a very detailed analysis of the occupation of Czechoslovakia from the political decisions to the realization. The original text was written in 1979, but new chapters were added in the 1991 edition. Hence, it contains both an immediate period reflection, as well as a distanced analysis of events and impacts.

- J. M.: They were living in Vinohrady.
- E. M.: They were living in Vinohrady and there was the shooting and they didn't want to stay there, because they were worried about the children and everything, simply, they were afraid.
- [...]
- E. M.: Well, and then they left home, to Prague, after the three weeks and, and suddenly one Saturday a truck just arrived from Prague and D. K. brought this, he brought this dresser. He didn't say anything before, he just arrived with Adam and brought chairs and some things, paintings. And said that they were going the next day.
- J. M.: They were going by train to Vienna.
- A. M.: And they still could?
- E. M.: They still could.
- J. M.: Until '69 it was like this. People could leave, passports were issued normally, you could get the passport. Who wanted, could. They were telling us to go with them, you know. So, they left to Vienna, they were for, I don't know, three days there in some camp and then some... Some countess took them, the whole family.

(E. M. and J. M., 2010)

The Czechoslovak Velvet Revolution in November 1989 was preceded by a series of events signaling the rising discontent of the society and the will of people in communist countries to go to the streets and require the change – the first semi-democratic elections in Poland in June 1989, and revolutions¹⁶ in Hungary, DDR and Bulgaria¹⁷. The Velvet Revolution itself represented an interesting moment regarding the emigration. In the first days of revolution, several publicly known people and dissidents returned from emigration to express the support to the popular movement. For many, it was the first chance to come home after many years in abroad and their arrival was highly appreciated by the public. Probably the strongest moment was the return of Jaroslav Hutka¹⁸. His emotional arrival to the Prague airport on 26th November 1989 was recorded by the 'Videojournal', the period coverage by a group of dissidents. The crowds awaiting Hutka's arrival were chanting "Už je tady" which can be

¹⁶ As for example Timothy Garton Ash asks, is it possible to call the events in those countries 'revolutions' when it was almost a peaceful transfer of power (with exception of Romania)? (see ASH, 1990)

¹⁷ Indeed, the fall of communism in Eastern Europe was caused by the combination of many factors – economic and social situation in USSR and in individual satellite countries, internal as well as external political development etc. – and the processes leading to the end of the regime are still subjects to the complex studies. One of the first reflections of the revolutions in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin and Prague was written by Timothy Garton Ash in the early 1990. The publication *We the People* brings the description of the events from the personal point of view of the author and allows to follow the development in the broader, international context.

¹⁸ Jaroslav Hutka is a well-known Czech musician and songwriter. Hutka was born in 1947 and was forced to leave Czechoslovakia in 1978 (among others, he signed the Charter 77). Hutka lived in the Netherlands.

translated as “Here he comes” (as a variation of the popular slogan “Here it comes” chanted by hundreds of thousands people during the demonstrations) (see ČESKÁ TELEVIZE, 2011). Another famous “return” was the one of Karel Kryl¹⁹. Kryl returned to the Czechoslovakia on 30th November 1989 to attend the funeral of his mother, but at the end he also participated in the ‘Koncert pro všechny slušný lidi’ (Concert for all decent people) on 3rd December 1989. Also his performance of the Czechoslovak national anthem (together with Karel Gott) at the Wenceslas Square on 4th December was rewarded with a warm and intensive applause of the crowd.

4.2 Extent and forms of emigration

The basic problem of efforts to quantify the number of emigrants from the Czech lands in the history is that the majority of data is based on various estimates, at best a combination of estimates and partial calculations or statistics. The official statistics of the communist authorities were either destroyed after the revolution, or are incomplete – in some cases possibly because of the intentional attempts to derogate the real state of emigration and also simply because of the incapability of the regime to record all the departures. On the other hand, estimates of the international organizations (such as refugee camps and organizations assisting refugees) are often overestimated. Another complication is that very often the numbers are not delimited by more precise information on time period nor on territory (Do the statistics include also numbers from Slovakia or from the Czech part of the republic only?). Nevertheless, it is possible to provide general data and to summarize the prevailing estimates.

Nešpor indicates that until the second half of the 19th century the emigration flows from the Czech lands were significant for their composition rather than for the extent. The (predominantly) economic emigration at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries represents the peak of emigrations in the history of the Czech lands. According to estimated, approximately 1.2 million people left the Czech lands in the period of 1870-1914 (NEŠPOR, 2002, p.35). Table 3 (below) shows the extent of emigration as included in different sources.

¹⁹ Karel Kryl was born in 1944, he is an author of many protest-songs. He emigrated in 1969 and came back for the first time in November 1989. After the Velvet Revolution, he was disappointed with the development, but his criticism was not accepted by the Czechoslovak society and he returned to Germany, where he died in 1994. Together with Jaroslav Hutka, he is one of symbols of the resistance against the communist regime

Table 3: Estimates of the number of emigrants

Period	Estimate	Estimate based on	Source
1948	> 20 000	Not available	(ČINÁTL, 2009, p.62)
after 1948	50 - 60 000	Not available	(PRUŠA, 2001, p.109)
after 1948	50 - 60 000	Not available	(KOLAJA, 1952, p.289)
after 1948	60 000	Not available	(TIGRID, 1990, p. 43)
after 1948	60 000	Opinion of Zdeněk R. Nešpor (based on estimates of Tigrid)	(NEŠPOR, 2002, p.42)
1948 - 1950	30 000	Not available	(BROUČEK and GRULICH, 2009b, p.9)
1948 - 1951	25 000	Ministry of Interior (not specified)	(NEŠPOR, 2002, p.42)
1948 - 1950s	260 000	Estimates of Libuše Paukertová, Swiss sociologist of Czech origin	(NEŠPOR, 2002, p.42)
1945 - 1967	36 721	Report of Ministry of Interior of CSSR, 7 th October 1974	(BROUČEK and GRULICH, 2009a, p.119)
1948 - 1968	> 60 000	Estimates of historians (combination of various data)	(JEŘÁBEK, 2005, p.12)
1948 - 1968	350 000	Not available	(MURAD, 2003)
1964 - 1967	7 408	Ministry of Interior (not specified)	(NEŠPOR, 2002, p.42)
after 1968	80 000	Not available	(MURAD, 2003)
after 1968	> 100 000	Calculations of the Neue Zürcher Zeitung (9 November 1972)	(TIGRID, 1990, p. 92)
after 1968	100 - 120 000	Different resources (for example Tigrid)	(NEŠPOR, 2002, p.50)
after 1968	200 - 250 000	Not available	(PRUŠA, 2001, p. 109)
1968 - 1974	> 73 000	Report of Ministry of Interior of CSSR, 7 th October 1974	(BROUČEK and GRULICH, 2009a, p.119)
1968 - 1987	136 876	Report of Ministry of Interior of CSSR, 11 th March 1988	(JEŘÁBEK, 2005, p.19)
1968 - 1989	> 103 459	Calculations based on numbers of emigrants convicted by regime	(NEŠPOR, 2002, p.49)
1968 - 1989	200 000	Opinion of Zdeněk R. Nešpor	(NEŠPOR, 2002, p.50)
1970s - 1980s	174 000	Demographic calculations of Libuše Paukertová	(NEŠPOR, 2002, p.50)
1948 - 1987	172 659	Report of Ministry of Interior of CSSR, 11 th March 1988	(JEŘÁBEK, 2005, pp.18-19)

1948 - 1989	> 200 000	Estimates of Jiří Pernes, historian (combination of various data)	(PERNES, 2005, p.19)
1948 - 1989	300 000	Not available	(BROUČEK and GRULICH, 2009b, p.9)
1948 - 1989	550 000	Not available	(MURAD, 2003)
1947 - 1991	578 - 597 000	Estimates of Libuše Paukertová, Swiss sociologist of Czech origin	(JEŘÁBEK, 2005, p.19)

Furthermore, Jiří Pehe in the article *Refugees in Modern Czech History* indicates the estimate of 60 000 to 80 000 people who left in the very short amount of time after 1968 (PEHE, 2002, p.23). As well, Jiří Diamant in one of his texts (1971) presents the number of 80 000 citizens who emigrated after 1968, but he does not mention the resource of this statement (DIAMANT, 1995, p.50). The documentary film of the Czech television *Občanská hnutí: Osudy Pražského jara* (Civil movements: Destiny of Prague Spring) broadcasted on 6 July 2010 is operating with the number of 100 000 people (without any indication of the resource) (ČESKÁ TELEVIZE, 2006). Probably the most reliable are data calculated by demographers on the basis of the natural evolution of population together with data from census. For example Václav Chýský works with demographic data from the publication *Dějiny obyvatelstva českých zemí* (History of Population of the Czech Lands) and implies that in between 1968 and 1969 approximately 104 000 people left Czechoslovakia. Chýský (2003) also presents the estimate that 245 000 people left the country between 1968 and 1989 in total. This number corresponds with data of Dostál (2008) and Sládek (2008) who claim that additional 140 000 to 150 000 people left between 1969 and 1989. Frank Nykl (2009) uses the number of 130 000 emigrants. Other sources (especially internet articles) are speaking about hundreds of thousands of post-1968 emigrants. As shown also in the Table 3, the difference between individual estimates is approximately 400 thousand. The most restrained statistics are included in the reports of the Ministry of Interior of CSSR, the highest estimates are presented by the sociologist living in Switzerland Libuše Paukertová. However, the most repetitive numbers are the data presented by Tigrid – 60 000 people, who emigrated right after the Coup in 1948, and 100 000 people, who emigrated in few months after the Invasion in 1968. For one thing the range of estimates outlined above (and it definitely does not cover all the available resources on emigration) is informative. It demonstrates the interest of (Czech) researchers in the topic and the efforts to map the issue. Very positive is also the fact

that researchers do not need to rely only on one resource of information, but effort have been made to use the official statistics, demographic data, historical data and data from various organizations.

While reviewing the importance of the Czechoslovak emigration, it is necessary to consider not only quantitative aspect of the phenomenon. Even if the emigration reached the highest estimates, the significance of intensity of the flow would still be questionable. Given the fact that in 1968 the population of Czechoslovakia was approximately 14.3 million inhabitants, out of which about 9.9 millions in Czech part (ŠTATISTICKÝ ÚRAD SLOVENSKEJ REPUBLIKY, 2010; ČESKÝ ŠTATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD, 2012b), the number of people leaving the country was high – especially considering the obstacles they had to overcome to be able to travel abroad – but not extraordinary²⁰. The anti-communist emigration induced what is nowadays well-known as a ‘brain-drain’. The elite of Czechoslovakia, headed by politicians, artists, intellectuals etc. comprised a high proportion of émigrés. For instance, according to Murad, “25 thousand representatives of democratic parties left to the West, among whom there were diplomats, entrepreneurs, and others” immediately after the February 1948 (MURAD, 2003). Pavel Tigríd distinguishes three categories of post-1968-emigrants:

“People, persecuted and discriminated by regime, who took the advantage of new possibility to leave the country soon after the invasion without difficulties and with families [...]. ‘Professional cadres’ – doctors, engineers, technicians, architects, professors, artists and students constituted the second, very numerous group; those people left Czechoslovakia mainly because they were professionally and existentially discriminated by the leveling and cadre politics of the regime [...]. And finally third group [...] composed of active participants of reform movement, mostly officials and members of the Communist Party, who decided to stay in the West and so in emigration after their fall.” (TIGRID, 1990, p.92)

As for example Jiří Pehe highlights highly-skilled professionals and representatives of the Czechoslovak intelligence and elite who did not leave after 1948 formed a large part of post-1968 emigration.

²⁰ For example, the current emigration from Portugal, a country of about 10 million inhabitants, is comparable to the estimated size of the immediate post-1968 emigration. The article entitled *Portuguese flee economic crisis* on the BBC News server from the 25th January 2013 says: “More than 2% of Portugal's population have emigrated in the past two years, since the country entered the worst recession in decades, officials say” (BBC NEWS, 2013). Another article called *Portugal's out-of-work advised to emigrate* from the Financial Times (4th July 2012) presents an estimate that more than 120 000 people left Portugal in 2011 (WISE, 2012).

“Many top-flight artists, writers, journalists, athletes and former politicians had to go into exile. Some of them worked actively in exile on weakening the communist regime; many tried in various ways to help people who had decided to stay in communist Czechoslovakia.” (PEHE, 2002, p.23)

Pehe’s reference to the activities of people in exile outlines briefly the basic objective with which many people left Czechoslovakia – to fight against the communist regime. However, the position of Czechoslovak exile was gradually weakened by the inner disputes and difference of opinions²¹. Despite the fragmentation of the political emigration, as Nešpor argue, the status of the post-1948 emigration was much higher than the status of emigrants of 1968 (NEŠPOR, 2002, p.42). The general perception of the post-1968 emigration was that people, who left the country in 1960s and after the Invasion, emigrated mainly for the economic reasons and were not threatened on life as people who left in the first years of the communist regime.

²¹ The role of Czechoslovak exile and relations among different emigrant groups is analyzed in the already mentioned book by Pavel Tigrid *Politická emigrace v atomovém věku* (Political emigration in the atomic era) or for example in Jan Filípek’s *Odlesky dějin československého exilu* (Reflections of the Czechoslovak exile history).

5. OFFICIAL APPROACH TOWARDS EMIGRATION

5.1 Means of propaganda

“A plethora of laws against the gathering of information, subversive connections, treasonable disloyalty, sabotage, subversive organization of a group and agitation, resistance to government measures, unlawfully crossing borders, rowdiness, rioting, forming an organization with illegal goals, illegal contacts (talking to foreigners) and defamation of the state (including political jokes) were used very effectively against those who would not conform, particularly the young. The principle was one of divide and rule on both external international and internal national levels.”

James Aulich and Marta Sylvestrová²²

The efforts to regulate emigration flows from the territory are not limited only to the recent totalitarian regimes – in history it was nothing extraordinary that cotters were subjected to rulers and local governors and only with the permission they could leave the land. Later, various official documents and laws were delimiting the conditions under which a person could emigrate. For example, in case of the Czech lands a Patent on Emigration was issued on 24th March 1832 (NEŠPOR, 2002, p.36; ANON., 1950, p.81), or the constitutional Act on Emigration (ústavní zákon o vystěhoavectví) was issued on 21st December 1867 (NEŠPOR, 2002, p.36). In 1922, as a reaction to the increasing numbers of emigrants, the Czechoslovak government adopted an Act 71 (15th February 1922) with the aim to “protect the republic against the fomenting of waves of emigration by agents of foreign transportation companies [...]” with preserving the basic right of people to leave (BROUČEK and GRULICH, 2009, p.17). However, it was the communist regime which elaborated a system of anti-emigration measures based on the legislation and supported by a wide scale of propagandist techniques with the objective to have the absolute control over another sphere of life of Czechoslovak citizens. The introductory quotation illustrates how absurd the system was (punishing the political jokes as a high crime and comparing the border-crossing to treason) and that those absurd situations served as a ‘lawful’ tool for the creation of the atmosphere of fear.

²² (AULICH and SYLVESTROVÁ, 1999, p.182) The chapter *Internal and external enemies* in the book *Political Posters in Central and Eastern Europe 1946-95* by James Aulich and Marta Sylvestrová contains also section *Émigrés and Escapees*. It represents an interesting connection reflecting the categorization of emigrants (and potential emigrants) into the same group as ‘Western imperialists’ or ‘fomenters of war’ by the regime.

The key legal document was the *Act 231/1948 on the protection of the people democratic republic*. As Brouček and Grulich stress, it was the first law in history of the Czech lands which defined emigration without permission as illegal act punishable by imprisonment (BROUČEK and GRULICH, 2009a, p.106). Another acts directly related to emigration were: *Act 86/1950 (§95)*, *Act 140/1961 (§ 109)*, amended by the *Act 56/1965* and *Act 45/1973*²³. One of indirect tools of propaganda was the issuance of the so-called presidential amnesties. Several presidential amnesties and directives were released with the objective to ‘adjust relationships of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with citizens in abroad’. The official aim of those documents as presented by the regime was to ‘give the possibility’ to citizens to ‘legalize’ their statute. The most important document was the *Directive on adjustment of legal relations of the Czechoslovak socialist republic towards citizens staying in abroad without permission of Czechoslovak authorities* (1977). According to this directive, there were four possibilities for an emigrant: first, to ask for travel papers for the return journey to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; second, to ask for the authorization of the stay in abroad; third, to ask for release from the state alliance; and fourth, to lose the Czechoslovak citizenship (*Directive on adjustment of legal relations* in POLICIE ČR, n.d.). According to Jiří Diamant, the Directive served as a psychological tool for rejuvenation of the question of the ‘betrayal’ in Czechoslovakia, and at the same moment as a tool for generating a next wave of compunctions among emigrants themselves, as the ‘choice’ might have influenced their relatives as well (DIAMANT, 1995, p.92-95).

The resolution of the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic about the approval of the above mentioned directive stated that it is necessary among others to:

- “a) to pursue the effective vetting, economic and organizational measurements of citizens traveling abroad for professional or personal reasons in order to prevent the unauthorized abandonment of the republic;
- b) to form a hostile public opinion towards the unauthorized abandonment of the republic;
- c) to systematically overcome fixed illusions in minds of people about life conditions in capitalist states and to show societal and social difficulties of

²³ Other legal acts and official documents were dealing with acquisition and loss of citizenship (*Act 231/1948, Act 194/1949, Act 72/1958, Act 165/1968, Act 39/1969, decree 124/1969, Act 146/1971, Act 206/1968*) and for example travel documents (*Act 63/1965, decree 114/1969, decree 44/1970*) (see ANON., 1950; BROUČEK and GRULICH, 2009a; PRUŠA, 2011; NEŠPOR, 2002; POLICIE ČR, n.d.).

Czechoslovak citizens, who are in abroad without the authorization of Czechoslovak authorities;

d) to reveal to our citizens and the worldwide public the hostile activities of the Czechoslovak reactionary emigration against our state and peace efforts of progressive powers of the whole world;

e) to affect citizens, who stayed in abroad without the authorization of Czechoslovak authorities, to return to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in accordance with the interests of the state.” (Part II, §1, *Resolution of the government n° 58* in POLICIE ČR, n.d.)

This excerpt from the *Resolution of the government* suggests that the *Directive on adjustment of legal relations* was issued with the intention to contribute to the defined objective (even though the directive itself does not contain such an explicit formulation). To sum up and analyze the content of the paragraphs above, the strategy of the anti-emigration (and anti-emigrants) campaign was 1) not to give a chance to leave the country to those, who are at risk of not coming back; 2) to impose a feeling that by abandoning the republic a person commits a treason (something that other persons in the country might consider incorrect, inappropriate, even unforgivable); 3) to spread a negative (mis)information about emigrants, as well as life conditions in Western countries; 4) to stress that there is a difference between the emigrants *with* the permission²⁴ of authorities and the ‘treacherous emigration’ which left the country against the will of the regime (ergo against the will of the fellow citizens, as the regime considered itself as the ‘representative’ of the people); and 5) to make emigrants to return to Czechoslovakia as a prove that all the negative presumptions about emigration were correct. Apart from the practical, legally defined implications of emigration (which are discussed further in this chapter), the communist anti-emigration propaganda was using all the media available at the time²⁵ in order to implement the campaign – television, newspapers, radio, posters (and importantly education – since the earliest years of school attendance). Of course, the language used in media was consistent with the objectives. While mentioning emigration, the terms ‘exile’ and ‘emigration’ were used only in combination with negative adjectives or connotations, such as ‘illegal

²⁴ Indeed, there was a difference, because for certain groups of people it was almost impossible to get the permission.

²⁵ With no doubt, the role of media was completely different during the communism than it is now. Given the fact that the Party was controlling all the official channels of information, a realization of the campaign was simple. The dissemination of information through unofficial means was risky and complicated, and thus it did reach only limited groups of people.

emigration' or 'treacherous exile' (PRUŠA, 2011, p.109, p.112). As Pruša argues, the term 'emigration' became "an official pejorative denomination" (PRUŠA, 2011, p.109). Within the TV broadcast (there was only one TV channel) newscasters were for example showing cases of unsuccessful attempts to cross the border or interviews with people, who returned from emigration and were criticizing the conditions in abroad (an illustrative interview can be found in a documentary video about exile, see ČESKÁ TELEVIZE, 2012a, 00:45:40). Regarding the posters, Aulich and Sylvestrová argue that they were all using very clear visual symbols:

"The visual rhetoric, while passionate, was traditional and programmatic and would have been familiar to any nineteenth-century socialist, with its images of heroic revolutionaries, mythical monsters, snakes, fat capitalists and triumphant workers." (AULICH and SYLVESTROVÁ, 1999, p.182)

Picture 1 portrays the 'treacherous emigration' as puppets in the hands of materialists, war fomenters and spies (and the church)²⁶.

Picture 1: Treacherous emigration serves Western imperialists



²⁶ The picture was used as a cover of the book *Domáci postoje k zahraničním Čechům v novodobých dějinách (1918-2008)* and was included also in the book *Political Posters In Central and Eastern Europe 1945-95*.

Such posters and slogans were distributed through a peculiar method. Every factory, institution, school, public premise had a notice board (and a person taking care of the notice board – usually a conscientious member of the Party) through which the propaganda could on a daily basis ‘appeal’ to everyone’s mindset.

The last chance (but the most powerful one) how to stop emigration was the border. Usually, a border is perceived as a dividing line, as “the boundary between inside and outside” and “things that cross the border undermine the border’s authority and have the capacity to ‘pollute’ the inside that the border is trying to protect” (HADDAD, 2007, p.119). The communist propaganda was trying to persuade the public that activities of the border control and border guards in Czechoslovakia are fully in accordance with that goal – protecting the republic. Men serving at the border were celebrated as heroes – for instance, a periodical *Pohraničník* (Border guard) was issued by the publisher *Naše vojsko* (Our army) and an enclosure entitled *Stop hranice* (Stop – the border) contains several short stories and novels about the service at the border which are depicting the border guards as brave protectors (see NAŠE VOJSKO, 1987). Even propagandist videos (again broadcasted in the only TV channel) were shot in order to popularize the service (see for example a video called *Táta pohraničník* – The father border guard, MAHDAL, 2011). In all materials, the term ‘intruder’ (narušitel) is used to label a person, who is trying to cross the border – without distinguishing the direction from where the person goes.

However, if (potentially) the aim really was to protect citizens (inside), the tool to achieve such a protection was completely opposite to the strategies used by democratic states²⁷. And this is another paradox of the phenomenon of emigration from totalitarian regime – the “things that cross the border” and as a result “undermine the border’s authority” are mainly citizens of the country.

²⁷ Frontiers were surrounded by barbed wires, electrical wires and equipped with other types of barriers and guarded heavily by patrols, border guards with dogs, police and soldiers. With reference to the research of Martin Pulec (The Office for the Documentation and the Investigation of the Crimes of Communism), 282 people died on the border between 1948 and 1989. 145 people were killed directly by the border guards, another 96 died because of the electric and barbed wires. 16 people committed suicide shortly before or after their capture. Not only Czechoslovaks died on the borderland. Out of 282 deceased, 90 were foreigners (31 from Poland, 14 from Austria, 14 from Yugoslavia etc.) (ŠULC, 2004). The system of border protection was elaborated in every detail. The schooling of border guards was provided within the Faculty of the State Border Protection (Fakulta ochrany státních hranic) at the College of National Security Corps (Vysoká škola sboru národní bezpečnosti), where the directives, systems and objectives, means of protection of CSSR borders were taught” (PRUŠA, 2011, p.121).

5.2 Practical consequences of emigration

In case that a person successfully overcame all the obstacles and left the country (illegally), usually the act was followed by consequences. The consequences were oriented in two directions – towards emigrants and towards the Czechoslovak society (emigrants' family members and friends). Regarding emigrants themselves, they were subjected to the legislation described above. As stated in the *Act 231/1948 on the protection of the people democratic republic*, the sentence for the “unauthorized abandonment of the territory of the Republic and refusal of return after the appeal” was from one to five years of heavy prison²⁸. Brouček and Grulich stress that the regime could combine the sentence for emigration²⁹ with a sentence for other acts, such as a treason or espionage, and the penalty was much stricter – in several cases even the death penalty (BROUČEK and GRULICH, 2009a, p.106). Such techniques were used especially in the first decade of the regime. The *Act 140/1961*, § 109 indicates that the penalty for the unauthorized abandonment of the republic can be 6 months to five years of prison or the corrective measurement or the confiscation of property³⁰. Another possible form of punishment was the loss of Czechoslovak citizenship. For instance, according to the *Law of July 13th, 1949 Concerning Acquisition and Loss of Czechoslovak Nationality* a Czechoslovak citizen could lose his or her citizenship by marriage (Part Two, Section 5), by release (Part Two, Section 6) or by forfeiture (Part Two, Section 7). The paragraph (1) of the Part Two, Section 7, By Forfeiture says:

“The Ministry of Interior may declare forfeited the nationality of a person who is abroad and (a) has engaged or engages in any activity hostile to the state or potentially detrimental to its interest; or (b) illegally left the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic; or (c) does not return to the country within a decreed

²⁸ “A Czechoslovak citizen, who with the intention to hurt interests of the republic leaves the territory of the republic, or with the same intention does not follow the appeal of the authority to return to the territory of the republic in an adequate time period defined by the authority, shall be sentenced for crime to heavy prison of one to five years.”

Act 231/1948 on the protection of the people democratic republic, Part 4, Crimes against international relations, §40 Unauthorized abandonment of the territory of the Republic and refusal of return after the appeal

²⁹ The law covered also cases of unsuccessful emigration, which means cases when a person was caught at the border or even cases of ‘intended’ emigration. For personal testimonies of people punished (not only) for emigration or emigrant smuggling see for example BOUŠKA, PINEROVÁ and LOUČ, 2009.

³⁰ “1. Who leaves the territory of the republic, shall be sentenced to prison of six months to five years or to corrective measurement or to confiscation of property.

2. Any Czechoslovak citizen, who stays without authorization in abroad, shall be punished similarly.

3. Who organizes the act stated in paragraph 1 or 2, or who smuggle a group of people across the border, or who is repeatedly smuggling persons leaving the territory of the republic without authorization, shall be sentenced to three to ten years of imprisonment or the confiscation of property.”

Act 140/1961, § 109 (in PRUŠA, 2011, p.268)

period of time, at least within 30 days (from beyond the seas, within 90 days) since the day of service of the demand to return made by the Ministry of Interior.” (in ANON., 1950, p.79)

In case of emigrants' family members, who stayed in the country, the repercussion had a form of direct confrontation and “[t]o be identified as a reform communist, or to be related to a political prisoner or emigrant, had serious implications for the individual and the prospects of their children” (AULICH and SYLVESTROVÁ, 1999, p.179). The implications resulting from the fact that a person was related to an emigrant had many faces. Generally, it is possible to argue that in case of families of emigrants, who actively acted against the communist regime, restrictions were stricter, but the intensity of actual persecution was dependent on several aspects. First, it was the issue of personal beliefs and conformity. If the person, who stayed in Czechoslovakia, agreed with communism or at least fully pretended to agree, the emigrant history in the family played usually a minor role. In majority of cases it meant, however, a rejection of the family member, who emigrated – the interruption of all sorts of contact. Second, there were more ‘external’ conditions such as the place of residence³¹ (in bigger cities was a better chance to keep a distance or to be more anonymous) or the occupation (in the low-profile jobs the background was not that important³²). And third, probably even more external factors and individuals' life situations, which could have been influenced only with difficulties, such as a ‘good’ neighbor or an understanding supervisor at work influenced the way in which people were treated by the regime. The basic document, which to a large extent directed individual's prospects a vetting report. This personal file, which was transferable from one working place to another, was created on the basis of evaluation of supervisors, colleagues and other people (often provided a space for a whistle-blowing and gossips) and also on the basis of various kinds of questionnaires and forms, where people were asked personal questions. Having a relative in emigration represented one of the essential issues (see for example PRUŠA, 2011, pp.174-177; HRON, 2009; E. M. and J. M., 2010).

The most serious form of persecution for relatives of emigrant was the imprisonment. Furthermore, people were interrogated (as in case of mother of the J. R. – respondent of

³¹ For example, respondents in the Interview I stated that because their relative lived in Prague before the emigration, the local StB did not pay much attention to them afterwards (E. M. and J. M., 2010).

³² On the other hand, the respondent of the Interview II indicated that her relative, who stayed in the country, was a doctor and because the regime needed people in the health system, “they did not harass him so much, but he couldn't make progress” (J. R., 2011).

the Interview II) and their activities were monitored by StB (as in case of respondents of the Interview I). The emigrant history in a family was also a reason for a discharge or degradation at work or dismissal from university and prohibition of further studies. But the regime had many other, less radical means of bullying at its disposal. Nevertheless, on this level, it was not exclusively the domain of emigrants' families, but a general state of affairs, a part of the regime's efforts to dominate over the ordinary lives of people. In order to make the existence of emigrants' family members at least unpleasant the communist authorities were employing further limitations.

The most common were restrictions on travelling. A citizen whose relative or friend emigrated had few chances to visit him/her or to travel elsewhere. Passports were confiscated and it was difficult to obtain an authorization of the journey. Following quotation from the Interview I partly shows the process and a common outcome:

J. M.: Well, we were also supposed to go abroad in... I don't know exactly what year. We had everything arranged and they didn't allow it. So they did know about us for sure (*note – StB*). They let us to organize everything, he (*note – D. K.*) sent money for the journey, we were supposed to go to Switzerland, Italy and somewhere, to Germany. And when we arranged everything, they told us in Pelhřimov, where they issued the passports – I got mad there – and he (*note – the officer*) told us that we don't stand a chance, that we will not get there.

A. M.: You were supposed to meet D. K.?

J. M.: He was supposed to come here, to Europe. We were supposed to go to the three countries, everything was arranged, it was a demanding process, but at the end it didn't happen.

E. M.: And he travelled normally all around the world, he was in Bratisl, no, in Budapest, in Vienna, once they were in Alps for the New Year's Eve and they called us from there. But he never risked crossing the border.

(E. M. and J. M., 2010)

Also the monitoring of communication (calls, letters and packages) was an effective instrument for complicating lives both of emigrants and those who stayed. Packages sent from abroad used to be delivered half-open with something missing or damaged inside (see E. M. and J. M., 2010). Letters were subjected to the censorship (Brouček and Grulich describe the system of this censorship from the retention of letters, through their opening, screening, reading to the re-seal (2009, pp.113-114)). Jiří Diamant

mentions that in 1971 the postal fees increased by 260% within non-communist countries (DIAMANT, 1995, p.39).

Nevertheless, it is needed to mention that the described persecution and restrictions were not unconditional. Mainly in the end of 1960s and then in 1980s the regime allowed exceptions, mostly concerning the traveling. For instance, parents of E. M. – the respondent from the Interview I – went to visit their son in emigration (E. M. and J. M., 2010) and also J. R. – the respondent from the Interview II – talks about their relatives, who were coming regularly in the 1980s to visit her in emigration. She ascribes this loosening of conditions to the exhaustion of the regime (J. R., 2011).

6. PERCEPTION OF EMIGRANTS BY NON-EMIGRATING PUBLIC

6.1 Current discourse

“I always care about one and only thing, which I said many times before the elections, long time ago, now, and I will say it tomorrow and I will say it after the end of elections. I care simply about electing a president, who belongs to this country, who is a part of this country, who spent his life here, periods difficult, better, best, worse.”

Václav Klaus³³

The campaign preceding the first direct presidential elections in the Czech history, mainly the second round, was to a large extent based on nationalistic and populist claims and intrigues. Miloš Zeman, who eventually won the elections and became the President of the Czech Republic, was convicted by the court for spreading misleading information and lies against the rival candidate, Karel Schwarzenberg, during the campaign (see for example JURKOVÁ and ČTK, 2013). However, it was the quotation in the introduction to this chapter which intensified the most the discussion concerning the emigrant history of Karel Schwarzenberg³⁴ and his right to be a candidate for the president of the Czech Republic³⁵, which again brought attention to the unresolved question of emigration of individuals as an act against the community. Supporters of Miloš Zeman used the opportunity to follow the statements of Václav Klaus, at the time the Czech president, and question the Schwarzenberg's candidacy because of his dual citizenship, as well as his absence in the country during the period of communism (even though he was 10 years old in the moment of emigration). The arguments used by Zeman's supporters were based mainly on accusations that by abandoning the country, Schwarzenberg proved himself to be selfish and by virtue of living in abroad for such a long time, he lost the connection with reality in the Czech Republic, thus he cannot know the problems of Czech people and protect Czech interests. Such opinions were

³³ See for instance (LIDOVKY.CZ and ČTK, 2013).

³⁴ Karel Schwarzenberg was born in 1937 in Prague to an important Czech-Austrian noble family. After the Communist coup of 1948 he left with his family to Austria. He holds Czech and Swiss citizenship. After his return to Czechoslovakia in 1990, he pursued his political career as a Chancellor of President Václav Havel. Later, he became a Senator (2004-2010) and a Minister of Foreign Affairs (2007-2009, 2010-). In the presidential elections in 2013 Schwarzenberg was one of the two candidates, who continued to the second round. For many of his supporters, he represented the continuation of democratic traditions of Masaryk and Havel.

³⁵ It is necessary to mention that the topic of emigration was only one fragment of the whole issue of questioning the Schwarzenberg's candidacy by his opponents. Some of them saw even the Austrian origin (of part) of his family as a reason for the abdication on his position, others blamed him for his participation in the government, but there were also voices claiming that he cannot speak properly Czech or is too old for the position.

subsequently repeated by popular Czech persons within the pre-election campaign (see for example PRÁVO, 2013a; PRÁVO, 2013b; NOVINKY and PRÁVO, 2013). Given the fact that Schwarzenberg in emigration openly acted against the regime in Czechoslovakia, supported anti-communist activities (for example, he established the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre for Independent Literature located at Schloss Schwarzenberg, Scheinfeld, Germany), was a chairman of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, and since 1990 has been involved in the Czech high politics and diplomacy, as well as the cultural scene, it can be argued that he is more than aware of the problems in the Czech Republic, as well as their full context. The general impression shared by Zeman’s opponents is that the accusations against Schwarzenberg were rather misusing the sensitive topic of the emigration phenomenon for the purpose of negative pre-election campaign (see for example Martin C. Putna in ČESKÝ ROZHLAS 1 RADIOŽURNÁL, 2013). An interview with a literary historian Martin C. Putna and a Member of the European Parliament Ivo Strejček conducted on the Czech Radio on 17th January 2013 shows that views of the two groups are very strongly defined. The table below summarizes the main arguments of both sides mentioned in the interview.

Table 4: Can a reemigrant become the President of the Czech Republic?

IN FAVOR Martin C. Putna	AGAINST Ivo Strejček
<p>“It depends on what the person did in his/her life. And there are people who are trying to earn money their whole life, or have fun, and there are people who dedicate their lives to what I call little bit pathetically the service to the homeland.”*</p>	<p>“I think that from a distance, from abroad it is possible to observe many things, but the authentic historical experience... [...] it is possible to gloss from abroad, but the gritting one’s teeth is from here, from this history, it comes from this country.”*</p>
<p>“[...] It means to support the matters of the homeland from abroad, [...] to lobby for it, [...], to publish Czech books, to support exiles who are in a worse position, [...]. It is exactly what Comenius and others exiles did in the 17th century, what Masaryk did during the WWI, what the Czech exile did during the WWII, and what the third exile did during the communist era.”*</p>	<p>“[...] It is without doubt praiseworthy, the work and achievements [that Mr. Schwarzenberg did] in abroad. However [...] also my conception is that the President of the Czech Republic should be a person, who was born in this country and, to exaggerate a little, lived through every minute of its history. Established a family here, raised children here, knows what are the sorrows and distresses of this country, understands its</p>

history, understands its evolution.”*	
<p>“It means, those people are not somehow less Czech. On the contrary, they are in this sense more Czech. These are the people who were risking, these are people who deserve our highest respect.”*</p>	<p>“[Try not to take into consideration that I am a politician] [...]. I am a person who was born here, who got married here, I have two children, I am a normal citizen of this country, [...]. I really wish that the President of the Czech Republic knew the Czech language, that his wife spoke Czech.”*</p>

* (ČESKÝ ROZHLAS I RADIOŽURNÁL, 2013)

Note – text in square brackets is included to provide the context.

Strejček’s arguments are basically implying that it does not matter what the person has been doing, the only important factor is the territorial delimitation and the solidarity with citizens living in the same site. In other words, whatever action is taken, it has to be taken within the boundaries of the Czech Republic. Interesting is also the division made by Putna between the “people trying to earn money and have fun” and “people who dedicated their lives to the service to the homeland”, which is fully in accordance with the conception analyzed in the chapter *Theoretical framework* of this thesis. Rhetorical questions would then be ‘Does it mean that people, who emigrated mainly for economic reasons have no right to become the President of the Czech Republic at all?’ and ‘Does it apply for emigrants during the communism or emigrants from the Czech Republic in general?’.

The role of Václav Klaus in this discussion is noteworthy also for another reason. His statement outlined in the introductory quotation regarding the stability of his opinion on emigration can be supported for example by recalling his rhetoric before the previous presidential elections in 2008. Even though the elections were not direct and the perception of qualities of individual candidates by public had no impact on the result, Klaus was anyway using the topic of emigration against his rival candidate Jan Švejnar³⁶ when he stressed on several occasions that he was not the one who left the country during the communist period, although he had a chance (see for example

³⁶ Jan Švejnar was born in Prague in 1952 and in 1970 he emigrated to Switzerland, later to the USA. He holds Czech and American citizenship. He is a professor in economics, currently at the School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University. In 1994-2003, Švejnar was an economic advisor to the President Václav Havel. Švejnar established and co-established several economic-oriented institutions in the Czech Republic, such as CERGE-EI or the think tank IDEA. He is also a member of NERV (Czech government’s National Economic Council).

TOMÁŠEK, 2008). In his short autobiography from 1998 Klaus himself indicates one of possible explanations of this attitude:

“In 1974, after a serious illness died my father, whom I loved (and perhaps I did not show it to him enough) and after August 1968 my sister Alena emigrated to Switzerland, which did not improve my vetting report neither. I haven't seen her almost for two decades. I was not even once able to travel to West since 1969 to 1985, allegedly it was not “in the interest of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic” to provide me with the exit permit, as they repeatedly told me at the Passport and Visa Department of our police. At the same time, also Livia's (*note – wife*) sister Štefka emigrated to Australia.” (KLAUS, 1998, pp.7-8)

In one phrase Klaus included the death of his father, emigration of his sister and information regarding his regime vetting report. First, a reader might subconsciously feel the association of death and emigration and perceive it as a metaphor suggesting that, by leaving the country, the person is gone forever. Second, the direct connection of emigration of Klaus' sister with his vetting report (which is mentioned even before the note that he didn't see his sister for twenty years) implies that Klaus not only sees the relation, but also blames his sister for causing his inconveniences (restrictions on traveling and problems at work)³⁷. In his text, Klaus emphasizes several times that he and his wife did not emigrate, because they “were convinced that the country must not be abandoned in the worst moment” (KLAUS, 1998, p.6). This statement as such might be from many points of view considered as creditable and also a credible reason for rejecting emigration as a way of fight with the regime. However, in case of Klaus' text (for reasons mentioned above) it is framed by explicitly negative context.

In connection to Václav Klaus' clearly pronounced opinion towards emigration³⁸ it appears paradoxical that the Czech public learnt about Klaus' intention to emigrate, if

³⁷ The whole text *Misto autobiografie: Určující momenty a vlivy* (Instead of autobiography: Determining moments and influences) is in the first place about the career development and formation of opinions and thinking of Václav Klaus, personal sections are almost exclusively in a way linked to his professional life. At first sight, it might seem that the excerpt quoted above is in the original document out of context and beyond the rational sequence, so typical for the whole work. It is placed at the end of a chapter which is describing events of 1970's and does not follow the content of previous paragraphs. However, it is obviously included in that particular chapter and not in the previous one where Klaus writes about events of 1968, because he is concerned with the impact of his sister's emigration on his career in 1970's, not her emigration as such (Alena Jaročová emigrated immediately in August 1968 to Switzerland).

³⁸ For illustration, Klaus' sister Alena Jaročová responded to his statement regarding the presidential candidate's attachment to the Czech Republic (in the introduction to this chapter) by pointing out that there are differences between emigrants and that it is the reason behind emigration which matters. She stressed that she herself feel strongly as Czech, despite emigration, and that she knows many people living in the Czech Republic with no interest in the country (see for example Jaročová in SYROVÁTKA, 2013). Jaročová played an important role in the debate, because media in the Czech

certain candidates for the president had won the elections in 2013. First, he shared this idea with students of the University of Hradec Králové (PRÁVO, NOVINKY and ČTK, 2012). Second, before the final results of the second round of presidential elections Klaus' personal correspondence was released, which included the information that he would consider emigration in case Karel Schwarzenberg becomes the president. Later, Klaus confirmed the authenticity of the correspondence and expressed disappointment regarding the leak (KOPECKÝ, 2013). Despite the fact that it is questionable to what extent the statements were pronounced with exaggeration, in a certain sense it supports the argument that the real reason for Klaus' negative approach towards emigration is not the effort to protect the country by staying at all costs, but rather a personal feeling of injustice related to the emigration of his family member.

The whole discussion provoked by Václav Klaus within the presidential elections is symptomatic of the current situation and the formation of opinions towards emigration and emigrants. In January 2008, the news website Aktuálně.cz organized an online survey asking the question 'Do you mind the American citizenship of Jan Švejnar?' as another direct consequence of Klaus' statements. The answers suggest that the ratio of respondents is approximately 3:2. While 59.9 % of respondents do mind the presidential candidate having an American citizenship, 40.1 % do not mind (TOMÁŠEK, 2008). Similar polarization is visible also in online discussions to various news articles, where the topic of emigration sometimes penetrates entirely unrelated topics. To give an example, in a discussion to an article describing the suffering of a 7-year-old girl (and children in general), who lost her home during the flooding in 2013, the most negatively evaluated contribution was "when we emigrated, in an instant 'communists' took not only my home (note – hinterland), but also my family, friends and language" by user Dana Braumann, Wittenbach (NOVINKY, 2013). This contribution evoked highly negative or averse responses³⁹. There are 204 contributions in total in the discussion to

Republic presented her opinion as one of the few voices in opposition to Klaus' arguments related to emigration (other than opinions of Schwarzenberg's direct supporters, which were common, but did not attract such attention and were perceived mainly as subjective declarations), even though Jarochová usually does not make any statements regarding the political situation in the country.

³⁹ It should be noted that the server Novinky.cz, where the article was published, is ranking among the most visited news websites in the Czech Republic. According to long-term observations of the author of this thesis, discussions to especially sensitive topics such as the Roma issue or immigration, but also politics, includes predominantly negative and hateful contributions. Also in this particular article, the vast majority of responses was negative, whether contributors were criticizing emigration, the fact that the family in question built the house in the flood zone or pointing out that there are many families and girls and boys like the one in the article. Contributors were also questioning the quality of the article and the journalist, who wrote it.

the article. Responses to the contribution of Dana Braumann represent about 10 % (some contributions from the same author are repetitive or were uploaded twice, probably because of technical difficulties). Out of two dozen of contributions, 7 were neutral, positive, or showing some level of empathy (however 5 contributions were made by same author – not Dana Braumann). The table below introduces selected contributions and the essence of used arguments as interpreted by the author of this thesis. The contribution has been selected if it represented in a certain way unique opinion, or on the contrary a commonly shared opinion, or somehow radical view. The aim of such a selection was to cover a wide scale of arguments.

Table 5: Emigration in an online discussion

Contribution	Implications of argument
<p><i>Michal Pražák, Česká Lípa</i></p> <p>And what does it have to do with the article on flooding? And be aware that you emigrated voluntarily. Water took everything away from them whether they wanted or not.*</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Emigration from Czechoslovakia was voluntary
<p><i>Jaroslav Končák, Prostějov</i></p> <p>Only a coward and a characterless person leaves his/her country in its worst moments – and in addition makes him/herself look as a poor person.*</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Emigrants from Czechoslovakia were cowards leaving the country/homeland in difficult period ➤ Emigrants are pretending to be martyrs
<p><i>Tom Bukovský, Polná</i></p> <p>Dana Braumann... well, if someone is fleeing own homeland as a coward and then adopt a surname of Heydrich's tribe, s/he can't be surprised by anything.*</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Emigrants from Czechoslovakia were cowards leaving the country/homeland in difficult period ➤ Emigrants are traitors
<p><i>Josef Kulich, Praha</i></p> <p>Communists did not take you anything. Only you took everything from yourself. Emigration is a voluntary decision, not an unexpected natural disaster!!! You went to seek something better, so shut up. You are good for a beating-up. I am a peaceful person, but I hate bullshits like this.*</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Emigration from Czechoslovakia was voluntary ➤ Emigrants are opportunists seeking something better
<p><i>Blanka Klempířová, Nové Město na Moravě</i></p> <p>I don't know under what circumstances you "had" to emigrate, but if it was your decision, don't mention it here now!!! I don't like when every emigrant, who out of his/her own will "sought</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Emigrants are opportunists seeking something better ➤ Emigrants are pretending to be martyrs

<p>something better” is now pretending to be a martyr!!! (And it was you who left the family and friends here.)*</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Emigrants are to be blamed for abandoning family
<p><i>Eva Šetinová, Nejde</i></p> <p>First, it does not belong in here and second, it was only your mistake, your pity. You could have stayed here as every decent person.*</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Emigration from Czechoslovakia was voluntary
<p><i>Božena Vytasilová, Praha</i></p> <p>It is a question whether someone emigrated voluntarily or not. He could have serious reasons, such as a bad “vetting report”, [...]. There were adventurers among emigrants, but also the elite of the nation and it was a huge loss for the society. Me personally, I would not take the risk, because I would harm the rest of my family at home, even though I was quite skilled in languages. [...]*</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ There are differences among emigrants ➤ Emigration of national elite was a loss for society ➤ Emigration harmed family
<p><i>Blanka Adámková, Praha</i></p> <p>[As a reaction to Jaroslav Končák] You are a very silly person – you have no idea how some people suffered here – their children could not attend schools, they were monitored and harassed by StB – I fully approve that people were fleeing for their lives – and I regret up until now that I didn’t do it as well.*</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ People had the right to emigrate, because they were threatened by the regime

* (NOVINKY, 2013)

In order to make general conclusions, it would be necessary to deeply analyze more discussions and more contributions. However, the range of arguments outlined in the Table 5 is in accordance with orientation of the debate around the presidential elections, as well as the reflection of the public opinion on emigration in academic literature. The level of negativity in contributions in this particular article might be supported by the sensitivity of the article’s topic and the fact that the connection of emigration and flooding was not relevant, but since the general discourse concerning emigration is using similar arguments, it can be argued that rather inappropriate placement of the contribution was only playing a role of an incentive for the discussion and that within a more relevant setting, the result would be comparable.

Jiřina Šiklová argues that the current generation does not share such a negative view on emigration. In an interview for the Czech Radio Šiklová stated that the possibility to travel abroad reinforced the perception of emigration as a normal part of lives among the young generation and that “[t]he young generation does not simply perceive” exile

and emigration, in comparison with the older generation which sees exile and (re)emigration as problematic (Šiklová in ŠTRÁFELDOVÁ, 2004). However, by peculiar coincidence, 4 years later Jiřina Šiklová faced a confrontation which suggests that this assumption cannot be taken for granted. In April 2012, Šiklová participated in a TV debate about the direct presidential elections within the program *Máte slovo* (Have your word). Šiklová represented a team speaking against the direct elections (together with Jiří Čunek, Senator, and a ‘representative of the people’ Veronika Černá, student). In a team speaking for the direct elections was Jiří Dientsbier (Senator), Miloš Zeman (candidate for the president) and Dominik Ivanič (student). And it was the student Dominik Ivanič, who at the end of discussion brought the topic of presidential candidates’ emigration history, when he implied that the relation to the country is connected to the place of residence and that the possibility to stand as a candidate for persons, who lived in abroad, should be regulated legally (which means that in a way he preceded the campaign of Miloš Zeman mentioned earlier in this chapter) (ČESKÁ TELEVIZE, 2012b). The perception of emigration by both generations is described further in this chapter and analyzed in the subsequent section.

In one sphere, a positive direction starts to emerge – in education. For example, a set of publications intended for the use of wider public and students was published. Publications such as *Příběhy bezpráví: Kapitoly z československé historie 1948-1989* (Stories of injustice: Chapters from the Czechoslovak history 1948-1989, 2008), *Mýty o socialistických časech* (Myths about the socialist era, 2010), *Naše normalizace* (Our normalization, 2011) or *Abeceda reálného socialismu* (Alphabet of the real socialism, 2011) reflect mainly on the common myths and stereotypes that are shared by many citizens and are transferred to the young generation which leads to the idealization of the totalitarian regime. Only recently the period of communism in Czechoslovakia became the topic of interest within the schooling curricula and in many ways the teaching about communism is still limited to political level of events. However, mentioned publications introduce also aspects of the era important for ordinary lives of inhabitants of Czechoslovakia, which is needed for the deeper understanding of the whole system. It gives the younger generation an opportunity to learn about possible reasons behind the decision to leave the country and to be able to analyze and evaluate to what extent such decisions were voluntary or forced. Besides the publications and official text books, teachers can draw inspiration from materials elaborated within several projects. For instance, a civic association PANT offers numerous informative

articles and also working sheets not only on communist period on its website www.moderni-dejiny.cz. The working sheets are mainly addressing the process of border crossing and the Iron Curtain (see for example MAHDAL, 2012), but it is an important part of emigration as well. Also several museums dealing with the topic of emigration, exile and borders were recently established with the aim to inform a wider public on positive, as well as negative aspects of the phenomenon, such as the Museum of Iron Curtain in Valtice (see www.muzeumopony.cz) or the Museum of Czech and Slovak Exile in Brno (see muzeumexil.cz).

6.2 Results of the survey

The relatively low number of respondents should be taken into consideration in this section. As noted in the methodological part of this thesis, the results are not representative for the entire population, but only for the described sample.

Questionnaire 26+

Background

The division of respondents according to gender in the category 26+ is even. Out of 52 respondents, 50 % are women and 50 % are men (Table 6). Table 7 shows that respondents were born between 1934 (1.9 %) and 1983 (1.9 %), with 11.4 % born in 1940's and 19 % in 1950's. More than half of respondents was born in 1960's (51.9% with the absolute peak in 1964 with 9.6 %) and 13.4 % in 1970's. Regarding the education of respondents, the majority of respondents completed an upper secondary school (76.9 %), either with or without the school-leaving examination. Two respondents (3.8 %) completed a basic school and the same percentage finished a follow-up study (post-secondary non-tertiary education). The share of respondents who obtained a university degree is 15.4 % (Table 8).

Table 6: Gender

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Male	26	50.0
Female	26	50.0

Table 7: Year of birth

Year	Number of respondents	%
1934	1	1.9
1942	1	1.9
1943	1	1.9
1944	1	1.9
1947	1	1.9
1949	2	3.8
1950	2	3.8
1955	2	3.8
1956	1	1.9
1957	1	1.9
1958	2	3.8
1959	2	3.8
1960	1	1.9
1961	2	3.8
1962	4	7.7
1963	3	5.8
1964	5	9.6
1965	2	3.8
1966	4	7.7
1967	3	5.8
1969	3	5.8
1970	3	5.8
1972	2	3.8
1973	2	3.8
1983	1	1.9

Table 8: Education

Choice	Number of respondents	%
No education	0	0.0
Unfinished basic school	0	0.0
Basic school	2	3.8
Upper secondary school including apprenticeship (without the school-leaving exam)	15	28.8
Upper secondary comprehensive school (with the school-leaving examination)	7	13.5
Upper secondary professional school (with the school-leaving examination)	18	34.6
Follow-up study	2	3.8
Tertiary professional school (absolutorium)	0	0.0
College	8	15.4

Context of emigration

Q 1 Almost half of respondents (46.2 %) stated that they do not know anyone who emigrated from Czechoslovakia in between 1948-1989. At the same moment, no one among respondents emigrated him/herself and no one's wife or husband emigrated in the respective period. Out of those, who stated that they know someone who emigrated, 21.2 % know an acquaintance, 19.2 % know a close relative, 13.5 % know a removed relative and 7.7 % know a close friend who emigrated (Table 9).

Following data are describing information about individual persons who emigrated from Czechoslovakia as stated by respondents.

Q 2.a As shown in the Table 10, the majority of emigrants left the country after 1968 – 33.3 % in between 1968-1969 and another 29.2 % in 1970-1980. Between 1948 and 1950 it was 12.5 %, as well as between 1951 and 1960. In the period preceding the Prague Spring (1961-1967) the percentage of persons who emigrated was relatively low – 8.3 %. In the last 9 years before the Velvet Revolution (1981-1989) it was 4.2 %.

Q 2.b In the moment of emigration the majority of persons was in the age group 18 to 25 years (54.2 %). Persons in the age of 26-35 constitute the second largest group with

37.5 % and persons in the age of 36-45 represent 8.3 %. The rest of groups is not represented (Table 11).

Q 2.c The most common country of destination is Austria with 29.2 %, followed by Canada and Federal Republic of Germany with 20.8 % each. 8.3 % of respondents selected USA and 4.2 % selected Australia as the destination of their relatives. Sweden and Switzerland were mentioned as other countries (Table 12).

Q 2.d According to respondents, 45.8 % of persons emigrated alone and 41.7 % with own family (meaning wife or husband, partner, potentially children). Two persons (8.3 %) emigrated with family (meaning parents, siblings, grandparents). One person (4.2 %) emigrated with a friend or other acquaintance (Table 13).

Q 2.e The most frequent means of emigration was not returning back to Czechoslovakia from a visit in abroad, which stated 62.5 % respondents. Legal way, with the official permit, was used by 16.7 % of emigrants. Three people (12.5 %) crossed borders without the official permission. Two respondents (8.3 %) do not know which means did the emigrant use (Table 14).

Q 2.f The responses to the question focused on the perception of reasons for emigration can be in general divided into 4 categories: 1) Discontent with the situation in Czechoslovakia (can be considered as mixed reasons); 2) Personal (marriage, studies); 3) Economic (seeking professionally and economically better situation); 4) Political (seeking of freedom and resistance to the regime). Indeed, in many cases the categories overlap, for example the opinion “She couldn’t study” was assigned to the category ‘Political’, because of the presumption that the person was not allowed to study by the regime. Out of 18 comments, 7 can be included into the first category, 2 to the second category, 2 to the third category and 5 to the fourth category. The comment “Immature personality” did not fit any of categories and together with the comment “They hated Bolsheviks and they managed to escape soon enough before they went nuts as the rest of us” represent the only two opinions which reflect a specific personal attitude. While the first one seems to be rather deprecatory, the second one seems to express an understanding (Table 15).

Table 9: Q1 Do you know someone who emigrated from Czechoslovakia in between 1948-1989?

(multiple answers possible)

Choice	Number of respondents	%
I emigrated myself	0	0.0
Yes – a close relative (brother, sister, daughter, son, father, mother, aunt, uncle)	10	19.2
Yes – a removed relative	7	13.5
Yes – a wife/husband	0	0.0
Yes – a close friend	4	7.7
Yes – an acquaintance	11	21.2
No	24	46.2

Table 10: Q2.a When did the person emigrate?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
1948 – 1950	3	12.5
1951 – 1960	3	12.5
1961 – 1967	2	8.3
1968 – 1969	8	33.3
1970 – 1980	7	29.2
1981 – 1989	1	4.2

Table 11: Q2.b How old was the person at the moment of emigration?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
up to 18 years	0	0.0
18 to 25 years	13	54.2
26 to 35 years	9	37.5
36 to 45 years	2	8.3
46 to 55 years	0	0.0
more than 55 years	0	0.0
I don't know	0	0.0

Table 12: Q2.c What was the country of destination?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
USA	2	8.3
Canada	5	20.8
Federal Republic of Germany	5	20.8
Austria	7	29.2
Australia	1	4.2
France	0	0.0
other country:*	4	16.7

*Switzerland, Sweden, NA, NA

Table 13: Q2.d With whom did the person emigrate?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Alone	11	45.8
With a family (parents, siblings, grandparents)	2	8.3
With a family (wife/husband, partner, children)	10	41.7
With an acquaintance (friend, other)	1	4.2

Table 14: Q2.e How did the person emigrate?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Legally – with the official permit	4	16.7
The person didn't come back from a visit in abroad	15	62.5
By crossing the state borders without official permission	3	12.5
I don't know	2	8.3

Table 15: Q2.f For what reasons do you think the person emigrated?

Category	Perception of reasons by respondents
Discontent with the situation in Czechoslovakia	➤ He didn't want to live here.
	➤ Political + economic (confiscation of property).
	➤ To try a good luck in another country.

	➤ Disagreement with the regime, travel restrictions.
	➤ Unsatisfied with the circumstances here.
	➤ General discontent in CSSR.
	➤ Discontent with the regime.
Personal	➤ Because of the husband.
	➤ Out of love – she got married.
Economic	➤ Professional.
	➤ For better economic situation
Political	➤ Resistance to the communist regime.
	➤ She couldn't study.
	➤ Desire for freedom and free entrepreneurship.
	➤ Desire for freedom.
	➤ They hated Bolsheviks and they managed to escape soon enough before they went nuts as the rest of us.
Out of categories	➤ Immature personality.
	➤ I don't know the reason.

Respondents' personal experience

Q 3.a Table 16 shows that 42.9 % respondents did experience some form of discrimination or persecution which they ascribe to emigration of their relative. Negative answer to this question selected 57.1 % respondents.

Q 3.b Most often, respondents stated that they (or someone else from their family) experienced problems at school and a ban on traveling (both 33.3 %) in relation to the fact that someone from their family emigrated. Further 22.2 % respondents claim to experience problems at work and the same number declared being wiretapped or monitored (personally or someone else from family). One respondent selected the option 'Arrest, interrogations, imprisonment' (11.1 %) and a dismissal from the military academy is stated as 'other' form of experienced discrimination. (Table 17)

Q 4.a The vast majority, 90.2 % of respondents did not consider emigration from Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1989. On the contrary, 9.8 % did consider emigration in the respective period. (Table 18)

Q 4.b According to responses to the question related to reasons for staying in Czechoslovakia, 60.8 % of respondents did not consider emigration, because they had no reason to emigrate. The second most important reason for staying is that respondents did not want to leave family (33.3 %). 11.8 % of respondents did not leave, because they did not have the possibility to travel abroad. The same number of respondents did not want to leave the homeland and friends (both options 9.8 %). No one answered that s/he did not want to leave fellow citizens. As other reasons respondents stated that they were satisfied here, that they did not have necessary language skills and that they did not find appropriate way for the illegal border crossing. (Table 19)

Q 5.a The responses in Table 20 show that 45.1 % of respondents come across the opinion that emigration is a betrayal of the Czech nation, while 54.9 % did not come across such opinion.

Q 5.b Out of 23 respondents, who came across the opinion that emigration is a betrayal of the Czech nation, 73.9 % did hear this opinion sporadically, 17.4 % often and 8.7 % almost all the time. (Table 21)

Q 5.c In case respondents encountered the opinion that emigration is a betrayal of the Czech nation, this opinion was most frequently used by some acquaintances (52.4 %) and some colleagues at work (42.9 %). 9.5 % of respondents stated that they heard this opinion from some superiors at work (9.5 %) and one respondent stated that it was shared by some family members (4.8 %). No respondent did hear such opinion from close friends. (Table 22)

Q 6.a Respondents, who came across the opinion that emigration is a betrayal of the family, represent 44 %. On the other hand, 56 % did never come across such opinion. (Table 23)

Q 6.b In the question regarding the frequency, with which respondents came across the opinion that emigration is a betrayal of the family, 76.2 % of respondents stated that they heard this opinion sporadically, 14.3 % often and 9.5 % almost all the time. (Table 24)

Q 6.c The group with the highest share of responses to the question ‘Who did share the opinion that emigration is the betrayal of the family’ are family members of respondents with 57.1 %. Further, respondents stated in 33.3 % that some acquaintances shared this

opinion. The groups ‘Some of close friends’ and ‘Some colleagues at work’ represent 19.0 % each and one respondent (4.8 %) heard this opinion from some superiors at work. (Table 25)

Table 16: Q3.a Did you or did you not (personally or someone else from your family) experienced some form of discrimination – persecution which you ascribe to the fact that someone close to you emigrated?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Yes	9	42.9
No	12	57.1

Table 17: Q3.b In case you did, in which form?
(multiple answers possible)

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Problems at school (personally or someone else from my family)	3	33.3
Problems at work (personally or someone else from my family)	2	22.2
Wiretapping of phone conversations, spying, monitoring of mail etc.	2	22.2
Arrest, interrogations, imprisonment (personally or someone else from my family)	1	11.1
Ban on traveling (personally or someone else from my family)	3	33.3
other form:*	2	22.2

*Dismissed from the military academy

Table 18: Q4.a Did you or did you not consider emigration from Czechoslovakia yourself in between 1948 – 1989?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Yes, I did consider emigration	5	9.8
No, I did not consider emigration	46	90.2

Table 19: Q4.b What were your main reasons for staying in Czechoslovakia?
(multiple answers possible)

Choice	Number of respondents	%
I was afraid of being arrested at the border and persecuted	0	0.0

I had no possibility to travel abroad	6	11.8
I had no reason to emigrate	31	60.8
I didn't want to leave the homeland	5	9.8
I didn't want to leave fellow citizens	0	0.0
I didn't want to leave my family	17	33.3
I didn't want to leave my friends	5	9.8
other:*	5	9.8

*I was satisfied here, Lack of language skills, I didn't find the appropriate means for the illegal border crossing.

Table 20: Q5.a Regardless of whether you know someone who emigrated or not, did you or did you not come across the opinion that emigration is a betrayal of the Czech nation?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Yes – I did	23	45.1
No – I did not	28	54.9

Table 21: Q5.b In case you did, how often did you come across the opinion that emigration is the betrayal of the Czech nation?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Sporadically	17	73.9
Often	4	17.4
Almost all the time	2	8.7

Table 22: Q5.c In case you did, who did share the opinion that emigration is the betrayal of the Czech nation?

(multiple answers possible)

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Some family members	1	4.8
Some of close friends	0	0.0
Some colleagues at work	9	42.9
Some superiors at work	2	9.5
Some acquaintances	11	52.4

Table 23: Q6.a Regardless of whether you know someone who emigrated or not, did you or did you not come across the opinion that emigration is a betrayal of the family?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Yes – I did	22	44.0
No – I did not	28	56.0

Table 24: Q6.b In case you did, how often did you come across the opinion that emigration is the betrayal of the family?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Sporadically	16	76.2
Often	3	14.3
Almost all the time	2	9.5

Table 25: Q6.c In case you did, who did share the opinion that emigration is the betrayal of the family?

(multiple answers possible)

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Some family members	12	57.1
Some of close friends	4	19.0
Some colleagues at work	4	19.0
Some superiors at work	1	4.8
Some acquaintances	7	33.3

Respondents' attitudes

Q 7.a In total, 60.8 % of respondents agree with the statement that emigrants were lucky to be able to leave Czechoslovakia, out of which 29.4 % definitely agree and 31.4 % rather agree. On the contrary, 39.2 % disagree (29.4 % rather disagree and 9.8 % definitely disagree). (Table 26)

Q 7.b The vast majority of respondents expressed their agreement with the statement that emigrants had the right to leave Czechoslovakia (82.3 %), 52.9 % definitely agree and 29.4 % rather agree. The disagreement with the statement was expressed by 17.6 % of respondents (9.8 % rather disagree and 7.8 % definitely disagree). (Table 27)

Q 7.c The attitude of the majority of respondents towards the statement that emigrants betrayed fellow citizens, who did not leave the country, is negative, because 88.2 % disagree (19.6 % rather disagree and 68.6 % definitely disagree). Positive answers were given by 8.7 % of respondents (3.9 % definitely agree with the statement and 4.8 % disagree). (Table 28)

Q 7.d Table 29 demonstrates that 66.6 % of respondents agree with the statement that people, who left the country, did hurt family members, who stayed. Out of the total number of responses, 23.5 % definitely agree with the statement and 43.1 % rather agree. The total number of negative responses is 33.4 % (27.5 % rather disagree and 5.9 % definitely disagree).

Q 7.e One third (33.3 %) of respondents agrees with the statement that the majority of Czechoslovak emigrants did not have a well-founded reason to leave, out of which 9.8 % definitely agree and 23.5 rather agree. Thus, two thirds stated that they disagree with the statement – 43.1 % rather disagree and 23.5 % definitely disagree. (Table 30)

Q 7.f The percentage of respondents, who agree with the statement that the majority of emigrants left Czechoslovakia in order to live, create and develop themselves in a free and democratic society, is 80.4 % (35.3 % definitely agree and 45.1 % rather agree), while 19.6 % disagree (15.7 % rather disagree and 3.9 % definitely disagree). (Table 31)

Q 7.g Respondents, who agree with the statement that reemigrants do not have the same experience as those, who lived in communist Czechoslovakia all the time, and thus should not make any comments regarding the situation in the Czech Republic, represent 35.3 % of the sample (13.7 % definitely agree and 21.6 % rather agree). The disagreement with this statement was expressed by 64.7 % of respondents (39.2 % rather disagree and 25.5 % definitely disagree). (Table 32)

Q 7.h 45.1 % of respondents agree that the majority of emigrants left Czechoslovakia for economic reasons, rather than for ideals of democracy. Out of the 45.1%, there is 15.7 % who agree definitely and 29.4 % who rather agree. Regarding the negative responses, 54.9 % of respondents disagree – 43.1 % rather disagree and 11.8 % definitely disagree. (Table 33)

Q 7.i Table 34 shows the percentage of respondents, who agree or disagree that the majority of Czechs thinks about emigrants that they left for economic reasons, rather than for ideals of democracy. 66.7 % are positive answers (15.7 % definitely agree and 51 % rather agree) and 33.3 % disagree (25.5 % rather disagree and 7.8 % definitely disagree).

Q 7.j In total, 54.9 % of respondents agree with the statement that reemigrants contributed after 1989 to the transition towards democracy (17.6 % definitely agree and further 37.3 rather agree). Somehow negative answer towards this statement provided 45.1 % of respondents (33.3 % rather disagree and 11.8 % definitely disagree). (Table 35)

7. What is your approach towards the following general statements?

Table 26: Q7.a Emigrants were lucky that they could leave Czechoslovakia.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	15	29.4
Rather agree	16	31.4
Rather disagree	15	29.4
Definitely disagree	5	9.8

Table 27: Q7.b Emigrants had the right to leave Czechoslovakia and live wherever they wanted.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	27	52.9
Rather agree	15	29.4
Rather disagree	5	9.8
Definitely disagree	4	7.8

Table 28: Q7.c By leaving Czechoslovakia, emigrants betrayed their fellow citizens, who stayed in the country.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	2	3.9
Rather agree	4	4.8
Rather disagree	10	19.6
Definitely disagree	35	68.6

Table 29: Q7.d By leaving Czechoslovakia, emigrants hurt family members, who stayed in the country.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	12	23.5
Rather agree	22	43.1
Rather disagree	14	27.5
Definitely disagree	3	5.9

Table 30: Q7.e The majority of Czechoslovak emigrants did not have the well-founded reason to leave the country.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	5	9.8
Rather agree	12	23.5
Rather disagree	22	43.1
Definitely disagree	12	23.5

Table 31: Q7.f The majority of emigrants left Czechoslovakia in order to live, create and develop themselves in a free and democratic society.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	18	35.3
Rather agree	23	45.1
Rather disagree	8	15.7
Definitely disagree	2	3.9

Table 32: Q7.g Emigrants, who returned to the country after 1989, should not have made any statements about the Czech politics etc., because they do not have the same experience as citizens, who lived in communist Czechoslovakia all the time.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	7	13.7
Rather agree	11	21.6
Rather disagree	20	39.2
Definitely disagree	13	25.5

Table 33: Q7.h The majority of Czechoslovak emigrants left in order to be better off in economic terms, rather than that they cared about ideals of freedom and democracy.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	8	15.7
Rather agree	15	29.4
Rather disagree	22	43.1
Definitely disagree	6	11.8

Table 34: Q7.i The majority of Czechs thinks that emigrants left in order to be better off in economic terms, rather than that they would care about ideals of freedom and democracy.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	8	15.7
Rather agree	26	51.0
Rather disagree	13	25.5
Definitely disagree	4	7.8

Table 35: Q7.j Emigrants, who returned to the country after 1989, contributed with their activities and sharing of experiences to the transition towards democracy and to the general development of the Czech society.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	9	17.6
Rather agree	19	37.3
Rather disagree	17	33.3
Definitely disagree	6	11.8

Questionnaire 26-

Background

Table 36 shows that all the respondents were born from 1986 to 1992. The most frequent year of birth is 1991 with 34.5 % followed by 1989 with 16.8 % and 1992 with 16 %. The year 1990 represents 13.4 % of responses. In 1986 and 1987, 6.7 % of respondents were born (in each year). 5.9 % selected the year 1988 as their option. As already mentioned in the methodological part, the gender of respondents in the category 26- is rather disproportionate, because 73.9 % of respondents are women, while 25.2 % are men (Table 37).

Table 36: Year of birth

Year	Number of respondents	%
1986	8	6.7
1987	8	6.7
1988	7	5.9
1989	20	16.8
1990	16	13.4
1991	41	34.5
1992	19	16.0

Table 37: Gender

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Male	88	73.9
Female	30	25.2

Q 1.a The vast majority of respondents stated that they have never stayed in abroad for a period longer than one month. The share of those, who have not stayed in abroad, is 84 % to 16 % of those, who stayed in abroad for a longer period. (Table 38)

Q 1.b Out of those, who stated to stay in abroad for longer than a month, 52.6 % were traveling and 42.1 % worked abroad. Family reasons were chosen by 36.8 % of respondents and 10.5 % studied abroad. (Table 39)

Q 3 The most frequent answers to the question ‘Do you know someone who has been living in abroad for more than one year’ were the options ‘Yes – acquaintance’ (49.6 %) and ‘Yes – removed relative’ (40.2 %). A quarter of respondents (25.6 %) knows a close friend and 24.8 % have a close relative, who has been living in abroad for more than one year. One respondent (0.9 %) selected the option ‘Yes - husband/wife, partner’ as an answer to this question. Ten respondents (8.5 %) do not know anyone living in abroad for a longer period. (Table 40)

Table 38: Q1.a Have you ever stayed in abroad for a period longer than 1 month?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Yes	19	16.0
No	100	84.0

Table 39: Q1.b What was the purpose of your stay in abroad?
(multiple answers possible)

Choice	Number of respondents	%
I studied in abroad	2	10.5
I worked in abroad	8	42.1
I was in abroad for family reasons	7	36.8
I was traveling	10	52.6
Other:*	1	5.3

*I was gathering new experience and trying to improve my language skills.

Table 40: Q3 Do you know someone who has been living in abroad for more than one year?
(multiple answers possible)

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Yes – close relative (brother, sister, daughter, son, father, mother, aunt, uncle)	29	24.8
Yes – removed relative	47	40.2
Yes – husband/wife, partner	1	0.9
Yes – close friend	30	25.6
Yes – acquaintance	58	49.6
No	10	8.5

Personal preferences

Q 2.a Ten respondents (8.4 %) do not want to spend some time in abroad, while the vast majority (91.6 %) answered positively. (Table 41)

Q 2.b The majority of respondents, who answered that they would like to spend some time in abroad in future, wants to stay in abroad 1 year at most (68.6 %) and 18.1 % want to stay 5 years at most. Four respondents (3.8 %) want to live in abroad maximally 10 years and 9.5 % want to stay in abroad for a period longer than 10 years. (Table 42)

Q 2.c 71.6 % respondents can imagine settling permanently in abroad, while 23.9 % cannot imagine settling in abroad under any circumstances. (Table 43)

Q 2.d Out of those who answered that they cannot under any circumstance imagine settling permanently in abroad 79.2 % stated that they do not want to leave their family and 70.8 % stated as the main reason that they do not want to leave their friends. For 66.7 % of respondents the main reason is that they do not want to leave their home. No reason to emigrate have 41.7 % of respondents. 37.5 % do not want to leave their homeland and 4.2 % (one respondent) do not want to leave the fellow citizens. (Table 44)

Table 41: Q2.a Do you or do you not want to spend some time in future in abroad?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
I do	109	91.6
I do not	10	8.4

Table 42: Q2.b How long would you like to stay in abroad?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
1 year at most	72	68.6
5 years at most	19	18.1
10 years at most	4	3.8
More than 10 years	10	9.5

Table 43: Q2.c Can you or can you not imagine settling permanently in abroad?

Choice	Number of respondents	%
It depends on the circumstances, but I can imagine settling permanently in abroad.	83	71.6
I cannot imagine under any circumstances settling permanently in abroad.	26	23.9

Table 44: Q2.d What are your main reasons why you do not want to settle permanently in abroad?

(multiple answers possible)

Choice	Number of respondents	%
I don't have the possibility to travel (financial reasons)	0	0.0
I have no reason to emigrate	10	41.7
I don't want to leave my homeland	9	37.5
I don't want to leave my home	16	66.7
I don't want to leave my fellow citizens	1	4.2
I don't want to leave my family	19	79.2
I don't want to leave my friends	17	70.8
other:*	1	4.2

*Language skills

Respondents' attitudes

Q 4.a Table 45 shows that all the respondents agree with the statement that people have the right to emigrate from the country of their origin (79 % definitely agree and 21 % rather agree).

Q 4.b In total, 31.9 % of respondents agree with the statement that the state has the right to regulate emigration from its territory (6.7 % definitely agree and 25.2 % rather agree), while 68.1 % disagree (41.2 % rather disagree and 26.9 % definitely disagree). (Table 46)

Q 4.c Respondents, who agree with the statement that no one has the right to prevent people from leaving their country of origin, represent 99.1 % of total answers (79.8 % definitely agree and 19.3 % rather agree). One respondent rather disagree with the statement (0.8 %). (Table 47)

Q 4.d 24.6 % of respondents agree that people living in abroad should give up the Czech citizenship (out of which 5.1 % definitely agree and 19.5 % rather agree). The disagreement with the statement expressed 75.4 % (51.7 % definitely agree and 23.7 % rather agree). (Table 48)

Q 4.e Table 49 demonstrates that 32.2 % of respondents agree that the feeling of injustice in relation to the emigration from the Czech Republic is well-founded (5.1 % agree definitely and 27.1 % rather agree). On the other hand, 67.8 % disagree (51.7 % rather disagree and 16.1 % rather disagree).

Q 4.f In total, 36.1 % of respondents share the opinion that emigration has definitely a negative impact on relations in a family (6.7 % definitely agree with the statement and 29.4 % rather agree), while 63.9 % of respondents disagree (49.6 % definitely disagree and 14.3 % rather disagree). (Table 50)

Q 4.g The majority of respondents believe that by leaving Czechoslovakia, emigrants hurt family members, who stayed in the country – in total 57.7 % (out of which 8.5 % definitely agree and 49.2 % rather agree). 42.4 % of respondents disagree (30.5 % rather disagree and 11.9 % definitely disagree). (Table 51)

Q 4.h The share of respondents, who agree with the statement that the majority of Czechoslovak emigrants did not have the well-founded reason to leave the country, is 10.2 % (3.4 % definitely agree and further 6.8 % rather agree). On the contrary, 89.8 % disagree with the statement (41.5 % rather disagree and 48.3 % definitely disagree). (Table 52)

Q 4.i Table 53 shows that 14.2 % of respondents agree that emigrants from Czechoslovakia betrayed the fellow citizens, who stayed (0.8 % definitely agree and 13.4 % rather agree). The majority of respondents disagree with the statement – 85.7 % (43.7 % rather disagree and 42.0 % definitely disagree).

Q 4.j 37.8 % of respondents agree with the statement that emigrants, who returned to the country after 1989, should not have made any statements about the Czech politics etc., because they do not have the same experience as citizens, who lived in communist Czechoslovakia all the time (4.2 % definitely agree and 33.6 % rather agree). The share of respondents who disagree with the statement is 62.2 % (35.3 % rather disagree and 26.9 % definitely disagree). (Table 54)

Q 4.k Overall, circa one third of respondents agree with the statement ‘The majority of Czechoslovak emigrants left in order to be better off in economic terms, rather than that they cared about ideals of freedom and democracy’ (2.5 % definitely agree and 29.4 % rather agree). 68.1 % of respondents answered negatively (45.4 % rather disagree and 22.7 % definitely disagree). (Table 55)

Q 4.l Table 56 indicates that 62.2 % of respondents agree that the majority of Czechs thinks that emigrants left for economic reasons, rather than for ideals of freedom and democracy (6.7 % definitely agree, 55.5 % rather agree). In comparison, 37.8 % of respondents disagree with the statement (32.8 % rather disagree and further 5 % definitely disagree).

Q 4.m The majority of respondents (62.7 %) agree with the statement that post-1989 reemigrants contributed with their activities to the transition towards democracy (11 % definitely agree and 51.7 % rather agree). In total, 37.3 % of respondents disagree (32.2 % rather disagree and 5.1 % definitely disagree). (Table 57)

4. What is your approach towards the following general statements?

Table 45: Q4.a People have the right to emigrate from the country of their origin.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	94	79.0
Rather agree	25	21.0
Rather disagree	0	0.0
Definitely disagree	0	0.0

Table 46: Q4.b The state has the right to regulate emigration from its territory.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	8	6.7
Rather agree	30	25.2
Rather disagree	49	41.2
Definitely disagree	32	26.9

Table 47: Q4c No one has the right to prevent people from leaving their country of origin.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	95	79.8
Rather agree	23	19.3
Rather disagree	1	0.8
Definitely disagree	0	0.0

Table 48: Q4.d People, who permanently settled in abroad, should give up the Czech citizenship.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	6	5.1
Rather agree	23	19.5
Rather disagree	61	51.7
Definitely disagree	28	23.7

Table 49: Q4.e The feeling of injustice in relation to the emigration from the Czech Republic, which some fellow citizens (who stayed in the CR) shares, is well-founded, because the majority of emigrants follows only their own economic interests.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	6	5.1
Rather agree	32	27.1
Rather disagree	61	51.7
Definitely disagree	19	16.1

Table 50: Q4.f Emigration has definitely a negative impact on relations in a family (among members who emigrated and those who stayed).

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	8	6.7
Rather agree	35	29.4
Rather disagree	59	49.6
Definitely disagree	17	14.3

Table 51: Q4.g By leaving Czechoslovakia, emigrants hurt family members, who stayed in the country.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	10	8.5
Rather agree	58	49.2
Rather disagree	36	30.5
Definitely disagree	14	11.9

Table 52: Q4.h The majority of Czechoslovak emigrants did not have the well-founded reason to leave the country.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	4	3.4
Rather agree	8	6.8
Rather disagree	49	41.5
Definitely disagree	57	48.3

Table 53: Q4.i By leaving Czechoslovakia, emigrants betrayed their fellow citizens, who stayed in the country.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	1	0.8
Rather agree	16	13.4
Rather disagree	52	43.7
Definitely disagree	50	42.0

Table 54: Q4.j Emigrants, who returned to the country after 1989, should not have made any statements about the Czech politics etc., because they do not have the same experience as citizens, who lived in communist Czechoslovakia all the time.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	5	4.2
Rather agree	40	33.6
Rather disagree	42	35.3
Definitely disagree	32	26.9

Table 55: Q4.k The majority of Czechoslovak emigrants left in order to be better off in economic terms, rather than that they cared about ideals of freedom and democracy.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	3	2.5
Rather agree	35	29.4
Rather disagree	54	45.4
Definitely disagree	27	22.7

Table 56: Q4.l The majority of Czechs thinks that emigrants left in order to be better off in economic terms, rather than that they would care about ideals of freedom and democracy.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	8	6.7
Rather agree	66	55.5
Rather disagree	39	32.8
Definitely disagree	6	5.0

Table 57: Q4.m Emigrants, who returned to the country after 1989, contributed with their activities and sharing of experiences to the transition towards democracy and to the general development of the Czech society.

Choice	Number of respondents	%
Definitely agree	13	11.0
Rather agree	61	51.7
Rather disagree	38	32.2
Definitely disagree	6	5.1

Summary of results

The general perception of emigrants by respondents in the category 26+ is positive – or rather, the positive perception predominates (it is questionable whether the overall result is positive when there is still a considerable group of people who do not share the positive perception of emigrants). The majority of respondents believe that people had the right to leave the country and that they had a good and well-founded reason to do so. The only sphere, where the perception of emigrants is more ambivalent, is their contribution to the Czech society after their return (the positive approach slightly prevails). In case of the category 26- the percentage of respondents who evaluate the contribution of reemigrants to the Czech society positively is higher than in case of the category 26+. Also, the overall attitudes in relation to emigration are more positive than the category 26-. The vast majority believes that emigrants (in general) have the right to leave and that emigrants during the communism had a well-founded reason to leave.

The majority of respondents within the category 26+ stated that they had no reason to emigrate. The family represents the second most important factor for staying in the country (for one third of respondents). About 10 % of respondents did not want to leave the homeland and the same number of respondents did not want to leave friends. The fellow citizens represent no reason for staying for respondents in the category 26+, as no respondent selected this option. For the category 26- the most important reason for staying in the country is the family as well (with much higher response rate – almost 80 %), friends (about 70 %) and home (about 66 %). Over 37 % do not want to leave the homeland. Similarly to the category 26+ the fellow citizens represent only a fragment of responses (about 4 %, which means one respondent).

In accordance with results presented in the previous paragraph, both categories highly disagree with the concept of emigration as a betrayal of fellow citizens (the nation) – over 88 % of respondents disagree within the category 26+ and almost 86 % within the category 26-. As well in case of the question concerning the relation of emigration and family, both categories follow the same direction. Both categories agree that emigrants, who left the country during the communism, did hurt family members, who stayed – over 66 % affirmative answers within the category 26+ and over 57 % among the category 26-. As the results indicate, it is only logical that when respondents selected family ties as the main reason for staying in the country, the majority then considers emigration as an act against family relation, or even a betrayal.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Recent discourse related more or less directly to emigration shows that the topic is still relevant in the Czech context. The most vivid discussions revitalizing the concept of emigration as betrayal are usually held in connection with an election to a leading position – on the national level it is the President of the republic, but it can be also a president of a company on the local level. One of possible explanations of this phenomenon can lie in the nationalist principle as defined by Gellner and its infringement. While Gellner argues that there are two ways how to cause a very sensitively apprehended infringement of the political sovereignty of a nation (when the ruler is foreigner and when the national territory becomes a part of a larger unit) (GELLNER, 1993, p.12), the author of this thesis believes that there is another case when the ruler (understand the person in the leading position) is *perceived* as a foreigner or at least is not seen as a member of the respective nation. This situation may occur when a Czech becomes a foreigner by emigrating. It would imply that not only the same culture (the knowledge of language or history etc.) but also the same ‘level’ or ‘intensity’ of culture is required in order to be seen as a member of Czech nation. This leads to the first paradox connected to emigration. If Gellner indicates that the two definitions of an affiliation to the nation⁴⁰ are not satisfactory and that there are other factors playing role, the author of this thesis argues that only with the combination of the two it is possible to define who is Czech. Therefore, a Czech must share the same culture *and* be recognized as a member of the nation by other Czechs. In the eyes of Czechs, who live in the Czech Republic all their lives, in emigration the originally acquired (Czech) culture fades and is substituted with an ‘imported’ culture which is not recognized as Czech.

Another paradox is that the communist propaganda was using those, who were forced by the regime to leave against their will, as one of the tools of campaign against those, who emigrated against the will of the regime. The major aim of the official communist anti-emigration rhetoric was to prevent ordinary citizens from leaving the country, because it represented a threat to the regime. The negative approach was supported by two means. The first one was propaganda, which was oriented towards two groups – the

⁴⁰ “1) Two persons belong to the same nation, if and only if they share the same culture, when the culture means the set of thoughts and symbols and ideas and behavior and communication. [or] 2) Two persons belong to the same nation, if and only if they recognize each other as members of the same nation.” (GELLNER, 1993, p.18)

general public in Czechoslovakia (the channels of propaganda included the education system and media, such as the TV, radio and journals) and the public in abroad, including emigrants (the objective of those activities was to subvert the exile groups, to turn the international public against emigrants and to make the public differentiate between the ‘good’ emigration – understand the emigration allowed by the regime – and the ‘treacherous’ emigration – understand the emigration against the will of the regime). To answer the first research question ‘What were the consequences of emigration for emigrants and their family members, who stayed in the country?’ it is necessary to look into the second means, which were practical measurements applied against two more specific groups of people – individual emigrants (who could be sentenced to prison and in extreme cases to death penalty, for instance when the regime qualified emigrants’ and potential emigrants’ activities as treason; their property was confiscated and they usually had to terminate any contact with the homeland, including their families) and individual family members of emigrants (who experienced a direct confrontation with the regime’s authorities as they could be imprisoned, interrogated and monitored by StB; they were at risk of being discharged at work or dismissed at university; and last but not least their chances to travel abroad were minimized). The notion that the role of propaganda was actually not so important as presented by the regime and further by emigrants or researchers can be supported by another paradox. The basic propagandist rhetoric was claiming that emigrants are only imperialist servants and that they had no reason to leave the country, because in the West people are living terrible lives. Yet, the nowadays accusations outlined above are based on claims that emigrants left the nation in troubles and lived carefree in the wealth of the Western states.

Howsoever the results of the survey are far from being fully positive, the overall outcome does not comply with the public discourse outlined in this thesis. While the analysis of the recent discourse suggests that 1) the perception of emigrants is strongly negative and an emigrant history basically disqualify potential candidate from any leading position in the Czech Republic, and that 2) emigrants are perceived as traitors of the nation, results of the survey shows that the “whole” which in eyes of the Czech society (respondents) was betrayed by emigrants was the family. In addition, the tone of responses is in general rather neutral or slightly positive.

With apart to the academic literature, which is trying to present the phenomenon of migration in neutral terms, two very strongly defined streams in the discourse on emigration from Czechoslovakia (and the Czech Republic) can be identified. The first

one depicting emigrants as traitors, materialists, selfish opportunists. The second one portraying emigrants – political emigrants – as heroes fighting against the regime at their own expense. The first group was composed of official communist authorities and people who sympathized with the regime (or pretended to sympathize). Nowadays, the similar terminology is used mainly by populists and nationalists. The second group consisted mainly of emigrants themselves – representatives of the exile, who very often based their defense on the self-definition in opposition to economic migrants, when they stressed that ‘there is a difference between people who left’. It all provokes an exaggerated question *Emigrants, traitors or heroes?* However, due to such tense debates, many participants forget that it is the basic right of everyone – to be able to leave a country, where they live.

Generally, there is a lack of resources which analyse and evaluate the impact of emigration on the Czechoslovak population which stayed in the country. But the objective information about this part of the phenomenon of emigration is exactly what is needed in order to be able to understand the feelings and attitudes shared by people in Czechoslovakia/the Czech Republic. One of objectives of this research was to present the phenomenon of emigration from communist Czechoslovakia in a wider contextual framework, because the author of this thesis believes that the only way how to understand the social reality is to include and examine as many social actors as possible. In this sense, the presentation of findings obtained within this stage of the research was rather broad than deep. Given the fact that any Master Thesis cannot be enough in terms of the extent nor the time framework for providing the full and complete picture of the phenomenon (possibly of any phenomenon), the design of this research was elaborated more in detail with the prospect of being used and further developed in the future. The author intends to pursue the research and to analyze more deeply individual aspects outlined in this thesis, especially the impact of emigration on Czech(oslovak) society. With no doubts, there are many issues which should be discussed as well, such as the forced emigration of millions of Germans after the WWII, different waves of reemigration to the country, the definition of the totalitarianism/dictatorship/communism, the role of the Soviet Union in formation of emigration policies and the construction of the Czech national identity etc. A comparison with a situation in other countries, such as Poland, would bring an important perspective allowing the contextualization of findings. Completely different, yet strongly interconnected, would

be the thesis dealing with the issue from the psychological, emotional and artistic point of view – a position which was marginal in this research so far.

In conclusion, it is necessary to highlight once again what was mentioned in the introduction – the presented text is a result of efforts to understand a phenomenon which had an immense impact on a large part of society through the perspective of a representative of generation that did not directly experience any of the outlined paradoxes. It is obvious that personal experience cannot be replaced by gained knowledge. However, by virtue of this knowledge it is possible to search for links of the past to the present which helps to apprehend aftermaths of paradoxes of the previous era. And this is exactly what the author had in mind while conducting this research and hopes that the lack of personal experience did not influence the accuracy of submitted findings.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CR, ČR	Czech Republic (<i>Česká republika</i>)
CSFR, ČSFR	Czech and Slovak Federal Republic (<i>Česká a Slovenská federativní republika</i>)
CSR, ČSR	Czechoslovak Republic (<i>Československá republika</i>)
CSSR, ČSSR	Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (<i>Československá socialistická republika</i>)
DDR, NDR	German Democratic Republic (<i>Německá demokratická republika</i>)
SRN	Federal Republic of Germany (<i>Spolková republika Německo</i>)
USA	United States of America (<i>Spojené státy americké</i>)
USSR, SSSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (<i>Svaz sovětských socialistických republik</i>)
KSČ	Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (<i>Komunistická strana Československa</i>)
StB	State Security (<i>Státní bezpečnost</i>)
WWI	First World War (<i>První světová válka</i>)
WWII	Second World War (<i>Druhá světová válka</i>)
CERGE-EI	Centre for Economic Research and Graduate Education - Economics Institute
ICEM	Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (<i>Mezivládní výbor pro evropskou migraci</i>)
IDEA	Institute for Democracy and Economic Analysis (<i>Institut pro demokracii a ekonomickou analýzu</i>)

IOM	International Organization for Migration <i>(Mezinárodní organizace pro migraci)</i>
IRO	International Refugee Organization <i>(Mezinárodní organizace pro uprchlíky)</i>
NERV	Czech government's National Economic Council <i>(Národní ekonomická rada vlády)</i>
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees <i>(Úřad Vysokého komisaře OSN pro uprchlíky)</i>
GEVES	Geography in the Public Administration <i>(Geografie ve veřejné správě)</i>
JMMIR	Joint Master in Migration and Intercultural Relations
PF	Faculty of Education <i>(Pedagogická fakulta)</i>
RJEMO	Russian Language for European and International Business <i>(Ruský jazyk pro evropský a mezinárodní obchod)</i>
ZSF	Faculty of Health and Social Studies <i>(Zdravotně sociální fakulta)</i>

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I. GLOSSARY

The aim of this glossary is to offer a basic explanation of some expressions used in the text and to introduce specific terms used in the context of emigration from Czechoslovakia. For more detailed interpretation of the author's understanding of individual terms and its application in this thesis, see mainly the first three chapters (Introduction, Theoretical framework and current discourse, Research strategy). In order to provide a comprehensible overview of terminology, the terms in this glossary were adopted and translated from the following publication:

PRUŠA, J., 2011. *Abeceda reálného socialismu*. [Praha]: Avia Consultants.
ISBN 978-80-260-0686-2.

EMIGRACE, EMIGRANTI

EMIGRATION, EMIGRANTS

“During the real socialism, official pejorative appellation of the departure to a foreign country and of everyone who did it. Usually, this appellation was used as an expression “illegal emigration”. In practice, almost every single Czechoslovak citizen staying abroad became an illegal emigrant, because legal emigration was practically not possible since February 1948”. (PRUŠA, 2011, p.109)

EXIL

EXILE

“The term *exile* was not used in relation to the Czechoslovak emigration by the official regime language. However, it was commonly used by emigration circles themselves (the Czechoslovak exile). The only expression involving this term, which was used at the beginning of 50's in Rudé právo journal, was the *treacherous exile*”. (PRUŠA, 2011, p. 112)

KÁDROVÁNÍ

VETTING

“Vetting was a process in which the political suitability of individuals to perform political or economic positions, to work in civil service, to be accepted to a high school or a college, to get promoted etc. was examined”. (PRUŠA, 2011, p.175)

NORMALIZACE

NORMALIZATION

“The process of calming and political paralyzing of society in CSSR after the invasion of the Warsaw Pact troops on 21st August 1968, which ended the Prague Spring”. (PRUŠA, 2011, p.276)

OCHRANA HRANIC *BORDER PROTECTION*

“Permanent disabling of the crossing of state borders to the capitalist world using whatever means, including firearms, electric barbed wires, dogs etc. The border protection was officially presented mainly as a protection against the external enemies. However, in order to understand the reality, it was enough to see the direction of the bending of the electric fences upper parts, and what was the direction of the border zone or the plowed soil belts”. (PRUŠA, 2011, p.297)

OKUPACE *OCCUPATION*

“Term briefly used after the arrival of the Warsaw Pact troops to CSSR together with the term *invasion*. [...] After the signature of the Moscow Protocol, the term *occupation* quickly disappeared from media and was replaced by expressions *entry of the troops* or *August events*. With the progressing consolidation and normalization, these terms were finally replaced by the incredible term *brotherly assistance*”. (PRUŠA, 2011, p.299)

POHRANIČNÍK *FRONTIERSMAN*

“Member of the border guard. The border guard recruited young men, who served there for two years within their basic military service”. (PRUŠA, 2011, p.331)

PRAŽSKÉ JARO *PRAGUE SPRING*

“Period of the reformist efforts to build the socialism with a human face, or democratic socialism and efforts to “democratize the social life”. The appellation *Prague Spring* originated in the Western media and only after the Velvet Revolution it started being known in Czech”. (PRUŠA, 2011, p.353)

PRINCIP NOTORIETY *NOTORIETY PRINCIPLE*

“It was understandable that many “members of the bourgeoisie” tried to emigrate because of the post-February regime. Later, it was assumed that everyone with the bourgeois background wanted to emigrate, even though they were not arrested at the border. At the same time, according to the prosecution, who wanted to emigrate was about to commit a high treason. Such presumptions corresponding with the legal notoriety principle enabled trials for any actions and the imposition of the highest sentences”. (PRUŠA, 2011, p.355)

STÁTNÍ BEZPEČNOST - StB

STATE SECURITY - StB

“Among the people highly dreaded, secret, non-uniformed part of the National Security Corps, which was established already in 1945, was fully under the control of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and served to control and maintain the power position of the Party and to the “disable” people, who were or could be against the Party. From the StB’s point of view, an important aim was to protect the real socialism against the internal enemy, meaning against own people, and getting information about them”. (PRUŠA, 2011, p.489)

VLAST

HOMELAND

“While producing the feeling of socialistic patriotism, the regime propaganda used the term *homeland*, and above all in expression *socialistic homeland*. Since the first contact with the educational and propagandistic system (usually since the nursery, at the latest since the first grade of the elementary school), the efforts were made to raise the loyalty to the socialism and only after that to the homeland”. (PRUŠA, 2011, p.561)

ZELENÁ HRANICE

GREEN BORDER

“Border between socialist Czechoslovakia and capitalist West Germany and Austria. The term was used rather among people during conversations about an emigration outside the official border crossings, meaning through the border in the green nature – through forests and meadows”. (PRUŠA, 2011, p.607)

ŽELEZNÁ OPONA

IRON CURTAIN

“Term used immediately after the Great October Socialist Revolution in Western media for the description of the fact that the USSR was accessible with enormous difficulties only, it was not easy to get reliable information from there, it was not friendly to the rest of the world and its development was based on completely different principles than other countries”. (PRUŠA, 2011, p.616)

The author of this thesis identified following terms included in the book *Abeceda reálného socialismu* as being directly related to the topic of this research (in Czech): Agent chodec; Agent provokatér; Azyl; Buržoazní nacionalismus; Celní prohlášení; Čára; Devizový cizozemec; Devizový monopol; Devizový příslib; Diverzant; Drátěné zátarasy; Emigrace, emigranti; Exil; Exilová nakladatelství; Fakulta ochrany státních hranic; Hlasování nohama; Hraniční pásma; Hraniční průvodka; Hráz socialismu; Ilegální přechod hranice; Intelligence; Internacionalismus; Invaze (vojsk Varšavské smlouvy); Kádrová, -é, -ý; Kádrování; Kádrové materiály; Kádrový pracovník StB; Kádrový problém; Kádrový profil; Kádrový referent; Kádry; Kopečkáři; Narušení hranice; Nedovolené (neoprávněné) opuštění republiky; Normalizace; Obstavená adresa; Obrana socialistické vlasti; Odposlech (telefonní); Ochrana hranic; Okupace; Opuštění republiky; Pas (cestovní); Pobyt sovětských vojsk na československém území; Pohraniční stráž; Pohraničník; Pokus o nedovolené (neoprávněné) opuštění republiky; Pomocná stráž VB (PS-VB); Pozvání; Pražské jaro; Princip notoriety; Převaděč; Příbuzní v zahraničí; Psovod; Reálný socialismus; Sdělovací prostředky; Signální stěna; Služební pes; Socialismus; Státní bezpečnost – StB; Strážní věž; Úprava vztahu k republice; Utečenecký tábor; Útěkář; Víza; Vlák svobody; Vlast; Výjezdní doložka; Vysoká škola SNB – Vysoká škola Sboru národní bezpečnosti; Zakázané pásma; Západní hranice socialistického tábora; Zelená hranice; Zrádný exil; Žádost k souhlasu s podáním žádosti o...; Železná opona.

II. NATIONS AND NATIONALISM

In the publication *Nations and Nationalism*⁴¹, Arnošt Gellner offers following definition of nationalism and nationalist sentiment:

“Nationalism is originally a political principle which claims that the political and national units must be identical. [...] Nationalist sentiment is the feeling of anger caused by infringements of this principle, or the feeling of satisfaction caused by its accomplishment.” (GELLNER, 1993, p.12)

Gellner further develops this definition and searches for its possible implications and variations⁴²; however, for the purpose of the thesis this basic conception of nationalism is satisfactory. As Gellner points out, there are several means of breaching the principle which can lead to the anger shared by nationalist movements.

“But there is a specific means of the infringement of the nationalist principle, which is especially sensitive for the nationalist sentiment: when rulers of the political unit belong to a different nation than is the nationality of the majority of subordinates, then it represents significantly unsupportable infringement of political sovereignty for nationalists. This could happen either by an incorporation of the national territory to a bigger empire, or by a domination over the local territory by a foreign group.” (GELLNER, 1993, p.12)

The definition of nationalism itself includes two constituents – the national and the political units and it is therefore necessary to introduce the interpretation of these terms as well. In case of the first one, the national unit, Gellner is proposing “two very provisional, temporary definitions, which will help to clarify this elusive term” (GELLNER, 1993, p.17) – the nation:

- “1) Two persons belong to the same nation, if and only if they share the same culture, when the culture means the set of thoughts and symbols and ideas and behavior and communication.
- 2) Two persons belong to the same nation, if and only if they recognize each other as members of the same nation.” (GELLNER, 1993, p.18)

⁴¹ Arnošt (Ernest) Gellner is a British social anthropologist with Czech ties. The publication *Nations and Nationalism* has been originally written in English in 1983 and consequently translated to several languages, but the author of this thesis draws from the Czech edition of the book (the Czech title is *Národy a nacionalismus*). All quotations are thus translated by the author of this thesis from Czech into English.

⁴² Gellner's typology of nationalism is based on Plamenatz's division of nationalism (Western and Eastern nationalism); however, Gellner added the third model, Diaspora nationalism. His conception of models is considering the relative position of three actors – power, education and culture – within a society. (GELLNER, 1993, pp.99-108)

After a complex argumentation Gellner concludes that those two aspects – the will and the culture – are not enough for the construction of nationality, or better, their applicability is conditioned by circumstances (GELLNER, 1993, pp.64-66). Nevertheless, regardless the circumstances, the author of this thesis argues that the two “provisional, temporary” definitions mentioned above might provide a framework valid for the construction of nationalism in the Czech setting, especially in relation to the topic of emigration and formation of opinions towards emigrants by the non-emigrating public. The reasons supporting this statement are discussed in the *Conclusions*.

According to Gellner, the second element needed for the construction of nationalism is a state as the political unit. Using once again the Gellner’s definition, the state is “an institution or a set of institutions, which specifically deals with the order enforcement” (GELLNER, 1997, p.15) within a territory delimited by borders.

III. BIBLIOGRAPHY

This section contains the literature and resources related to the topic of the thesis gathered by the author during the four years of studies, which may serve to interested readers as a further source of information. The resources are divided into several (to certain extent overlapping) broader categories. The literature used in this thesis is also partly included.

Czech Nation, National Identity, Collective Memory

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IV. INFORMATION FOR RESPONDENTS 26+ (CZECH VERSION)

INFORMACE PRO RESPONDENTY (tento list si můžete ponechat)

Vážená,
Vážený,

obracím se na Vás s prosbou o spolupráci. Studuji navazující magisterský program na Pedagogické fakultě Jihočeské univerzity a v současné době pracuji na své diplomové práci, která se zabývá tématem „**Vliv emigrace na život v Československu v letech 1948 – 1989**“. Cílem mého výzkumu je zjistit, jak vnímali emigraci lidé, kteří z různých důvodů z Československa neemigrovali, a zda (případně jakým způsobem) emigrace blízkých osob ovlivnila jejich život v Československu.

Tímto bych Vás chtěla požádat o vyplnění přiloženého dotazníku. Vyplnění dotazníku bude trvat zhruba 10 minut. Dotazník je zcela anonymní. Veškeré informace získané na základě tohoto výzkumu budou pokládány za důvěrné a bude s nimi nakládáno dle zákona o ochraně osobních údajů.

Prosím o vrácení dotazníků v zalepené obálce, kterou jste obdrželi spolu s dotazníkem, případně dotazník naskenujte a zašlete na e-mailovou adresu vyzkum.migrace@email.cz.

V případě, že máte zájem o další informace týkající se tohoto výzkumu, nebo byste se rád podělil/ráda podělila o Váš osobní příběh, kontaktujte mne rovněž na e-mailové adrese vyzkum.migrace@email.cz.

Velice Vám děkuji za Váš čas a spolupráci.

Anna Maršíková

V. INFORMATION FOR RESPONDENTS 26+ (ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

INFORMATION FOR RESPONDENTS (you can keep this document)

Dear All,

I would like to ask you for your cooperation. I am a Master student at the Faculty of Education, University of South Bohemia and I am currently working on my Master thesis. The thesis is focused on the topic of "**Emigration and its impact on life in Czechoslovakia in 1948 – 1989**". The aim of my research is to examine the perception of emigration by people, who for different reasons didn't leave Czechoslovakia, and if (and in what way) the emigration of relatives influenced the lives in Czechoslovakia.

By this, I would like to ask you for a completion of the enclosed questionnaire. It will take approximately 10 minutes. The questionnaire is fully anonymous. All the information acquired on the basis of this research will be considered confidential and will be handled upon the laws on personal data protection.

I would like to ask you to return the questionnaires in the sealed envelope you received together with the questionnaire, or you can scan the document and send it via e-mail to vyzkum.migrace@email.cz.

In case you are interested in further information related to this research, or you would like to share your personal story, contact me on the e-mail address vyzkum.migrace@email.cz.

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

Anna Maršíková

VI. QUESTIONNAIRE 26+ (CZECH VERSION)

Cílová skupina:

Osoby starší 26 let, které mezi lety 1948 až 1989 žily v Československu

Téma výzkumu:

Vliv emigrace na život v Československu v letech 1948 – 1989

Cíl výzkumu:

Zjistit, jak vnímali emigraci lidé, kteří z různých důvodů z Československa neemigrovali a zda, případně jakým způsobem, emigrace jejich blízkých ovlivnila život v Československu.

Dotazník je zcela anonymní. Veškeré informace získané na základě tohoto výzkumu budou pokládány za důvěrné a bude s nimi nakládáno dle zákona o ochraně osobních údajů.

.....
Prosím o vyplnění základních údajů:

Pohlaví:

- Muž
 Žena

Rok narození:

Nejvyšší dosažené vzdělání:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bez vzdělání | <input type="checkbox"/> Úplné střední odborné (s maturitou) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Neukončené základní | <input type="checkbox"/> Nástavbové studium
(včetně pomaturitního studia) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Základní | <input type="checkbox"/> Vyšší odborné vzdělání
(absolutorium) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Střední včetně vyučení (bez maturity) | <input type="checkbox"/> Vysokoškolské vzdělání |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Úplné střední všeobecné (s maturitou) | |

.....
Otázky:
.....

1. Znáte někoho, kdo mezi lety 1948 – 1989 emigroval z Československa?

(je možné označit více odpovědí)

- Sám jsem emigroval/Sama jsem emigrovala
- Ano – blízký příbuzný/blízká příbuzná
(bratr, sestra, dcera, syn, otec, matka, teta, strýc)
- Ano – vzdálený příbuzný/vzdálená příbuzná
- Ano – manžel/manželka
- Ano – blízký kamarád/blízká kamarádka
- Ano – známý/známá
- Ne

V případě, že jste označil/a možnost „Sám jsem emigroval/Sama jsem emigrovala“, přeskočte prosím na otázku 5. V případě, že jste označil/a možnost „Ne“, přeskočte prosím na otázku 4.

.....
2. V případě, že mezi lety 1948 – 1989 emigroval z Československa někdo z Vaší rodiny (blízký příbuzný/blízká příbuzná, vzdálený příbuzný/vzdálená příbuzná, manžel/manželka – partner/partnerka), uveďte prosím následující údaje:

(vždy pouze jedna odpověď – v případě, že z Vaší rodiny emigrovalo více osob, uveďte prosím informace pouze o osobě Vám nejbližší)

a) V jakém roce dotyčná osoba emigrovala?

- 1948 – 1950 1968 – 1969
- 1951 – 1960 1970 – 1980
- 1961 – 1967 1981 – 1989

b) Kolik bylo dotyčné osobě let v době emigrace?

- do 18 let 36 až 45 let
- 18 až 25 let 46 až 55 let
- 26 až 35 let více než 55 let

c) Do které země dotyčná osoba emigrovala?

- USA Austrálie
 Kanada Francie
 SRN jiná země:
 Rakousko

d) S kým dotyčná osoba emigrovala?

- sám/sama
 s rodinou (rodiče, sourozenci, prarodiče)
 s rodinou (manžel/manželka, partner/partnerka, děti)
 se známými (kamarád/kamarádka, jiní)

e) Jakým způsobem dotyčná osoba emigrovala?

- dotyčná osoba vycestovala legálně – s povolením úřadů
 dotyčná osoba se nevrátila z povoleného pobytu v zahraničí
 dotyčná osoba překročila státní hranice bez povolení úřadů
 nevím

f) Z jakých důvodů podle Vás dotyčná osoba emigrovala?

(napište prosím vlastními slovy)

.....
Na následující otázku prosím odpovězte pouze v případě, že mezi lety 1948 – 1989 emigroval z Československa někdo z Vaší rodiny (blízký příbuzný/blízká příbuzná, vzdálený příbuzný/vzdálená příbuzná, manžel/manželka):

3. Setkal/a nebo nesetkal/a jste se Vy osobně (případně někdo další z rodiny) s nějakou formou diskriminace – perzekuce ze strany státních orgánů, kterou připisujete právě emigraci blízké osoby?

(pouze jedna odpověď)

- Ano
 Ne

V případě, že ano, v jaké formě?

(je možné označit více odpovědí)

- Problémy při studiu (osobně, případně někdo další z rodiny)
 - Problémy v práci (osobně, případně někdo další z rodiny)
 - Odposlouchávání telefonů, sledování, monitorování pošty atd.
 - Zatčení, výslechy, uvěznění (osobně, případně někdo další z rodiny)
 - Nemožnost vycestovat (osobně, případně někdo další z rodiny)
 - Jiná forma:
-

4. Uvažoval/a nebo neuvažoval/a jste Vy osobně v letech 1948 – 1989 o emigraci z Československa?

- Ano, o emigraci jsem uvažoval/a
- Ne, o emigraci jsem neuvažoval/a

Co byly hlavní důvody, proč jste zůstal/a v Československu?

(je možné označit více odpovědí)

- Obával/a jsem se, že se mi nepodaří dostat se za hranice a bude následovat postih
 - Neměl/a jsem možnost vycestovat
 - K emigraci jsem neměl/a důvod
 - Nechtěl/a jsem opustit vlast
 - Nechtěl/a jsem opustit spoluobčany
 - Nechtěl/a jsem opustit rodinu
 - Nechtěl/a jsem opustit přátele
 - Jiný:
-

5. Nezávisle na tom, zda znáte někoho, kdo emigroval – setkal/a nebo nesetkal/a jste se ve Vašem okolí s názorem, že emigrace je zrada českého národa?

- Ano – s tímto názorem jsem se setkal/a
- Ne – s tímto názorem jsem se nikdy nesetkal/a

V případě, že ano, jak často jste se s názorem, že emigrace je zrada českého národa, setkal/a?

- Ojediněle
- Často
- Prakticky stále

V případě, že ano, kdo názor, že emigrace je zrada českého národa, zastával?
(je možné označit více odpovědí)

- Někteří rodinní příslušníci
 - Někteří blízcí přátelé
 - Někteří kolegové v práci
 - Někteří nadřízení v práci
 - Někteří známí
-

6. Nezávisle na tom, zda znáte někoho, kdo emigroval, setkal/a nebo nesetkal/a jste se ve Vašem okolí s názorem, že emigrace je zrada rodiny?

- Ano – s tímto názorem jsem se setkal/a
- Ne – s tímto názorem jsem se nikdy nesetkal/a

V případě, že ano, jak často jste se s názorem, že emigrace je zrada rodiny, setkal/a?

- Ojediněle
- Často
- Prakticky stále

V případě, že ano, kdo názor, že emigrace je zrada rodiny, zastával?
(je možné označit více odpovědí)

- Někteří rodinní příslušníci
 - Někteří blízcí přátelé
 - Někteří kolegové v práci
 - Někteří nadřízení v práci
 - Někteří známí
-

7. Jaký je Váš postoj k následujícím obecným tvrzením?

(vždy pouze jedna odpověď)

Emigranti měli štěstí, že mohli z Československa odjet.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Emigranti měli právo z Československa odejít a žít, kde chtěli.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Emigranti svým odchodem z Československa zradili spoluobčany, kteří zde zůstali.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Emigranti svým odchodem z Československa ublížili členům rodiny, kteří zde zůstali.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Většina emigrantů z Československa neměla opodstatněný důvod opustit zemi.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Většina emigrantů odešla z Československa proto, aby mohli žít, tvořit a rozvíjet se ve svobodné a demokratické společnosti.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Emigranti, kteří se po roce 1989 vrátili do vlasti, se neměli vyjadřovat k české politice atd., protože nezažili to, co spoluobčané, kteří žili v Československu po celou dobu komunismu.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Většina osob, které emigrovaly z Československa, odešly spíše proto, aby se měly lépe po ekonomické stránce, než že by jim šlo o ideály svobody a demokracie.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Většina obyvatel ČR si myslí, že emigranti spíše odešli proto, aby se měli lépe po ekonomické stránce, než že by jim šlo o ideály svobody a demokracie.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Emigranti, kteří se po roce 1989 vrátili do vlasti, se svými aktivitami a předáváním zkušeností zasloužili o přechod k demokracii a všeobecný rozvoj české společnosti.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

.....

VII. QUESTIONNAIRE 26+ (ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

Target group:

Persons of the age of 26+ who lived in Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1989

Research topic:

Impact of emigration on life in Czechoslovakia in 1948 – 1989

Research objective:

To examine the perception of emigration by people, who for different reasons did not emigrate from Czechoslovakia, and how the emigration of their relatives might have influenced the lives in Czechoslovakia.

The questionnaire is fully anonymous. All data acquired on the basis of this research will be considered confidential and will be handled upon the laws on personal data protection.

.....
Please, fill out the basic data:

Gender:

- Male
- Female

Year of birth:

Education:

- No education
 - Unfinished basic school
 - Basic school
 - Upper secondary school including apprenticeship (without the school-leaving exam)
 - Upper secondary comprehensive school (with the school-leaving examination)
 - Upper secondary professional school (with the school-leaving examination)
 - Follow-up study
 - Tertiary professional school (absolutorium)
 - College
-

.....
Questions:
.....

1. Do you know someone who emigrated from Czechoslovakia in between 1948 – 1989?

(it is possible to mark multiple answers)

- I emigrated myself
- Yes – a close relative (brother, sister, daughter, son, father, mother, aunt, uncle)
- Yes – a removed relative
- Yes – a wife/husband
- Yes – a close friend
- Yes – an acquaintance
- No

*In case you have chosen the possibility “I emigrated myself”, please skip to question 5.
In case you have chosen the possibility “No”, please skip to question 4.*

.....

2. In case that someone from your family (close relative, removed relative, wife/husband – partner) emigrated in between 1948 – 1989, please, answer to following questions:

(always only one answer – in case more people in your family emigrated, please provide information only about the person closest to you)

a) When did the person emigrate?

- 1948 – 1950 1968 – 1969
- 1951 – 1960 1970 – 1980
- 1961 – 1967 1981 – 1989

b) How old was the person at the moment of emigration?

- up to 18 years 46 to 55 years
- 18 to 25 years more than 55 years
- 26 to 35 years I don't know
- 36 to 45 years

c) What was the country of destination?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> USA | <input type="checkbox"/> Australia |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Canada | <input type="checkbox"/> France |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Federal Republic of Germany | <input type="checkbox"/> other country: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Austria | |

d) With whom did the person emigrate?

- Alone
- With a family (parents, siblings, grandparents)
- With a family (wife/husband, partner, children)
- With an acquaintance (friend, other)

e) How did the person emigrate?

- Legally – with the official permit
- The person didn't come back from a visit in abroad
- By crossing the state borders without official permission
- I don't know

f) For what reasons do you think the person emigrated?

(please, write in your own words)

.....
Please, answer the following question only in case someone from your family (close relative, removed relative, wife/husband – partner) emigrated in between 1948 – 1989 from Czechoslovakia:

3. Did you or did you not (personally or someone else from your family) experienced some form of discrimination – persecution which you ascribe to the fact that someone close to you emigrated?

(only one answer)

- Yes
- No

In case you did, in which form?

(it is possible to mark multiple answers)

- Problems at school (personally or someone else from my family)
 - Problems at work (personally or someone else from my family)
 - Wiretapping of phone conversations, spying, monitoring of mail etc.
 - Arrest, interrogations, imprisonment (personally or someone else from my family)
 - Ban on traveling (personally or someone else from my family)
 - Other form:
-

4. Did you or did you not consider emigration from Czechoslovakia yourself in between 1948 – 1989?

- Yes, I did consider emigration
- No, I did not consider emigration

What were your main reasons for staying in Czechoslovakia?

(it is possible to mark multiple answers)

- I was afraid of being arrested at the border and persecuted
 - I had no possibility to travel abroad
 - I had no reason to emigrate
 - I didn't want to leave the homeland
 - I didn't want to leave fellow citizens
 - I didn't want to leave my family
 - I didn't want to leave my friends
 - Other:
-

5. Regardless of whether you know someone who emigrated or not, did you or did you not come across the opinion that emigration is a betrayal of the Czech nation?

- Yes – I did
- No – I did not

In case you did, how often did you come across the opinion that emigration is the betrayal of the Czech nation?

- Sporadically
- Often
- Almost all the time

In case you did, who did share the opinion that emigration is the betrayal of the Czech nation?

(it is possible to mark multiple answers)

- Some family members
- Some of close friends
- Some colleagues at work
- Some superiors at work
- Some acquaintances

6. Regardless of whether you know someone who emigrated or not, did you or did you not come across the opinion that emigration is a betrayal of the family?

- Yes – I did
- No – I did not

In case you did, how often did you come across the opinion that emigration is the betrayal of the family?

- Sporadically
- Often
- Almost all the time

In case you did, who did share the opinion that emigration is the betrayal of the family?

(it is possible to mark multiple answers)

- Some family members
- Some of close friends
- Some colleagues at work
- Some superiors at work
- Some acquaintances

.....
7. What is your approach towards the following general statements?

(always only one answer)

Emigrants were lucky that they could leave Czechoslovakia.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

Emigrants had the right to leave Czechoslovakia and live wherever they wanted.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

By leaving Czechoslovakia, emigrants betrayed their fellow citizens, who stayed in the country.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

By leaving Czechoslovakia, emigrants hurt family members, who stayed in the country.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

The majority of Czechoslovak emigrants did not have the well-founded reason to leave the country.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

The majority of emigrants left Czechoslovakia in order to live, create and develop themselves in a free and democratic society.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

Emigrants, who returned to the country after 1989, should not have made any statements about the Czech politics etc., because they do not have the same experience as citizens, who lived in communist Czechoslovakia all the time.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

The majority of Czechoslovak emigrants left in order to be better off in economic terms, rather than that they cared about ideals of freedom and democracy.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

The majority of Czechs thinks that emigrants left in order to be better off in economic terms, rather than that they would care about ideals of freedom and democracy.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

Emigrants, who returned to the country after 1989, contributed with their activities and sharing of experiences to the transition towards democracy and to the general development of the Czech society.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

.....

VIII. QUESTIONNAIRE 26- (CZECH VERSION)

Cílová skupina:

Osoby ve věku 16 až 26 let

Téma výzkumu:

Emigrace a emigranti očima mladé generace

Cíl výzkumu:

Zjistit, jakým způsobem vnímá současná mladá generace osoby, které vycestovaly z České republiky a dočasně nebo trvale se usadily v zahraničí.

Dotazník je zcela anonymní. Veškeré informace získané na základě tohoto výzkumu budou pokládány za důvěrné a bude s nimi nakládáno dle zákona o ochraně osobních údajů.

.....
Prosím o vyplnění základních údajů:

Pohlaví:

Muž

Žena

Rok narození:

.....
Otázky:

.....
1. Pobýval/a jste někdy déle než 1 měsíc v zahraničí?

Ano

Ne

V případě, že jste označil/a možnost „Ne“, přeskočte prosím na otázku 2. V případě, že jste označil/a možnost „Ano“, odpovězte prosím na následující otázku:

Za jakým účelem jste pobýval/a v zahraničí?

(je možné označit více odpovědí)

- V zahraničí jsem studoval/a
 - V zahraničí jsem pracoval/a
 - V zahraničí jsem byl/a z rodinných důvodů
 - Cestoval/a jsem
 - Jiný:
-

2. Chtěl/a nebo nechtěl/a byste v budoucnu strávit nějaký čas v zahraničí?

- Ano
- Ne

V případě, že jste označil/a možnost „Ne“, přeskočte prosím na otázku 3. V případě, že jste označil/a možnost „Ano“, odpovězte prosím na následující otázky:

Jak dlouho byste chtěl/a v zahraničí pobývat?

- Maximálně 1 rok
- Maximálně 5 let
- Maximálně 10 let
- Více než 10 let

Dovedete nebo nedovedete si představit, že byste se v zahraničí usadil/a natrvalo?

- Záleží na okolnostech, ale umím si představit, že bych se v zahraničí usadil/a natrvalo
- Za žádných okolností si nedovedu představit, že bych se v zahraničí usadil/a natrvalo

V případě, že jste označil/a možnost „Záleží na okolnostech, ale umím si představit, že bych se v zahraničí usadil/a natrvalo“, přeskočte prosím na otázku 3. V případě, že jste označil/a možnost „Za žádných okolností si nedovedu představit, že bych se v zahraničí usadil/a natrvalo“, odpovězte prosím na následující otázku:

Jaké jsou hlavní důvody, proč byste se v zahraničí nechtěl/a usadit natrvalo?

(je možné označit více odpovědí)

- Nemám možnost vycestovat (finanční důvody)
 - K emigraci nemám důvod
 - Nechci opustit vlast
 - Nechci opustit domov
 - Nechci opustit spoluobčany
 - Nechci opustit rodinu
 - Nechci opustit přátele
 - Jiný:
-

3. Znáte někoho, kdo dlouhodobě (déle než 1 rok) žil nebo žije v zahraničí?

(je možné označit více odpovědí)

- Ano – blízký příbuzný/blízká příbuzná (bratr, sestra, dcera, syn, otec, matka, teta, strýc)
 - Ano – vzdálený příbuzný/vzdálená příbuzná
 - Ano – manžel/manželka, partner/partnerka
 - Ano – blízký kamarád/blízká kamarádka
 - Ano – známý/známá
 - Ne
-

4. Jaký je Váš postoj k následujícím obecným tvrzením?

(vždy pouze jedna odpověď)

Lidé mají právo emigrovat ze země svého původu.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Stát má právo regulovat emigraci ze svého území.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Nikdo nemá právo bránit lidem ve vycestování ze země původu.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Lidé, kteří se trvale usadí v zahraničí, by se měli vzdát českého občanství.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Pocit křivdy, který mají v souvislosti s emigrací z České republiky někteří spoluobčané (kteří zůstali v ČR), je oprávněný, protože většina emigrantů sleduje pouze vlastní ekonomické zájmy.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Emigrace má jednoznačně negativní vliv na vztahy uvnitř rodiny (mezi členy, kteří vycestovali a těmi, kteří zůstali).

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Emigranti, kteří odešli z Československa během období komunismu, svým odchodem ublížili členům rodiny, kteří zde zůstali.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Většina emigrantů, kteří odešli z Československa během období komunismu, neměla opodstatněný důvod opustit zemi.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Emigranti svým odchodem z Československa během období komunismu zradili spoluobčany, kteří zde zůstali.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Emigranti, kteří se po roce 1989 vrátili do vlasti, se neměli vyjadřovat k české politice atd., protože nezažili to, co spoluobčané, kteří žili v Československu po celou dobu komunismu.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Většina osob, které emigrovaly z Československa, odešly spíše proto, aby se měly lépe po ekonomické stránce, než že by jim šlo o ideály svobody a demokracie.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Většina obyvatel ČR si myslí, že emigranti spíše odešli proto, aby se měli lépe po ekonomické stránce, než že by jim šlo o ideály svobody a demokracie.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
- Spíše souhlasím
- Spíše nesouhlasím
- Rozhodně nesouhlasím

Emigranti, kteří se po roce 1989 vrátili do vlasti, se svými aktivitami a předáváním zkušeností zasloužili o přechod k demokracii a všeobecný rozvoj české společnosti.

- Rozhodně souhlasím
 - Spíše souhlasím
 - Spíše nesouhlasím
 - Rozhodně nesouhlasím
-

IX. QUESTIONNAIRE 26- (ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

Target group:

Persons of the age of 16 to 26

Research topic:

Emigration and emigrants in the eyes of the young generation

Research objective:

To find out how the current young generation perceives people, who emigrated from the Czech Republic and settled in abroad.

The questionnaire is fully anonymous. All data acquired on the basis of this research will be considered confidential and will be handled upon the laws on personal data protection.

.....
Please, fill out the basic data:

Gender:

Male

Female

Year of birth:

.....
Questions:

.....
1. Have you ever stayed in abroad for a period longer than 1 month?

Yes

No

In case you have chosen the possibility “No”, please skip to question 2. In case you have chosen the possibility “Yes”, please answer the following question:

What was the purpose of your stay in abroad?

(it is possible to mark multiple answers)

- I studied in abroad
 - I worked in abroad
 - I was in abroad for family reasons
 - I was traveling
 - Other:
-

2. Do you or do you not want to spend some time in future in abroad?

- I do
- I do not

In case you have chosen the possibility “No”, please skip to question 3. In case you have chosen the possibility “Yes”, please answer the following questions:

How long would you like to stay in abroad?

- 1 year at most
- 5 years at most
- 10 years at most
- More than 10 years

Can you or can you not imagine to settle permanently in abroad?

- It depends on the circumstances, but I can imagine to settle permanently in abroad.
- I cannot imagine under any circumstances to settle permanently in abroad.

In case you have chosen the possibility “It depends on the circumstances, but I can imagine to settle permanently in abroad”, please skip to question 3. In case you have chosen the possibility “I cannot imagine under any circumstances to settle permanently in abroad”, please answer the following question:

What are your main reasons why you do not want to settle permanently in abroad?

(it is possible to mark multiple answers)

- I don't have the possibility to travel (financial reasons)
 - I have no reason to emigrate
 - I don't want to leave my homeland
 - I don't want to leave my home
 - I don't want to leave my fellow citizens
 - I don't want to leave my family
 - I don't want to leave my friends
 - Other:
-

3. Do you know someone who has been living in abroad for more than one year?

(it is possible to mark multiple answers)

- Yes – close relative (brother, sister, daughter, son, father, mother, aunt, uncle)
 - Yes – removed relative
 - Yes – husband/wife, partner
 - Yes – close friend
 - Yes – acquaintance
 - No
-

4. What is your approach towards the following general statements?

(always only one answer)

People have the right to emigrate from the country of their origin.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

The state has the right to regulate emigration from its territory.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

No one has the right to prevent people from leaving their country of origin.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

People, who permanently settled in abroad, should give up the Czech citizenship.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

The feeling of injustice in relation to the emigration from the Czech Republic, which some fellow citizens (who stayed in the CR) shares, is well-founded, because the majority of emigrants follows only their own economic interests.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

Emigration has definitely a negative impact on relations in a family (among members who emigrated and those who stayed).

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

By leaving Czechoslovakia, emigrants hurt family members, who stayed in the country.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

The majority of Czechoslovak emigrants did not have the well-founded reason to leave the country.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

By leaving Czechoslovakia, emigrants betrayed their fellow citizens, who stayed in the country.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

Emigrants, who returned to the country after 1989, should not have made any statements about the Czech politics etc., because they do not have the same experience as citizens, who lived in communist Czechoslovakia all the time.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

The majority of Czechoslovak emigrants left in order to be better off in economic terms, rather than that they cared about ideals of freedom and democracy.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

The majority of Czechs thinks that emigrants left in order to be better off in economic terms, rather than that they would care about ideals of freedom and democracy.

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree

Emigrants, who returned to the country after 1989, contributed with their activities and sharing of experiences to the transition towards democracy and to the general development of the Czech society.

- Definitely agree
 - Rather agree
 - Rather disagree
 - Definitely disagree
-

X. INTERVIEW

E. M. and J. M., 2010. *Interview on emigration*. Interviewed by Anna Maršíková. [audio recording] Jiřice u Humpolce, Czech Republic, 24-01-2010. (Stylistically adapted and translated excerpts – the full transcript in Czech is available in the author's archive)

In order to keep the requested anonymity of respondents, only initials of names are used in this interview. Names of D. K.'s children are replaced by randomly selected names. E. M. is a wife of J. M. and a sister of D. K. All other details relevant to this illustrative case are mentioned in the chapter 3. Research strategy.

A. M.: What was the reason that made D. K. emigrate?

E. M.: He was an artist, open-minded, and he was not allowed to express himself freely. Every canvas he made had to be approved by a committee, as songs and films did. His paintings were abstract, non-conventional, and he was very limited.

A. M.: How did he manage it?

E. M.: It was in August. They (*note – D. K.'s family*) called us, when the Russians arrived, they called that they can't stay there, that there is a shooting and that they are close to the Radio. I don't know where is the Radio...

J. M.: They were living in Vinohrady.

E. M.: They were living in Vinohrady and there was the shooting and they didn't want to stay there, because they were worried about the children and everything, simply, they were afraid.

A. M.: So, they were calling from Prague.

J. M.: They were calling from Prague that they were coming to Křelovice, but they couldn't get there, so I went to pick them up in Pelhřimov.

E. M.: Probably.

J. M.: They arrived from Pelhřimov and they were here. Three weeks, at least.

E. M.: And also the brother of M. K. and his girlfriend came with them – D. H. with that girl. And they were living here maybe for a month

A. M.: At your place, in the prefab?

E. M.: No, at grandma's, we were still living at grandma's at the time. And they were living in the attic.

J. M.: Where D. K. had his atelier. So there the girl and D. H. were living, and D. K. and M. K. were with us. We were sleeping in one room and then D. K. with M. K. and grandmother and grandfather in the other one.

E. M.: Well, and then they left home, to Prague, after the three weeks and, and suddenly one Saturday a truck just arrived from Prague and D. K. brought this, he brought this dresser. He didn't say anything before, he just arrived with Adam and brought chairs and some things, paintings. And said that they were going the next day.

J. M.: They were going by train to Vienna.

A. M.: And they still could?

E. M.: They still could.

J. M.: Until '69 it was like this. People could leave, passports were issued normally, you could get the passport. Who wanted, could. They were telling us to go with them, you know. So, they left to Vienna, they were for, I don't know, three days there in some camp and then some... Some countess took them, the whole family.

[...]

E. M.: So, allegedly, when the countess saw that they are in such conditions in the camp, she took them and once D. K. showed us – in the television – he showed us – in this chateau we were. And she was taking care of them, they were not the only ones there, more people were taken from the camp. Who had children. And then, some people from Canada came...

J. M.: His occupation helped him.

E. M.: The painting.

J. M.: He left among the first people, who wanted to go somewhere. So they have chosen Canada.

[...]

E. M.: And suddenly, we got a letter. Like “Best regards from the trip, D. K., M. K. and children”. And we were saying: “But it’s not possible. But Montreal is in Canada, but they went to Vienna,” you know, so we didn’t know.

[...]

E. M.: Well, and then we got the first letter from them, that they were in Canada and that the lady, the countess, let them live at her place and they wrote it all down how it was.

[...]

E. M.: That they got the flat, they had to go to school, they got money for the provisions, but they both had to go to school.

J. M.: Because of English.

E. M.: Because of English and because of that the children had a nanny and thus they didn’t learn, they suppressed Czech.

A first letter from D. K. sent from Canada, read by E. M.

Dears,

I am sorry for my big delay in my correspondence, but I really couldn’t write earlier. However, I think about you all the time and I hope that your situation is not as bad as we hear here. And now everything about us as it is coming to my mind. We arrived to Canada on 24th October. For two days we stayed in Montreal, then we took a flight to Halifax and it looks like we are going to stay for some time here, for several reasons. We are attending the school, I started to work here, on 21st December we are going to move to a beautiful new flat and we want to enjoy it for some time. Apart from the fact that children need it. And in general, Nova Scotia is ideal for the beginning, although it is the poorest province of Canada. Mainly because we have a chance to attend the school directly, while elsewhere (Toronto, Vancouver, Ottawa etc.) you have to wait even for 3 months, because of the high demand, and it would be a great loss of time. The school is from Monday till Friday, three hours a day. M. K. is going from 1 to 4 p. m., I am going from 6 to 9 p. m. We are learning English, of course. During the school attendance, we are getting 37 dollars per week per person plus 10 for each child. It makes 376 dollars in total per month. Like this it will be until April, when the school ends. English is the language used in classes, which is the best, as we can see, because we are already able to communicate.

A flat. So far, we are living in a building for immigrants, where we have a big light room with all facilities, except for the kitchen. We eat in a common dining hall. The food is ok, but we are already looking forward for being able to cook ourselves. David is looking forward to the potato soup. We could have had a housing earlier, but in some flat, which is common here, but we didn’t like it. It is why we are waiting until 20th December, when our flat will be finished. It is located in a newly built area on the periphery of Halifax, there are 6 flats in the building. We are going to stay in a flat upstairs consisting of a living room, two bedrooms, kitchen and facilities. It is furnished mainly with big windows, telephone, built-in wardrobes, storage rooms. In the kitchen, there will be a fridge, electric cooker with grill etc. In the rooms, 10 cm high carpets from wall to wall. Automatic heating, downstairs in the building a laundry room – a washing machine, tumble dryer, mangle. All this with the electricity and phone for 160 dollars per month. The building is approximately 30 meters from a beautiful lake surrounded by forest. It looks little bit like Šumava. While all the shops are close and to the centre of Halifax it takes around 5 minutes by car. Food for a family like us costs 60 to 100 dollars, if you don’t save money, otherwise it is even cheaper.

Now something about me. I am currently finishing two portraits for the local notables. [...] I have some good contacts. Further, I work on two other pieces, but some other time about that. For now, I bought a two-year old Volkswagen for the money from my first two jobs. For the beginning and considering the winter, it is enough. To add something to this – a car is a necessity here, not a luxury.

Excerpts from letters from D. K. sent from Canada, sometime in late 1968 or beginning of 1969, read by E. M.

To the payment of our voyage here. The travel of us all, 380 dollars, was paid by the Canadian government and we don't have to pay it back. It means, that we are here without debts, which is important for our further stay. For one year, we have a free access to the medical care. M. K. is all right, children as well, me too.

All the shopping here are made usually on Friday or Saturday and in large. You take the kids, put them in the car and you go shopping usually to some big supermarket, where you can get everything. You put kids to the trolley, on the stool, and the chosen goods to the other part. Then you are getting around until you have your purchase for a week or longer. After the payment, an employee of the supermarket load everything to your car and you can go home. We store all the food in a fridge. Specialties as the Czech bread, delicious salt-free butter, smoked goods we buy in a special shop with the European goods. That's all about the food.

[...]

E. M.: Well, and then the Czech community, which is there – when the later emigrants, who left through Yugoslavia, arrived, for example – when they got to know that someone new is coming from Czech, they organized who picks the family up, who will take care of them. And they had to take care of them for a month, for example, or so, isn't it?

J. M.: Well, they didn't have to, it was voluntary. It was a help to the people, who...

E. M.: For the beginning.

J. M.: ...who came, in order to introduce them to the system and life in general, to show them how it works and looks like there.

[...]

A. M.: And how did you communicate?

E. M.: So, when he called sometimes, it was a big rarity, because it was not almost hearable and there was a resonance...

J. M.: We were wiretapped. We knew it so we were afraid to say something. Though, I swore sometimes. And nothing happened. Nobody came to control me. No policeman or member of the State Security (StB) came...

E. M.: He came, what was his name, the bald one...

J. M.: Kučera.

E. M.: Yes, Kučera. Well, it was probably because D. K. was in Prague, he had a permanent residence there with M. K., so they monitored Prague.

A. M.: So, they (note – StB) didn't know about you?

J. M.: Well, we were also supposed to go abroad in... I don't know exactly what year. We had everything arranged and they didn't allow it. So they did know about us for sure. They let us to organize everything, he (note – D. K.) sent money for the journey, we were supposed to go to Switzerland, Italy and somewhere, to Germany. And when we arranged everything, they told us in Pelhřimov, where they issued the passports – I got mad there – and he (note – the officer) told us that we don't stand a chance, that we will not get there.

A. M.: You were supposed to meet D. K.?

J. M.: He was supposed to come here, to Europe. We were supposed to go to the three countries, everything was arranged, it was a demanding process, but at the end it didn't happen.

E. M.: And he travelled normally all around the world, he was in Bratisl, no, in Budapest, in Vienna, once they were in Alps for the New Year's Eve and they called us from there. But he never risked crossing the border.

J. M.: As no one did.

E. M.: But he wasn't convicted. Everyone was in courts, but he wasn't.

J. M.: Well, probably not everyone. It was so many cases, that they (*note – regime officers*) were not able to process it all, not everyone was convinced. But he (*note – D. K.*) was not among them. Or we didn't know.

E. M.: No, he wasn't.

A. M.: Convicted for what?

E. M.: For emigrating.

J. M.: For fleeing. But surely, if he returned, he would have problems, it's clear. He knew it, so...

A. M.: And you didn't have any other problems here, because of D. K.'s emigration?

J. M.: Apart from this (*note – travel prohibition*), when someone really enjoyed it, I don't know.

E. M.: But when we had to fill out the questionnaires, so you had to write it everywhere – they were asking, if someone from family emigrated.

A. M.: Within the census?

E. M.: Within the census...

J. M.: Within any bullshit... You were filling questionnaires at work, or somewhere, and they were always asking.

E. M.: And everywhere you had to write it, and we didn't want to get him into some troubles, so we usually wrote only Canada-brother, that he emigrated to Canada, but we didn't write that he is in Halifax, we didn't want...

[...]

A. M.: But grandma and grandpa went to visit them, right? (*note – parents of D. K. and E. M. went to Canada*)

E. M.: Yeah, D. K. invited me and J. M. to come and I said: "See, rather than us our parents would like to see it as well." And D. K. said: "Please... don't tell me that they would like to come to see us here, well, it would be no problem with grandpa, but with grandma..." And I quickly went to tell them and grandma said ok, that they were going. But grandpa was afraid. But they went. They went in '82, when grandpa was 77. They were there for two months or so, well, and a year later grandpa died, in '83. So D. K. was happy that they were there. And when they arrived, allegedly, everyone from the street came to welcome the grandparents, children came...

J. M.: Not only children, adults too.

E. M.: Well, everyone.

A. M.: You mean Czechs living there?

E. M.: Also foreigners, even black people, everyone. They were happy. Grandpa said that there was such a cute little black boy. And Adam was presenting them as a grandma and grandpa, that he also has grandparents, they were simply happy. We can't put ourselves into their shoes, we don't know how it was.

J. M.: Definitely, they didn't have what they have now... It's always... When they arrived there, it was also difficult. They didn't know anyone, right.

E. M.: They didn't know the language.

J. M.: They didn't know the language, so the beginnings were cruel. They made few friends and went on...

E. M.: And they moved several times to better and better flats, they changed the address for five or six times before they constructed the house.

[...]

A. M.: Was he sending you some packages or something?

E. M.: Geez, it was so funny with packages. Anytime they sent a package – M. K. for instance was sending clothing for children, for our boys and J. K.'s (*note – brother of D. K. and E. M.*) boys and also for grandma (*note – mother of E. M., D. K. and J. K.*) or also for me – tights were not available, panties were not available, so she was sending it – and she always added some sweeties and so on. Everything was unpacked, cacao spilled inside, simply in the package, there was mess. So we had to wash everything, so later we were asking her not to send anything, because it was always like that. Or once they sent another package, it was later on. And gain, everything was opened and unpacked, tried what is there. And there was also a can, maybe we still have it here somewhere. A big can with coffee, normal unground coffee. And small R. K.

was sitting here and he shook the can, he grabbed in and he found a digital watch! And we were surprised that they didn't find it...

Excerpts from letters from M. K. sent from Canada, unknown date, read by E. M.

You were asking about the way of clothing. It is usually pretty much terrible. Lower class with a typical American bad taste using plastic materials of incredible colors. Yellow with violet and green are very popular. Middle class approximately as home, only with the better selection – well, but nothing special. And really rich people probably depending on their mood. Often, they are dressed in shabby cloths, often in luxurious models. D. K.'s millionaire, for example, wears a coat so terrible that you would give him a dime. Men usually wear white shirts, but I have realized that these are the cheapest ones. Little Adam was surprised that we are sending such large trousers to T. M., he still has in mind him being a baby. He is greeting you all. And also Dana is all the time talking about "Humpojec", but she doesn't even know, that it is not in Canada...

I am sending you some things for children. It is: 2 pairs of jeans, 2 pairs of leggings, an olive jersey, 2 t-shirts, 3 pairs of tights, a piece of cloth, 4 pairs of stockings, 1 blouse, 1 pair of winter boots, 1 bra, 6 pairs of panties.

[...]

E. M.: Once, we got a bank check, it was before Christmas [...] and they (*note – regime officers*) invited us all the way to Prague to, to – what was it?

J. M.: They didn't invite us, we called there and they told us to come. When we came, they didn't give us anything.

E. M.: So they didn't give us anything and grandpa (J. M. – author's note) was angry and asked for the director, so they took us to the director of, of Živnobanka or what was it? So we came there...

J. M.: Such a smiling gentlemen and yet, we didn't succeed.

E. M.: Saying: I am sorry, I can't give you the money. And he didn't. After 6 weeks only.

J. M.: They hold all the checks, maybe they had some percents from it or I don't know why they did it. Simply, we got it after a month, two.

A. M.: So you got the money eventually?

E. M.: We got it eventually, but D. K. called meanwhile twice or so to the director, how is it possible, that he is sending the money, that it is covered.

J. M.: They were messing with you around, after all, once we had to go to Brno for change. They were making hell of your life as much as they could.

[...]

Excerpts from a letter from D. K. sent from Canada, unknown date, read by E. M.

In my bank, they told me that this way of sending money is the best, so I am trying it. Go to the bank with this check and if everything goes as it should, you will get 23 American dollars, but probably in coupons of the same value. Please, write me how it went, let me know, if there are some problems

A. M.: So, you got coupons in exchange for the checks he sent you?

E. M.: Yeah, we never got dollars.

[...]

A. M.: Did D. K. come back to Czechoslovakia/the Czech Republic?

J. M.: He came here for the first time in '90.

E. M.: Immediately.

J. M.: In summer, in summer, not immediately. He came in summer of '90. By D. H.'s car. D. H. fled as well, the brother of M. K., and he lived in Germany and he (*note – D. K.*) borrowed his car and came here through...

E. M.: Rozvadov (*note – border crossing*)

[...]

J. M.: Then, he was coming here intensively, right.

[...]

A. M.: Did you ever consider emigration?

E. M.: Not really, we were cowards.

J. M.: D. K. was telling us to go with him, but we didn't have the courage. We were wusses. In addition, old parents here, you know, over 60 years old...