



RE–INTERPRETATION OF WOMAN’S PERSONAL AND SOCIAL IDENTITY AS A RESULT OF MARITAL PREFERENCES (CASE STUDY OF SLOVAK WOMEN MARRIED TO MUSLIMS)

Silvia Letavajová

University of St. Cyril & Methodius, Slovakia

This paper examines changes in individual and social identity of Slovak women living in mixed marriage with Muslim. We are interested primarily in the factors that shape the identity of the Slovak partners and reflect their own motivations and reasons for entering into such partnerships and subsequently strategies of peer, family and social life. Our research is based on analysis of the Slovak Statistical Office but especially on semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with women who have entered into such a marriage. The results indicate that marital preferences and inclination to change an identity as a result of her wedlock with a Muslim does not depend only on individual value preferences of women, or their degree of intercultural competence, but to a certain extent is conditioned by broader sociological characteristics such as age, education or previous family situation of women.

Keywords: Identity of woman, Marital preferences, Mixed marriages in Slovakia, Muslim.

Introduction

The choice of a spouse is considered to be the primary and public issue in all cultures. In addition to the decisions of the individual is also important the interest of the whole group. Maintaining the standards and traditions of their own group usually led to the selection of a partner from the same or similar group. On the contrary, the crossing of borders between groups (racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic, social, cultural) was prohibited, rare and subordinated to strict control. In the case of religiously mixed marriages is the reason for this attitude particularly the prevention of conflicts, the possible change of believer’s identity, fear of outflow of the faithful, the effort to protect the moral and religious interests and supervise the religious education of children. The identification of the individual with the group values is a key moment, participating in the shaping of its social and individual identity. In the case of a mixed marriage, or partnership occurs vastly clashes in a number of different elements. Subsequently, there may appear processes of identity’s transformation, the extinction of identity, the emergence of so-called double identity or the layering and overlapping of multiple identities.

The main theme of the present study is the identity of partners and its changes as a result of mixed marriages. This phenomenon we will follow on an example of Slovak women who entered into marriage with muslim partners of the Muslim religion. Such marriages are in the Slovak environment relatively rare. They are modern phenomenon, mainly related to the migration process in recent years. Our goal will be to determine what changes occur in individual and social identity of these women. Identify the elements of identity which in this context may be considered dominant, fixed or variable. It is also

essential to monitor the identification with a group to which they were originally incorporated, motives to entry into such a marriage, the degree of emotionality and rationality in such proceedings and the expectations from this relationship. Last but not least, we will try to answer the question of whether there are common characteristics of women who enter into such a marriage or partnership models strategies that apply in such a marriage.

Theoretical Framing

The topic of matrimonial preference was in the social disciplines long ignored, since they were regarded as highly subjective matter. Until the mid 20th century, the choice of a partner started to inspect how the rational choice . The classic sociological work on matrimonial preferences on the European continent is A. Giraud's work "Le Choix du conjoint, Une enquête psychosociologique en France" (The choice of a spouse. A Psychosociological Investigation in France) in 1964. His researches have pointed to the fact that most people do not choose their partner by chance, but based on certain principles, which essence is the similarity (Katrňák 2008). The choice of a spouse A. Giraud (1964) perceives not only as a question of feelings but as a social phenomenon. Social sciences in this period also tried to discover the demographic patterns of mixed marriages, which would explain the inter-group relations and social change. They focused mainly on the study of endogamy, therefore that is the majority of society perceived as the norm.

The premise of the selection of a partner on the basis of the same parameters - common interests, values, education, religion, social status, language or other characteristics underlying a theory of similarity and symmetry in partner preferences. One possible explanation for this trend is the desire to find partners similar to our parents (Gabura 2012) and the people who surround us, with who we grew up, who we know and consider to be good within the meaning of ethical and normative terms. Select a partner from the same group with the same patterns of behavior, worldview, values or knowledge, maintain and enhance the group's economic resources and its cultural capital (Kalmijn 1998). In the 50s of the 20th century was formulated the theory of complementarity by psychologist R. Winch. On the contrary, it is based on the premise that opposites attract. The optimal partner is therefore a person who is different from ourselves. By partner we obtain our counterpart, which satisfy our needs, while this needs are defined as a reciprocity (Gabura 2012).

Another theory of marital preferences operates with the concept of the marriage market. The marriage market is perceived as an area within which there is a choice of partners according to certain laws. It is a space of meeting, the mutual valuation, taking account of the pairs which potentially leads to marriage. F. de F. de Singly, in this context argued that man and woman are not sold on the marriage market in the same way. Valorisation of the man on the marriage market mainly depends on his employment or property. The value of woman rises together with her physical qualities and advantages in the sphere of the household. In this sense, the men and women expectations differ from their partners. (Singly 1987 in: Kráľová 1995)

P. Bourdieu brought a theory of matrimonial strategies. The aim of the matrimonial strategies is not according to him only to agree and provide the marriage but to ensure a good marriage. It means to maximize profit and minimize loss. Marriage has to affirm or even improved the position of individuals and groups in society. P P. Bourdieu sees marriage as a material and symbolic transaction. Marriage strategies should ensure the biological reproduction of individual and group and lead to the preservation of social and cultural capital of a family, gender and group. In relation to other groups they should ensure at least an equivalent position of partners. (Bourdieu 2002).

As has already been said, the creation of mixed marriages brings contacting of multiple types of actors identities of . P. I. Berger and T. Luckman (1999) understand identity as a subjective attitude to reality, and at the same time, a phenomenon, which is a result of the relationship of the individual and society. It includes a personal identity (self-definition), as well as a social identity which can be designated as a collective awareness and survival of belonging to a social environment, social groups.

The identity is usually viewed as a process that is fully diverges particularly in adolescence. An important period in terms of identity formation is the median age when individuals often faced with a crisis of integrity, inciting a person to change. If identity crisis is not resolved and a person doesn't obtain consistent self-determination, E. Erikson (1963) talks about confusion of identity. In terms of identity development can be a significant event as a death of a loved one, overcoming a serious illness, divorce, birth of a child or marriage.

The identity of partners belonging to different groups is formed in the process of confrontation, rivalry, compromises between the two individuals. Significant in this process is dominance or submissiveness of partner's personalities as well as cultural models, previous experience, the impact of the environment, etc. The principal in shaping their identity is planning or birth of a child. In families with a double cultural reference are elements that shape the identity visible particularly on lifestyle. They manifest themselves in all spheres of material, spiritual and social life. Any type of mixed marriages or separately each pair establishes which elements of identity are significant or important to them. In shaping and re-interpretation of identity in ethnically and religiously mixed marriages can be appealed to the Novianti (2013) and Streiff-Fenart studies (1989), who consider particularly relevant following elements of identity:

1. Selection of Name & Surname – Preserving the partner's original name and surname or name change, granting a name for a child reflects not only individual aesthetic preferences, but also the level of personal identification with a partner, his kinship and traditions of his country. In choosing the name most often we follow three types of strategies:
 - a. invisibility – selection of neutral name which is prevalent in the majority society, and prevents stigmatization,
 - b. confirmation of otherness – granting so-called strong name, confirming the relationship to the one of the partner's original culture,
 - c. granting the name that is identical or similar in both cultures.
2. Partnerships - The confrontation with the traditional perception of the status of men, women and children in the family, their roles and responsibilities, different perception of gender and age groups. There are clear principles of dominance, submissiveness or equivalence.
3. Transmission of Religion – The existence of multiple models of religious identity to be applied in relation to partners and children (dropping from practicing religion, respecting the religiosity of both partners, the restriction of religious traditions, the conversion...). Significant changes occur mainly if one of the partner's faith is minor in the host country and unconventional.
4. Communication Strategies - The choice of language and communication strategies in family communities acts as an important element of the identification. Change of identity is visible from the intensity and the way of practicing and mastering the mother tongue & the 2nd language, non-verbal communication, or subjects of partner and family discussions. In a mixed marriage we are talking about several models of communication: the adoption and mastery of partner's language, the exclusive use of the mother tongue for both partners, the use of both languages depending on the situation, the creation of a new language or phrases from both languages, the use of a third language functioning as a mediator.
5. Principles of Education - Major in educational processes is the application of different attitudes towards the education of girls and boys, the respect for elders and authority, the different roles of mother and father, keeping the offspring of the parent's cultural model, education in the cultural environment from which parents come from.
6. Nationality - The identity of the partners and their children is built by declaration of nationality. It implements the official declaration of nationality, citizenship, obtaining a birth certificate, but also as a subjective relationship to history, language, religion or any other cultural specificities and traditions.
7. The Concept of Home – It is important in relation to the conservation of the original or the creation of a new identity of individuals. In mixed marriages, it is possible to meet up with a

sense of the existence of two or more homes, feeling of the absence or loss of home, homelessness.

Materials and Method

Our findings are based on two types of data. The background is a data analysis of the Slovak Statistical Office. Here it is possible to clarify the spousal preference of Slovak men and women in terms of national, ethnic, age, and gender. It is also possible to partially characterize marriage markets in which they actually or potentially leads to formation of marriages between Slovak women and Muslim men. These data are largely limited. Data on spouse's religiosity are not mentioned directly. Besides that, mixed marriage statistics with foreigner have been officially available since 2008.

Essential for our conclusions, in particular, was an empirical research made in the form of in-depth semi-structured interviews with 29 female respondents. In addition, we also used the technique of the participating observation in an environment of the Slovak Muslim organizations and organizations dealing with issues of migration and foreigners and participating in several family activities in mixed marriages. In this method we consider to be the best at collecting and comparing information on personal history, adventures and experience of respondents. From the research we did not want to exclude any specific type of mixed marriages. The criterion of selection of the respondents was therefore only women were of Slovak nationality and have lived in a marriage with a partner who was born as a Muslim (regardless of his ethnic origin). Respondents were initially found on the basis of the information mentioned organisations. Later we added the snowball method for their selection. We asked respondents to indicate the other women with the same characteristics.

Results and Discussion

Marriage Market in Slovakia in Relation to Mixed Marriages with Muslims

According to the Special register data of the Ministry of the Interior it has been registered in Slovakia since 1978 approximately 51,600 (about 3,600 annually) applications for registration of marriage to a foreigner closed abroad. The data of the Slovak Statistical Office as well as Eurostat record marriages of Slovaks based on selected spouse's nationality or membership of a geo-economic unit (Africa, Asia, EU, EU 15). There is a lack of information, especially with regard to non-EU countries. Exact information on specific countries of origin of Muslim husband's is not possible to sort out accurately. (Special register of the Ministry of the Interior)

In general, it is possible to argue on this basis (Statistical Office of Slovak Republic) that the Slovaks in terms of nationality prefer endogamous marriage. In the period 2008 – 2013 it is clear that Slovak women have taken foreigners 3 times more often (from 11.4 to 12.6%) than in case of Slovak men. Slovak women prefer foreigners, mainly from Europe (85%), a third of which comes from the Czech Republic, further from the UK, Germany, Austria and Italy. These data suggest theoretical principles in marital preferences. In the case of marriage to a foreigner Slovak woman, especially elected partner from culturally and geographically nearby environment, but also a partner coming from economically advanced countries, which is likely a better social security. Slovak men among foreign women most often take European women (81%), a third to a half of foreign women are Czech, further Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarians and Russian. The statistics also suggest that Slovak women are more likely to marry a partner from geographically, culturally and religiously different environment than Slovak men. For ex. three times more often as Slovak men they have men of African states. They have already found partners from Amerika and Asia as often as Slovak men. Slovak women leave our country because of marriage more often than Slovak men. They are more willing to move and adapt the culture of her husband. Slovak women marriage strategies and their movement within marriage markets suggest the importance of

partner's cultural, geographically, politically-like environment, but also the importance of economic aspects in finding spouses. According to the model: woman trying to find a partner economically better situated, secure, and vice versa.

As has already been mentioned above, the exact records of mixed marriages of Slovaks with Muslim is not available, because there is an absence of general data on religion partners in marriage. We expect this information only on the basis of men nationality or place of birth. In the context of selection of Muslim partners the marriage market is relatively limited. Slovakia has no direct historical experience with long-term-presence of Muslims on their territory, as for example in many Western European countries. Slovak population has the opportunity to meet with Muslims and present them as a potential partners mainly in three ways:

1. contact with the Muslims living in Slovakia,
2. contact with Muslims abroad,
3. contact via the Internet.

These options can also define the space-real and virtual meeting place with the population.

Marriage market in Slovakia is determined mainly by the number of Muslim population. According to the population census of 2011, Slovakia had 1,934 people of the Muslim faith. Representatives of Muslim organizations estimated their real number at 4 to 10,000. In terms of origin prevail among them people from Arab countries, especially Syria, Iraq, Palestine, the former Soviet Union - Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and from Chechnya, the Balkans, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. Some of them are also Slovak converts whose number is estimated at 150 to 400 (with a predominance of women, wives or Muslim partners). From the gender and age perspective are Muslims in Slovakia, particularly young and middle-aged men. Numerous are mainly those who came to this country to study. In 1989 came the Muslim students on the basis of agreements between Czechoslovakia and pro-socialist countries, like was Syria, Libya, Yemen and Afghanistan. The second group consists of Muslim migrants from the ranks of refugees. From 1993 to 2015 Slovakia has been registered 58,064 applications for asylum, of which only 650 were granted. Whereas the statistics of the Migration Office undisclosed the number of persons according to religion, the number of Muslim refugees can be assumed based on the origin countries of applicants. Numerous refugees are mainly from Afghanistan, Iraq, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Iran and India. (Ministry of the Interior). An important group are also Muslims from the ranks of migrant workers. Examples include groups of employees in enterprises, entrepreneurs as well as employees of international companies, institutions and diplomatic representations. Muslims in Slovakia are mainly high school and university educated. (Cenker)

Most Muslim men come to Slovakia free, without family members. The number of Muslim women is estimated to be very low in Slovakia. The majority of Muslim men living in Slovakia find a Slovak partner. The situation is complicated in the case of Slovak women converts. For whom the marriage market in Slovakia is significantly restricted, according to the possibilities of finding a husband only Muslim and a small number of Muslims in Slovakia.

Another option is to get familiar with Muslim partners abroad. The statistical data shows that overseas in recent years leave Slovakia especially young people, more than half of them are aged 34 years. Slightly women prevail over men and an increasing number of singles, which is currently (2013) a simple majority. Dominate people with secondary education, high school graduates (in 2013 43%) and university graduates (in 2013 23%). Over half of Slovaks leave the country to EU countries, of which 33 to 41% in the Czech Republic. After these destination followed by the UK, Ireland, Germany and Austria. (Statistical Office of Slovak Republic) A significant percentage of Muslim population in these countries increases the possibility to meet a Muslim as a partner.

In recent years, the development of tourism is an important moment of mixed marriages. In terms of attendance and length of stay are attractive, especially Egypt, Turkey and Tunisia, visited by Slovak families and individuals as well. From 2004 to 2013, Egypt is on average in 4th place. Turkey in 5th place and Tunisia in 7th place of all foreign tourist destinations of Slovaks. (**Slovak Association of Travel**

Offices and Travel Agencies) In terms of mixed marriages, it is also important a development of the phenomenon so-called traveling single or women travelling alone (girlfriends, colleagues, relatives...), which is modeled after the Western countries and naturalized in Slovak cultural environment.

Table 1. Marital status and age of men in Slovakia by country of birth. Selected countries.

Country of birth	They were never married or in registered partnership, unmarried and divorced	Married	Married at age 30-49
States of Africa	135	410	279
Algeria	8	37	25
Egypt	17	76	52
Marocco	3	18	13
Tunisia	6	61	38
Turkey	25	85	59
Afghanistan	30	60	49
Pakistan	4	20	16
Iran	11	37	31

Source: Statistical Office of Slovak Republic. Datacube.

Analysis of Empirical Data

The respondents can be described in terms of several indicators that are important for researching of their identity. Their age at the time of relationship ranged from 16 to 43 years. Age of the Muslim partner was 17 to 41 years. In terms of education among women is about equally represented higher and secondary education (3 women have secondary education without graduation).

Based on the methods and the way of meeting with their Muslim spouses, there are proving particularly three important groups:

1. Women (12 people), who met their partners in Slovakia or during studies or work stay in one of the European countries. Their spouses have studied at universities or worked. The average age of these women is 25 years, while the youngest was 16 and the oldest was 31 years old. In terms of education the women are almost equally represented with higher and secondary education. Their partners are in most cases college-educated. They are about the same age or older than 1-6 years (in one case 10 years). Their spouses originally come mainly from Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, Syria, Pakistan, Iran, the United Arab Emirates.
2. Women (14 people), who met their partners during holiday or stay in a Muslim country. The age of these women at the time of relationship is in the range of 19 to 43 with a diameter of 33 years. Their partners are more often younger than 1-8 years and coming mainly from Egypt, Tunisia and Algeria.
3. Women (3 people) who got to know their husbands via Internet. Since it is a small, age and educationally diverse sample, it is not important to specify them. Their husbands were from Algeria, Egypt and Tunisia.
4. In terms of marital status, respondents from the first group were single at the time of relationship with their Muslim partner (with the exception of one divorced). Respondents from the second group were about the same number as divorced unmarried (or single mothers). Their partners were single in all cases at the time of relationship (one of them was divorced with his Slovak wife). All women and their husbands had a permanent residence in Slovakia.

Table 2. Summary of Selected Respondents' Perceptions of their Choice of Muslim Husband.

Meeting circumstance	Age at the time of meeting	Comments
in Slovakia	21	"His first sentence was: hey, I'm a Muslim. It did not bother me at all. I can make opinion myself about this world."
in Slovakia	25	"Husband was a friend of my friend. I was previously in acquaintance with Muslim. We were talking and suddenly I had a great feeling about him."
in Slovakia	18	„The reason was the spark."
on holiday	37	"He was better, more honest than my ex-husband."
abroad	28	"It was simply a bond between us from the beginning. My new husband was better because he was not interested in any other women."
abroad	27	„ I did not know anything about Islam. I did not plan the future with him. But gradually I was getting to like him as a person. They respect their wives and they have to take care of their children, not to hit them. They must protect their wives, they are not allowed to cheat or to have other sexual partners. A mutual respect and purity are important in a relationship. I have always imagined marriage like this. Thanks to Islam I have a beautiful marriage. I don't want Slovak man, I cant imagine having any relationship with slovak. I don't have to worry about my partner coming home drunk who smells and who can be physically aggressive towards me ."
in Slovakia	21	"Pure coincidence. I did not choose my future husband according to religion. I would have to marry Christian according to my parents. Now I cannot imagine marrying a Slovak non-Muslim man. Islam has more respect for a woman. Men help more with household chores. Slovaks are still lagging behind and they think that woman belongs to a kitchen."
on holiday	21	"Compared with my ex- boyfriend, it's more about respect and support. Before I was me who had to pay for a coffee in the restaurant instead of a man."
via internet	37	"When I was in touch with other Slovak men, there was always something irritating which I could not stand about them. I have always had a problem with something. But with my husband it worked well. He convinced me with its sincerity and openness. I felt like that it also has an old-fashioned values compared with other Slovak men. Nowadays, most of men have problem to take a responsibility, to have children. They live only in relationship without marriage. I liked that was clear about it. I felt that I can trust him, even though I have also had a lot of prejudices."
on holiday	28	"I have just got divorced and i have chosen to go on holiday. I did not have any positive experience with a man. He was different, special, with a spark. When we talked together I felt like we understood each other."

With respect to identity and its changes after a marriage acquaintance with Muslim partners, the most important show for the following elements:

1. Religious Identity

Respondents from all groups were converted Muslim women (with the exception of 3 women who were planning to do it in the near future and 4 women who did not plan to convert.) All respondents (except 2 women), before accepting Islam considered themselves Christians. More than half of them have been active practitioner (regularly going to church, domestic praying, activities in religious communities). They learnt about Islam from their husbands or by obtaining information from different sources. Three women converted to Islam before meeting their Muslim husband. Other women converted shortly before

or after marriage. The most commonly reported reason for their conversion was the logical and simplicity of Islam, clear rules in everyday life and the necessity to integrate into the system.

2. The identity of female respondents as wives and partners

According to all female respondents, they got to know their husbands unintentionally and accidentally. Exceptions were in 4 cases. One of the women contacted Muslim men via internet deliberately, because she was attracted by Islam and Islamic culture. Two converted Muslim women asked their Muslim friends in Slovakia to keep them advised of such spouses. Regarding to reasons of choice their spouse, the respondents declared except emotional ties, especially rational, intellectual reasons. The similarity to the same attitude to a partner's life is important as well as the status of women and men in the family and society. They prefer a traditional division of roles between men and women. The man has to be a protector and breadwinner, woman has to be a caring person as a partner and mother. A woman can work only if she wishes to. Many of the women reported negative experiences with previous partners or spouses. They also stated that they did not feel comfortable before acquaintance with a Muslim partner with groups (family, friends...) or Christian society. They felt different to others. Previously they behaved similarly then after marriage with Muslim – clothing, contact with men, eating. All female respondents mention in particular the wearing of headscarves as a step in the formation of identity. They wear it only when they are internally balanced with self-evident, faith and surroundings. As a visible sign of otherness they see a scarf as a problem in Slovakia. Islam (praying, fasting and compliance with other rules) adheres about half of them, especially those that were converted prior acquaintance with her husband or those whose husband is a practicing Muslim.

In the context of female identity as individuals it is important to monitor the change of name after marriage to a Muslim. Three quarters of all respondents adopted a surname of her husband after marriage, or added his name to their surname. The most common reason reported was that they wanted the whole family to have the same surname and that they liked husband's surname. They assumed that they will also live in Slovakia, where it is unlike several Muslim countries, habit of taking over the man's surname. A smaller group of women (6) have chosen a Muslim sounding first name. In particular, they were the women who converted before marriage or they were getting married at an earlier age. Their Muslim name was used most exclusively in the Muslim community. Research has shown the importance of work as an element forming female identity. Most women prefer a home care and children's care more than a career. They point out that it is their free choice to work or not.

3. The identity of respondents as mothers

All women respondents agree that their fundamental role is to be a mother and care about children. They emphasize raising children to the Muslim faith, or at least to principles which are consistent with the faith. Several of them even claim that they want to move to a country of their spouse or another Muslim country due to mentioned reasons. They tend to make their children to visit father's country. They tend to make their children to visit father's country. In connection with the name of the children in all the cases the child acquires a surname of the father. The most common model in giving of a name for the child is a neutral name, similar in both cultures (most often given names: Jakub, Adam) or the name used in Muslim countries. Rarely, names which may primarily evoke belonging to the Islamic world - Ahmed, Mahmud, Muhammad. The issue of differences in approach to children by gender are still not solved even if they are aware of the considerable differences and needs of their acceptance. The reason is that their children are too young (in most of the cases) preschool and school age. Muslim children communicate with other children in Slovak language. They shall ensure, however, that man communicates with children and in his language. Female use a several models from which dominates the communication with their husbands in English language.

4. The identity of women as members of their extended family or social groups

The identity of women as members of wider kinship and community groups will vary quite significantly. Several of the respondents reported that their family has difficulty in accepting their new status. The biggest problem is not in marriage with Muslims, but that their man is Muslim and that they themselves have adopted Islam. The dispute is particularly external presentation – veiling and wearing scarves. Their families have had longer to settle in a new situation, they do not maintain contact with their family or are trying to avoid the subject. In the case of colleagues, classmates, friends several numbers of weakening relations have been recorded. Women are more oriented to life with a partner and living in the nuclear family. Another important element is orientation to other mixed couples, individuals from among the Muslims or Muslim organizations in Slovakia.

Conclusion

Based on the study of statistical data and empirical findings, it is clear that the marriage market for mixed marriages with Muslim partnerships in Slovakia is still limited. It determines the low number of Muslims and the predominance of men in this market. In the case of meeting in Slovakia or in any of the European countries, women and their husbands are around in the same age (or men somewhat older) and equal education (particularly university or secondary education), the most awarded first marriage – in the same categories. In the case of meeting in Muslim countries (during the holiday or working stay) there are some differences between them - a slightly older women, women especially with higher and secondary education, men mostly with secondary or primary education, women in many cases married a second time, or with previous negative experience with men.

When deciding on marriage, there were strong rational elements in which the similarity of views about the role of men and women in the partnership and family was dominated. Several women held an opinion that the traditional division of tasks that in our society have disappeared. Women expect the respect, esteem of a woman and mother, assurance provided by the partner. The most striking element where there is a change of their identity is formal (conversion to Islam) or even real (practice of Islam) accommodating the partners in the field of religion. Respondents considered a conversion or respect for Islamic life as an important and almost indispensable element of strategies for partnership and family life with such a husband. They derived identity as a woman, partner, member of the wider kinship and social groups since religious identity.

The question of changing of identity by the name or communication strategies is not as pronounced. Change of surname is justified by practical life and adapting to Slovak conditions. It is similar in communication strategies, where English is dominated - especially in cases of meeting with a partner in abroad or via the Internet. In the case of communication with children, women make sure that husband speaks to his children in his own language so that the children are multilingual.

We expect that in the future the issue of mixed Slovak – Muslim marriages in Slovakia will be still actual and numbers of mixed marriages will increase. This is related to emigration and immigration tendencies, but such trends as higher age at first marriage or a high divorce rate. It will likely be women entering these marriages who subscribe to the traditional division of roles between the partners, or have a negative experience.

Bibliography

1. Berger, P., I. – Luckman, T. *Sociální konstrukce reality. Pojednání o sociologii vědění*. Brno: CPSDK, 1999.
2. Bourdieu, P. Reprodukční strategie a formy nadvlády. *Sborník prací Fakulty sociálních studií Brněnské univerzity*. Sociální studia 8, 2002, 77-91.
3. Cenker, M. *Moslimské migranti v Bratislave*. <http://www.multikulti.sk>.

4. Gabura, J. *Teória rodiny a proces práce s rodinou*. Bratislava: Iris, 2012.
5. Giraud, A. *Le Choix du conjoint. Une enquête psycho-sociologique en France*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964.
6. Erikson, E. *Childhood and society*. (2nd ed.). New York: W. W. Norton, 1959.
7. Kalmijn, M.. Intermarriage and Homogamy: Cause, patterns, Trends. *Annual Reviews of Sociology*, 24, 1998, 395-421.
8. Katrňák, T. *Spříznění volbou? : homogamie a heterogamie manželských párů v České republice*. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2008.
9. Ministry of the Interior. <http://www.minv.sk/statistics>
10. Novianti, E. Family communication in mixed-marriage between Sudanese and Minakgkabau. *International Journal of Social Science*. Vol. 18, No. 1, 2013, 33-40.
11. Singly, F. de. Théorie critique de l'homogamie. *L'année sociologique*, 37. 1987, according to Kráľová, Ľ. Homogamia – zákon alebo alternatíva výberu životného partnera? *Czech Sociological Review* 31 (3), 1995, 335-344.
12. Slovak Association of Travel Offices and Travel Agencies.
http://www.sacka.eu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=90&Itemid=81
13. Special register of the Ministry of the Interior. Information requested.
14. Statistical Office of Slovak Republic. <http://slovak.statistics.sk/>
15. Statistical Office of Slovak Republic. <http://datacube.statistics.sk/SODB/TM1WebLogin.aspx>
16. Streiff-Fenart, J. *Les couples franco-maghrébins en France*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1989.