Barbara Kacerová
Štefan Šutaj
Jana Šutajová
(eds.)

Central European Connections in National Minorities´ Development at the Beginning of 21. Century

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The proceedings of the International Scientific Conference
of the scientific project APVV-15-0745
Trends in the Development of Ethnic Relations in Slovakia
(Comparative Research of Ethnic Issue between 2004 and 2020) – (TESS2)

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Prešov 2019

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Introduction

In 2004 – 2020, the Center of Social and Psychological Sciences, in cooperation with two departments of the Faculty of Arts, UPJŠ in Košice, implemented the *project "Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020)"* with the support of the Slovak Research and Development Agency).

Its aim is to expand the knowledge of the ongoing processes in Slovak society, which are influenced by ethnicity of population, monitoring of the nationality policy in Slovakia and the perception of this policy and ethnic relations by both the majority (Slovak population) and the national minorities in Slovakia. On our way to meet this aim, we have set a number of sub-objectives, which are to be met along three basic lines:

1. To present partial results of the research conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences of the SAS (Centre of Social and Psychological Sciences of the SAS) based on data obtained by empirical research of ethnicity and nationality relations in 2017 and compare it with the results of the research that was carried out in 2004, while maintaining the methodological procedures applied in the empirical research from 2004. In 2003 – 2005, the Institute of Social Sciences of the SAS conducted a sociological-social-psychological research entitled *Nation, Nationalities and Ethnic Groups in the Process of Transformation of Slovak Society*. Its implementation consisted of empirical analysis of data obtained by questionnaire method on a research sample, made up of a total of 1280 respondents. The comparison of data from 2004 and 2017 can be an interesting source of knowledge, how and where the Slovak society shifted in the given period.
2. To prepare a series of workshops for students of the Faculty of Arts UPJŠ, the aim of which is to convey the latest knowledge gained in the course of the project and to encourage students to work in science
3. To analyse the situation in the area of nationality policy, how it works, its institutional provision and ethnic relations in Slovak society.

This line includes the prepared monographs, scientific studies and articles, as well as scientific conferences where the project team and their collaborators from Slovakia and neighbouring countries present their research findings.

The results of the first scientific conference, which was held on 14 – 15 November 2016, were published in the following proceedings: ŠUTAJ, Štefan – HELDÁKOVÁ, Lucia – REGINÁČOVÁ, Nikola. (eds.). *Current Issues of Research on Nationality Policy and Nationality Relations in Slovakia in the 20th and the 21st Centuries*. Prešov: Universum, 2017 and ŠUTAJ, Štefan – REGINÁČOVÁ, Nikola – HELDÁKOVÁ, Lucia (eds.). *Aktuálne otázky výskumu národnostnej politiky a národnostných vzťahov na Slovensku v 20. a 21. storočí*. Prešov: Universum, 2017.

The results of the second scientific conference "Central European Contexts of National Development at the Beginning of the 21st Century", which was held on 14 – 15

November 2018, two years after the first conference, are presented to readers in these proceedings.

Central European context of national development and nationality policy in Slovakia should be monitored especially due to the fact that most national minorities in Slovakia have their mother nations in neighbouring countries and, vice versa, Slovak minorities live in other European countries. This dimension of nationality policy cannot be neglected as it is very important for the perception of interrelations and is often reflected in the political solutions presented, but also in the perception of ethnic relations by the inhabitants of Central European region. It should be pointed out that these conference proceedings do not present the papers presented at the conference, but these are in-depth scientific studies based on the papers presented.

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the publication, the authors use two types of references to literature, thus we accepted systems of both social and human sciences (one common to historical sciences and the other typical for sociology and psychology) which use different strategies to refer to literature and sources.

Štefan Šutaj

1

National Policy as a Subject of Scientific Research – Results of Comparative Research of National Issues

Who Should Have Competence in Matters of Minority Culture from the Perspective of their Members? Comparison of Respondents' Answers from 2004 and 2017[1]

Jozef Výrost

Abstract:

In 2004 and 2017, two empirical surveys were conducted with the aim to describe the perception of ethnicity and interethnic relations of members of traditional ethnic minorities (Wolff, 2008) in Slovakia. In this article, we analyse the answers of Hungarian, Roma, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, and Czech respondents – and for comparison also Slovaks – to the question, which authority, according to their opinion, would be competent to decide in the matters of culture of ethnic minorities in the country. The acquired results showed that in both surveys, the top of the list in all groups were representative authorities of minorities in question (1), ministry of culture (2) and local self-government authorities. In addition of signs of stability and similarity, some differences were registered, which proved to be of statistical significance. Besides overall positive reflection of evaluation of the issue by respondents, global shift from preferring singular authority (institution) in decision-making processes related to the issue of development of ethnic minorities to several. The view of respondents with regard to this question is obviously becoming more differentiated, which is in accordance with the principles promoted as part of approved documents of the Council of Europe and processes of monitoring of Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

Keywords:

Ethnic minorities, perception of ethnicity, Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of Council of Europe

On 1 February 2018, 20 years passed since the adoption of the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (FCNM) in the Council of Europe (CE) in Strasbourg. Pursuant to the principles, the implementation of the Framework Convention is regularly monitored at the 5-year interval. Hence, similarly to the other countries that signed the Convention when it was adopted in 1998, the Slovak Republic has so far

1 The paper was created within project APVV-15-0745 *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020)* – (TESS2).

completed four monitoring cycles (1999, 2004, 2009, 2014) and a monitoring report is currently being prepared for the fifth cycle – the deadline is 1 February 2019.

Monitoring reports of countries report on the implementation of the Convention in its entirety and on each individual article (18) from its core parts (I and II). For better idea, the first monitoring report for the Slovak Republic from 1999 had 47 pages without annexes; the second from 2004 had 66 pages; the third from 2009 had 63 pages; and the fourth from 2014 had 93 pages.

This monitoring process is also not a one-way street for reporting:

– After reading the text of the report[2] the delegation of the Council of Europe's Expert Advisory Committee[3] will visit the country (for the fourth cycle between 22 – 26 September 2014, they were for example in Bratislava, Košice, Prešov and Dunajská Streda).
– Subsequently, the Committee of Experts will draft their Opinion on the monitoring report[4] including recommendations (for example, the last one was 32 pages long).
– In the next step, the government of the country will process a Commentary[5] on the text of the Advisory Committee's opinion through its bodies (for example, the last one was 32 pages long).
– Based on the drafted documents, the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers will adopt and approve, by a two-thirds majority, the Resolution[6] on implementation of FCNM in the country.

Of the common explicit and implicit features of the Advisory Committee's opinions on the four monitoring reports from Slovakia, as well as the opinions addressed to other signatory countries, it is possible, based on analysis, to draw generalizations

1. The protection of national minorities, their rights and freedoms is not only a national matter, but also falls within the sphere of international cooperation (this is also a fundamental reason for the Council of Europe's initiative).
2. Responsibility for the state of affairs in this area lies with the State, which, through the Government and its bodies, is to implement measures respecting the recommendations and regularly inform the Council of Europe/other countries of the implementation of the Convention.
3. Caring for the position of ethnic minorities is a permanent task. The experience from monitoring reports of various countries also points to examples of the counter-movement (efficient solutions are replaced by the less efficient ones or are abolished altogether).

---

2 https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=0900001680090323 [28. 5. 2019]
3 https://www.coe.int/en/web/minorities/advisory-committee [28. 5. 2019]
4 https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=0900001680303190 [28. 5. 2019]
5 https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=0900001680303192[28. 5. 2019]
6 https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016806429ea [28. 5. 2019]

4. From the point of view of national institutions, ensuring the functioning and further development of ethnic minorities is a cross-sectional, complex task. It requires coordinated activities of relevant public administration institutions – i. e. state and self-government authorities.
5. Particular attention is paid to the processes that, in the opinion of CE, reflect a desirable shift from etatism to self-regulation.
6. The process does not end by adopting appropriate legislation, it merely begins. Implementation process is the decisive phase, while the current state and trends of development should be systematically analysed (scientific research).

In 2004, a research was carried out on members of traditional national minorities (in terms of Wolff's classification of minorities, 2008) living in the Slovak Republic (Hungarians, Roma, Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Czechs, Germans and Jews) as well as, for comparison, members of Slovak majority, which focused on the perception of ethnicity, national relations, important aspects of nationality life from the aspect of the past, present, and future perspectives, including identification of opinions on current issues of social life (Homišinová, Výrost, 2005). In 2017, an opportunity occurred to repeat such empirical research and thus – using practically identical data collection methodology – the possibility of capturing the trends in the development of opinions and attitudes of representatives of minorities to the issues examined.

In this paper, we will analyse the answers of members of five ethnic minorities (Hungarians, Roma, Czechs, Ruthenians and Ukrainians) and Slovaks. The 2004 research sample in this case represented a total of 960 respondents (of which 51.7 % were women) and in 2017, there were 972 respondents (of which 51.5 % were women). Representation by nationality is shown in Table No. 1:

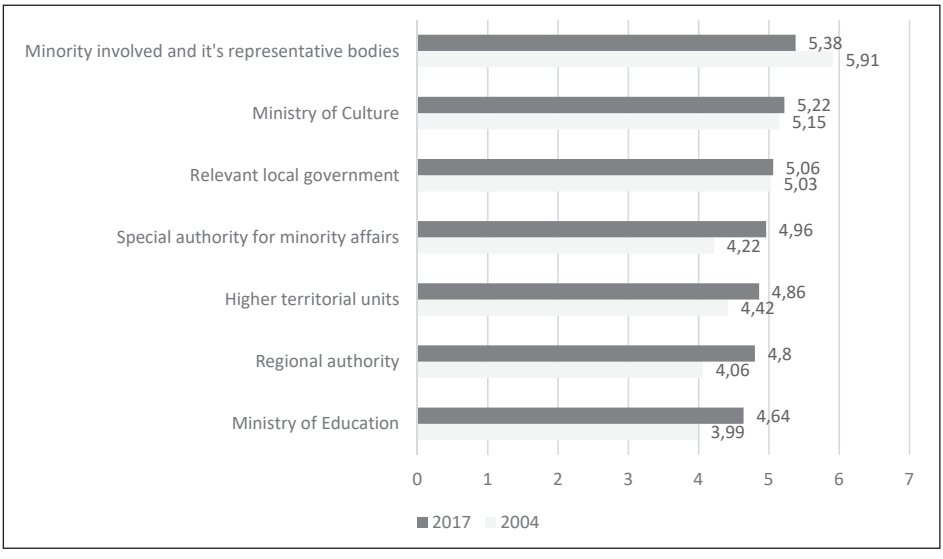
Table No. 1: Number of respondents in groups according to nationality

NATIONALITY	2004	2017
Hungarian	160	165
Roma	160	160
Ruthenian	160	160
Ukrainian	160	160
Czech	160	165
Slovak	160	162

In the results we will focus on respondents' answers to the question *which body, in their opinion, should decide on issues of minority culture in Slovakia.* The following institutions were listed: *Ministry of Education; Ministry of Culture; relevant higher territorial units; regional authorities; relevant local authority; the minority concerned and its representative bodies; a special office for minority issues to be set up.* Respondents had the opportunity to express their attitudes on 7-point response scales, where *1 – definitely no, 7 – definitely yes, and the centre of the scale 4 – neither one nor the other, I do not know,* each of the institutions was assessed separately.

The comparison of the attitudes of the respondents from 2004 and 2017 for the whole sample is presented in Chart No. 1:

Chart No. 1: Averages of respondents' answers to the question which institution should decide on the issues of minority culture in 2004 and 2017.

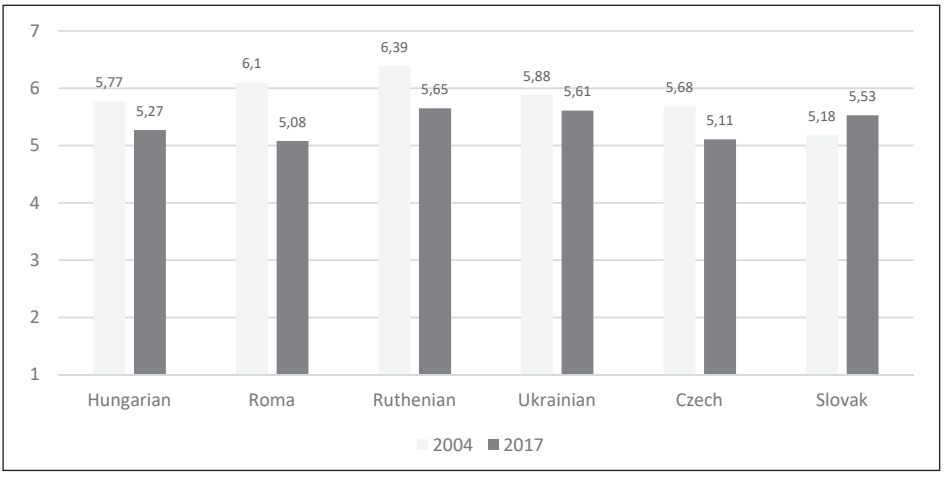


An opinion that the issues of minority culture should be decided by the concerned minority and its representative bodies, was the most positive in the respondents' answers in 2004 as well as in 2017 (average response on the 7-point was highest). However, when assessing the trend between the two empirical probes, this is the only item that shows a decrease that is also statistically significant ($p < 0.05$[7]). In all other items, there has been a shift towards the positive pole of the scale, thus in 2017 respondents evaluate the decision-making competences of these institutions in developing the culture of ethnic minorities in Slovakia more positively. The difference in the comparison of two measurements is statistically significant also in other items ($p < 0.01$), except for the Ministry of Culture and local government, where no statistically significant difference has been demonstrated. The overall view of the results of this comparison thus shows that the view of the representatives of minorities on who (which institution) is to decide on this issue becomes more differentiated – it expresses the expectation that other state and self-governing bodies will be fully involved, in addition to minorities and their representative bodies.

In the following text, we will focus on a more detailed comparative analysis of the respondents' answers to the question asked, in relation to the institutions under review, in groups by nationality:

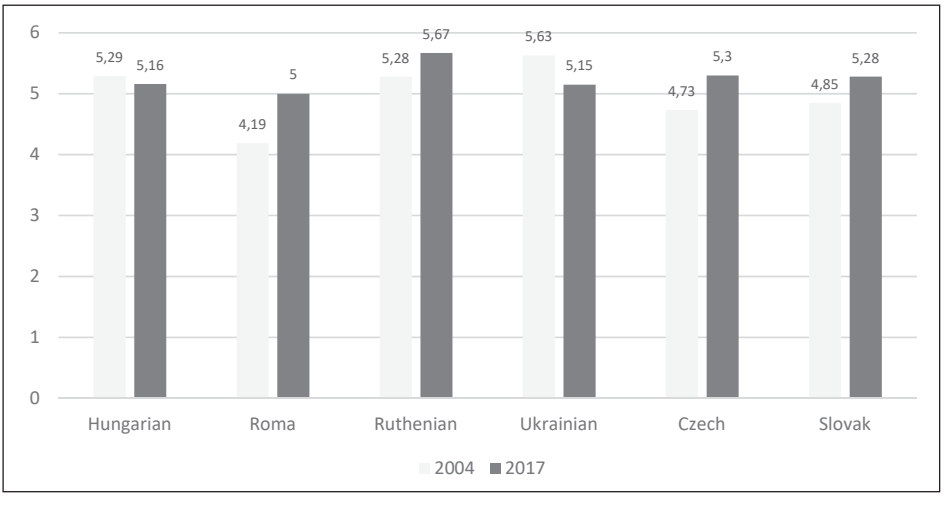
7 Student's t-test for independent selection was used for the needs of statistic analysis.

Chart No. 2: Averages of respondents' answers in 2004 and 2017 by nationality as to whether the minority concerned, and its representative bodies should decide on issues of minority culture.



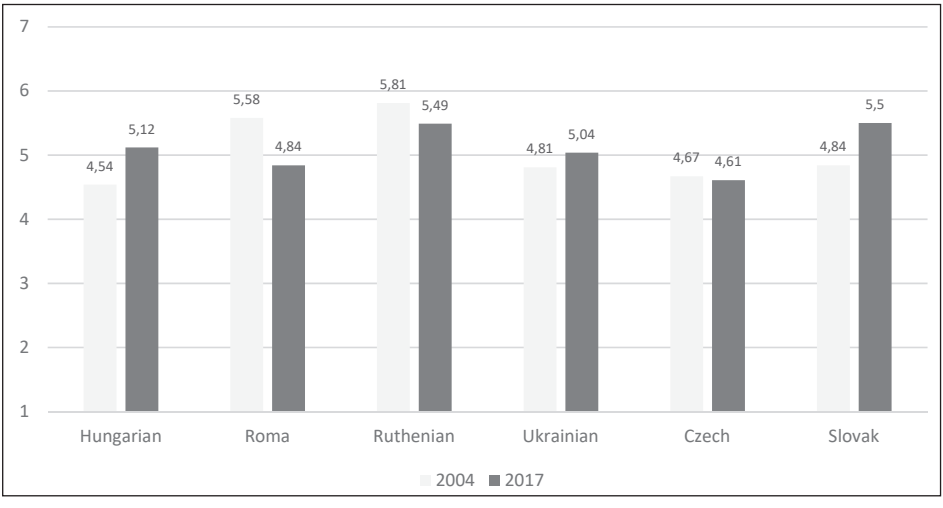
The trend described in Chart No.1, showing a decrease in the rate of positive responses to this item, was found in all groups (for Hungarians, Roma, Ruthenians and Czechs, it was statistically significant at $p < 0.01$, in $p < 0.05$). The opposite trend (which is also statistically significant, $p < 0.01$) can be registered for respondents of Slovak nationality.

Chart No. 3: Averages of respondents' answers in 2004 and 2017 by nationality as to whether the Ministry of Culture should decide on the issue of minority culture.



The results presented in Chart No.3 show that in two groups of respondents (Hungarians and Ukrainians), when comparing both measurements, there was a decrease in the level of positive answers to the question, however, this difference is only statistically significant for the Ukrainians ($p < 0.01$). On the other hand, shift in the positive direction (averages of responses on the assessment scale in 2017 are higher than in 2004) that the Ministry of Culture should decide on the issue of minority culture can be registered in case of respondents of Roma, Ruthenian, Czech and Slovak nationalities. This difference is statistically significant in all groups ($p < 0.01$).

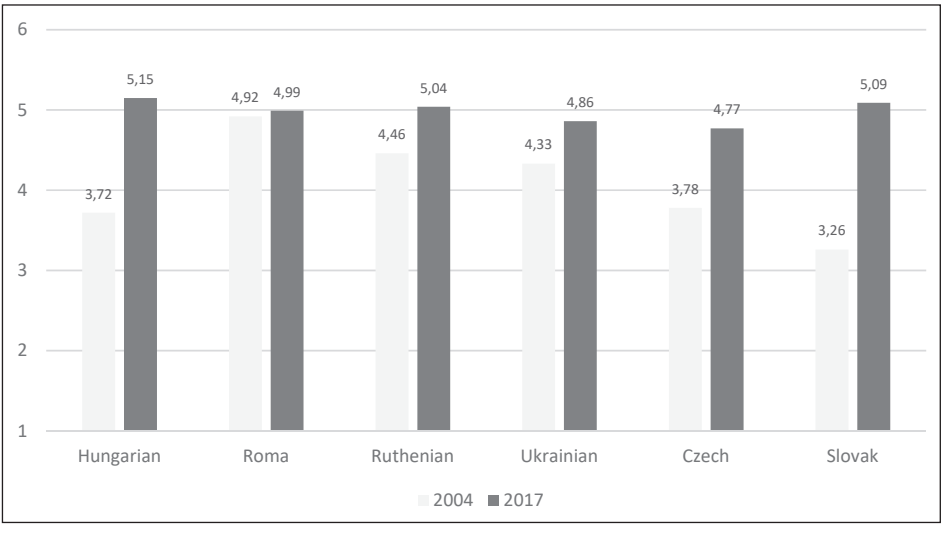
Chart No. 4: Averages of respondents' answers in 2004 and 2017 by nationality to the question whether local governments should decide on the issue of minority culture.



The respondents of Hungarian, Ukrainian and Slovak nationalities evaluated the involvement of relevant local authorities in deciding on these issues more positively in comparison of years 2004 and 2017, while the difference is statistically significant in two cases (Hungarians and Slovaks) ($p < 0.01$). On the other hand, the respondents of Roma, Ruthenian, Czech nationality are less positive and in two cases (Roma, Ruthenians) this difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

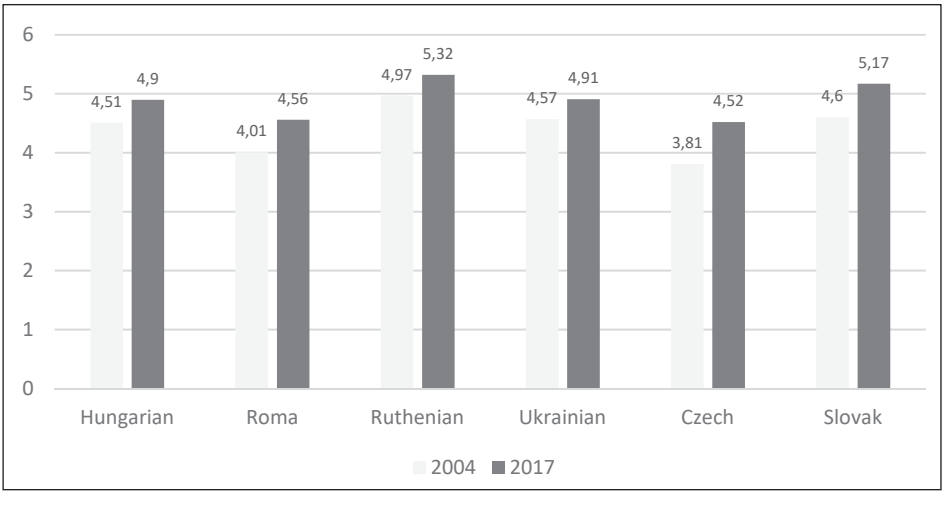
In answers to this question, a more significant change can be observed when comparing the two empirical probes: While in 2004 the average of evaluations of Hungarian, Czech and Slovak nationals (on the need to establish a special authority for ethnic minority affairs, which would also decide on the issue of minority culture) occurred in the negative pole of the scale, in 2017 we can register a significant shift to the positive pole of the scale. Of course, this difference is also statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). A similar, although qualitatively not so significant shift to the positive pole of the scale

Chart No. 5: Averages of respondents' answers in 2004 and 2017 by nationality to the question whether a special authority for minority affairs that has to be established should decide on the issue of minority culture.



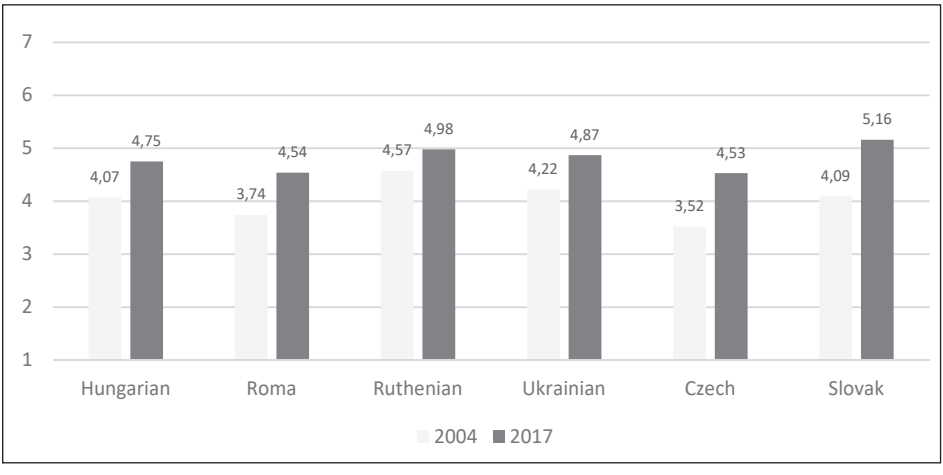
also occurred in case of respondents of Ukrainian and Ruthenian nationality, and it is also statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). The attitude of respondents of Roma nationality, also positive, remained practically unchanged.

Chart No. 6: The average of the respondents' answers in 2004 and 2017 by nationality to the question whether relevant higher territorial units should decide on the issue of minority culture.



In case of higher territorial units there was a shift towards the positive pole of the response scale in all groups of respondents, while statistically significant at the level of $p < 0.01$ it was for Hungarians, Roma, Czechs and Slovaks, in case of Ukrainians and Ruthenians the level was $p < 0.05$.

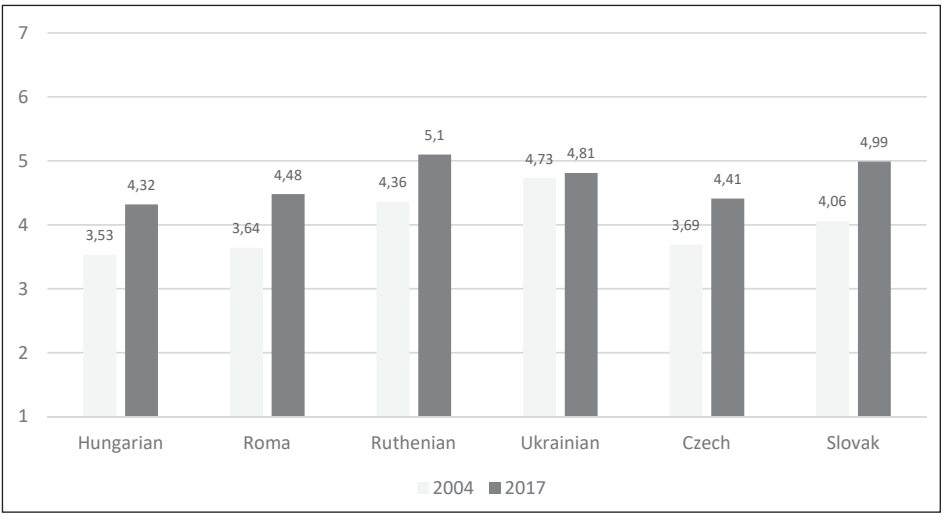
Chart No. 7: Averages of respondents' answers in 2004 and 2017 by nationality to the question whether relevant regional authorities should decide on the issue of minority culture.



In the case of regional authorities, all groups of respondents shifted towards the positive pole of the response scale, this shift was statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

Even in the case of the Ministry of Education's involvement, a more significant change can be observed in the answer to this question when comparing two empirical probes: While in 2004 the average of Hungarian, Roma and Czech nationals was in the negative pole of the scale, in 2017 there is a significant shift to positive pole scale. Of course, this difference is also statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). A similar, although not qualitatively significant, shift to the positive pole of the scale also occurred in respondents of Ruthenian and Slovak nationality, which is also statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). The attitude of respondents of Ukrainian nationality, also positive, remained practically unchanged.

Chart No. 8: Averages of respondents' answers in 2004 and 2017 by nationality to the question whether the Ministry of Education should decide on the issue of minority culture.



Conclusion

Some generalizations can be drawn from the analysis on state and development of respondents' answers to the question, which institutions should primarily have decision-making competence in the development of minority cultures:

In both empirical probes, the list was steadily topped by representative bodies of the minorities concerned (1), the Ministry of Culture (2) and relevant local authorities (3). It can be considered natural, as spontaneous interest activities that occur naturally and usually only subsequently acquire forms that require some organizational and institutional framework and support, are the foundation and driver of cultural activities.

Although the overall state of the respondents' opinions clearly shows some signs of similarity and stability, certain differences may be observed between the groups in the question under consideration: A shift in the positive evaluation of the involvement of all of the listed institutions can be registered from the perspective of the representatives of majority (Slovaks). Only in this group, we have seen an increase in the question of the involvement of the minorities concerned and their representative bodies – on the contrary, the other groups have shifted in the opposite direction. In particular, in case of respondents of Hungarian nationality, the evaluation of competence attributed to local authorities and the special authority on minority affairs, which would have to be set up, has increased. In the case of Roma, a change can be observed in a more positive evaluation of the competence of regional authorities (higher territorial units and regional authorities) and the Ministry of Education. In case of Ruthenians, mainly evaluation of both ministries (culture and education) and the special office for minority affairs increased. There has been a positive shift in evaluation of the need to establish such an

office also for Ukrainians (together with the competence of regional authorities) and Czechs (together with the involvement of both ministries and regional authorities).

In addition to the overall positive image of respondents' evaluation of the issue concerned, global shift from prioritizing the competence of a singular authority (institution) in decision-making processes related to the issue of the development of national minority cultures, the so-called resort view, to several, can be considered a finding of key significance. Obviously, the respondents' view of this question is gradually becoming more differentiated, which is in line with the principles described in the introduction to this paper, which are being promoted in the Council of Europe's adopted documents and monitoring processes.

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Development of Relations of Selected National Minorities in the Slovak Republic 2004 – 2017[1]

Michal Kentoš

Abstract:

The paper analyses the relations between the majority and Hungarians, Ruthenians and Roma in Slovakia in the period between 2004 – 2017 from the point of view of comparative analysis of evaluation of interethnic relations. The data analysed were acquired in two waves of national minority research in 2004 and 2017. This period is characterized by stabilization of relations between the majority and national minorities as well as the relations between ethnic groups. The analysed results refer to more positive evaluations of relations within ethnic communities in 2017 compared to 2004. In terms of interethnic relations, the situation was different. Except for self-evaluation, the evaluations of the Roma were mostly neutral to negative. The evaluations of relations with Hungarians ranged from positive, especially from the perspective of the majority, to neutral evaluations. Similar findings were also observed in evaluations of the Ruthenians. Overall, however, evaluations of interethnic relations are accompanied by a more peaceful interethnic discourse and stabilization of interrelations.

Keywords:

Interethnic relations, Roma, Ruthenians, Hungarians

Introduction

Relations between the majority and national minorities in Slovakia have their specifics. The dominant ethnic minorities in the region are Hungarians and Roma, and both ethnic groups have become part of public discourse. On the other hand, other minorities have an asymmetric position towards them, especially in terms of their number and political representation when articulating their demands.

The issue of Hungarian minority has become one of significant topics of public life since the establishment of the Slovak Republic. This period was characterized by a deepening of the cooperation of Hungarian political parties in enforcing the demands of Hungarian community. There was a requirement to label municipalities in Hungarian language, to prevent the introduction of alternative education and to develop a territorial division in accordance with ethnic distribution. Although according to Šutaj (2005) the

1 The paper was prepared as part of project APVV-15-0745 *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020)* – (TESS2).

Slovak-Hungarian relations managed to overcome various problems (the Slovak-Hungarian Treaty of 1995, joining the European structures), the possible sources of instability in relation to the Hungarian minority appear also later. In particular, it was the rise of nationalist political entities in both states, or the adoption of laws on dual citizenship in Hungary and the subsequent amendment of Slovak law. After 2010, there is a relative harmonization of relations between the two states and avoidance of the sources of potential conflicts (Marušiak, 2011, Strážay, 2013).

Between 2004 and 2017, poverty, discrimination, racism, education and social issues were most discussed in relation to the Roma. In recent years, the issue of poverty and segregation in Roma settlements has again become a topic. A huge problem the Roma need to cope with are the stereotypes of the majority population. Often, Roma are perceived as people avoiding work and civic duties, people who abuse social benefits. The majority society sometimes refuses the Roma, one of the reasons being racial aversion. Many Roma children grow up in institutions. Relations between the majority and the Roma are often tense, sometimes resulting in open hostility. After the accession of the Slovak Republic to the European Union, the Roma were in an unusual situation – their standards were not always completely in line with the normative and value system of the majority population. The Roma mostly lived in closed groups. The distance of the majority of the majority from the Roma minority caused even higher segregation in the inner world of minority. For the Roma, the majority community thus remains an alien group, which has rejected them in the past.

After 1989, Ruthenian national minority underwent difficult development, especially in relation to the Ukrainians. The essence of the dispute was whether the Ruthenians were an independent nation, or just a part of the Ukrainian nation. This dispute became even more prominent in the 1990s. This was a period of decrease of living standards for the Ruthenians. Slovak districts with the highest number of Ruthenians were almost always below the average in the production indicators as well as living standard in the national comparison. Ruthenian (and Ukrainian) economically active population had an above-average share in employment in agriculture, but also in education and health, while it was considerably below average in industry, construction and trade. Ruthenians also acquired their own Ruthenian language education since 1997. However, it is a paradox that the education that they had been striving for such a long time is not of too much interest at present and Ruthenian schools in Slovakia are concerned about their future (Kokaisl, 2017).

The above-mentioned context of interethnic relations is also reflected in the opinions and attitudes of the population determined by means of public opinion surveys. As per Bahna (2015), according to the results of the International Social Survey Program, relations between Slovaks and Hungarians between 1996 and 2014 changed significantly. While in 1996, 40 % of respondents labelled Hungary as the biggest threat to Slovakia; in 2014 it was only 5 % of respondents. According to the ISSP 2009 survey, conflicts between Slovaks and Hungarians were perceived as sharp or very sharp by 22 % or 35.6 % of Slovak respondents, similarly conflicts between Slovaks and Roma were assessed negatively by 23.5 % or 47.4 % of respondents (Džambazovič, Zeman, Pikulík, 2010). According to the findings of the Institute for Public Affairs in 2015 in

the V4 countries, in the ranking of credibility, according to the opinion of Slovak public, after the Czechs (78 %) on the third place were the Poles (40 %). Hungarians were on the ninth place (30 %). Hungarians trusted Germany most (62 % trusting). It was followed by Poland (58 %), the Czech Republic and Slovakia shared the fourth and fifth place (40 %) (Gyárfášová, Mesežnikov, 2016).

Aim of the Paper

The aim of this paper is to analyse interethnic relations between Slovaks, Hungarians, Roma and Ruthenians in 2004 – 2017 on the basis of data obtained by means of empirical research of ethnicity and ethnic relations (preserving methodology applied in empirical research in 2004).

Method

The data come from two rounds of national minority research that took place in 2004 and 2017. An almost identical questionnaire was used in both research rounds. The research set for our study needs, created by the available selection, was a total of 480 respondents in 2004. The object of research were Slovaks (160) – members of majority from nationally mixed areas and members of three minorities living in Slovakia: Hungarians (160), Roma (160) and Ruthenians (160). The criteria for selecting the individual respondents were the declaration of minority affiliation, gender, age and education.

In 2017, the research sample consisted of 487 respondents. Slovaks were represented by 162 respondents, there were 165 Hungarians, 160 Roma and 160 Ruthenians. The selection criteria for the research sample were the same as in 2004.

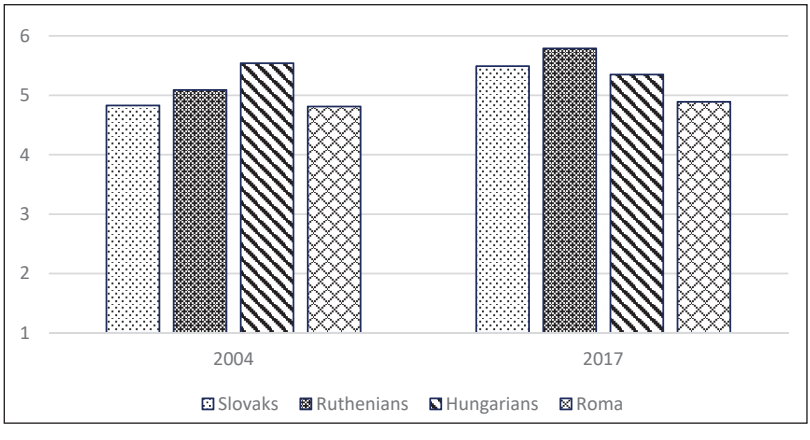
For the purposes of evaluating the relations within ethnic community, the minority's relations with the majority and the relations of the majority to the minority, the following questions were used: *Should you assess the present relations: 1. inside your minority, 2. of your minority to Slovaks, 3. of Slovaks to your a minority in the region (in your village, town) in which you live, would you say they are*. The score was calculated from a 7-point scale where 1 – very bad and 7 – very good. Similarly, relations within the majority and towards minorities were also examined. *Should you assess the present relations: 1. between Slovaks, 2. Slovaks with other ethnic minorities in the region (in your municipality, city) in which you live, would you say they are.* The score was calculated from a 7-point scale where 1 – very bad and 7 – very good. Similarly, expectations of development of future relations within ethnic groups, the relations of minority towards majority and the relations of majority towards minority were examined by means of question, *Do the members of your ethnicity expect the relations: 1. inside your minority, 2. of your minority to Slovaks, 3. of Slovaks to your a minority in the region (in your village, town) in which you live, will be in the coming years be.* The score was calculated from a 7-point scale where 1 – very bad and 7 – very good.

Results

Evaluation of relations in own ethnic groups

In the first part, we analysed relations within individual ethnic communities, including the majority. Using a two-way analysis of variance, we compared the evaluation of individual ethnic communities as well as changes in their evaluation over time (Chart 1). All effects were statistically significant. The ethnicity effect was at level F (3. 1270) = 18.46, p < .001. In this context, Hungarians (M = 5.44, SD = 1.16) and Ruthenians (M = 5.44, SD = 1.23) showed the most positive evaluations, followed by Slovaks (M = 5.16, SD = 1.19) and Roma (M = 4.85, SD = 1.22). The data collection year effect was at value F (1, 1270) = 22.86, p < .001, while in 2017, ethnic evaluations were more positive (M = 5.38, SD = 1.25) than in 2014 (M = 5.06, SD = 1.17). The effect of ethnicity interaction and collection year was also statistically significant F (3. 1270) = 10.85, p < .001, while in 2004 the average relations between Hungarians were significantly more positive (M = 5.54, SD = 1.13) than evaluations of Ruthenians (M = 5.09, SD = 1.23), Slovaks (M = 4.82, SD = 1.10) or Roma (M = 4.81, SD = 1.08). The interaction also revealed significantly more positive assessments of relations between Slovaks in 2017 (M = 5.49, SD = 1.19) compared to 2004 (M = 4.82, SD = 1.10). Similar results were reported by the Ruthenians. On the contrary, the evaluations of Hungarian respondents slightly decreased, however, the difference was not statistically significant. Roma respondents showed almost identical evaluations in both rounds. Overall, however, the evaluations of all ethnic groups achieved relatively positive values, despite the aforementioned differences.

Chart No. 1: Average evaluation of relations within ethnic groups

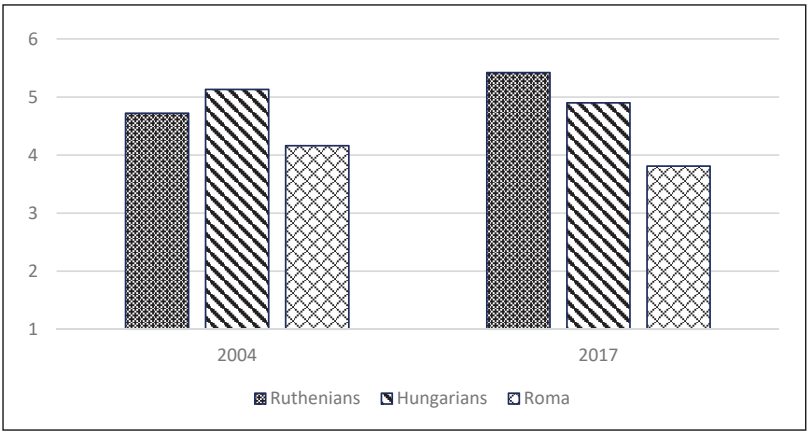


Evaluation of relations with the majority and among ethnic groups

In the next part, we analysed interethnic relations of Hungarians, Roma and Ruthenians with Slovaks. Minorities first evaluated the relations of Slovaks to minorities (Chart 2) and subsequently evaluated the relations of the minority to the majority. Within the

evaluation of the relation of majority to minorities, the results of two-way model confirmed the statistical significance of the nationality effect F (3. 947) = 73.50, p < .001, with Hungarian (M = 5.01, SD = 1.30) and Ruthenian (M = 5.07, SD = 1, 31) respondents evaluating the relation of Slovaks with their minority significantly more positively than the Roma (M = 3.98, SD = 1.28). The collection year effect F (1. 947) = ,209, p = ,648 did not appear. The effect of interaction of these factors was, on the contrary, significant F (2. 947) = 16.13, p < .001, while differences were noted in the evaluations of Roma and Ruthenians. Average evaluation of Slovaks' relations with the Roma (from the perspective of the Roma) was significantly more negative in 2017 (M = 3.81, SD = 1.55) than in 2004 (M = 4.16, SD = 0.90). By contrast, Ruthenian evaluations were more positive in 2017 (M = 5.42, SD = 1.27) than in 2004 (M = 4.72, SD = 1.27). There were no significant differences between the evaluation of relations of Slovaks towards Hungarians.

Chart No. 2: Average evaluation of the relations of Slovaks towards minorities from the perspective of minorities



Similar findings resulted from the evaluation of relations of minority towards majority (Chart 3). The nationality effect proved to be significant F (2. 950) = 99.65, p <. 001, the effect of the collection year F (1, 950) = 1.57, p =, 210 was not significant, but their interaction was significant F (1. 950) = 9.11, p <.001. Evaluations of Hungarian (M = 5.34, SD = 1.16) and Ruthenian (M = 5.66, SD = 1.10) respondents were significantly more positive than evaluation of the Roma in both rounds. The interaction of both factors revealed that Hungarian evaluations in 2017 were significantly more negative (M = 5.12, SD = 1.22) than in 2004 (M = 5.54, SD = 1.04). By contrast, Ruthenian evaluations were slightly more positive in 2017 (M = 5.80, SD = 1.05) than in 2004 (M = 5.51, SD = 1.13). Roma evaluations did not differ statistically.

Chart No. 3: Average evaluation of the relations of minorities towards majority from the perspective of minorities

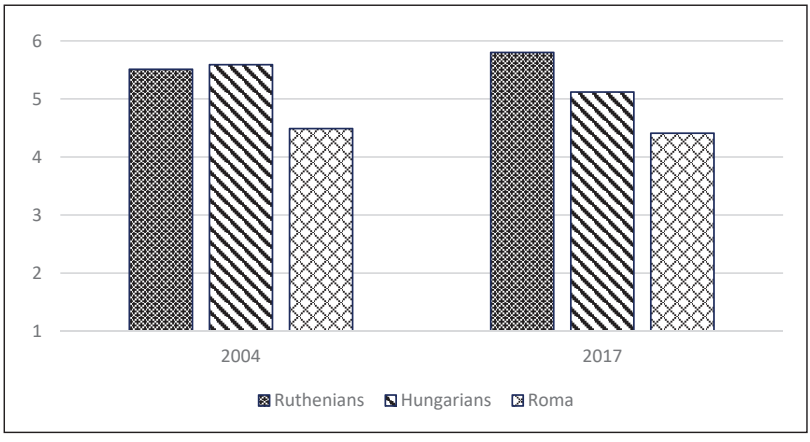
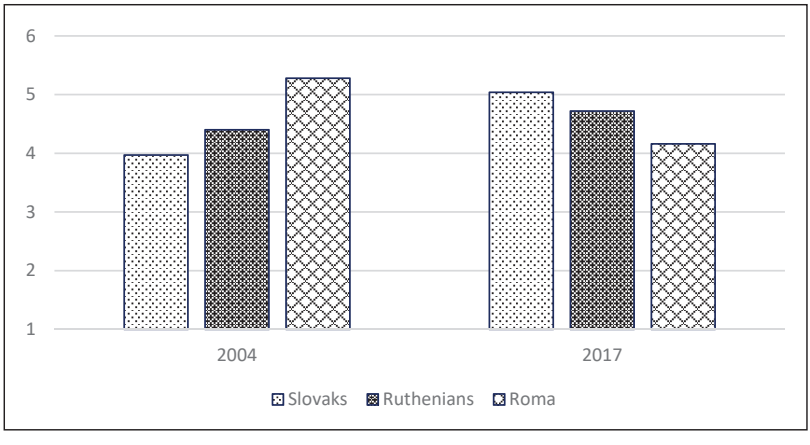


Chart No.4 shows the average evaluation of relations with Hungarians. In 2004, evaluations of Slovak respondents were neutral, however, in 2017, they were the most positive. By contrast, the evaluation of Roma respondents in 2004 were significantly more positive in relation to Hungarians than in 2017, when they only achieved the average of the evaluation scale.

Chart No. 4: Average evaluations of relations towards Hungarians



The evaluation of relations with the Roma shows that the evaluations of majority community were the most critical in 2004, while in 2017 they were the most positive, but still they have not reached even the average scale value. The evaluations of Hungarian respondents in relation to the Roma were practically identical with slightly negative

connotations in both rounds. Ruthenian evaluations copied this trend. Overall, all ratings for Roma can be characterized as negative.

In case of evaluation of relations with the Ruthenians, Hungarians and the Roma showed identical neutral attitudes towards them in both rounds. Evaluation of Slovak respondents in 2017 were significantly more positive and reached the level of relations with Hungarians.

Chart No. 5: Average evaluation of relations towards the Roma

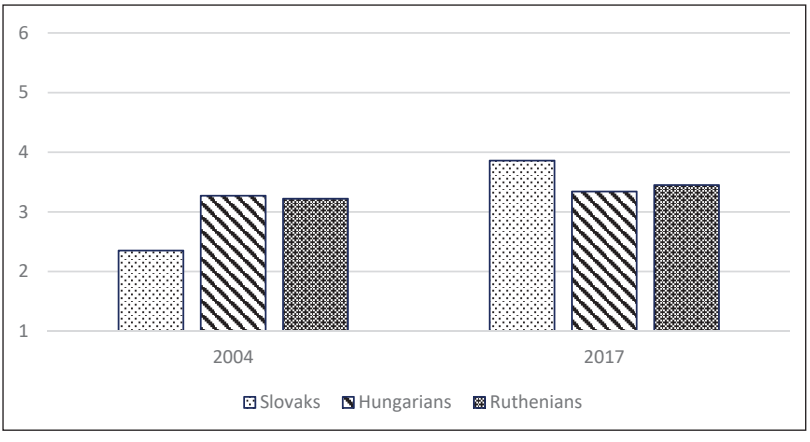
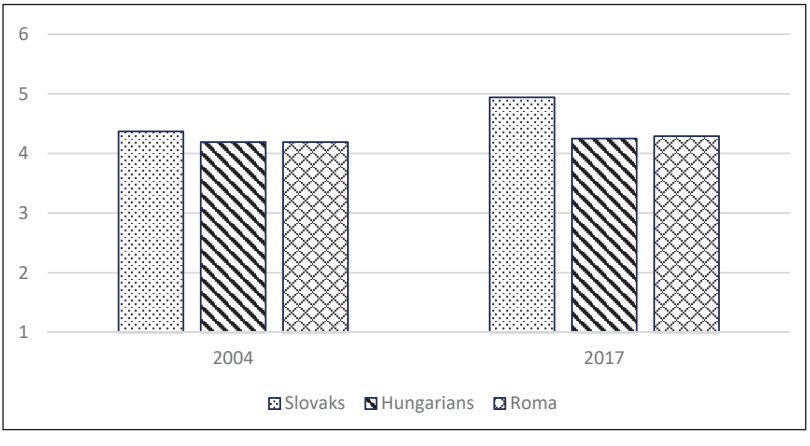


Chart No. 6: Average evaluation of relations towards the Ruthenian



Discussion

There are several conclusions from the presented results on intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic. The evaluation of intra-ethnic relationships presented mixed results. While in 2004, Hungarians evaluated the mutual relations within ethnic community the most positively, in 2017 this applied to Ruthenians. Roma evaluations did not change during both rounds. However, all intra-ethnic evaluations were positive and were generally more positive in 2017.

With regard to inter-ethnic relations, the situation was different. Except for self-assessment, Roma-based assessments were mostly of negative and neutral character. These concerned the evaluation of Slovaks as well as the evaluation of Slovaks towards the Roma from the perspective of the Roma. Evaluations of Slovaks towards Roma and their change from negative to neutral are also interesting. In case of both evaluations, there are relatively large differences in 2004 and almost identical values in 2017. Hungarian respondents rated Roma slightly negatively similarly in both research rounds. Similar ratings were also reported by Ruthenian respondents.

According to the presented evaluations, the majority as well as other minorities often reject the Roma, they do not have good experience with them, the minority feels segregated and often suffers from xenophobia towards others. Until 1989, violent assimilation methods of repressing and depriving them of their own identity were applied against the Roma. At present, the Roma issue is still open in our country. This is also reflected in the perception of the position and relations between the majority and the Roma as a social problem and it is one of the main topics of political and social discourse. In the past, in the public, media and political discourse, the Roma were also presented as a problem of international politics (conditioning Slovakia's accession to the European Union by fulfilling the so-called Copenhagen criteria, the introduction of visa by countries in which Slovak Roma applied for political asylum in higher numbers) and social-economic (dependence or even parasitism on the social system). After the introduction of a new social policy between 2003 and 2004, which included a reform of social assistance and family support and a reform of employment policy, the so-called Roma problem started to be connected in mainly with crime by the Slovak public (Kollár, Mesežnikov, 2003; Kollár, 2005). In 2010, there was an increase in populist anti-Roma speeches on the part of politicians and radical groups that responded to the growing public frustration of not addressing the problem of socially excluded and extremely poor groups and deteriorating Roma and non-Roma coexistence (evaluations of Slovaks' relations with the Roma (from the perspective of the Roma), which were significantly more negative in 2017 than in 2004). These facts increase the risk of outbreaks of interethnic violence in the future, as well as support for radical solutions that do not comply with political and human rights standards of the EU (Bútora, Kollár, Mesežnikov, 2010). However, solution of the Roma issue is different from that of other minorities living in Slovakia. Addressing the problems of Roma minority requires specific projects, which is not mainly question of good political will, but a question of social strategy, available resources and their adequate use. Also, this situation cannot be addressed without the Roma being actively involved in the solution.

In relation to the Hungarians, the evaluations were generally more positive, although the trend between the evaluation rounds showed a downward trend. While it is not yet possible to derive a downward trend from the evaluation of Slovaks' relations towards Hungarians from the point of view of minority, the relationship of Hungarians to Slovaks confirms this fact. Mutual evaluations of Slovaks and Hungarians showed relatively large differences in 2004, however, were very similar in 2017. Also, evaluations of the Roma towards Hungarians also showed a downward trend from positive to neutral. Ruthenians showed a positive trend in the evaluation of relations with Hungarians in Slovakia.

According to Kusý (1994), the basic problems of Hungarian minority in Slovakia were more or less of administrative nature. This does not mean that these problems cannot, under certain circumstances, become significant and very important. However, they can be solved, many of their causes can be eliminated by administrative measures, as these causes themselves were usually created by administration. The basic prerequisite is mostly the good will of political representations on both sides. Naturally, there are tensions in relations between Slovak government and other official Slovak institutions on one side and political representation of Hungarian minority on the other. However, this is largely not an ethnic conflict between Slovaks and Hungarians. These ethnic groups have lived in this area for centuries not only as two separate ethnic groups, but also as groups largely mixed with a high proportion of mixed marriages and families on both sides. In the Hungarian minority, there is a significant link to the political context of the time (especially as regards recent period). Around 2009, relations between the majority and Hungarian minority were cold. This was closely related not only to inter-state policy, but also to national policy. Today, the relations of Hungarians and Slovaks are good, which is related to the fact that the governing parties (both Hungarian and Slovak) focus on other issues (e.g. the European migration crisis).

Although the study presented does not analyse the reasons in evaluations of interethnic relations, the 2017 evaluations show less variability between evaluations of various ethnic groups. This is related to the stabilisation of interethnic relations, more peaceful political dialogue and the presence of an external ethnic threat in the form of migration crisis. If we omit the well-known fact about a more positive self-image and more critical evaluation of others, the relationship between the Roma and Slovaks is now at its most neutral. On the other hand, relations of Hungarians and Ruthenians still have positive characteristics.

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Reflection on the Perception of Decision-making Levels in the Life of Ethnic Minorities based on Questionnaire Research[1]

Lucia Heldáková

Abstract:

Addressing the issues of the life of national minorities works at several levels, ranging from local, district, regional to national, European and global. Members of national minorities have the right to be actively involved in all areas of life – cultural, social, economic and public. Due to the scale of the issue, in the first part of the paper, we focus on the essentials in cultural area of life of national minorities and interpret international dimensions and commitments of the Slovak Republic in relation to national minorities in this area. The second part of the paper focuses on the analysis and interpretation of the results of quantitative research carried out in the framework of APVV project on national minorities in 2017.

Keywords:

National minorities, culture, questionnaire research, levels of addressing problems of national minorities

National and international commitments of the Slovak Republic in the cultural area of status and rights of persons belonging to national minorities

Social diversity has been a social phenomenon several centuries, the need to implement minority rights and responsibilities into everyday life is part of internal policy of the Slovak Republic since its establishment (1993). Slovakia belongs among the most heterogeneous states of Central Europe and after the fall of the communist regime it ratified vast majority of relevant documents adopted by Czechoslovakia as well as international documents of the UN and the Council of Europe and incorporated them into its legal system. The Constitution of the Slovak Republic, adopted on 1st September 1992 by the Slovak National Council, mentions national minorities already in the preamble by the words: *„...together with members of national minorities and ethnic groups living in the Slovak Republic...“*[2] and in the second Article, Section 4, embeds the *Rights*

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1 The work was developed as part of the project APVV-15-0745 *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020)* – (TESS2).

2 Ústava SR. [online] Available online: https://www.prezident.sk/upload-files/20522.pdf [18. 9. 2018].

of national minorities and ethnic groups (Articles 33 and 34). Since then, all human and civil rights have been guaranteed to minorities in Slovakia.[3] Several international conventions[4] guaranteeing minority rights and responsibilities have been signed and ratified after the establishment of the Slovak Republic, and Slovakia is also partaking in a number of non-binding declarations of the international regime for the protection of minority rights.[5] With the accession of the Slovak Republic to the European Union (2004), minority issue got under the cover of Europe as well. Slovakia had to comply with the so-called Copenhagen criteria as proof of the country's admission to the EU.

In 1966, on the twentieth anniversary of the founding of UNESCO, *Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation* was adopted, which in its first article declares in three points: *"1. Every culture has dignity and value that must be respected and preserved. 2. Every person has the right and duty to develop their culture. 3. In its rich diversity and mutual interactions of each other, all cultures are part of a common heritage that belongs to all humanity."*[6] Another important international document on cultural affairs of minorities is the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, which was signed and ratified by the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1975 (the Slovak Republic ratified it again in 1993), in Article 27, it demonstrates: *„In countries where ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, their members will not be denied the right to use their own minority culture, profess and express their*

3 The Constitution of the Slovak Republic determines: *"Art. 33: Belonging to any national minority or ethnic group shall not be prejudicial to anyone; Art. 34 (1) Citizens forming national minorities or ethnic groups in the Slovak Republic are guaranteed all-round development, in particular the right to develop their own culture together with other members of a minority or group, to disseminate and receive information in their mother tongue, associate in national associations, maintain educational and cultural institutions. Details shall be laid down by law. (2) Citizens belonging to national minorities or ethnic groups are guaranteed under the conditions stipulated by law, in addition to the right to acquire the state language, a) the right to education in their language, b) the right to use their language in official communication, c) the right to participate in dealing with matters concerning national minorities and ethnic groups. (3) the exercise of the rights of citizens belonging to national minorities and ethnic groups guaranteed in this Constitution must not lead to jeopardizing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Slovak Republic and to discriminating against its other population.."* [online] Available online: https://www.prezident.sk/upload-files/20522.pdf [18. 09. 2018].

4 The most important international agreements guaranteeing minority rights include: *The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.* LAJČÁKOVÁ, Jarmila. Metóda zdôvodnenia právnych noriem. In LAJČÁKOVÁ, Jarmila. *Menšinová politika na Slovensku v roku 2011.* Bratislava: Centrum pre výskum etnicity a kultúry, 2012, p. 12.

5 Selection of a few non binding regulations adopted by SR: *Deklarácia OSN o právach príslušníkov národnostných alebo etnických, náboženských a jazykových menšín*, *Odporúčanie 1201 (1993) o dodatkovom protokole k Európskemu dohovoru o ľudských právach o právach národnostných menšín* a i. LAJČÁKOVÁ, Jarmila. Metóda zdôvodnenia právnych noriem..., p. 12.

6 *Deklarácia princípov medzinárodnej kultúrnej (spolu)práce UNESCO* (14. zasadnutie generálnej konferencie UNESCO). 4 november 1966, Paríž. [online] Available online: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13147&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html [19. 9. 2018].

own religion or use their own language.“[7] From the perspective of international law, the concept of culture includes two forms... *One of them being „intellectual manifestations“ of art, literature or science, and in the second meaning, culture is interpreted anthropologically as totalitarianism of „the knowledge and practices of each group in the society.“*[8] Based on the opinion of international lawyer Athanasia Akermar, the international standards of minority rights are based on three principles,[9] the last of them being culture and cultural diversity. The Preamble to the UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* of 2nd November 2001 is entitled “*The cultural wealth of the world lies in its diversity in dialogue“* and defines cultural diversity as the common heritage of humanity and justifies its need for protection by its inseparability from the dignity of individuals. Furthermore, the Declaration defines culture as *„... a set of characteristic spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or social group... includes not only art and literature, but also lifestyle, ways of coexistence, value systems, traditions and beliefs... culture is central point of the current debate on identity ... „*[10]

The heterogeneity of Slovak society has been subject to many researches. In its study, it is necessary to monitor, inter alia, culture, i. e. mutual interaction of majority culture with minority culture. However, the diversity of individual cultural units does not necessarily mean their complete isolation. Individual cultural practices are intertwined, influenced and, through this interaction, are further transforming and developing. An example of this approach is the UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions,*[11] which identifies culture, cultural diversity and declares the need for its preservation and development. “*Promoting cultural diversity, expressed in cultural pluralism policies, guarantees social cohesion, promotes human capacity, and overall improves intellectual, emotional and spiritual existence.“*[12]

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7 Medzinárodný pakt o občianskych a politických právach. časť III, článok 27. [online] Available online: https://cloud6.edupage.org/cloud/Medzinarodny-pakt-o-obcianskych-a-politickych-pravach.pdf?z%3AgtBvYebToZ7NU9Qqg5ZvMZ38KzxMIm%2F1bVAYuF%2BTYC%2Frjsecgd1NTx6PYzHpokcw [19. 9. 2018].

8 LAJČÁKOVÁ, Jarmila. Metóda zdôvodnenia právnych noriem..., p. 17.

9 *„...minority protection is created for and justified by three concepts which function as aims of and justificatory grounds for this protection: peace, human dignity and culture.“* AKERMARK, Athanasie. *Justifications of Minority Protection in International Law.* London, Boston: Kluwer Law International, 1996, p. 68.

10 *Všeobecná deklarácia UNESCO o kultúrnej rozmanitosti* (31. zasadnutie Generálnej konferencie UNESCO). 2. november 2001, Paríž. [online] Available online: http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/diversity/pdf/declaration_cultural_diversity_sk.pdf [19. 9. 2018].

11 *Dohovor o ochrane a podpore rozmanitosti kultúrnych prejavov UNESCO* (33. zasadnutie Generálnej konferencie UNESCO). 20. október 2005, Paríž. [online] Available online: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=31038&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html [19. 9. 2018].

12 LAJČÁKOVÁ, Jarmila. Metóda zdôvodnenia právnych noriem..., p. 19.

In addition to the legislative anchoring of the rights of national minorities to cultural activities[13] and the tendency to maintain cultural diversity, state consultation mechanisms that communicate with members of national minorities and ensure their participation in public affairs operate in the territory of the Slovak Republic. The supreme consultative body is the *Government Council of the Slovak Republic for Human Rights, National Minorities and Gender Equality*, which holds the position of a permanent advisory, coordination and consultative body of the Government of the Slovak Republic and consists of individual committees for various areas. *The Office of the Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Slovak Republic for National Minorities* and the *Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Slovak Republic for Roma Communities* are also advisory to the Government of the Slovak Republic.[14]

Analysis and interpretation of research results

In 2003 – 2005, the Social Sciences Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences carried out sociological-social-psychological research called *Nation, Nationalities and Ethnic Groups in the Process of Transformation of Slovak Society,* whose implementation consisted of an empirical analysis of data obtained by a questionnaire method on a research sample consisting of 1280 respondents. Research has provided a comprehen-

13 Key acts for the cultural domain of national minorities:

- *Act No. 524/2010 Coll. on the provision of funding within the competence of the Government Office of the Slovak Republic, as amended,*
- *Act No. 183/2000 Coll. on libraries, on amendment of the Act of the Slovak National Council No. 27/1987 Coll. on state monument care and on amendment of Act No. 68/1997 Coll. on Matica slovenská as amended,*
- *Act No. 61/2000 Coll. on awareness-raising activities,*
- *Act No. 387/1997 Coll. on theatrical activity, as amended,*
- *Act No. 532/2010 Coll. on the Radio and Television of Slovakia and on amendments to certain acts, as amended,*
- *Act No. 212/1997 Coll. on statutory copies of periodical publications, non-periodical publications and reproduction of audiovisual works, as amended,*
- *Act No. 167/2008 Coll. on periodical press and agency news and on amendments to certain acts (Press Act), as amended by Act No. 221/2011 Coll.*
- *Act No. 220/2007 Coll. on digital broadcasting of program services and provision of other content services through digital transmission and on amendments and supplements to certain laws (Digital Broadcasting Act), as amended,*
- *Act No. 343/2007 Coll. on the conditions for public distribution and preservation of audiovisual works, multimedia works and sound recordings of artistic performances and on amendments and supplements to certain acts (the Audiovisual Act), as amended,*
- *Act No. 184/1999 Coll. on the use of languages of national minorities, as amended,*
- *Act No. 308/2000 Coll. on broadcasting and retransmission and on the amendment of Act No. 168/2000 Coll. on telecommunications, as amended.*

Úrad vlády Slovenskej republiky. *Správa o postavení a právach príslušníkov národnostných menšín za rok 2012*. [online] p. 69. Available online: https://www.narodnostnemensiny.gov.sk/data/files/4804_sprava-o-nm-za-rok-2012-sk.pdf [19. 9. 2018].

14 For more information see: *Štatút splnomocnenca vlády SR pre rómske komunity*. [online] Available online: https://www.minv.sk/?statut_rk

sive analysis of five large thematic blocks from the perspective of eight research objects (the majority population and seven minority ethnic communities – Czech, Hungarian, German, Roma, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Jewish). Project APVV *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020) – (TESS2)* continues the project. The aim of this paper is to analyse and interpret data from the APVV project.

The paper focuses on exploring the levels of addressing the issues of life of national minorities on the example of the views of majority population of Slovakia and seven minority groups – Hungarian, Roma, Ukrainian, Polish, Ruthenian, German and Czech. Respondents answered the question: *„In your opinion, the issues of national minority life should be addressed at the level"* where they could choose from the answers: *„a) local, b) district, c) regional, d) national e) European (EU, OSCE), f) UN."* The range of responses consisted of seven options (certainly not – no – rather not – I do not know – rather yes – yes – definitely yes)

The input hypothesis of processing data from research for the purposes of interpreting the issue in the paper is the need of an individual to control matters of their life, which is reflected in the requirements of members of national minorities in the form of transferring decision-making powers in all aspects of national minority life from the national dimension to lower governance structures, i.e. to local, district or regional. This tendency to "holding life" firmly in hands is lost in the case of unexpected, serious problems, where it is natural to pass decision-making powers to higher governance structures (state, world institutions).

Based on the analysis of data from the questionnaire research on the relevant question (total result) we can confirm the input hypothesis with one exception. The highest frequency of responses corresponds to the local level solution to the issues of national minority life and gradually the frequency really goes down to the UN level but at the national level the results show again a higher figure compared to the district and regional level (Chart No. 1).

There are several factors influencing the perception (of individual minorities) of the most ideal level of governance of national minority issues and may be different for individual minorities. In the paper, we will try to specify possible factors for influencing opinions on the level of life governance of the respective minorities.

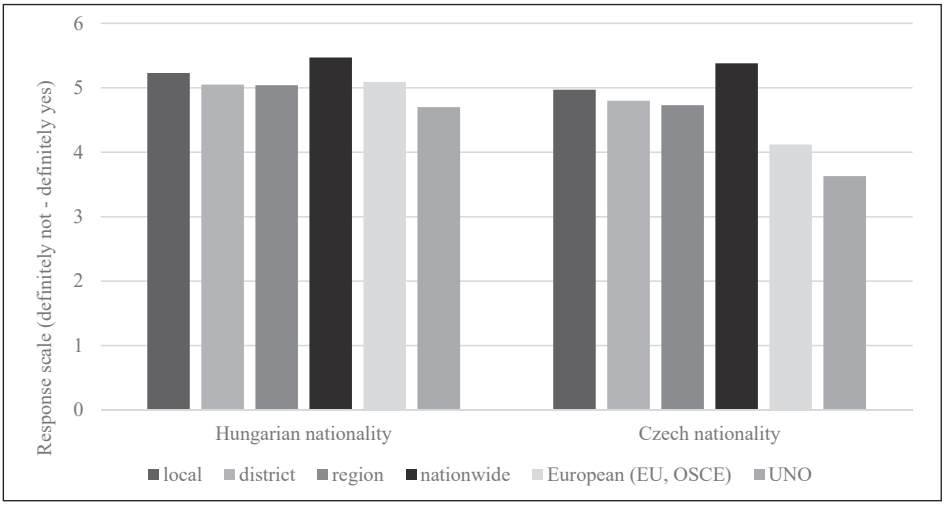
Due to social and historical development, Hungarian and Czech minorities have a longer tradition in the Slovak Republic (in comparison with other national minorities) and a better institutional base in the Slovak Republic.[15] Hungarian minority is the only

15 For more information see: ĎURKOVSKÁ, Mária. Základné demografické charakteristiky maďarskej menšiny. In GABZDILOVÁ, Soňa. *Vybrané aspekty postavenia maďarskej minority na Slovensku v rokoch 1918 – 1929.* Košice: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 2011, pp. 21-47; ĎURKOVSKÁ, Mária. Sčítanie obyvateľstva v roku 1930 a demografické faktory postavenia maďarskej menšiny na Slovensku = Az 1930-as népszámlálás és a szlovákiai magyar kisebbség demográfiai mutatói [Census 1930 and demographic factors of the status of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia]. In SIMON, Attila et al. *Változó világban – V premenlivom svete: a magyar kisebbség a harmincas évek Csehszlovákiájában – Maďarská menšina v Československu v tridsiatych rokoch.* Komárno: Pedagogická fakulta Univerzity J. Selyeho – Centrum spoločenských a psycho-

Chart No. 1: Averages of all respondents' answers to the question on which level the issue of national minorities should be addressed.

one of the recognized national minorities of Slovakia, currently that has a parliamentary political party, therefore the result of the questionnaire research, where both the Hungarian and Czech respondents reported the highest response rate at the national level, is not surprising. (Chart No. 2)

Chart No. 2: Averages of answers of respondents of Hungarian and Czech nationality to the question on which level the issue of national minorities should be addressed



logických vied SAV, 2015, pp. 8-26; ŠUTAJ, Štefan. Slovenské a maďarské politické elity a slovensko-maďarské vzťahy na Slovensku (na príklade roku 2007). In ŠUTAJOVÁ, Jana – ĎURKOVSKÁ, Mária (Eds.). *Maďarská menšina na Slovensku v procesoch transformácie po roku 1989 (Historické, politologické a právne súvislosti).* Prešov: Universum, 2007. pp. 40-61; ŠUTAJ, Štefan. Sociálno-demografické charakteristiky maďarskej menšiny na Slovensku. In ŠUTAJ, Štefan a kol. *Maďarská menšina na Slovensku po roku 1989.* Prešov: Universum, 2008, 216 p.

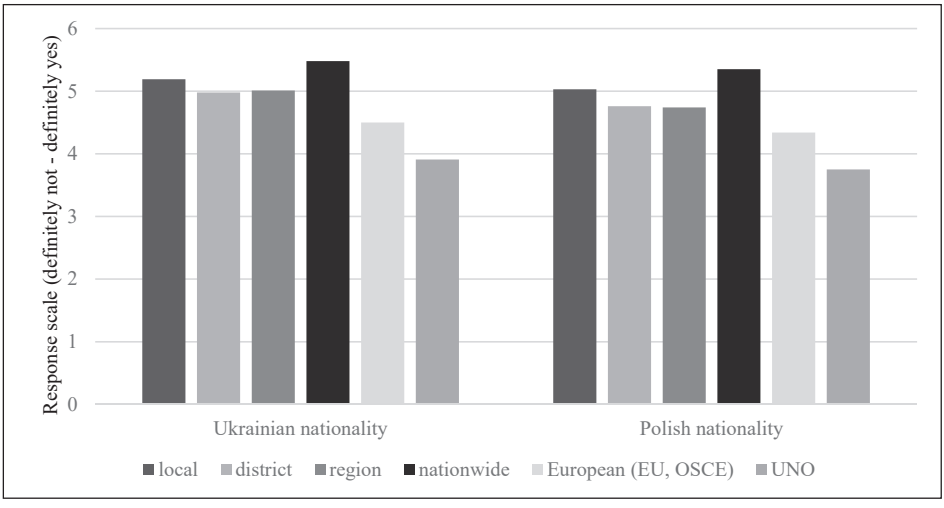
The development of Ukrainian minority can be described as specific, because after 1989 its genesis was influenced by the problematic separation of Ruthenian minority, which was joined to Ukrainian minority in the 1950s in connection with the onset of communist totalitarianism on the territory of then Czechoslovakia. Ruthenian minority was joined with Ukrainian minority by the process of Ukrainization or assimilated with the majority population, could not use its official name (throughout the duration of communist totalitarianism, in 1968 the designation "Ruthenian" was recognized, but only in synonymous meaning to "Ukrainian"), its religious life within the Greek Catholic Church was subdued and so on.[16] Unlike Roma minority, Ruthenian minority had rights, but only as part of Ukrainian minority. The rights and duties of Ruthenian minority, unlike the Hungarian, Ukrainian and Polish, were not officially embedded in any document. Nationality rights of Hungarians, Ukrainians and Poles on the territory of Czechoslovakia were officially embedded in the Constitutional Act of 1960 in the second title of Article No. 25, where it was written: *„The citizens of Hungarian, Ukrainian and Polish nationality are provided with all opportunities and means for education in mother tongue and cultural development by the state."*[17] We can deduct from the aforementioned that the more favourable historical development of Hungarian, Ukrainian and Polish minorities (unlike the other national minorities) and the established institutional life of these minorities after 1989 is related to the trust of nationals of the aforementioned minorities in the governance of nationality life at national level. This fact can be confirmed by the questionnaire research, where based on the results we can demonstrate the highest average of the answers of the Ukrainian, Polish minority (as well as Hungarian as mentioned above) in the answer declaring addressing nationality life at the national level (Chart No. 3).

Due to the historical development of Ruthenian minority, the number of which is currently increasing in the Slovak Republic, it is easy to understand their tendency and will to engage as much as possible in the social, cultural and economic life of the minority, to catch up and establish the right to nationality life in equal measure as other minorities on the territory of Slovakia. Therefore, the result of the questionnaire research is not surprising, the respondents of Ruthenian minority assigned the most positive answers to the possibility of local governance of issues concerning Ruthenian life (Chart No. 4). German minority has a similar position as the Ruthenian minority in Slovakia. In the interwar period, a well-established minority with their own political party and organiza-

16 For more information: GAJDOŠ, Marian. Rusíni (Ukrajinci) na Slovensku po roku 1989: (K právnym, jazykovým a školským problémom). In GAJDOŠ, Marian – KONEČNÝ, Stanislav. *Etnické minority na Slovensku*. Košice: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1997, pp. 82-93.
KOHOUTOVÁ, Klara. Osudy, které napsalo 20. století: Rusíni a Ukrajinci v Československu. In KARPÍŠEK, Jaromír – STURZ, Zbyněk – BLÁHOVÁ, Marie a kol. *České, slovenské a československé dějiny 20. století XII.* Hradec Králové: Gaudeamus, 2018, pp. 327-337.
KONEČNÝ, Stanislav. Historické kontexty formovania a vývoja rusínskeho etnika v Karpatoch. In DULEBA, Alexander (Ed.). *Rusíni na Slovensku*: Súčasné postavenie a historické kontexty vývinu. Bratislava – Prešov: ADIN, s. r. o., 2012, pp. 34-42.

17 Ústavný zákon č. 100/1960 Sb. [online] Available online: https://www.upn.gov.sk/data/pdf/ustava100-60.pdf [15. 10. 2018].

Chart No. 3: Averages of answers of respondents of Ukrainian and Polish nationality to the question on which level the issue of national minorities should be addressed

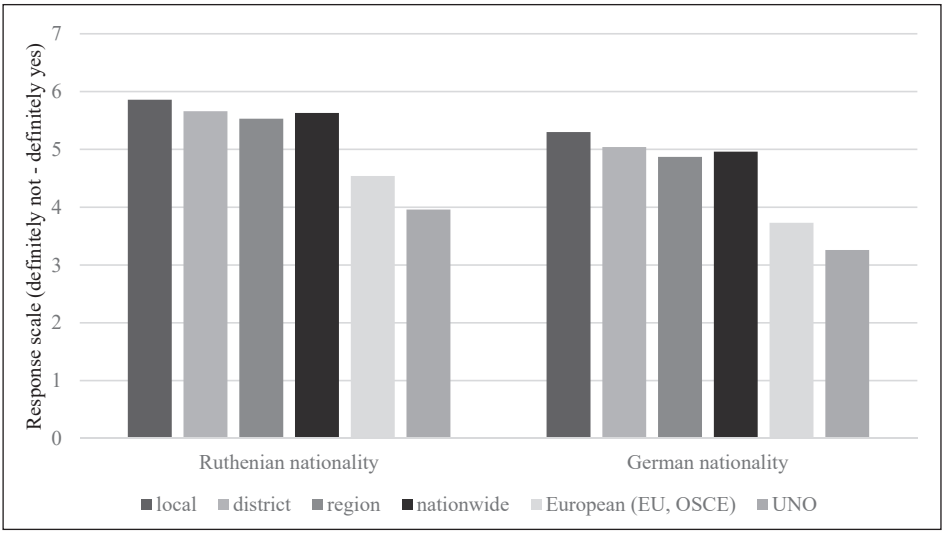


tions was characterized by a stable position also during World War II, however, before the end of the war, most of German population was evacuated (many fled by themselves). After the war, the rest of German minority was expelled from the territory of Czechoslovakia, based on collective guilt and in accordance with the Potsdam negotiations. Such destruction of ethnic minority life of German minority after almost eight centuries of tradition and further factual absence of German nationality life in the territory of Czechoslovakia (the remains of German minority members in the territory did not have any national rights) until 1989 caused efforts to revitalize it after the fall of the communist regime. Today, the activities of German minority associated with the Carpathian-German Association guide the cultural life of German national minority, therefore, the results from the questionnaire research were not unexpected, German respondents favoured a local organization of German nationality life in Slovakia (Chart No. 4).

The second largest minority (after Hungarian) in Slovakia is the Roma minority. The repression during the Second World War against Roma ethnic group, the absence of national minority rights of the Roma minority in Czechoslovakia until the year 1989 brought a challenge that was to be addressed in the context of the emergence of an independent Slovak Republic.[18] Nationality policy towards newly recognized national

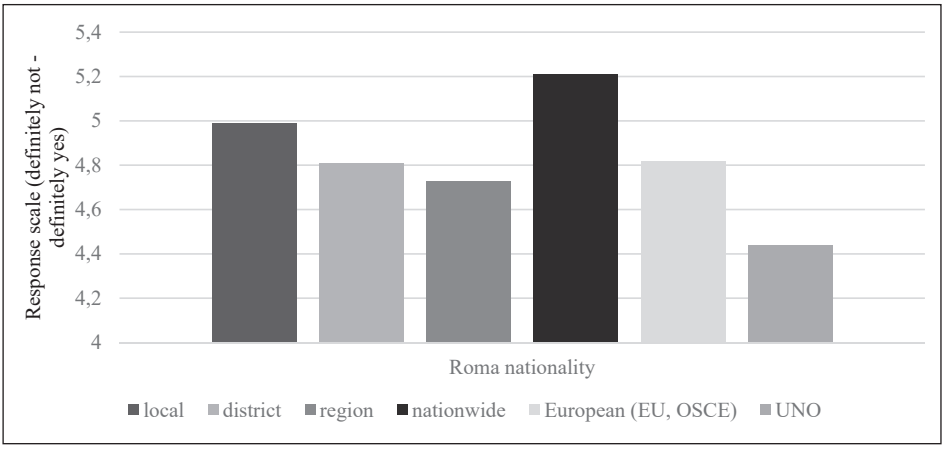
18 More details on this issue: MELICHÁREK, Maroš. Roma in Košice. In GAYER, Veronika – OTČENÁŠOVÁ, Slávka – ZAHORÁN, Csaba. *Remembering the City*: A guide through the past of Košice. Remembering the City. Budapest – Košice: Terra Recognita – Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika v Košiciach, 2013. pp. 157-163; MUŠINKA, Alexander – ŠKOBLA, Daniel – HURRLE, Jakob – MATLOVIČOVÁ, Kvetoslava – KLING, Jaroslav. *Atlas rómskych komunít na Slovensku 2013*. Bratislava: UNDP, 2014, 120 p.; JUROVÁ, Anna. *Rómska menšina na Slovensku v dokumentoch (1945 – 1975)*. Košice: Spoločenskovedný ústav, 2008, 1302 p.

Chart No. 4: Averages of answers of respondents of Ruthenian and German nationality to the question on which level the issue of national minorities should be addressed



minorities, including the Roma, was gradually being established. In 1995, the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary was established to deal the, problems of citizens with the need for special assistance. The establishment of this office was prompted by a worsened ethnic situation and growing tensions in the society in relation to the poor status of the Roma minority. However, the aforementioned office focused on helping

Chart No. 5: Averages of answers of respondents of Roma nationality to the question on which level the issue of national minorities should be addressed.

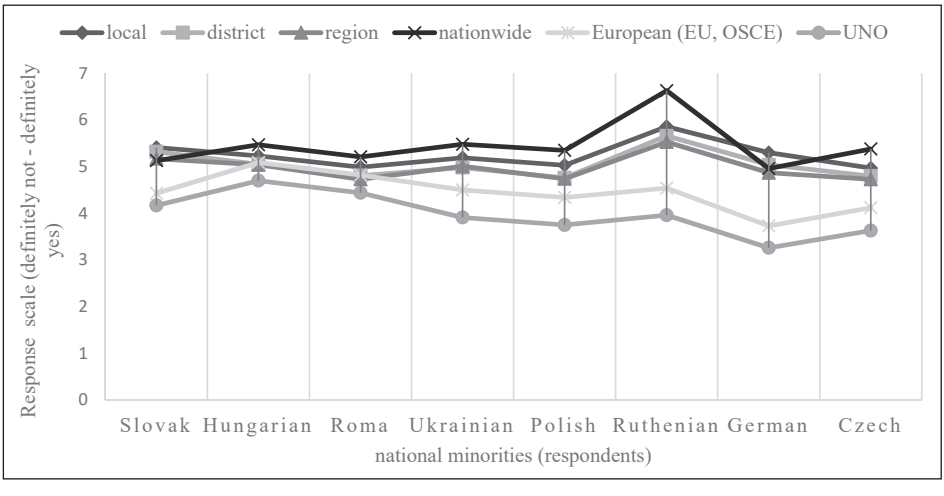


the inhabitants in a bad social situation and not exclusively on the Roma issue, therefore in 2001 the Office of the Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Slovak Republic for Roma Communities was established, which *„... designs, coordinates and controls activities aimed at addressing the problems of Roma minority and after approval by the Government of the Slovak Republic implements systemic solutions to achieve equal status of citizens belonging to Roma minority in society. It respects the fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws of the Slovak Republic, as well as international human rights treaties.“*[19] In connection with the aforementioned statutory body representing exclusively the interests of Roma minority in Slovakia, the average literacy of Roma ethnic group, the existence of a non-parliamentary Roma political party, and so on, the results of the questionnaire research are understandable, the majority of Roma respondents favoured the answer of addressing the issues of Roma nationality life at the national level (Chart No. 5).

Conclusion

Despite the ever-increasing rate of globalization and heterogeneity of Slovak society, based on the 2017 questionnaire research, we can conclude that confidence in national governance over minority life issues is relatively high. In the second place, the majority and seven minorities favoured local administration of the minority life issues and the least confidence in the governance of the lives of national minorities was clearly demonstrated by the respondents towards the UN. Worldwide governance, which the UN rep-

Chart No. 6: Averages of answers of respondents of all nationalities and Slovaks to the question on which level the issue of national minorities should be addressed.



19 According to Art. No.1 *Štatútu splnomocnenca vlády SR pre rómske komunity*. [online] Available online: https://www.minv.sk/?statut_rk [15. 10 .2018].

resented in the questionnaire research, seems to be too far away and unavailable to the population (in the view of the world from a small state – Slovakia). The European perspective on the governance of life is already far removed from many national minorities (Chart No. 6).

An important factor in assessing the levels of governance of the life of national minorities is the social-historical development of individual ethnic groups in the population. Historical factors have influenced the institutional provision and thus the cultural and social operation of the minority in the majority environment. As a result of the 40-year totalitarian regime in the territory of Czechoslovakia, the development of national minorities was complicated and had to cope with many challenges after 1989.

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Shifts and Connections in the Perception of Ethnic Identity and Ethnicity in 2004 and 2017[1]

Juraj Martonyik

Abstract:

The presented research addressed the research of ethnic identity, both at theoretical and empirical level. It focused on ethnic identity and its individual components, stability of these indicators over time (in 2004 and 2017) and on the comparison of monitored variables among individual national minorities in Slovakia. The research was conducted on a sample of 2605 respondents representing the following nationalities: 322 Slovaks, 325 Hungarians, 320 Roma, 320 Ukrainians, 334 Poles, 320 Ruthenians, 339 Germans and 325 Czechs. Ethnic identity within these data has proved to be relatively stable over time, without significant shifts. However, differences were found at the level of its components, showing differences between individual variables (pride, ethnicity, auto-stereotype and cultural engagement) as well as between individual national minorities. Possible implications and directions are then interpreted in the discussion.

Keywords:

Minorities, ethnic identity, ethnicity

Ethnicity as a phenomenon

The phenomenon of ethnicity can be viewed from several angles, it is most commonly used as a socio-political construct and includes shared origin, shared language and shared cultural traditions (Ford, Kelly, 2005). However, it can also be understood as a sense of belonging (although only supposed) to a particular origin or ancestors (Liebkind, 2006). Ethnicity defined in this way can then relate to such a group (an ethnic group) that is united by a common belief in a common (biological or psychological) origin (Liebkind, 2015). At this point, it is important to dwell on the "perceived" aspect of ethnicity, i.e. its subjectivity. Since ethnicity places emphasis on a common origin and a sense of belonging, it is strengthened through common cultural customs, rituals, etc. In this way it becomes a community affair, a phenomenon from the past, not necessarily objective one.

The line, which seems to be common for various definitions, inherently determines ethnicity as a characteristic that categorizes or differentiates individuals based

1 The paper was created as part of project APVV-15-0745 *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020)* – (TESS2).

on multiple demographic variables. However, the differences between these definitions are not only in the way in which this categorization occurs, but also in the way that this characteristic is internalized or realised. It can be stated that the degree and method of internalization differs with regard to the time and period when they were created. Isajiw (1992) characterizes historical development of approaches to the study of ethnicity as a departure from objective, static determinants, to subjective, situational and fluid. Thus, ethnicity is nowadays considered to be subjective or social construct that arises and depends on the subjective perception of an individual or perceptions and interactions of social influences on it rather than on the "innate", unchanging characteristics. This paradigm tends to depict the category of ethnicity depending on the ideological division of social structure (e. g. Smaje, 1997), which in this case serves a functionally very limited goal, i.e. maintaining social status quo while maintaining the current distribution of forces in society. Thus, in the extreme application of this approach, the ethnicity category can lose its natural differentiation function and lose the explanatory power, or simplify the creation and adoption of prejudices, stereotypes, etc. Therefore, these theories reduce the phenomenon of ethnicity from a separate category to an epiphenomenon of truly essential, well-sociologically justifiable phenomena, such as power or class (Smaje, 1997).

In its essence, multifactorial conditionality of ethnicity as a social category is given and indisputable, taking into consideration that ethnicity is accepted as a broad, umbrella term, covering a number of factors, such as culture, cultural customs, etc. (Harawa, Ford, 2010). Ethnicity contains aspects of social life (i. e. culture, customs, traditions, etc.), as well as the personal identity that people in a certain group choose to share (to varying degrees of willingness or consciousness) (Airhihenbuwa, 2007). Ford and Harawa (2010) distinguish two dimensions within the definition of ethnicity: the attribution dimension, which describes and classifies unique characteristics of groups (such as cultural customs) and the relationship dimension that characterizes a group in relation to the society in which the group is located. The classic definition of ethnicity defines in its essence only the attribution dimension, such as in Johnson (2000): shared culture and way of life, especially as reflected in language, customs, religion and other institutional forms, material culture such as clothing and food and cultural products such as music, literature and art. However, Ford and Harawa (2010) argue that such a definition serves sufficiently to understand personal identity and for social-cultural characteristics of a group is not sufficient to understand the status of groups within social order, therefore there is a need for a second, relationship dimension.

Ethnic Identity

The process of forming an identity as an umbrella construct for many "lower" constructs will also not be possible without identifying individual components and their relative importance. Identity is about the peculiarities, dilemmas, contradictions and imperatives of the relationship between an individual and their social environment (Verkuyten, 2005). Already the basic work on identity from Tajfel (1981) distinguishes two basic components of identity, personal and social, the latter being based on admitting membership and attributing value to certain groups.

The dynamics of these two components and their interactions can provide a basic orientation framework also for the inclusion of subjectivity, "selectivity" of ethnic identity as such. Subjective beliefs in common origin or history are socially constructed and thus always subject to re-interpretation, modification and change (Liebkind, 2015). However, they also depend significantly on how they are perceived and recognized by other people. Verkuyten (2005) argues that ethnic identity is only sustainable to the extent to which it is expressed and confirmed in social interactions. This gives room to claiming a certain adaptability of the subjective component of ethnic identity, but the objective part is its "grounding" component. Thus, ethnic identity appears to be less important in the degree of selectivity of one's own ethnic identity, but rather significance given to ethnic identity by an individual (Liebkind, 2015). In addition to these, there are a number of other factors such as language, religion, race, cultural customs, as well as a sense of shared history or symbolism associated with membership in an ethnic group that serves to promote and strengthen this subjective sense of belonging (Cohen, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005). Cohen (2004) argues that the creation and synthesis of ethnic identity is influenced by changes within a particular ethnic group, as well as by changes in relations towards groups they are in contact with. It can be said that *„neither culture nor ethnicity is something that people have, neither something they belong to. Rather, they are the complex repertoires that people experience, use, learn in their everyday lives, in which they continually construct the continuing meaning and sense of their own, as well as the understanding of their fellows."*

Components of Ethnic Identity

Based on the findings, there are a number of theoretical and methodological approaches to the study or measuring ethnic identity. For example, social-cognitive approach, which consists of identifying three dimensions of ethnic identity that are cognitive, evaluative, and emotional (identical dimensions to social identity theory, e. g. Tajfel, 1981). Thus, in this approach, the individual components are defined by their impact on the manifested internal or external aspects of individuality. Another way of conceptualizing the components of ethnic identity is represented by the work of Phinney (1990), who identified four categories of components based on meta-analysis; 1. self-identification: through this component, identity is understood as a self-describing and attributed characteristic by which an individual is voluntarily and individually identified as a member of an ethnic group; 2. feeling of belonging: it represents the emotional component of ethnic identity, formed by subjective, emotional, or affective feeling of belonging to a group; 3. attitudes towards the own group: they represent the cognitive and evaluative component of their own group; 4. engagement in cultural life: represents a "behavioural component", interest in cultural life of an ethnic group manifested by active participation in the group's rituals.

Multiple ethnic identities

Due to growing diversity and global multi-culture, it is important to look at the challenges of today's world order. The way of resolving "ethnic conflicts" remains an in-

teresting aspect, not at the inter-individual level, but at the intra-individual level, i. e. how an individual in today's world accepts various influences of various groups they may hypothetically belong to. Although, from a traditional point of view, the concept of multiple ethnic identity would naturally be a difficult-to-imagine construct, due to inheritance and invariability of ethnic identity, in a subjective approach, this notion takes on more justifiable lines. When comparing forces affecting an individual (whether intrapsychic or social), it is possible to attribute their "belonging" or loyalty to several groups at the same time, although of course a certain hierarchy of importance cannot be excluded, perhaps it is even inevitable. To this end, the traditional static 'descriptive' definition needs to be extended by the dynamic aspects of conflict resolution, often based on contradictory forces that affect an individual's inclusion in a particular ethnic group. According to De Vijver et al. (2015) traditional models, based on a distinction between the two essential components of identity ("mainstream" and ethnic), fail where there is a need to explain or describe the formation of identity of individuals living within zones with high cultural diversity. Thus, in such an environment, conflicts at the intra-individual level in the process of accepting one's own ethnicity are essential.

Vertovec (2010) describes this process of change from "ordinary" diversity as a shift to super-diversity, where diversity itself is diversified and transformed under the influence of various factors. This phenomenon could be illustrated by the fact that, while people from various ethnic groups have always migrated and maintained a varying degree of their original cultural traditions, this phenomenon has now accelerated unprecedently and further diversification occurs between the cultural islands of diversity themselves (see e. g., Cohen, 1997). Factors that highlight both the speed and depth of these changes are, according to Castells (1996), a really massive expansion of the Internet as a means of communication, the emergence of new communication technologies, and an unprecedented economic migration that together created a "network society" in which people live and work with regard to their "virtual" peers in sometimes gigantic Internet communities.

The function of ethnic identity as a protective factor with purpose of creation of an adequate self-concept (Tajfel, Turner, 1979) is an important aspect of ethnic identity. The most frequently mentioned, as well as examined function of ethnic identity is in its theoretical link to psychological well-being (Castle, Knight, Waters, 2011), when a protective, mediation effect is attributed to ethnic identity. However, the extent to which this effect is robust differs from one research to another, and research in this area is often carried out on very specific samples and selective choice of examined characteristics.

The frequently stated reasons for research on ethnic identity include its hypothesised protective effects, more specifically, such as a possible source of resilience during development of endangered children (Reyes, Elias, Parker, & Rosenblatt, 2013; Kuperminc, Wilkins, Jurkovic, Perilla, 2013). Part of the research in this respect confirms some protective effects, but for specific samples such as e.g. Latin Americans (Umaña-Taylor, Updegraff, 2007). Ethnic identity also appears to be a strong correlate of better adaptational psychological outcomes (Serrano-Villar, Calzada, 2016), but self-confidence is a hypothetical moderating factor in this relationship (Brody, Chen, Murry, Ge, Simons, Gibbons, 2006).

Method

The presented research focused on comparing the stability of ethnic identity and its components over time, as well as comparing individual minorities represented in the research sample. It was carried out on data collected in the second half of 2017 in Slovakia and these data were compared to the first round of collection in 2004. The analysis was carried out on a research set consisting of 2605 respondents representing the following nationalities: 322 Slovaks, 325 Hungarians, 320 Roma, 320 Ukrainians, 334 Poles, 320 Ruthenians, 339 Germans and 325 Czechs, with men and women equally represented (48 % men and 52 women in total). Age categories were divided into four groups, up to 34 years (712 respondents), 35 – 44 years (477 respondents), 45 – 54 years (606 respondents) and 55 and more (810 respondents). When presenting the results, the following abbreviations will be used for each nationality: Slovaks = Sk; Hungarians = Hu; Roma = Ro; Czechs = Cz; Ruthenians = Ru; Ukrainians = Uk; Poles = Pl; Germans = Ge.

Operationalization of the individual components of ethnic identity was based conceptually on the aforementioned Phinney Model of Ethnic Identity Components (1990), which postulates four basic components that were represented by questionnaire items. Specifically, the items were aimed at: 1. identifying perceived national pride (1 item); 2. Subjective perception of belonging to ethnicity (1 item); 3. Auto-stereotype with regard to own group (8 items); 4. Degree of engagement in cultural life (2 items). All of these items were determined on a 7-point bipolar scale, with a centre of scale (4) serving as a neutral attitude, while 1 means a negative or refusing attitude and 7 a positive, accepting pole. A common measure of these items shows reliability Cα = .88. Intercorrelations between these items are shown in Table 1 (Pearson).

Table 1: Intercorrelations between individual components of ethnic identity

Components	Ethnic pride	Ethnic belonging	Ethnic autostereotype	Cultural engagement
Ethnic pride	1	.353**	.225**	.183**
Ethnic belonging		1	.252**	.246**
Ethnic autostereotype			1	.130**
Cultural engagement				1

**correlations are significant at 0.01

Results

For the presented variables, their levels between individual nationalities within the research set were examined. The overall global level (conceptualized according to the Phinney model) of ethnic identity was relatively stable across both data collection rounds, for the whole research set, regardless of ethnicity, in the positive parts of 7-point scale. Slovak nationality was excluded from the analysis and comparisons of global ethnic identity, due to missing data from the first round of data collection.

The following abbreviations of variables are used to present the results: EI-G = overall ethnic identity rate; EP = pride in own ethnicity; DE = subjectively declared ethnicity; EAS = ethnic auto-stereotype; CA = cultural engagement. Averages and standard deviations of these variables and a baseline comparison are shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Global values of the examined variables within the two collection rounds

		2004	2017
EI-G	Sk	x*	5.56/0.74
	Hu	5.45/0.80	5.29/0.85
	Ro	5.53/0.58	4.97/0.90
	Uk	5.61/0.52	5.47/0.68
	Pl	4.97/0.73	5.42/0.58
	Ru	5.52/0.62	5.77/0.64
	Ge	5.39/0.69	5.39/0.59
	Cz	5.38/0.82	5.40/0.73
	All	5,409/0.71	5,408/0.75

* missing data

For nationalities, however, there are more significant shifts in these indicators. Table No.3 shows the values of the examined variables with respect to the nationalities represented. The first number represents the average value of an item, the second after the forward slash its standard deviation.

Table 3: Average values of ethnic identity components by ethnicity

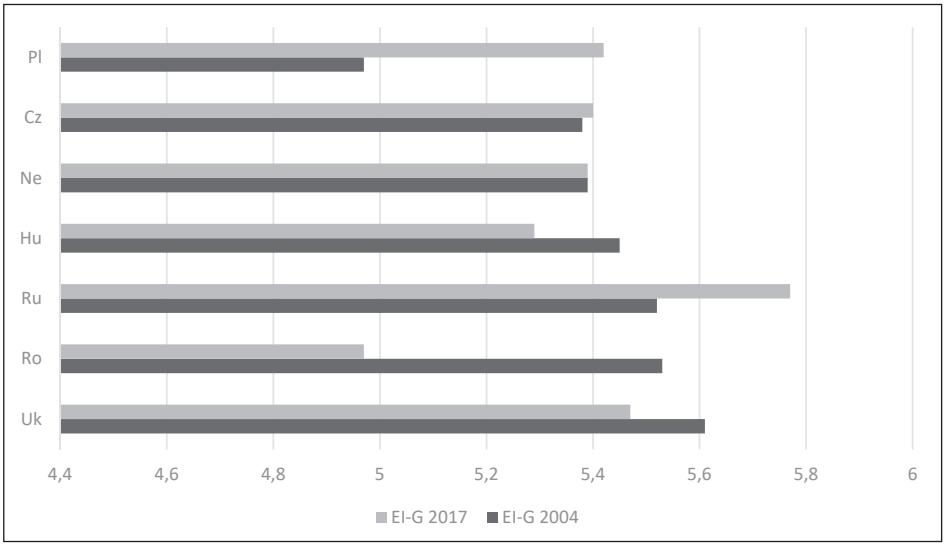
		Round 2004				Round 2017			
		EP	DE	EAS	CA	EP	DE	EAS	CA
Nationality	Sk	5.60/1.25	x*	3.77/0.97	4.94/1.19	6.23/1.00	5.61/1.32	5.37/1.18	5.03/1.03
	Hu	6.14/1.11	5.25/1.42	5.17/1.17	5.12/0.91	5.70/1.20	5.15/1.43	5.26/1.11	5.05/1.01
	Ro	5.98/1.04	5.91/1.19	4.80/0.90	5.44/0.69	5.54/1.28	5.39/1.41	4.76/1.24	4.20/1.17
	Uk	6.14/0.76	5.87/0.91	5.09/0.94	5.38/0.70	5.96/1.02	5.66/1.26	5.38/1.01	4.88/0.94
	Pl	5.59/1.01	5.16/1.49	4.30/1.08	4.84/0.97	5.97/0.95	5.59/1.25	5.36/0.83	4.75/0.78
	Ru	6.21/0.81	5.98/1.04	4.55/1.02	5.35/0.76	6.28/0.91	6.09/1.11	5.57/1.02	5.16/0.83
	Ge	5.96/0.92	5.85/1.17	4.21/1.21	5.59/0.83	5.94/1.05	5.47/1.23	5.37/0.76	4.77/0.76
	Cz	5.45/1.41	5.72/1.60	4.93/1.22	5.40/0.91	6.05/1.04	5.31/1.37	5.38/0.94	4.85/0.96

* missing data

The values shown in Table No. 3 were tested to determine the significance of differences between nationalities. These comparisons are presented graphically in the following charts, with the significance of differences determining the groupings of individual nationalities. The values of global ethnic identity and its components according to na-

tionality are shown visually in the following charts, where the given variables are listed in descending order. Differences between groups were marked as significant based on one-way ANOVA analysis. The hierarchy in the achieved global ethnic identity values is shown in Chart No.1.

Chart No. 1: Comparison of global ethnic identity values between 2004 and 2017



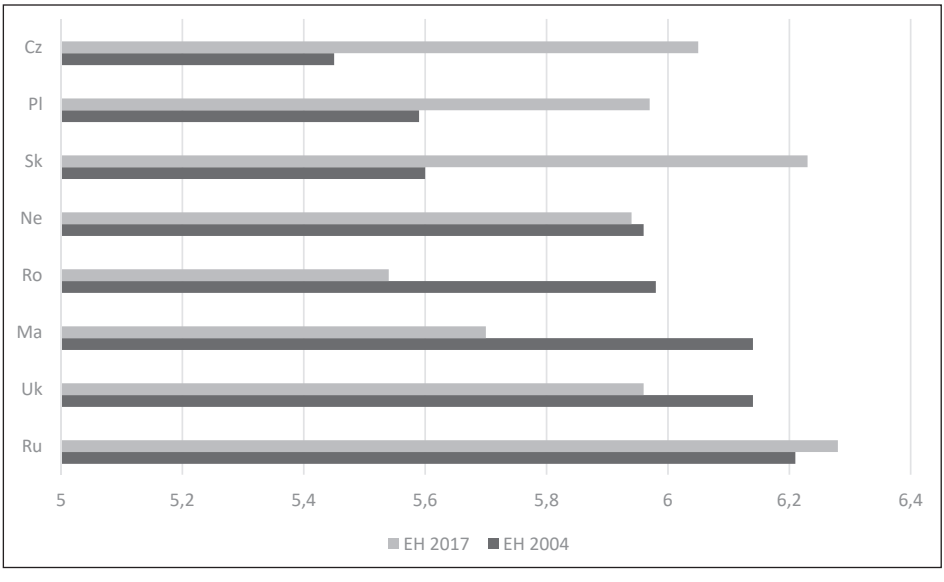
To identify the significance of individual differences between collection rounds, tests were conducted for individual nationalities, which showed the most significant differences between the Roma (t (272) = 6.577, p = .01, average decrease by 0.561, Cohen's D = 0.74) and Polish minority (t (298) = -6.097, p = .01, average increase by 0.443, Cohen's D = 0.68). The Ruthenians also noted a significant change (t (317) = -3.647, p = .01, an average increase of 0.256), while ethnic identity proved to be relatively stable over time for other ethnicities. The following charts will show the comparison of individual respondents divided by nationality and descending according to the achieved values for each component.

Table 4: Average differences in the variables examined between 2004 and 2017 for individual nationalities:

	EH	EP	EAS	KA	Total average difference
Sk	+0.69*	X**	+1.59*	+0.09	+0.77**
Ma	-0.44*	-0.10	+0.09	-0.07	-0.13
Ro	-0.44*	-0.52*	-0.05	-1.23*	-0.56
Uk	-0.19	-0.21	+0.28*	-0.51	-0.16
Pl	+0.37*	+0.42*	+1.06*	-0.08	-0.44
Ru	+0.07	+0.11	+1.02*	0.19	+0.35
Ne	-0.02	-0.38*	+1.16*	-0.82*	-0.02
Cz	+0.60*	-0.41*	+0.46*	-0.55*	+0.02
Total average difference	+0.08	-0.15	+0.70	-0.37	

* significant difference p = .01
** missing data

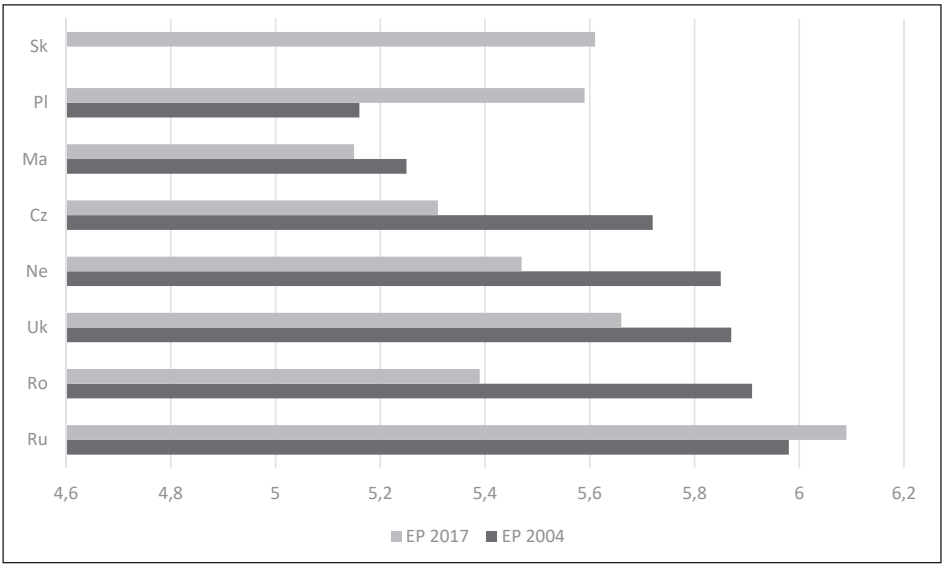
Chart No. 2: Comparison of values of pride at own ethnicity between 2004 and 2017



The analysis of differences between nationalities in the 1st round showed statistically significant differences in ethnic pride (Chart 2) (one way ANOVA, F (1273) = 12.325, p = .01), with the first five nationalities forming the first group (Ru, Uk, Hu, Ro and Ge) without significant differences, and then the second group (Sk, Pl and Cz), and there are

significant differences between the two clusters, determined by the difference between Germans and Slovaks (Tukey, p = 0.046). In the second round, one way ANOVA also confirmed significant differences between nationalities (F (1324) = 8.74, p = .01), and subsequently allowed a hierarchical order of differences between nationalities (i.e., descending 1: Ru, Sk, Cz, Pl, Uk , No: 2: Hu, Ro), with statistical power D = 0.55 (between German and Hungarian nationality), and with a total range difference not exceeding 0.66 Cohen's D (between the first and the last place, i. e. Ruthenians and Roma).

Chart No. 3: Comparison of values of declared ethnicity between 2004 and 2017

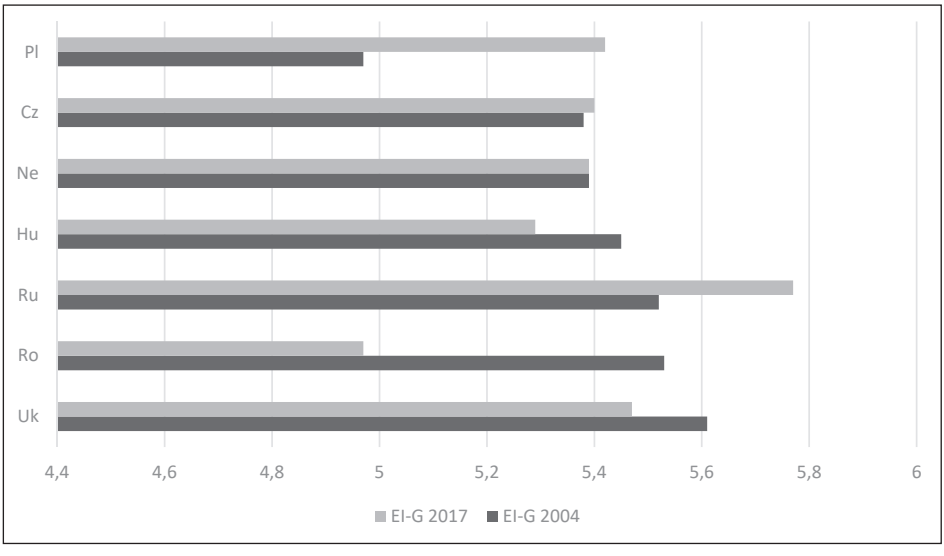


Subsequently, declared ethnicity (DE, Chart 3) was analysed with respect to the collection rounds. The most striking differences were seen in the decline in Roma's identification with their ethnic minority (t (317) = 3.547, p = .01, Cohen's D = 0.40), and respondents of Hungarian and Ruthenian nationality are the ones most identified with their ethnicity. Differences between nationalities were analysed for both collection rounds (one-way ANOVA, F (1099) = 10.403, p = .01; in second F (1324) = 7.582, p = .01). The following analysis of post-hoc tests (Tukey) showed that differences in the first round make it possible to form two clusters (1: Ru, Ro, Uk, No, Cz; 2: Hu, Pl), with a significant difference between Czech and Hungarian nationality (p = .021, Cohen's D = 0.31). In the second round, there are Ruthenian and Ukrainian respondents at the top of the chart (from Slovak p = .023, with Cohen's D = 0.31).

As an additional component of ethnic identity, the composite rate of ethnic auto-stereotype (EAS, Chart 4) was analysed, where the most positive increase between 2004 and 2017 can be seen among all components. Differences between the two collection rounds

were analysed, but despite the significant differences, shifts did not prove to be as significant as the other components. The most significant difference was recorded among respondents of Slovak nationality, where it proved positive (t (319) = -13.246, p = .01, Cohen's D = 1.47). The analysis of differences between nationalities showed the significance of differences for both collection rounds (one-way ANOVA, F (1259) = 32.329, p = .01; in second F (1324) = 8.749, p = .01). Post-hoc testing (Tukey) made it possible to categorize respondents into 2 groups based on differences in significance, with a significant difference for Slovak respondents (p = .01). In the second round, there was some balance and stabilization of this indicator, where almost all nationalities achieved similar, statistically insignificant difference to other nationalities, except for the Roma who ranked at the bottom of the order (Tukey, p = .01, from the first Ruthenian respondents with statistical power of Cohen's D = 0.72, and 0.43 from the penultimate Hungarian).

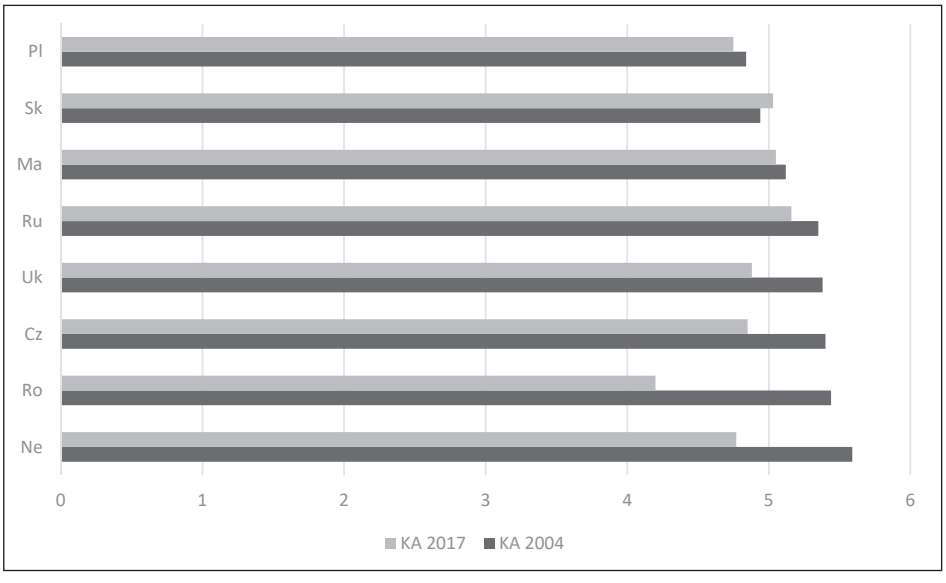
Chart No. 4: Comparison of the values of ethnic auto-stereotype between 2004 and 2017



In terms of cultural engagement (CA, Chart 5), there were also no major shifts in the two collection rounds, the largest difference between 2004 and 2017 was recorded by Roma respondents, a decline in cultural engagement of 1.23 points (t (318) = 11,511) p = .01, Cohen's D = 1.29). Differences between nationalities were examined by one-way ANOVA (F (1276) = 14.152 in the first round, p = .01; in the second round F (1324) = 15.633, p = .01). Based on post-hoc testing (Tukey), two clusters were identified (1: Ge, Ro, Cz, Uk, Ru; 2: Ru, Hu, Sk, Pl), with only one major divide on the 5th to 6th rows of the descending order (between German and Hungarian nationality p = .01), but without a significant change in the overall order and with the total span within the first and last

place of power of effect (Cohen's D) 0.83. The second round also repeats the situation of similar values across nationalities, but once again the respondents of Roma nationality differ significantly from the penultimate Germans (p = .01, Cohen's D = 0.58).

Chart No. 5: Comparison of values of ethnic cultural engagement between 2004 and 2017



Discussion

The research was focused on ethnic identity and its transformations and shifts. Several shifts occurred between the two collection rounds, but ethnic identity as a global measure of four indicators remained largely unchanged and proved relatively stable over a period of 13 years. However, there have been several shifts at the level of individual ethnicity and ethnic identity components. It is also worth mentioning that, despite different values for nationalities, they have always been in positive areas of the measuring tool. This confirms the functions of ethnic identity as a protective factor (e. g. Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007, Castle, Knight, Watters, 2011), as well as its protective function against the negative evaluations coming from outside environment (Serrano-Villar, Calzada, 2016). This makes it possible to consider the possible relationship between ethnic identity, self-esteem and various positive indicators (e. g. academic performance, Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007), and hypothesizing the positive impact of "ethno-education" on overall performance in various parts of life. This effect is theorized (e.g. Schwartz, Zamboanga, Hernandez Jarvis, 2007; Kulis, Marsiglia, Kopak, Olmsted, Crossman, 2012), however its generality or usability in terms of various ethnicities is still a question. Since ethnic identity as such is a multi-factorial construct, its

individual components could vary (and they do, according to the research presented) depending on many other acting agents.

As can be seen from Table No.4, among nationalities, as well as individual components, there are also significant differences. At the overall level of ethnic identity, the greatest changes occurred in case of members of Roma and Polish ethnicity, which opens the possibility to discuss external factors affecting the level of these variables (e. g. social situation, foreign as well as domestic politics, perception by the majority in terms of auto- and hetero- stereotypes, etc.) The deepening differences in the social area, as well as in the perception of the Roma minority (not only) by the majority (Výrost, Martonyik, 2018) may also affect the overall ethnic identity and its components. Thus, in terms of individual components, ethnic pride and ethnicity appear to be the most stable indicator of ethnic identity, with no statistical significance between the two rounds of data collection. On the contrary, the perceived ethnic auto-stereotype is a component that has seen the largest increase in the entire research sample, with the exception of Roma nationals whose shift was not statistically significant. In addition to the fact that the shift in perception of auto-stereotype was significantly positive, the protective and cohesive function of the auto-stereotype (Triandis et al., 1982) was retained and even highlighted in the presented research set. A more significant decline in cultural engagement can be understood in the context of not attributing the importance of cultural ritualization in terms of majority society, in terms of positively perceived cultural expressions, such as Roma culture of music accepted by the majority, which does not negate the negative stereotype of the Roma as such (Bittnerová, 2014), hence the justification of this component may decrease over time and lose value for the Roma themselves. However, such a hypothesis would have to be confirmed or refuted by future research as current data do not allow it.

Differences between nationalities within the variables examined are a separate issue, since despite the statistically significant shift between 2004 and 2017, no trend in the form of similarity in order or in the size of the differences was demonstrated. In only a few cases, there is the exception of the respondents of Roma ethnicity, especially in the area of cultural engagement and the positive perception of the perceived auto-stereotype, as among all respondents they had the least positive auto-stereotype (still positive though) and the lowest level of cultural engagement. Differences between nationalities are, in terms of statistical power and the overall picture, although not negligible, ambiguous as to their origin. This brings the idea of a possible interaction of factors such as e.g. the social status of the Roma, the size of the minority in question, the representation at local as well as global level of politics, the perceived stability of the minority, as well as hetero-stereotypes regarding individual nationalities (see, e.g., Torres, 2003; Gloria, Hird, 2011). From the point of view of the stability of ethnic identity, the smallest changes were recorded in the respondents of German, Czech, Hungarian and Ukrainian nationalities, on the other side is the Roma nationality. This direction could indicate a social status or perception of the social status of a given minority as one of the factors affecting ethnic identity.

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The Influence of Sociodemographic Factors on the Perception of Sites of Memory in Public Space[1]

Klara Kohoutová

Abstract:

The contribution deals with the sociodemographic issue of factors which influence the perception of sites of memories. The contribution is divided into two parts. The first part of the paper deals with theoretical anchoring – what are sites of memory, what are sites of memory with ethnic themes etc.? This part is based on historical, political, sociological and psychological sources.
In the second part of the paper, we process and analyse data. Results of the contribution are based on a survey, which took place within APVV project APVV-15-0745 Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020). The main aim of the project is an analysis historical and political development of national relations between 2004 – 2020.

Keywords:

Sites of memory, commemorations, ethnicity, minority, public space

Introduction

Sites of memory in public space are one part of a wider methodological concept of memory history. The issue of sites of memory in public space has become more and more topical in the recent years, not only among professionals but also among the general public. Events against building of a monument are being organized more and more often, or, on the other hand, a group might have been trying to place a monument in public space for many years and they still fail to complete their initiative. This fact is related not only to the changing view of history but also to the re-evaluation of the past. Sites of memory reflect the past and reflect on the society's relationship to history. At the same time, they often reflect small history that would probably have been forgotten had it not been for these places. The concept of sites of memory can also offer much broader overlap into the study of identity or memory studies than it might seem at first sight.

1 This paper was prepared as part of project APVV-15-0745 *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020)* – (TESS2)

As clearly exposed objects of memory, sites of memory locations are an immediate and valuable source of reflection on collective memory, and at the same time are its direct actors. Collective memory points to the importance of common memory in identity creation and focuses on memory shared by a nation. There is no doubt that this memory reflects in a certain way exactly the sites of memory and at the same time influence it by its presence in the public space. The messages of sites of memory are usually short but at the same time sufficiently concise and unambiguous, making them objects of more accurate interpretation of historical reality. Sites of memory carry symbolic functions that make them often more graspable than other sources of historical knowledge. Circumstances of their origin are various – local, collective or group interests. At the same time, the emergence of individual places is closely linked to political representation.

Since 2016, there is an ongoing APVV project entitled: *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020).* The project is a follow-up to the sociological research from 2003 – 2005, which was also carried out at the Institute of Social Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, conducted by means of questionnaire data collection and subsequent analysis. As there were no questions about sites of memory in the 2004 questionnaire, we will not deal with the comparison of questionnaires in our paper.

In the course of 2017, data collection was conducted using a questionnaire method. As part of the questionnaire, respondents answered two questions about minority sites of memory, which we will discuss below. The aim of the paper is to point out what socio-demographic factors influence the perception of sites of memory in the Slovak space and which do not.

Sites of memory

The concept of a site of memory is based on multiple volume collective monograph *Les lieux de mémoire,*[2] edited by none other than French historian Pierre Nora. According to Pierre Nora, it was necessary to make an inventory of sites that would become promoters of memory.[3] However, the sites of memory are perceived purely as material places but represent a complex of phenomena. As a site of memory, Nora[4] and his colleagues

2 In their multi-volume work *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, Pierre Nora and his colleagues tried to present the readers with a kind of kaleidoscope of French cultural history and to draw images from the remnants of absorbed memory that would fill the space between collective memory and history. For more see NORA, Pierre (Ed.). *Les lieux de mémoire,* vol. 1 (La République). Paris: Gallimard, 1984.

3 ŠUBRT, Jiří – PFEIFEROVÁ, Štěpánka. Kolektivní paměť jako předmět historicko-sociologického bádání. In *Historická sociologie*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2010, pp. 20-21.

4 Pierre Nora distinguishes three types of sites of memory: material, symbolic and functional. However, the individual categories cannot function without each other, i. e. all three aspects are present in the monument at the same time. At first glance, a purely material site of memory can serve as an example – a museum which, however, has its symbolic and functional role too. For more see NORA, Pierre. Mezi pamětí a historií: problematika míst. In Mayer, Françoise – Bensa, Alban – Hubinger, Václav (Ed.). *Antologie francouzských společenských věd: Město*. Praha: Cefres, 2010, p. 44.

defined any whole, both material and non-material, which resulted on the creation of a symbolic element related to the heritage of the memory of a particular collective.[5] In addition, sites of memory do not necessarily relate to a particular nation, but may be transnational or local in nature, i. e. they are diverse in their message. Sites of memory are also associated with public holidays and anniversaries whose function is to shape historical consciousness.[6]

Sites of memory are symbolical depictions of the past, at the same time portraying values that are part of the formed collective identity. The concept of site of memory evokes the idea that the collective memory of a nation, or some group (social, ethnic, etc.), crystallizes at specific places.[7] The symbolic value of the sites of memory for a given groups is significant, and at the same time, for that group, it is the basis of their own identity.[8] In addition to their aesthetic value, sites of memory in public spaces carry a function and can be perceived from the perspective of collective memory.[9]

Such places present a suitable form of both to provide future generations with the value meanings of a nation or a particular group.[10] At the same time, they become a suitable alternative to the mutual respect and understanding of even once hostile communities.[11] The aim of such a place is the carry the message of significant moments of ethnicity, nation or group.[12]

Ethnically coded sites of memory

Ethnically coded sites of memory are those places that, as the name suggests, relate to a minority or to some ethnic group and are thus carriers of ethnic message. These places with ethnic message are created or the message is subsequently added to them (e. g. by changing borders, changing national composition in the state, etc.). Places

5 Sites of memory can be understood as an effort to reconstruct the past of a certain group, ethnicity or nation. Moreover, ethnic and minority groups feel the need to follow their historical formation, their roots. For more see. NORA, Pierre. Mezi pamětí a historií: problematika míst..., pp. 46-51.

6 For more see OLŠÁKOVÁ, Doubravka. Česká místa paměti mezi dědictvím a tradicí. In *Dějiny – teorie – kritika,* no. 2, 2012, p. 270.

7 At the same time, the word *site* can be interpreted in various ways, but most often it presents a geographical indication – such as a museum or institute.

8 *„Sites of memory live in a common space, they are the havens in which some of the symbolic life of the group still survives."* NORA, Pierre. Mezi pamětí a historií: problematika míst…, p. 47.

9 SOUŠKOVÁ, Sabina. Společenská funkce pomníků. In *Kultura, umění a výchova*, vol. 1, no. 3, 2015. [Online] Available online: <www.kuv.upol.cz/index.php?seo_url=aktualni-cislo&casopis=8&clanek=94> [03. 01. 2016].

10 *„Sites of memory are born and live from a longing for spontaneous memory, knowing that it is necessary to create archives, establish anniversaries, hold celebrations, give obituaries, notarize documentsy."* NORA, Pierre. Mezi pamětí a historií: problematika míst…, p. 46.

11 HLAVAČKA, Milan. Místa paměti a jejich postavení v historickém a společenském „provozu". In *Místa paměti česko-německého soužití.* Sborník příspěvků z konference pracovní skupiny Česko-německého diskuzního fóra Místa paměti v Chebu 5. 6. 2010. Praha: Antikomplex pro Collegium Bohemicum, 2011, p. 21. [Online] Available online: <https://is.cuni.cz/studium/predmety/index.php?do=download&did=73771&kod=JMB056> [Cit. 2016-03-01]

12 NORA, Pierre. Mezi pamětí a historií: problematika míst…, p. 44.

without explicit reference to ethnicity are not classified as ethnically coded. Such cases are, for example, Soviet sites of memory on the territory of the former Czechoslovakia, reminiscent of communist leaders, politicians, lives of (fallen) military heroes or liberation memorials of World War II. These sites of memory are of political nature and regime; thus, we perceive them in the context of war memory. I perceive ethnicity as a continuity with nationality. Circumstances of the origin of sites of memory vary, in case of ethnically coded sites of memory there are two types of circumstances. Either the place was initiated by the minority to which the place relates itself, or by the majority.

In the following part of the paper we will focus on individual aspects that influence the perception of ethnically coded sites of memory in Slovak environment.

Results of questionnaire survey

As mentioned above, during 2017, data was collected by means of collection questionnaire method as part of our APVV project. The questionnaire consisted of 64 questions related to the analysis of ethnic relations in Slovakia. The aim of the questionnaire was to find out opinions on the issue not only from the majority, but also from minority representatives. At the same time, we were interested in their evaluation of minority community as a whole. The research sample consisted of 1325 respondents. With regard to proportional nature of the research, the aim was for a balanced proportion of respondents in all areas examined. Gender was relatively balanced, with 682 women and 643 men. Our respondents were people from both majority and minorities (specifically from seven minority groups living in Slovakia) in the following distribution: 162 Slovaks, 165 Hungarians, 160 Roma, 160 Ukrainians, 174 Poles, 160 Ruthenians, 179 Germans, 165 Czechs.[13]

In terms of age, respondents were divided into age categories (15 – 30 years, 31 – 45 years, 46 – 60 years, 61 and over). Another variable was also education that was classically divided (into primary, secondary and university).

In the questionnaire, the respondents answered two questions (question 49 and 50) related to minority sites of memory:

1. *Do you think that members of minorities should have sites of memory related to their history?*
2. *What do you think of the attitude of the majority in Slovakia towards building memorials for the minorities (busts, statues, memorial plaques, tombstones, etc.) in public space?*

13 According to the last census, the following minorities live in Slovakia: Hungarian (458 467 persons), Roma (105 738 persons), Ruthenian (33 482 persons), Ukrainian (7430 persons), Czech (30 367 persons), German (4690 persons) persons), Polish (3084 persons), Croatian (1022 persons), Serbian (698 persons), Russian (1997 persons), Jewish (631 persons), Moravian (3286 persons), Bulgarian (1051 persons) and other (9825 persons). Data taken from: Sčítanie domov a bytov 2011 (SODB 2011), tabuľka č. 115 Obyvateľstvo podľa pohlavia a národnosti.

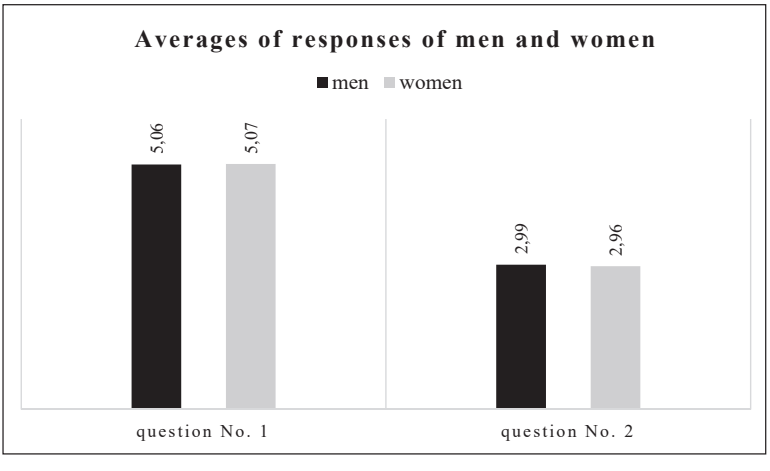
In both cases, the questions were closed, and the respondents had a choice – in the case of the first question, it was a seven-point scale,[14] in the case of the second one it was a five-point scale (Figure 1).[15] We used the T-Test to analyse the answers.

Figure 1 Question No. 50, related to ethnically coded sites of memory.

A50. Čo si myslíte, ako sa stavia väčšinová (majoritná) spoločnosť na Slovensku k umiestňovaniu pamiatok menšín (busty, sochy, spomienkové tabule, náhrobné kamene a pod.) vo verejnom priestore?
ANK.: Respondent môže uviesť iba jednu možnosť!
úplne pozitívne ..... ☐1
skôr pozitívne ..... ☐2
neutrálne ..... ☐3
skôr negatívne ..... ☐4
úplne negatívne ..... ☐5

For research purposes, the following categories were examined: gender, age, education and nationality. While neither of the aforementioned issues has shown gender significance (women and men responded similarly – see *Chart 1*), there were differences for other categories.

Chart No. 1: Averages of responses of men and women to individual questions related to ethnically coded sites of memory



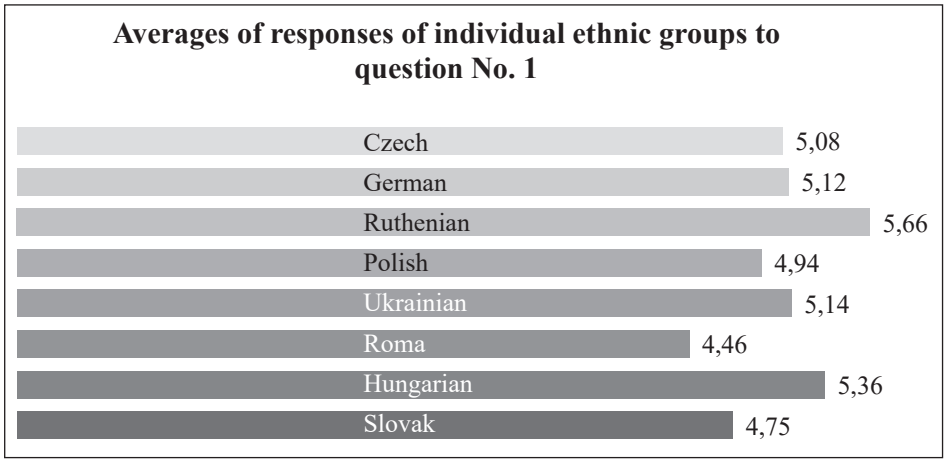
We were most interested in differences in the category of nationality. Both cases showed a significant statistical difference.

In the first question, there was a significant difference between the majority and Hungarian and Ruthenian minority responses. It is statistically apparent that Hungarians and Ruthenians are more open to the minority sites of memory and have a more positive relationship with them. Slovaks and Roma were the most neutral on this issue

14 1. definitely not, 2. no, 3. rather not, 4. do not know, 5. rather yes, 6. yes, 7. definitely yes.
15 1. definitely positive, 2. rather positive, 3. neutral, 4. rather negative, 5. definitely negative.

(and the difference between their responses is minimal). The lowest average of responses were given by the Roma, the highest by the Ruthenians and the Hungarians. This phenomenon corresponds to the historical and social development of individual minority groups. And, at the same time, socio-cultural patterns. National pride of Hungarians is one of the strongest in Europe.[16] For the Ruthenian minority, it is a current issue – they can finally identify themselves freely. Therefore, the responses of these two national minorities are the most similar in the value scale, but the reasons behind them vary. The responses of individual minority groups are shown in *Chart 2.*

Chart No. 2: Averages of responses of individual ethnic groups to the question whether members of minorities should have their own sites of memory.



National differences play an important role in the perception of individual aspects related to minority sites of memory. The second question also showed an important statistical difference between the individual groups of population based on nationality. The averages of responses in Hungarian, Roma, Ukrainian, Polish and German nationalities were at the centre of the five-point scale, i.e. the majority is neutral towards minority sites of memory. Slovaks with members of Ruthenian and partly also Czech minority thought that the majority has largely positive attitude towards them. The lowest average of responses (which meant a positive relationship to minority sites of memory) was given by members of the majority, the highest was given by the Roma. The most similar answers can be found in Hungarian, Ukrainian and Polish minorities. It has been shown statistically that nationalities play a crucial role in the perception of minority sites of memory in public space, with each nationality perceiving them through their own eval-

16 Hungary has the strongest relationship with Europe and their own state. For more see VLACHOVÁ, Klára – ŘEHÁKOVÁ, Blanka. Národ, národní identita a národní hrdost v Evropě. In *Sociologický časopis/Czech Sociological Review*, vol. 40, no. 4, 2004, p. 495.

uation standpoints, which we can classify as historical experience. Averages of individual minority responses to the second question are shown in *Chart 3.*

Chart No. 3: Averages of responses of individual ethnic groups to the question what the majority's attitude towards building minority memorials in public space is.

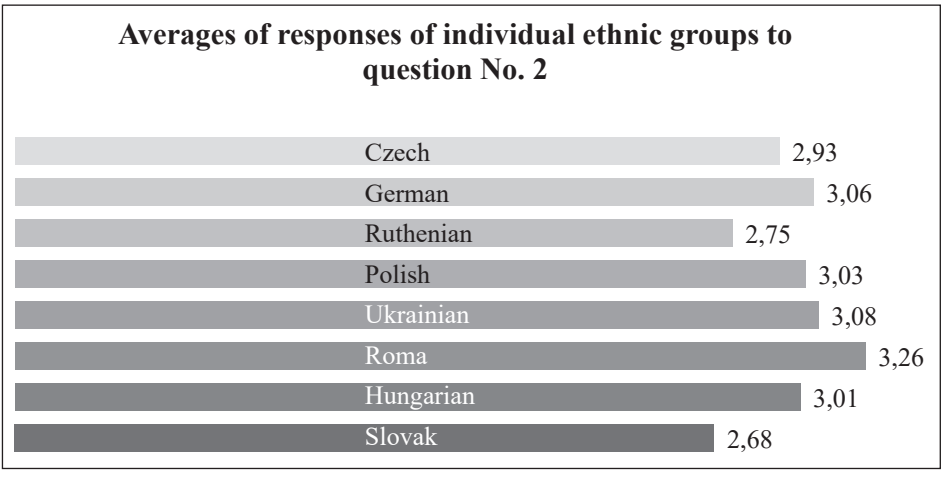
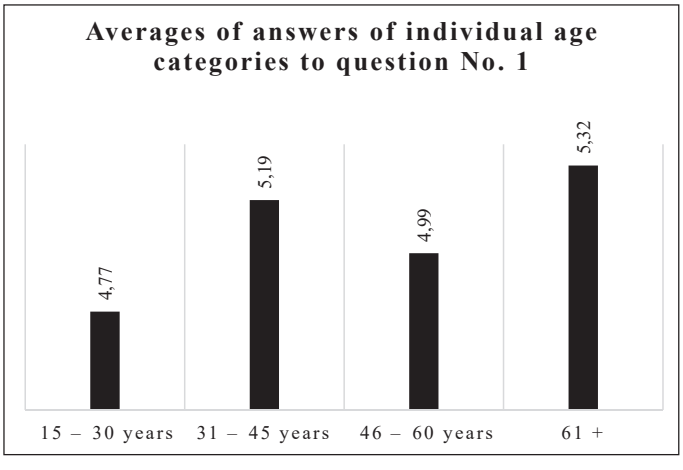


Chart No. 4: Average of responses of individual age groups to the question whether members of minorities should have their sites of memory.

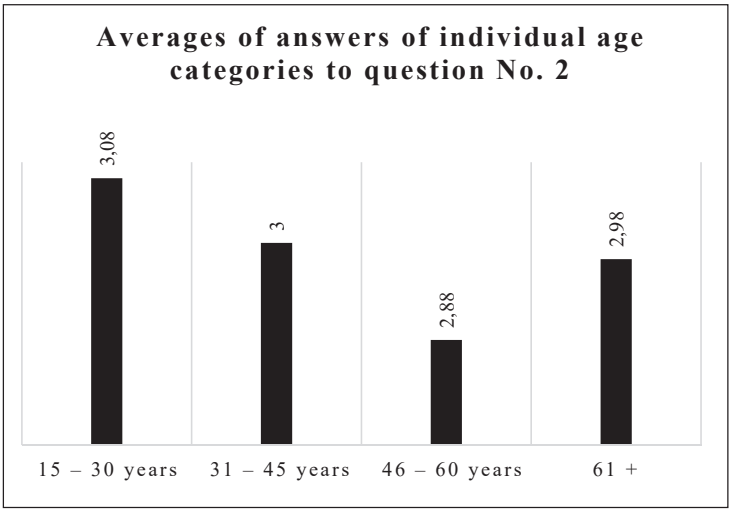


Other categories (age and education) have also had an impact on the results, although in their case it is not quite easy to name the causes. In variable categories such as age clearly is, it is not always unambiguous to identify the true reasons for the response. While nationality or gender categories tend to be constant, age is not.

In the case of the socio-demographic factor of the age group, the statistical differences differ for individual questions. For the first question, the age categories 15 – 30 with 46 – 60 years and 31 – 45 with 61+ are the closest and there is a significant statistical difference between them. Averages of answers to question one are demonstrated in *Chart 4*.

In the second question, there is the biggest difference between the youngest category and the 45 – 60 age category. Other age groups are close to each other without a statistical difference; for averages of responses see Chart 5. In the second question, the generational difference is visible, while in the first question this difference is not visible – or it is manifested differently.

Chart No. 5: Averages of responses of individual age groups to the question what the attitude of the majority society in Slovakia towards building memorials of minorities in public space is.



For both of our questions related to minority sites of memory, differences were also demonstrated in the category of education. Respondents in our research were represented as follows: elementary education (222 persons in total), secondary education (829 persons in total) and university education (274 persons in total). As this questionnaire is not representative, the following table gives an overview of educational division among individual minorities.

The above table demonstrates that education may be related to nationality and to the historical development of individual minorities in Slovakia. The most numerous minorities in our research are as follows: elementary education – Roma, secondary education – Hungarians, university education – Germans. For example, members of the Czech minority came to Slovakia in two waves: for the first time during the First Republic, in order to build state administration, education system, health care and the expansion of

Table 1: Cross table of education versus minorities.

nationality/education	elementary	secondary	university
Slovak	29	98	35
Hungarian	30	112	23
Roma	96	60	4
Ukrainian	42	85	33
Polish	47	86	41
Ruthenian	24	73	63
Czech	22	85	58
German	23	91	65

culture, the second time after 1945 with the aim of industrializing the city. In both cases, they were educated people (doctors, teachers, sculptors, architects and others). Many of them settled permanently in Slovakia. This fact can be closely related to the fact that in our research university educated Czechs are the most numerous group after Germans and Ruthenians. Thus, in the category of education, we must not forget, for example, nationality which, with a high probability, affects the perception of individuals.

Conclusion

Ethnically coded sites of memory are part of Slovak public space. Their importance is still growing, and they are coming to the forefront not only for the professional but also for the general public. At the same time, they are also closely linked to politics that has a huge impact on them. The political changes that the Czechoslovak Republic underwent during the 20th century (whether we are talking about changes in borders after the Second World War, changes to the regimes in 1948 and 1989, as well as the collapse of the common state), significantly influenced the emergence of (ethnically coded) sites of memory. The transformation of political and administrative structures has led to changes in funding mechanisms and to democratization of the decision-making process. Between 1948 and 1989, the building of sites of memory was fully under the control of the Communist Party.[17]

Currently, the decision to install a material site of memory or to organize a commemorative event in a public space is in the authority of municipalities, local governments, organizations or individuals. During the communist era in Czechoslovakia, there were not many sites of memory with an ethnic theme. After 1989, we witnessed a boom in the creation of sites of memory related to individual minorities. Therefore, we must perceive the Velvet Revolution as an important milestone with regard to the creation of ethnically coded sites of memory, which opened the way to transition from

17 LIPTÁK, Ľubomír. Monuments of political changes and political changes of monuments. In Kollar, Miro (Ed.). *Scepticism and hope: sixteen contemporary Slovak essays*. Bratislava: Kalligram, 1999, pp. 138-139.

a totalitarian regime to a democratic state. The transformation of society also brought manipulation with monuments, which included the material sites of memory. Public officials can use them to manipulate and rewrite group history and create a new image. Post-socialist transformation has set the conditions for the emergence of new sites of memory. We often see the filling of the so-called white spots in history and the introduction of new values.

Based on the questionnaire research, we found that apart from gender, other sociodemographic factors examined by us influence the perception of ethnically coded sites of memory.

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OLŠÁKOVÁ, Doubravka. Česká místa paměti mezi dědictvím a tradicí. In *Dějiny – teorie – kritika,* no. 2, 2012, pp. 262-277.

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Position of Mother Tongue in the Value System of Selected Nationalities in 2004 – 2017[1]

Mária Ďurkovská

Abstract:

The aim of the paper is to compare the position of the mother tongue in 2004 and 2017 in the values system of Slovak, Hungarian, Roma and Ruthenian nationals based on the results obtained by means of applied questionnaire. Three lines were examined: 1. the position of the 'mother tongue' value in the respondents' personal value hierarchy, the intention was to determine whether gender and age influence the status of the mother tongue; 2. the link between ethnic values (mother tongue, nationality, belief) of minorities and the perception of the need to develop original traditions, culture and language with an emphasis on social integration; 3. the link between ethnic values and pride in one's own nationality. In 2004, the research sample consisted of a total of 640 respondents. The subject of the research were Slovaks 160) – members of the majority from nationally mixed areas and members of the three most numerous minorities living in Slovakia: Hungarians (160), Roma (160) and Ruthenians (160). The research sample in 2017 consisted of 647 respondents. Slovaks were represented by 162, there were 165 Hungarians, 160 Roma and 160 Ruthenians. The selection criteria for the research sample were the same as in 2004.

The results of the research showed that the value of mother tongue is not conditioned by gender or age, since the overall structure of value orientations did not point to the presence of significant differences. Thus, in most cases, reflecting the value of mother tongue in case of Slovak, Hungarian, Roma and Ruthenian nationals did not show significant deviations either in relation to gender or in relation to age. Hungarians and Roma have been shown to have a link between ethnic values and the need to develop original traditions, culture and language. In case of Slovaks and Ruthenians, we see this relationship only in the belief value (Ruthenians in 2004) and nationality (Slovaks in 2017).

For all nationalities, in 2004 and 2017, the mother tongue showed a statistically significant positive relationship between pride in nationality and value of mother tongue.

Keywords:

Mother tongue, values, Slovaks, Hungarians, Roma, Ruthenians

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1 The paper was prepared as part of project APVV-15-0745 *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020)* – (TESS2).

Introduction

Mother tongue and its use

Significant aspects of development of each minority include language. Language is a link between people. Mother tongue, as one of the objective criteria for defining ethnicity belongs among the basic ethno-integrating elements on which every minority builds its identity. It is therefore understandable that the issue of preservation and reproduction of mother tongue is seen as crucial for the continued existence and life of each ethnicity. Mother tongue is considered to be a co-determinant or a determinant of ethnicity. (Homišinová, Slančová, Výrost, Ondrejovič, 2011) In essence, it identifies belonging to a particular culture, which is also manifested by feelings of fellowship of people with the same mother tongue in a foreign or mixed language environment. Primary socialization and internationalization of the values and norms of given culture mostly are mostly based on the mother tongue. At the same time, mother tongue is a value by itself, mostly related to the value of original homeland. However, this value may differ from practical utilisation of mother tongue. (Homišinová, 2008) When examining mother tongue, we encounter many theoretical and methodological approaches. There are inconsistencies in the definition of mother tongue itself. The four criteria of Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, 32) can be considered as generally acceptable criteria for its definition:

- origin (the language learned first)
- competence (the language that one knows best)
- function (the language one uses the most)
- identification (own – the language with which one identifies themselves; others – the language they consider native for the user).

Mother tongue is one of the pillars of experiencing ethnicity and at the same time a fundamental means of transferring cultural patterns between generations. As a scientific concept, mother tongue can be perceived in several ways: e.g. from a psychological point of view as a tool of primary socialization; from cultural and political perspective as a source of identity formation; from pedagogical point of view as a means of education (Herrlitz, van de Ven, 2007, see also Výrost, Homišinová, 2016).

Mother tongue fulfils specific functions in the case of ethnic groups living in the position of minority, as it is a universal means of keeping their independence. In this sense, it occupies an important position in one's system of preferred values (Homišinová, Výrost, Ďurkovská, 2018).

Values

The concept of value is one of the most widely used expressions of common communication and represents an important aspect of personality. Together with the needs, interests and attitudes, they create incentives for one's actions and determine the direction of these actions. Every individual creates their own value system by means of their values, that is, values that are essential to them and values that are essentially irrelevant. Researching the values and attitudes of people is important for many reasons. One of them is the prognostic reason: based on the identified value preferences, future behaviour of

an individual can be predicted. According to American psychologist Gordon Allport, we can best predict the future by paying attention to the values that people hold and that we notice the transformations that occur within them (cited from European Values Study, 2009, 13).

Values are an essential part of our lives; they are a powerful source of motivation and a pillar of meaning. Values are an important building block of human ethnic identity (Hutnik, 1992). This is especially true if an individual is a member of a minority. There is considerable variation in the definition of value in the expert literature. The common feature of these definitions is that values are understood as constructs that influence human decision-making and behaviour, their perception of people and events.

Aim of the Paper

The aim of the paper is to compare the position of mother tongue in 2004 and 2017 in the values system of Slovak, Hungarian, Roma and Ruthenian nationals based on the results obtained by means of applied questionnaire. These four nationalities were chosen because they had the highest percentage of representation in both the 2001 and 2011 censuses. Three lines were explored: 1. the position of the 'mother tongue' value in the respondents' personal value hierarchy, the intention was to determine whether gender and age influence the status of the mother tongue; 2. the link between ethnic values (mother tongue, nationality, belief) of minorities and the perception of the need to develop original traditions, culture and language with an emphasis on social integration; 3. the link between ethnic values and pride in one's own nationality.

Method

The data come from two rounds of national minority research that took place in 2004 and 2017. In both rounds, a structured questionnaire was used, in 2017, the content was mostly identical to the original questionnaire due to comparability, it was supplemented by some current questions.

For the purposes of our study, the research set was created by available selection, in 2004 there was a total of 640 respondents. The subject of the research were Slovaks (160) – members of the majority from nationally mixed areas and members of the three most numerous minorities living in Slovakia: Hungarians (160), Roma (160) and Ruthenians (160). The criteria for the selection of the research sample were: nationality indicator, i. e. public declaration of minority affiliation, gender, age and education. The research set in 2017 consisted of 647 respondents. Slovaks were represented by 162 respondents, there were 165 Hungarians, 160 Roma and 160 Ruthenians. The selection criteria for the research sample were the same as in 2004.

In accordance with the purpose of research, the aim was to assess the status of mother tongue both in the personal value hierarchy of respondents and to find out whether gender and age influence the status of mother tongue. Seven values were selected, these could be divided into three areas: personal values (employment, education, family), ethnic values (mother tongue, nationality, religion) and social values (freedom). (Výrost, 2011)

A seven-point evaluation scale was used to express the level of preference given by the respondents.

Figure No. 1: The question finding out the significance of individual values for respondents was:

In your opinion, what importance do the members of your minority attribute to the following values?

	no value						**very important**
Employment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Freedom	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nationality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Religion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mother tongue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Since the intention was primarily to assess the status of "mother tongue" value in the respondents' value hierarchy, the other values represented some kind of natural background, and the basis for comparison, as well as the value preferences of respondents (Výrost, 2011).

Tables 1 and 2 show the order of seven respondents' values by nationality – which is the main focus of our interest in this case. The order of values in the tables show the existence of clear differences between groups of respondents belonging to different minorities.

Table 1: Order of preference values for all nationalities examined in 2004

2004								
Values	**Slovak**		**Hungarian**		**Roma**		**Ruthenian**	
Employment	1.	5.91	4.	6.01	2.	6.13	2.	6.36
Freedom	3. – 4.	4.98	2.	6.06	3.	5.70	3.	5.77
Education	3. – 4.	4.98	3.	6.05	6.	5.43	4.	5.67
Family	2.	5.88	1.	6.27	1.	6.14	1.	6.52
Nationality	7.	4.72	5.	5.21	4.	5.50	7.	4.71
Religion	6.	4.73	7.	3.36	7.	4.44	5.	5.19
Mother tongue	5.	4.86	6.	5.13	5.	5.44	6.	4.79

Looking at both tables, we can conclude that each value is in the positive range of the scale, meaning that its average score is still higher than 4.0 – except for the value religion for Hungarian nationality in 2004.

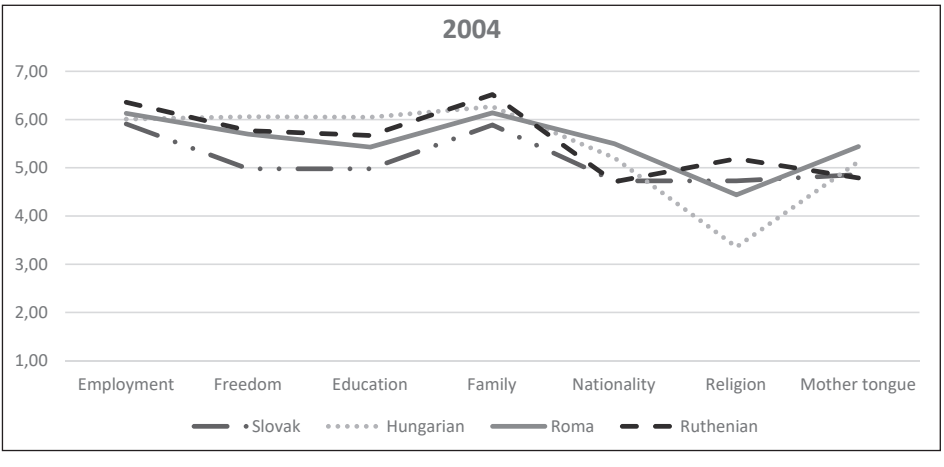
Table 2: Order of preference values for all nationalities examined in 2017

2017								
Values	**Slovak**		**Hungarian**		**Roma**		**Ruthenian**	
Employment	4.	5.85	3.	5.81	6.	4.69	2.	6.46
Freedom	2.	6.14	2.	5.82	2.	5.80	3.	6.34
Education	5.	5.81	5.	5.58	7.	4.11	4.	6.17
Family	1.	6.17	1.	6.05	1.	6.18	1.	6.64
Nationality	3.	5.88	4.	5.68	3.	5.54	6.	5.87
Religion	7.	5.28	7.	4.85	5.	4.93	7.	5.81
Mother tongue	6.	5.75	6.	5.55	4.	5.51	5.	5.96

In the second round of data collection, respondents attributed almost every value with a higher average score than in 2004. An exception is the value of employment, for which the average score for Slovak, Roma and Hungarian nationality decreased in 2017 – i. e. the value of employment for Slovaks moved from 1st place to 4th, and in case of the Roma from 2nd to 6th. Although the value of employment for Hungarian nationality moved from 4th to 3rd place, the respondents attributed it with lower average score in 2017 than in 2004.

The order of values remained almost identical in 2004 and 2017 for Ruthenian nationals. For better clarity we will demonstrate it in graphic form.

Chart No. 1: Preferences of respondent values by nationality in 2004

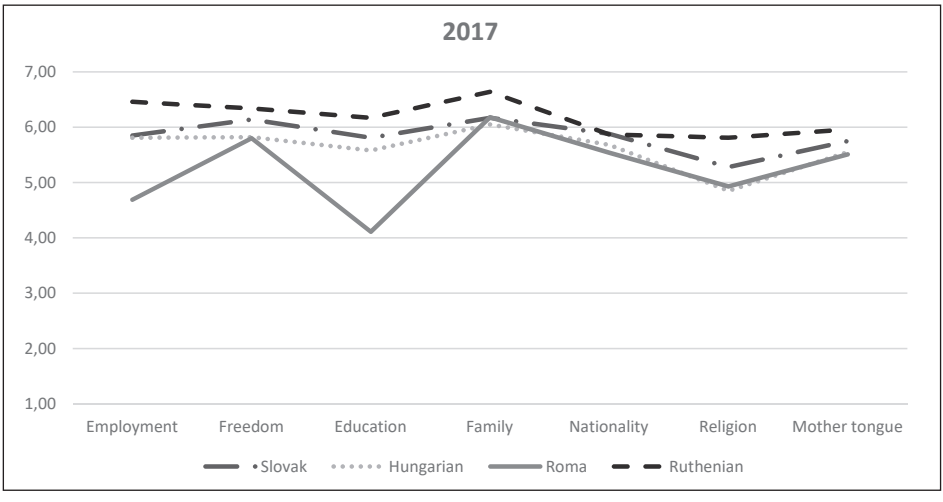


In the 2004 chart we see that the answers of the respondents of the nationalities examined have one common "peak", which is the most preferred value, and that is the family. At the same time, we also see one common "valley", the comparatively least preferred value, which is religion. At the same time, it can be seen that in this (relative-

ly) least preferred value, differences between groups of respondents by nationality were highlighted: respondents of Hungarian nationality preferred it significantly less than respondents of Ruthenian nationality.

The value of mother tongue we are focused on is between 4.79 and 5.44 but also with a rather pronounced dispersion of preferences, which we can see especially among respondents of Roma and Ruthenian nationality.

Chart No. 2: Preferences of respondent' values by nationality in 2017

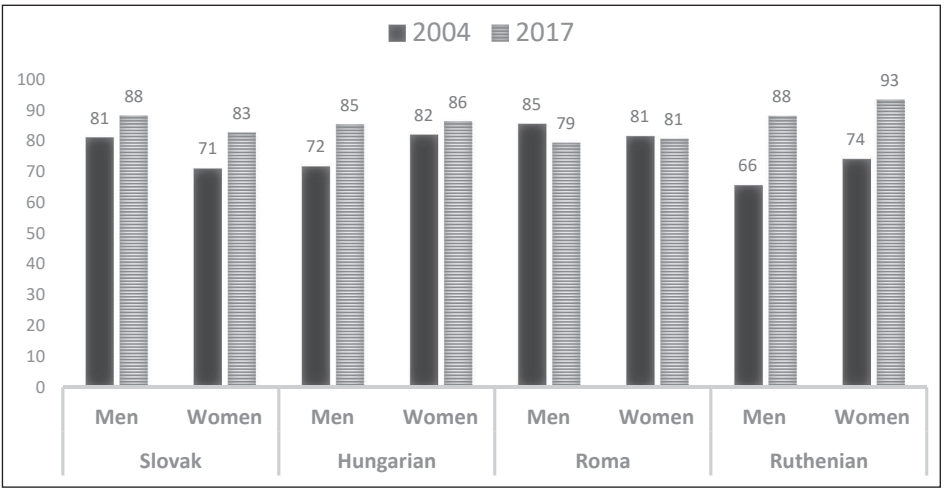


In the 2017 chart, we can see that the trend of respondents' responses of the nationalities examined has two common "peaks" that represent the most preferred value and those are family and freedom. At the same time, we see two common "valleys" that represent values of education and belief. In this case too, the differences between the groups of respondents by nationality were highlighted in these less preferred values: again, there is difference in preference of the value of education between Roma nationals and Ruthenian nationals; in case of religion value, there are differences between Ruthenian respondents on one side and Hungarian and Roma on the other.

The value of the mother tongue remained roughly the same as in 2004. In 2017, each nationality attributed a higher score to this figure value compared to 2004.

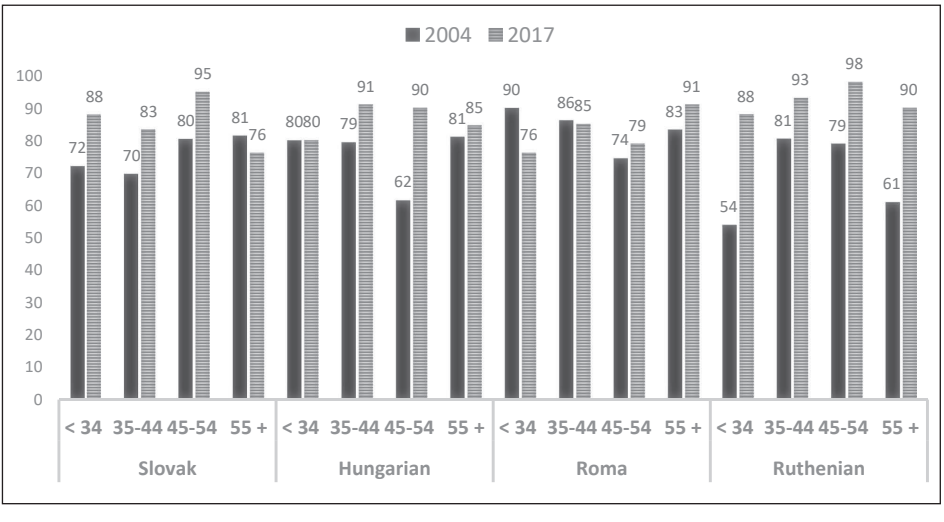
We were also interested in the trends of responses of individual nationalities depending on gender and age, i.e. whether the value of mother tongue is more preferred by men or women, or persons younger or older. For the purposes of this analysis, we created two groups – in the first there were respondents who expressed the personal importance of mother tongue by answering 1, 2, 3 – i. e., the mother tongue had no or little value for them; in the second group there were respondents who expressed the importance of mother tongue by answering 5, 6, 7 – i. e., the value is important to them, or it is of great importance to them. Number 4 located in the middle of the scale was split in half between the first and second group.

Chart No. 3: Preferences of value mother tongue by nationality and gender in 2004 and 2017



Value profiles for women and men, as can be seen in the graph, differ to some extent. In 2017, compared to 2004, almost all nationalities (except for Roma) attributed higher scores to the second group, meaning that the value of mother tongue was more important to them in 2017 than in 2004. For Roma nationality, it was the opposite, higher scale score was attributed to value mother tongue in 2004.

Chart No. 4: Preference of value mother tongue by nationality and age categories in 2004 and 2017



The trend in the responses of men and women remained basically the same – in both years, women of Slovak and Roma nationality attributed higher score to the first group than men. Conversely, in case of Hungarian and Ruthenian nationality, female respondents attributed higher scores to the second group (they reflected the value of mother tongue as significant to very significant) than men.

The age structure of respondents in both years of data collection was divided into four groups: up to 34 years, 35 – 44 years, 45 – 54 years and 55 and over.

Value profiles differ in the four age categories. When comparing the data from 2004 and 2017, we can see that in 2017 almost all age groups of monitored four nationalities considered mother tongue to be more important, i. e. in 2017 it was more important to them than in 2004. Only Slovak nationals in 55 and over group, respondents of Hungarian nationality up to 34 years and respondents of Roma nationality up to 34 years of age and from 35 to 44 years old, who added a higher scale score to the value of mother tongue in 2004.

We can see the biggest difference in the years 2004 – 2017 in case of citizens of Ruthenian nationality, where in 2017 the preferences of respondents who attributed greater importance to their mother tongue were the most significant – for illustration, in the age group under 34, this number increased from 54 % to 88 % and in case of 55 and over it increased from 61 % to 90 % yearly. A relatively high increase (by almost 30 %) was also observed in Hungarian respondents in the 45 – 54 age group.

Therefore, one cannot say that the value of mother tongue is influenced by gender or age. In most cases, reflecting the value of mother tongue in case of respondents of Slovak, Hungarian, Roma and Ruthenian nationality did not show significant deviations either in relation to gender or age.

In the paper, we investigated whether there is a link between the three ethnic values of minorities (mother tongue, nationality, religion) and the perception of the need to develop original traditions, culture and language with an emphasis on integration into society.

Figure No. 2: Question in both rounds was as follows:

Do you think that in order to integrate into society, it is necessary for members of your minority to develop their original traditions, culture, language in the future?

absolutely not	not	rather not	don´t know	rather yes	yes	absolutely yes
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The values were measured on a seven-point scale, where 1 – not at all and 7 – is very important and the need for development was measured on a seven-point scale where 1 – definitely not and 7 – definitely yes. We used Pearson's correlation coefficient. Table 3 shows individual correlation coefficients for individual values and minorities (Slovak, Hungarian, Roma and Ruthenian).

Based on the results, we found that there is no significant relationship between the perception of the need to develop original traditions, culture and language and the in-

Table 3: Relationship between the need to develop original traditions, culture and language and the individual ethnic values of minorities in 2004

	nationality	religion	mother tongue
Slovak	-.089	-.036	-.140
Hungarian	.294**	.148	.340**
Roma	.241**	-.137	.173*
Ruthenian	.084	.222**	.019
* p < .05; ** p < .01			

dividual values (p < .05) in the Slovak minority. The Hungarian minority has shown a positive significant relationship within nationality (r = .294; p < .01) and language (r = .340; p < .01). It is therefore clear that the higher the significance of the value of nationality and language, the more the members of the minority believe it is necessary to develop their original traditions, culture and language. In Roma minority, this positive relationship also applies to the value of nationality and mother tongue. Ruthenian minority only showed positive relationship in the context of religion (r = .222; p < .01).

Table 4: Relationship between the need to develop original traditions, culture and language and the individual ethnic values of minorities in 2017

	nationality	religion	mother tongue
Slovak	.172*	-.063	.144
Hungarian	.110	.203**	.203**
Roma	.350**	.299**	.428**
Ruthenian	-.006	.063	-.007
* p < .05; ** p < .01			

Unlike in 2004, in 2017 there was a significant relationship between the perception of the need to develop original traditions, culture and language and the individual values of Slovak minority with regard to the value of nationality. Hungarian minority has shown positive significant relationship within the values of religion and mother tongue, while in case of the Roma, the positive relationship was confirmed for all three values examined. There was no positive relationship within Ruthenian minority.

We also looked at the connection between ethnic values, mother tongue, nationality, religion and pride in nationality.

Figure No.3: The question in both rounds was as follows:

Are you proud of your nationality?

absolutely not	not	rather not	don´t know	rather yes	yes	absolutely yes
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Values were measured on a seven-point scale, where 1 – not at all and 7 – Is of great importance and pride in nationality was measured on a seven-point scale where 1 – definitely not and 7 – definitely yes. Again, we used Pearson's correlation coefficient. Table 5 shows the correlation coefficient for ethnic values and minorities examined.

Table 5: Relationship between pride in nationality and ethnic values in 2004

	nationality	religion	mother tongue
Slovak	.260**	.041	.245**
Hungarian	.384**	.041	.407**
Roma	.189*	.320**	.268**
Ruthenian	.136	.237**	.188*
* p < .05; ** p < .01			

Table 6: Relationship between pride in nationality and ethnic values in 2017

	nationality	religion	mother tongue
Slovak	.250**	.136	.262**
Hungarian	.358**	.373**	.393**
Roma	.530**	.528**	.527**
Ruthenian	.201*	.213**	.229**
* p < .05; ** p < .01			

In case of all nationalities, in 2004 and 2017, mother tongue showed a statistically significant positive relationship between pride in nationality and value. That is, the higher the respondents rated mother tongue on the significance scale, the greater the importance they attribute to their nationality. The most significant relationship was recorded in 2017 for Roma nationals.

Conclusion

In the overall structure of value orientations, the presence of fundamental differences has not been demonstrated. The order in the examined groups was identical (1. personal, 2. social, 3. ethnic values). However, a deeper analysis confirmed that differences in values exist and they are demonstrated in different significance attributed to ethnic values.

The value of the mother tongue is not conditioned by gender or age, as reflecting the value of mother tongue in case of respondents of the respondents of examined nationalities did not show significant deviations in either the gender or age in most cases.

Hungarians and Roma have been shown to have a connection between the values of mother tongue, nationality, religion and the perception of the need to develop original traditions, culture and language.

In 2004 and 2017, mother tongue showed a statistically significant positive relationship between pride in nationality and value for all nationalities.

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Opinions on the Territorial-administrative Structure of Slovakia in Surveys 2004 – 2017[1]

Jana Šutajová

Abstract:

In this paper we analyse the answers of respondents of Hungarian, Roma, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, German and Czech nationality, and for comparison also Slovaks, in 2004 and 2017, to questions aimed at finding their opinions on the territorial division of Slovakia. Respondents (members of both majority and minority) were offered seven alternatives, of which each respondent could mark only one alternative. The results of the analysis showed that in both surveys the respondents had inclination towards three alternatives (to maintain the current division into eight territorial units, to divide Slovakia into three or four regions, and an alternative that should respect the ethnic composition in the territorial division of Slovakia). There was only a slight shift in the respondents' overall opinions on the territorial division, and respondents, even after a few years, preferred the same answers in both surveys. However, a detailed analysis of the results for the majority and individual minorities revealed significant changes in opinions in individual groups of respondents.

Keywords:

Minorities, territorial division, Slovakia

Territorial-administrative division creates the necessary spatial prerequisites for proper provision of public administration services for the inhabitants of the Slovak Republic. The current territorial division into eight regions was already criticized by some politicians but also by experts at the time of its adoption. Part of the critics considered the current territorial division into eight regions inappropriate, arguing that from the economic point of view, but also in terms of administrative efficiency, a breakdown of three to six territorial units in Slovakia would be sufficient. On the other hand, other politicians and experts favoured dividing the territory of Slovakia into smaller natural units, arguing that the present regions are too large units and their population cannot identify with them. In the first half of the 1990s, there were sporadic opinions that Slovakia could be divided to up to 16 – 20 historical counties from the beginning of the 20th century. The possibility of creating 12 units was considered in the period when

1 The paper was created as part of project APVV-15-0745 *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020)* – (TESS2).

regional self-government in Slovakia was formed and a possible change of the territorial-administrative division was also discussed in connection with the creation of higher territorial units.[2] Later, however, there were more frequent opinions on the reduction of the number of regions from eight to three or four, such structure is still remembered by a significant part of the population of Slovakia.

Territorial division and its changes inevitably affect the life of national minorities in Slovakia; we were therefore interested in how minority members perceive the current territorial division and what alternative of territorial division in Slovakia would prefer.

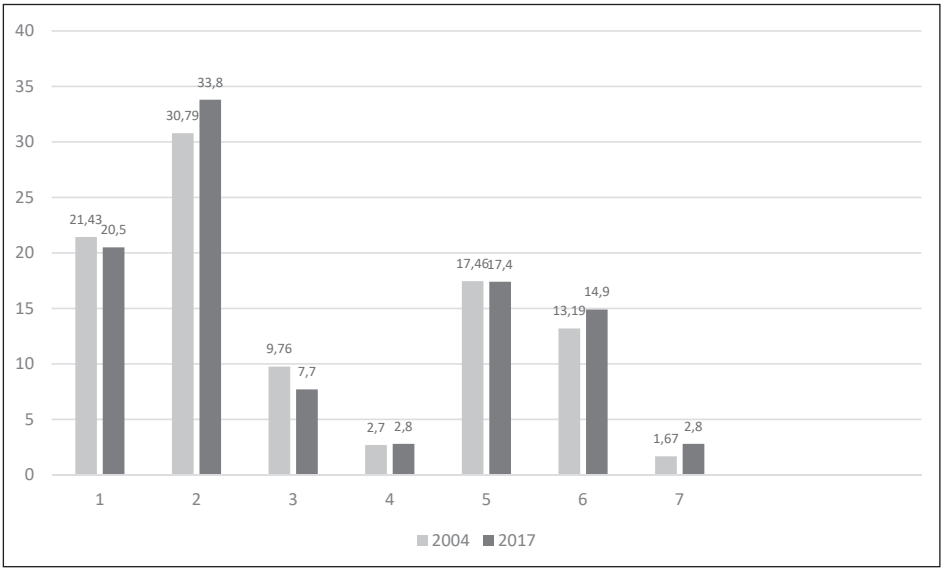
In 2003 – 2005, the Institute of Social Sciences of SAS conducted a sociological-social-psychological research called the *Nation, Nationalities and Ethnic Groups in the Process of Transformation of the Slovak Society*, conducted by means of empirical analysis of data obtained by questionnaire method on a research sample consisting of 1280 respondents. The research provided a comprehensive analysis of five large thematic blocks from the point of view of eight research subjects (the majority population and seven minority ethnic communities – Czech, Hungarian, German, Roma, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Jewish). The aforementioned project is continually followed by the APVV project *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020) – (TESS2).* A total of 1325 respondents (the majority population and seven minority ethnic communities – Czech, Hungarian, German, Roma, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Polish) were surveyed.

In both surveys, the respondents were also asked a question aimed at finding out their views on the territorial division of Slovakia. Respondents (members of both majority and minority) were offered seven alternatives, each respondent could mark only one alternative. The results for the majority and all minorities are shown in Chart No. 1.

According to the results of the research, respondents in 2004 mostly favoured three types of territorial-administrative division of Slovakia. Maintaining the current division into eight territorial units was recommended by 30.79 % of respondents, 30.65 % of respondents favoured three or four regions, and 21.43 % favoured the alternative that should respect the nationality composition in the territorial division of Slovakia. In 2017, the results remained essentially unchanged and respondents again mostly favoured three types of territorial-administrative division of Slovakia. Maintaining the current

2 More detail on the topic, e. g.: BAČOVÁ, Viera – HOMIŠINOVÁ, Mária – COOPER, Marc-Philippe. Problémy reformy verejnej správy na Slovensku vzhľadom na národnostne zmiešané oblasti. In *Sociológia,* 26, 1994, č. 5-6, pp. 438-446; ŠUTAJOVÁ, Jana. Maďarské politické strany na Slovensku po roku 1989 a ich vplyv na reformu verejnej správy. In *Sociálne a politické analýzy*, 1, 2007, 1, pp. 24-45, Available online: http:// sapa.fvs.upjs.sk/casopis/1_prvecislo_2007/5_sutajova.pdf; SLAVÍK, Vladimír. Priestorová orientácia verejnej správy v Slovenskej republike v rokoch 1990 – 1996. In Delmartino, Frank – Vermessen, Elke – Miháliková, Silvia – Falťan, Ľubomír (Eds.). *Nové podoby verejnej správy (slovenská a flámska skúsenosť).* Bratislava: SÚ SAV, 1997, pp. 91-110; ŠUTAJOVÁ, Jana. Reforma verejnej správy na Slovensku s ohľadom na postavenie maďarskej národnosti. In Šutaj, Štefan a kol. *Maďarská menšina na Slovensku po roku 1989.* Prešov: Universum, 2008, pp. 75-85; ŠUTAJOVÁ, Jana. Vplyv maďarských politických strán na Slovensku na reformu verejnej správy. In Šutajová, Jana – Ďurkovská, Mária. *Maďarská menšina na Slovensku v procesoch transformácie po roku 1989. (Identita a politika II.).* Prešov: Universum, 2008, pp. 64-69.

Chart No. 1: Opinions on the territorial division



Legend:
1. respect the ethnic composition of the population
2. maintain the current division into 8 territorial units
3. change to 12 regions
4. return to the territorial division into 6 counties
5. return to the division into 3 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak)
6. divide Slovakia into 4 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak and Bratislava)
7. another alternative

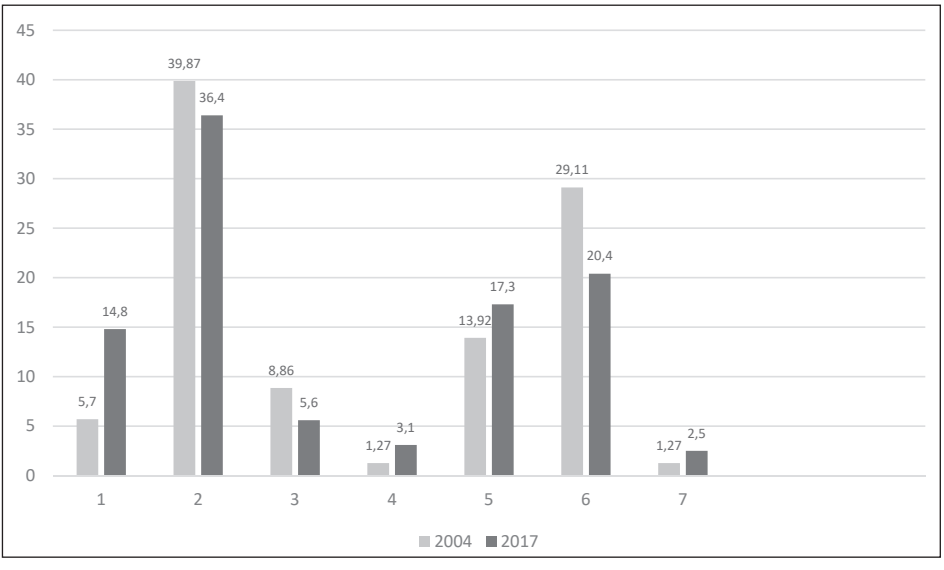
division into eight territorial units was recommended by 33.8 % of respondents. Four regions were favoured by 32.3 % of respondents and 20.5 % of respondents suggested that national composition should be respected in the territorial division of Slovakia. In evaluating the results obtained, I decided to combine the answers to options 5 and 6 in this case, given that this is only a minor specification of a similar alternative to the territorial division. Both alternatives anticipate the creation of Eastern, Central and West Slovak regions, but alternative 6 also anticipates the creation of an independent Bratislava region. Leaving both alternatives as separate options would fragment the respondents' responses.

Overall, there was only a slight shift in the opinions of the respondents on the territorial division, and respondents, even after a few years, preferred the same answers in both surveys. Much more significant changes are reflected if we take a closer look at the results for the majority and individual minorities.

In 2004 and 2017, Slovaks mostly favoured the opinion that three or four regions should be created. Up to 43.03 % of respondents of Slovak nationality preferred these options in 2004 and 37.7 % of respondents in 2017. In both surveys, however, respondents preferred the possibility to create four regions (in 2004 – 29.11 % and in 2017 –

20.4 % of respondents). Almost 40 % of respondents of Slovak nationality chose the alternative of maintaining the current division into eight territorial units in 2004. This option was also preferred by Slovaks in survey in 2017, when 36.4 % of respondents favoured it. It is interesting to note that while in 2004 only 5.7 % of Slovaks favoured the alternative of respecting the national composition of the population when creating the territorial-administrative division, in 2017 already 14.8 % of Slovaks favoured this alternative (for more details see Chart No. 2).

Chart No. 2: Opinions on the territorial division (Slovaks)

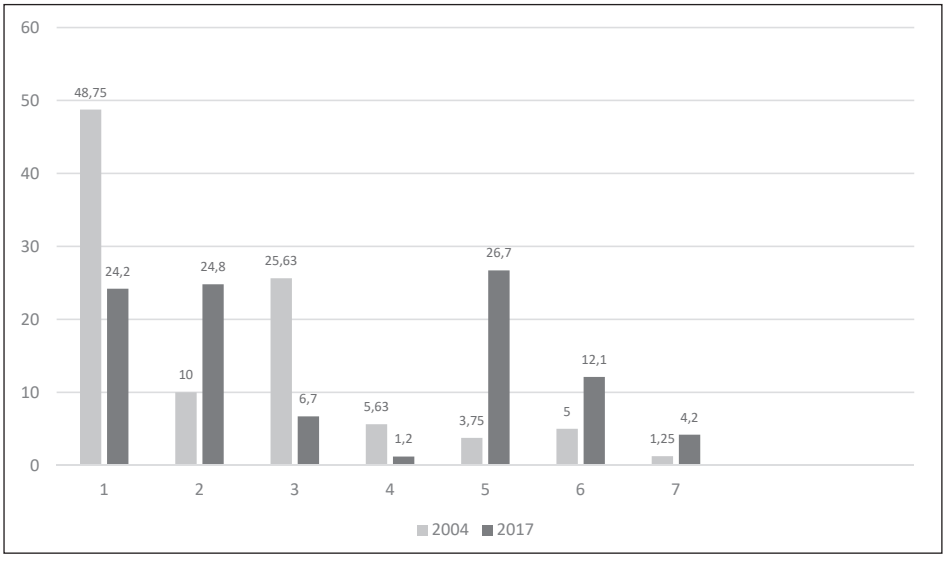


Legend:
1. respect the ethnic composition of the population
2. maintain the current division into 8 territorial units
3. change to 12 regions
4. return to the territorial division into 6 counties
5. return to the division into 3 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak)
6. divide Slovakia into 4 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak and Bratislava)
7. another alternative

Even more interesting results are provided by both surveys concerning the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. In 2004, out of the seven alternatives offered on the issue of territorial-administrative division, Hungarians mostly favoured respecting the national composition of population. Almost half of respondents of Hungarian nationality preferred this answer. The second most frequent response of 25.63 % was the possibility to create 12 regions. In the research in 2017, however, only 24.2 % of respondents preferred the possibility to respect the national composition of the population and only 6.7 % of respondents of Hungarian nationality favoured the creation of 12 regions. Most respondents of Hungarian nationality in 2017 would prefer to create three or four regions (38.8 %),

while other respondents preferred the option of creating three regions (26.7 %). In the case of Hungarian respondents, even the alternative of maintaining the current division into eight territorial units favoured by 24.8 % of respondents ranked before respecting the national composition of the population in 2017. For more detail, see Chart No. 3.

Chart No. 3: Opinions on the territorial division (Hungarians)

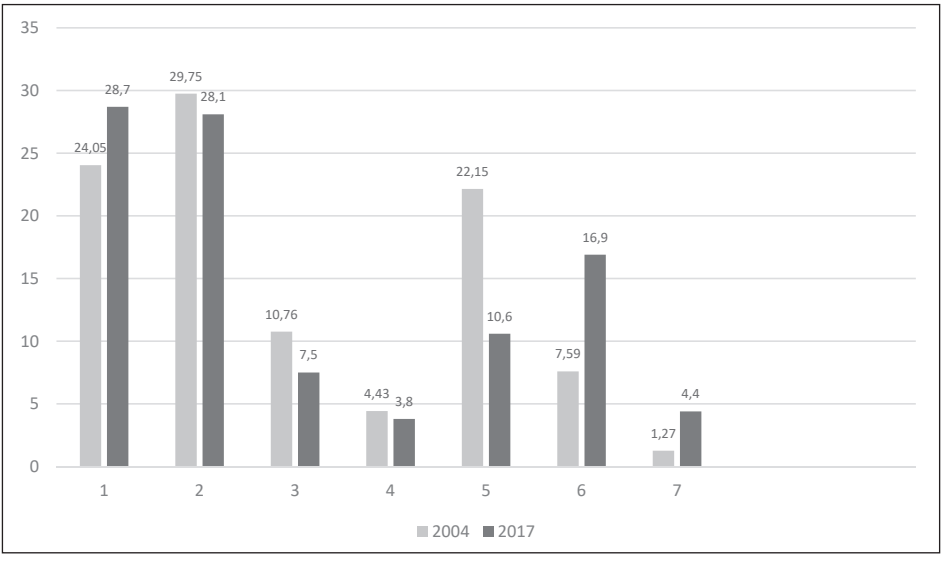


Legend:
1. respect the ethnic composition of the population
2. maintain the current division into 8 territorial units
3. change to 12 regions
4. return to the territorial division into 6 counties
5. return to the division into 3 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak)
6. divide Slovakia into 4 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak and Bratislava)
7. another alternative

In 2004, the Roma were not united on the issue of territorial-administrative division. Of the seven options offered, their views were mainly polarized into three groups. In the first, the largest group, the prevailing opinion was that the current division into eight territorial units should be maintained (29.75 % of respondents). The second group of respondents was inclined to the possibility of dividing Slovakia into three or four original regions (29.74 %) and in the third, with the lowest representation of respondents, the opinion of respecting the ethnic composition of the population prevailed (24.05 %). The respondents expressed their views similarly in 2017. However, 28.7 % of the respondents of Roma nationality thought that it is necessary to respect the ethnic composition of the population when creating the territorial-administrative division. Only slightly less, 28.1 % of respondents preferred the current division into eight territorial units and 27.5 % of Roma in 2017 preferred the possibility to create three or four regions.

However, while in 2004 more respondents favoured the creation of three regions (22.15 %), in 2017 respondents favoured the creation of four regions more (16.9 %). For more details, see Chart No. 4.

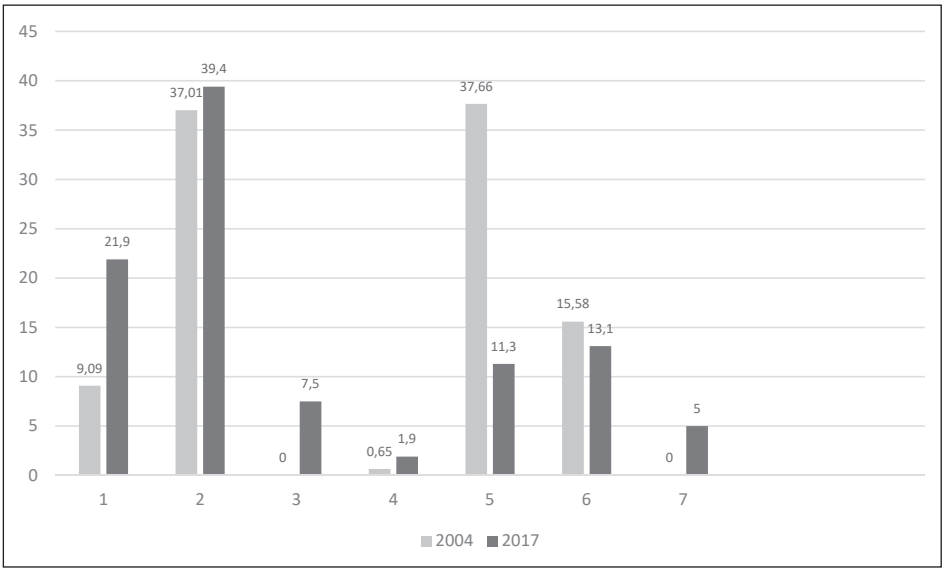
Chart No. 4: Opinions on the territorial division (Roma)



Legend:
1. respect the ethnic composition of the population
2. maintain the current division into 8 territorial units
3. change to 12 regions
4. return to the territorial division into 6 counties
5. return to the division into 3 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak)
6. divide Slovakia into 4 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak and Bratislava)
7. another alternative

In 2004, also Ukrainians were not united with regard to territorial-administrative division. Of the seven options offered, their views were mainly polarized into two groups. As many as 53.24 % of respondents were in favour of returning to the three or four regions, while up to 37.66 % of respondents were of the opinion that it was necessary to divide Slovakia into three original regions. The second group of respondents was in favour of maintaining the current division into eight territorial units (37.01 %). However, in 2017 respondents of Ukrainian nationality strongly favoured the opinion that it is necessary to maintain the current division into eight territorial units (39.4 %) and the second most frequent option was to divide Slovakia into three or four regions (24.4 %). In 2017, only 11.3 % of Ukrainians chose the most frequent option from 2004, i.e. to divide Slovakia into three regions. In 2017, the third most frequent response was the possibility to respect the ethnic composition of the population (21.9 %). For more details, see Chart No. 5.

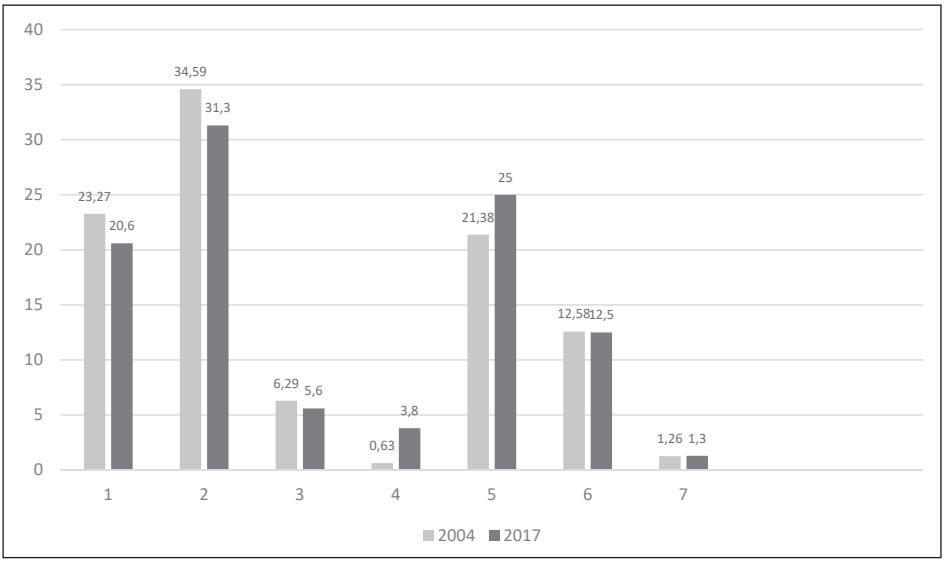
Chart No. 5: Opinions on the territorial division (Ukrainians)



Legend:
1. respect the ethnic composition of the population
2. maintain the current division into 8 territorial units
3. change to 12 regions
4. return to the territorial division into 6 counties
5. return to the division into 3 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak)
6. divide Slovakia into 4 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak and Bratislava)
7. another alternative

Out of the seven options provided with regard to the issue of territorial-administrative division, the Ruthenians in 2004 were most inclined to maintain the current division into eight territorial units (34.59 % of respondents). Up to 33.96 % of respondents preferred the possibility of creating three or four regions and up to 21.38 % of them favoured the division of Slovakia into three regions. Almost a quarter of Ruthenians preferred the response that it would be necessary to respect the ethnic composition of population when creating the territorial division. In 2017, the order of Ruthenian preferences changed. The most frequent response was the possibility of dividing Slovakia into three or four regions (37.5 %), while up to 25 % of respondents would prefer to divide Slovakia into three regions. Up to 31.3 % of respondents would prefer maintaining the division into eight territorial units. As in 2004, the third most frequent answer of respondents in 2017 is respecting the ethnic composition of population when creating the territorial-administrative division. For more details, see Chart No. 6.

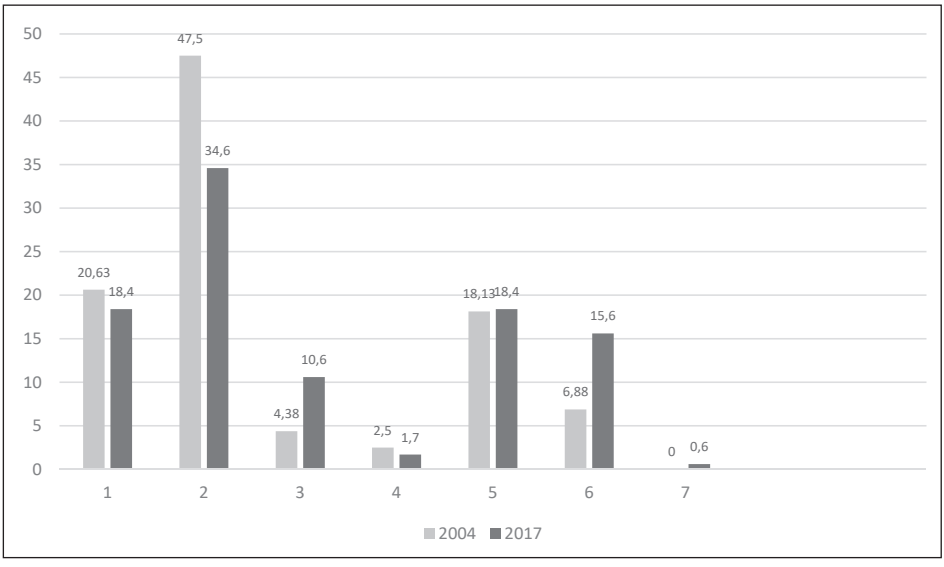
Chart No. 6: Opinions on the territorial division (Ruthenians)



Legend:
1. respect the ethnic composition of the population
2. maintain the current division into 8 territorial units
3. change to 12 regions
4. return to the territorial division into 6 counties
5. return to the division into 3 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak)
6. divide Slovakia into 4 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak and Bratislava)
7. another alternative

Out of the seven options provided with regard to the issue of territorial-administrative division in 2004, the Germans were most inclined to maintain the current division into eight territorial units. Up to 47.5 % of respondents preferred this alternative. The second most frequent response of respondents was that Slovakia should be divided into three or four regions (25.01 %). The division into three regions would be favoured by 18.13 % of these respondents. 20.63 % of respondents preferred the third most frequent possibility that it would be necessary to respect the ethnic composition of population when creating the territorial-administrative division. In 2017, the views of Germans on the territorial-administrative division did not change, but only 34.6 % of respondents claiming German nationality were in favour of maintaining the current division into eight territorial units. Only slightly less respondents (34 %) would prefer to divide Slovakia into three or four regions. As in 2004, 18.4 % of respondents would prefer the division into three regions. Similar to the 2017 survey, a part of respondents of German nationality (18.4 %) stated that ethnic composition of population should be respected when creating the territorial-administrative division. For more details, see Chart No. 7.

Chart No. 7: Opinions on the territorial division (Germans)

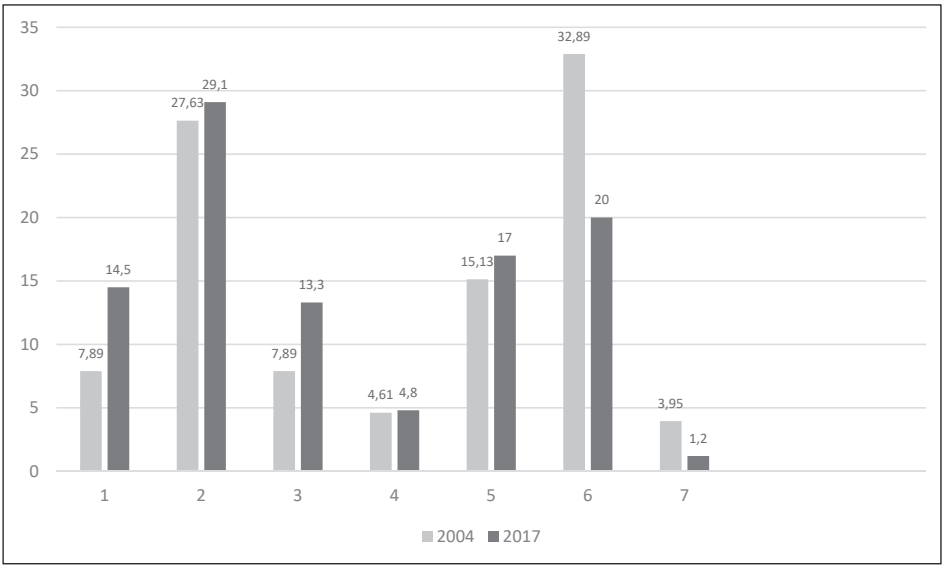


Legend:
1. respect the ethnic composition of the population
2. maintain the current division into 8 territorial units
3. change to 12 regions
4. return to the territorial division into 6 counties
5. return to the division into 3 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak)
6. divide Slovakia into 4 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak and Bratislava)
7. another alternative

The Czechs were not united on the issue of territorial-administrative division in 2004. Out of the seven options offered, their views were mainly polarized into two groups. Up to 48.02 % of respondents favoured the possibility to return to the division into three or four regions. 32.89 % of respondents preferred the opinion that Slovakia should be divided into four regions (three original and Bratislava regions). The second larger group considered that the current division into eight regions (27.63 %) should be maintained. Even in 2017, 37 % of respondents were inclined to return to the division into three or four regions. Up to 20 % of them preferred division into four regions. The second most frequent option (29.1 %) was the response that the current division into eight regions should remain in Slovakia. For more details, see Chart No. 8.

In 2004, Jews also took part in the survey, they were not united on the issue of territorial administration and their opinions were polarized into three groups from the seven options offered. In the first and largest group, the opinion that it was necessary to respect the ethnic composition of population (30.82 % of respondents) prevailed. The second group of respondents (28.93 %) favoured the alternative of dividing Slovakia into three or four regions and the third group preferred to maintain the current division into eight territorial units (20.13 %).

Chart No. 8: Opinions on the territorial division (Czechs)



Legend:
1. respect the ethnic composition of the population
2. maintain the current division into 8 territorial units
3. change to 12 regions
4. return to the territorial division into 6 counties
5. return to the division into 3 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak)
6. divide Slovakia into 4 regions (East Slovak, Central Slovak, West Slovak and Bratislava)
7. another alternative

In 2017, the research was not attended by Jews but by Poles. Their opinions also polarized into three groups. The largest group, 46 % of respondents, preferred to maintain the current division into eight territorial units. The second group of respondents (22.4 %) favoured the possibility to divide Slovakia into three or four regions. The third group of respondents (21.3 %) considered that it was necessary to respect the ethnic composition of the population.

It can be stated that the surveys in 2004 and 2017 showed differences in opinions on the territorial division also depending on the ethnicity of respondents. In the case of final evaluation of obtained results, we decided to combine the answers to alternatives 5 and 6, given that this is only a small specification of a similar alternative to the territorial division and leaving both options would mean fragmentation of respondents' answers.

In 2004, up to 48.75 % of respondents of Hungarian nationality favoured dividing Slovakia according to ethnic composition. The respondents of the Jewish community (30.82 %) also favoured the option to respect the ethnic composition of territorial administration. At that time, 25.63 % of respondents of Hungarian nationality supported the division of Slovakia into 12 regions. The respondents of Slovak, Czech, Roma

Ruthenian and Ukrainian nationalities preferred mainly two options, the division into three or four regions (Slovaks - 43.03 %, Czechs – 48.02 %, Roma – 29.74 %, Ruthenians – 33.96 %, Ukrainians – 53.24 %) and maintaining the current territorial division (Slovaks – 39.87 %, Czechs – 27.63 %, Roma – 29.75 %, Ruthenians – 34.59 %, Ukrainians – 37.01 %).

In 2017, only 24.2 % of respondents of Hungarian nationality preferred to divide Slovakia according to ethnic composition. This response was most common among respondents of Roma nationality (28.7 %). The division into three or four regions was favoured by (Hungarians – 38.8 %, Slovaks – 37.7 %, Czechs – 37 %, Germans – 34 %, Roma – 27.5 %, Ruthenians – 7.5 %, Ukrainians – 4.4 %) and maintaining the current territorial division was favoured by (Poles – 46 %, Ukrainians – 39.4 %, Slovaks – 36.4 %, Ruthenians – 31.3 %, Czechs – 29.1 %, Roma – 28.1 %, Hungarians – 24, 8 %). In 2017, only 6.7 % of respondents of Hungarian nationality supported the division of Slovakia into 12 regions.

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Use of Mother Tongue by Hungarian Minority in Košice

Zlatica Sáposová – Iveta Jeleňová

Abstract:

The number of Hungarian nationals living in Košice during the 20th century was influenced by international events, internal political events, ethnic and economic policy of ruling power and demographic processes. The loss of population of Kosice's Hungarians after the regime change (1989) was due to the rapidly ongoing assimilation and regional migration. Despite the fact that their number dropped considerably, they managed to maintain their position as the second largest ethnic community in the city. According to the latest data of the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (2018) in recent years, the population of Hungarian nationality has stabilised, and the decreasing tendency has changed to a slightly rising or stagnating. Based on the demographic analysis carried out, low birth rates, population aging, hidden migration and dynamic assimilation have contributed significantly to the decline of the population of Hungarian nationality of Košice. The size of Hungarian community in Košice is increasingly worrying for representatives of the Hungarian elite. They are looking for reasons for this unfavourable situation and, in this context, they are also more intensively involved in language policy and the use of Hungarian language. In order to obtain information on the linguistic behaviour of Hungarian community in Košice, a survey of the Hungarian Forum in Košice (Kassai Magyarok Fóruma) took place in 2017. This paper presents selected findings from this survey focused on communication behaviour of members of Hungarian minority in Košice. The results show that the three environments in which respondents most often used Hungarian to communicate are at home, with friends or acquaintances and in open public areas such as streets or parks. Thus, the Hungarian language is most commonly used in informal situations.

Keywords:

Hungarian nationality, mother tongue, linguistic-communication behaviour, assimilation, migration

1 Demographic background of the present numbers of the population of Hungarian nationality in Košice

According to the results of the census carried out by the Hungarian authorities in 1910 (known as the last census carried out in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary), of the total population of Košice, 90 % of the population spoke Hungarian (39,796 persons).

Out of the total population, 75.4 % (39,796) claimed Hungarian as their mother tongue.[1] The geopolitical changes taking place in Central Europe after the First World War also affected the demographic movement of population and the ethnic structure of the inhabitants of Košice. The first, the so-called, Šrobár Census (1919) registered 46,826 inhabitants, of which 17,991 people (38.42 %) claimed Hungarian nationality, 22,858 (48.81 %) claimed Slovak nationality and 2,477 (5.29 %) German, 86 (0.18 %) Ruthenian and other 3,414 (7.29 %) persons claimed other nationality.[2] Censuses in the Czechoslovak Republic in 1921 and 1930 in Košice registered much fewer people with a Hungarian identity (Table 1).[3] In addition to assimilation[4] and change of national identity, migration was also a significant factor. While much of the Hungarian intelligentsia left the city (either forced or voluntary) for Hungary, Czech employees came to Košice from Czech regions, contributing to a change in the ethnic structure of the city.[5] The number of migrants of Hungarian nationality cannot be ascertained precisely, but the idea of the size of migration will help create the number of Košice-born natives living in the territory of the post Trianon Hungary. While in 1910 there were 5,500 people born in Košice living in Hungary, in 1920 the number was 7,761.[6]

In the next census in 1930, the "Czechoslovak state-building nation" gained a share of 62.5 % of the total population of the city. While the number of Hungarian nationals increased slightly in the interwar period, their percentage fell from 21.18 % (in 1921) to 16.4 % (in 1930). Since the last Hungarian census of 1910, the proportion of Hungarian-born people (75.4 %) has declined to 16.4 % in 1930 within 20 years.

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1 Szlovákiai Magyar Adatbank. 2018. [online]. Available online: http://telepulesek.adatbank.sk. [1. 2. 2019].

2 Szlovákiai Magyar Adatbank. 2018. [online]. Available online: http://telepulesek.adatbank.sk. [1. 2. 2019].

3 There has been an ongoing discussion about the credibility of data from these two censuses between Slovak and Hungarian experts (historical municipalities). Each side defends the census results carried out by their own authorities as credible (correct). Similarly to the last census of population of Hungary, the census carried out in individual successor states – including Czechoslovakia – set as its primary objective the strengthening (and statistical) position of the state-forming majority nation and to show less members of national minorities, thereby emphasizing the national character of the state. It is now difficult to estimate the strength of circumstances affecting the census.

4 The assimilation of Jews (statistical disconnection from Hungarian nationality) constitutes a special issue of assimilation processes in the interwar period. This topic can be found in e. g. KOVÁCS, Éva. *Felemás asszimiláció.* Somorja–Dunaszerdahely: Nostra Tempora 9, Fórum Kisebbségkutató Intézet – Lilium Aurum Könyvkiadó, 2004 or SZEGHY-GAYER, Veronika. A szlovák–magyar–zsidó–cseh Kassa a 20. század első felében. [online]. In *Korall,* 2017, 18(68), 99-121. Available online: http://epa.oszk.hu/00400/00414/00059/pdf/EPA00414_korall_2017_68_099-121.pdf); ŠVORC, Peter. – DERFIŇÁK, Patrik. *Východné Slovensko a Židia v medzivojnovom období.* Prešov: PU FF, 2014.

5 In 1921, 71 733 Czechs were registered in Slovakia, in 10 years their number increased to 120 926 persons. ĎURKOVSKÁ, Mária. Maďarská menšina a jej politické aktivity na východnom Slovensku v rokoch 1918 – 1929 [online]. In *Človek a spoločnosť,* 2009, 12(3), 11-20. Available online: http://www.saske.sk/cas/public/media/5828/200903_02_durkovska.pdf.

6 KOVÁCS, Alajos. Kassa népességének fejlődése és összetétele. In *Statisztikai Szemle*, 1939, No. 5, pp. 519-541.

Table 1: Number of inhabitants and members of Hungarian nationality in Košice from 1910 to 1941[7]

Year	Number of Inhabitants	
	Total	Hungarian Nationality
1910	44,211	33,350 (75.4 %)
1919	46,826	17,991 (38.4 %)
1921	52,898	11,206 (21.2 %)
1930	70,117	11,504 (16.4 %)
1938	58,090	44,472 (76.6 %)
1941	66,981	59,853 (89.3 %)

The first census after World War II in 1950 registered the lowest number of Hungarian nationals in Košice in the whole 20th century, i. e. 1,642 persons.[8] The incredibly low number of Hungarian inhabitants in the city was caused by persecutions against members of Hungarian nationality in Czechoslovakia after World War II.[9] Following the stabilisation of internal political events after the change of government policy towards Hungarian nationals (stop to anti-Hungarian measures) in the 1950s, the population with Hungarian nationality in Košice increased. The population of Hungarian nationality also increased the return of reslovakized people to their original Hungarian ethnicity.[10]

Significant changes in the demographic movement of the population of the city took place from the end of the 1950s as a result of socialist industrialization (linked to the construction and operation in East Slovakian Steelworks), which accelerated the dynamics of urbanization and the development of the city's infrastructure and tripled its population between 1960 and 1990. Despite the fact that the number of representatives of Hungarian community in the city gradually increased by 1991 (Figure No. 1), it failed to keep up with the dynamic growth of the city's population and the proportion of Hungarian nationals within the city's population decreased significantly.

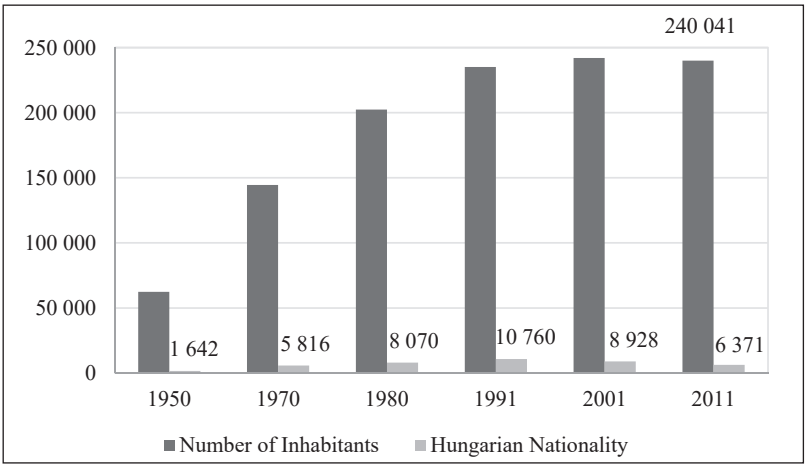
7 KOVÁCS, Alajos. Kassa népességének fejlődése és összetétele. In *Statisztikai Szemle,* 1939, No. 5, pp. 519-541.

8 GABZDILOVÁ, Soňa. Sčítanie obyvateľstva na Slovensku v roku 1950, maďarská menšina a historické súvislosti. In *Historický časopis,* 2011, Year 59, No. 2, p. 263.

9 After the end of the Second World War, the Czechoslovak political leadership definitely wanted to resolve the nationality question in the country, get rid of the German and Hungarian minorities and change the ethnic character of the state. The first steps included a reduction in the number of Hungarian nationals by means of transfer and displacement between 1945 and 1948. ŠUTAJ, Štefan. *Nútené presídľovanie Maďarov do Čiech*. Prešov: Universum, 2005. p. 11.

10 According to Kollai*, „the anti-Hungarian measures, which the Hungarians resisted by voluntarily submitting to reslovakization, (when the Hungarians applied for Slovaks, Czechoslovak nationality was returned to them and thus they were not affected by anti-Hungarian measures) had the strongest impact. The result of this formal process was reflected in the population census in 1950."* KOLLAI, István (Ed.). Rozštiepená minulosť. Kapitoly z histórie Slovákov a Maďarov. Budapešť: Terra Recognita, 2008.

Chart No. 1: Development of the number of inhabitants of Košice in total and of Hungarian nationality in the years 1950 to 2011[11]



Overall, three factors have had a significant impact on the development of the population of Košice: migration, natural increase and change in the administrative borders of Košice.[12] Data in Table No. 2 strongly support the claim that migration became a driving force in the demographic changes of Košice.

Table 2: Factors of growth of the population of Košice in the period 1950 – 1980[13]

Growth factors	1950 – 1960	1961 – 1970	1971 – 1980
Natural increase	9,366	13,578	26,704
Migration increase	7,165	41,487	28,881
Population increase by integration of municipalities	0	10,028	2,338

In 1991, the number of Hungarian nationals living in Košice reached the highest value in the second half of the 20th century (10,760 persons)[14], but despite this fact it could not exceed the values of 1921 or 1930. Between 1991 and 2011, the demograph-

11 Source. Fórum inštitút pre výskum menšín, 2018; Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky. Obyvateľstvo podľa národnosti, stupňa najvyššieho vzdelania, súčasnej ekonomickej aktivity, postavenia v zamestnaní, odvetvia ekonomickej činnosti a pohlavia. 2018. [online]. Available online: https://cenzus2011.statistics.sk/tabulky.html [12. 3. 2018].

12 BARNOVSKÝ, Michal. Niektoré problémy vývoja miest na Slovensku v období socialistickej urbanizácie. In *Historický časopis,* roč. 21, 1973, No. 2, pp. 205-230.

13 Source. TKÁČOVÁ, Marianna. *Migrácia a jej vplyv na štruktúru obyvateľstva Košíc v období 1948 – 1989.* Dizertačná práca. Univerzita Mateja Bela v Banskej Bystrici, Filozofická fakulta. 2018, p. 85.

14 Szlovákiai Magyar Adatbank. Fórum inštitút pre výskum menšín, 2018.

ic movement of Hungarian nationals in the city was characterized by several negative trends (e.g. low birth rate, aging population, hidden migration, assimilation). The number of Hungarian nationals thus decreased at an increased rate until it stabilized relatively in recent years (Table 3).

Table 3: Development of total and Hungarian population in Košice in the years 2012 to 2017[15]

Year	Number of Inhabitants	
	Total	Hungarian Nationality
2012	240,164	6,323
2013	239,797	6,460
2014	239,464	6,523
2015	239,208	6,627
2016	239,141	6,709
2017	239,095	6,740

In the 1970 and 1991 censuses, data on mother tongue were also registered. In 2001 and 2011, the mother tongue fields in the census sheets were taken for granted. Based on the last 2011 Population and Housing Census, Hungarian community in Košice consisted of 6,371 people. Hungarian language was identified by 8,584 inhabitants of Košice as their mother tongue. The values obtained reflecting the number of members of Hungarian nationality and the number of persons with Hungarian mother tongue were significantly different (Table 4).

Table 4: The number of inhabitants of Hungarian nationality and with Hungarian mother tongue in Košice[16]

Year	Number of Hungarian nationals	Number of persons with Hungarian mother tongue	Difference	Difference in %
1970	5,816	10,197	4,381	+ 75.3
1991	10,760	14,804	4,044	+ 37.6
2001	8,928	12,948	4,020	+ 45.0
2011	6,371	8,584	2,213	+ 34.7

15 Source. Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky, 2018. Obyvateľstvo podľa národnosti, stupňa najvyššieho vzdelania, súčasnej ekonomickej aktivity, postavenia v zamestnaní, odvetvia ekonomickej činnosti a pohlavia. [online]. Available online: https://cenzus2011.statistics.sk/ tabulky.html https://cenzus2011.statistics.sk/tabulky.html [12. 3. 2018].

16 Source. Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky. Obyvateľstvo podľa národnosti, stupňa najvyššieho vzdelania, súčasnej ekonomickej aktivity, postavenia v zamestnaní, odvetvia ekonomickej činnosti a pohlavia. (2018). [online]. https://cenzus2011.statistics.sk/tabulky.html [12. 3. 2018] Available online: https://cenzus2011.statistics.sk/ tabulky.html
GYURGYIK L. Adalékok a szlovákiai magyarság asszimilációs ..., pp. 37-38.

The magnitude of the difference between 2001 and 2011 was reduced by almost half, but the population with Hungarian mother tongue also decreased. This phenomenon is also characteristic for the whole southern Slovakia, the difference is only in the size of individual values, in particular, the difference in Košice (from 35 % to 75 %) is greater than the national values (in the range from 7 % to 11 %).[17]

The 2011 Population and Housing Census first identified the most commonly used languages in the public and in household.[18] In the case of Košice, the most widely used language in public and hou s ehold was the Slovak language. Hungarian became the second most used language in the city. It was used in 6,156 households, most often in the Košice I district and least frequently in the Košice III district (Table No. 5).[19]

Table 5: Inhabitants residing permanently in Košice according to the most commonly used language in the household, Population and Housing Census 2011[20]

Number of inhabitants		Language used in household		
		Slovak	Hungarian	Not found
Košice I	68,467	45,377	2,068	18,967
%	100.0	66.3	3.0	27.7
Košice II	82,676	53,934	1,843	20,965
%	100.0	65.2	2.2	25.4
Košice III	30,048	20,491	577	8,142
%	100.0	68.2	1.9	27.1
Košice IV	59,242	40,393	1,668	15,716
%	100.0	68.2	2.8	26.5

In the last two censuses 2001 and 2011, the number of respondents who did not fill in the answer or did not answer questions related to the ethnicity of the respondent (nationality, mother tongue, most commonly used language) increased. The motivation of re-

17 In 1970, the number of persons with Hungarian mother tongue was 8.8 % higher than the number of Hungarian nationals; by 1991 this difference decreased to 7.25 %.
GYURGYIK, L. Adalékok a szlovákiai magyarság asszimilációs..., p. 17, 20. By 2011, the difference increased to 11 % (calculated based on data from Population and Housing Census 2011).

18 438/2010 Z. z. Opatrenie Štatistického úradu Slovenskej republiky z 2. novembra 2010, ktorým sa ustanovujú podrobnosti o charakteristikách, základných znakoch a štruktúre zisťovaných údajov a vydáva vzor sčítacieho tlačiva pri sčítaní obyvateľov, domov a bytov v roku 2011.

19 Assuming that at least two people live in one household, the above-mentioned figure (6,156 households) may raise the question whether the population with Hungarian mother tongue (8,584 persons) is not too low. However, the size of households is not available. On the other hand, it is also necessary to take into account the existence of such households, where, although they speak Hungarian, the members have a mother tongue other than Hungarian.

20 Source. Sčítanie obyvateľov, domov a bytov 2011. Fakty o zmenách v živote obyvateľov SR Košický kraj. Košice: Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky, Pracovisko ŠÚ SR v Košiciach. 2015, p. 53.

spondents could be various. Political atmosphere, controversial statements of the ruling political elite, ideological neutrality or fear (mistrust) for failing to protect data can be identified as important factors.

In Košice, the number of respondents not providing information on their mother tongue and ethnicity was among the highest in Slovakia. In ten years, the number of inhabitants of the city *without nationality* or *without ethnicity* almost tripled (Table No. 6).[21] Unfortunately, the high number of respondents from Košice who did not fill in the fields also affected the accuracy of the figures obtained in the 2011 census. The available nationality and mother tongue data are thus more or less distorted.

Table 6: No indication of ethnicity of inhabitants of Košice (or fields not filled in) by Košice district in 2001 and 2011[22]

Year	Košice I	Košice II	Košice III	Košice IV
2001	1,923	1,530	500	3,835
2011	14,699	15,689	983	11,699

The population of Hungarian nationality and the population of Hungarian mother tongue has declined by 4,389 persons (from 10,760 persons) since the 1990s, i.e. by 40.78 %. Adverse demographic processes such as negative increase, (hidden) migration or accelerated assimilation weaken the possibilities of strengthening or at least maintaining a stable position of Hungarian language in Košice. The concerns of the representatives of the Hungarian intelligentsia in Košice about the size of Hungarian community are thus well founded.

Language plays an important role in conveying and maintaining culture and creating identity.[23] Traditionally, research into the language of minorities focuses on the issues of its maintenance, following linguistic assimilation, explaining its reasons, passing on the language in the family, at school and on language policies. An interesting issue is monitoring the linguistic behaviour of individual national and ethnic groups in public. The Hungarian Forum in Košice (Kassai Magyarok Fóruma) conducted a survey in March 2017 to assess habits in the use of Hungarian language. They were particularly interested in where and how often Hungarian is spoken in Košice. In the next part of this work we present selected findings from this survey.

21 The number of respondents not answering questions concerning language, nationality and ethnicity in the Košice self-governing region was the highest. Of 88,980 non-respondents, almost half were Košice residents (43,070). ČIČVÁKOVÁ, Emília – KAŠKOVÁ, Adriana – KOSTIŠČOVÁ, Anna. *Krajské mesto Košice 2017.* Košice: Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky, 2018.

22 Zdroj. ČIČVÁKOVÁ, E. – KAŠKOVÁ, A. – KOSTIŠČOVÁ, A. *Krajské mesto Košice 2017....*

23 Bradean-Ebinger, „EUROMOSAIC – Kisebbségi és regionális nyelvek az EU-ban“. *Délkelet Európa – South East Europe. International Relations Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (2011):5, Available online: http://www.southeast-europe.org/pdf/06/DKE_06_M_EU_BEN_9.pdf

2 Method

To mapping of the use of the mother tongue by members of Hungarian community in Košice was based on analysis of secondary data obtained in a survey to assess language habits of people who speak Hungarian and live or work in Košice, carried out by the Hungarian Forum in Košice. The questionnaire was administered to respondents in spring 2017 in two ways, electronically and in print form.

2.1 Participants

For the purpose of this paper, the answers of 408 respondents, who stated Košice-City as their usual place of residence in the past year and whose age was at least 16 years are analysed. Women prevailed in the sample (58.1 %) as did the respondents with higher education (53.3 %). Only respondents in the 16 – 26 age group reported primary education. More detailed characteristics of the sample are given in Table No. 7.

Table 7: Demographic characteristics of the sample (n = 408)

	n	%
Age		
16 – 26 years	86	21.1
27 – 40 years	113	27.7
41 – 50 years	75	18.4
51 – 60 years	39	9.6
61 – 70 years	49	12.0
Over 70 years	46	11.3
Gender		
Male	171	41.9
Female	237	58.1
Highest achieved education		
Elementary	28	6.9
Vocational school without graduation	16	4.0
Secondary school with graduation	145	35.8
University	216	53.3

Approximately one in ten respondents (10.5 %) reported living in Košice since their birth. Hungarian is the mother tongue for 94.9 % of the respondents, while Slovak language was reported by 3.7 % (n = 15) and in case of three respondents reported another language as their mother tongue. School with a Hungarian language were attended by 83.3 % of respondents.

In terms of demographic characteristics, the degree of knowledge of Hungarian language and the national language was determined on the basis of self-assessment. As the questionnaire was administered in Hungarian, it is not surprising to find that none

of the respondents reported the level of proficiency in the Hungarian language at the 'absolute beginner' level (A1 according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) and only three respondents reported "beginner" level. These three respondents identified Slovak as their mother tongue. As expected, approximately nine out of ten respondents reported knowledge of Hungarian at the mother tongue level (C2 level). The level of knowledge of the Slovak language varied among respondents, with categories C1 and C2 most frequently reported (61.7 % of respondents in total). 11 respondents (2.7 %) considered themselves absolute beginners and 3.7 % considered themselves beginners (Table No. 8). 58.9 % of respondents reported knowledge of Hungarian and Slovak at C1 or C2 level. Surprisingly, in the youngest age group of 16 to 26 years, this proportion was slightly lower (52.4 %).

Table 8: Level of language knowledge reported by respondents (n = 407)

Level	Hungarian language		Slovak language	
	f	%	f	%
A1 – absolute beginner	0	0.0	11	2.7
A2 – beginner	3	0.7	15	3.7
B1 – intermediate	9	2.2	44	10.8
B2 – upper intermediate	14	3.4	86	21.1
C1 – advanced	16	3.9	149	36.6
C2 – native speaker	365	89.7	102	25.1

2.2 Instrument

The questionnaire, administered in Hungarian language, consisted of 24 items, which were used to determine the respondents' relationship to Hungarian language, their own identity, the use of Hungarian language in private, in the presence of members of their own community and the majority. The questionnaire also contained ten items to map the selected demographic characteristics of respondents (e. g. gender, age, mother tongue, level of Hungarian and Slovak language). For the purpose of this study, we selected eight items from the questionnaire, mainly concerning where in Kosice respondents most often spoke Hungarian and with what frequency, as well as the feedback from the environment (majority) to their use of Hungarian language to communicate in public.

2.3 Procedure and data analysis

The respondents could fill in the questionnaire online via Facebook page of the Hungarian Forum in Košice or in paper form at two places in the centre of Košice, in the premises of the non-profit associations Csemadok and Rovás. Since the resulting sample was obtained through volunteer selection and occasional sampling, the results cannot be generalized to the sample population.

Data were summarized using tables and charts using SPSS 24 statistical software.

3 Results and discussion

Language is not just a communication tool. It plays an important role, for example, in shaping individual's identity. In connection with the perception of one's own identity, the first of the selected items examined whether or not the acquaintances of respondents in Košice, who come from majority society, were aware of the fact that the respondent knew Hungarian language. Slovak acquaintances or their classmates or colleagues, as illustrated in Table No. 9, were mostly aware of this (95.2 % of respondents). In some cases, however, respondents provided information about their knowledge of the Hungarian language to their environment selectively (4.3 % of respondents).

Table 9: Presentation of the knowledge of Hungarian language in front of Košice acquaintances, classmates or colleagues belonging to the majority

My Kosice friends knew that I spoke Hungarian	f	%
Yes	377	95.2
No	0	0.0
Some of them	17	4.3
I don't know	2	0.5

Linguistic and communication behaviour of respondents was surveyed by several items. In one of them, a list of twelve environments was presented to the respondents, asking them to select five locations in Košice, where they spoke Hungarian most frequently in the past five years. At the same time, they were asked to indicate the frequency with which they used Hungarian language in their communication. The formulation of the item and the design of the questionnaire contributed to the fact that majority of respondents responded in contradiction with the instruction. Only 43.1 % of respondents chose five places and 19.1 % of respondents chose less than five places. The frequency of use of Hungarian language in all twelve selected environments was expressed by 13.7 % of respondents. The distribution of the frequency of language use in a given context expressed as a relative value of the total number of respondents is shown in Table No. 10.

The item not only demonstrates the use of Hungarian language, but also shows how the respondents spend their leisure time, the use of public transport, illustrates their involvement in the labour market or their religion. Based on the frequency analysis, we can conclude that the five environments in which respondents most often speak Hungarian are at home or at a dormitory (stated by 92.6 % of respondents), at friends', acquaintances, their flat or house (77.2 %), in public places, streets and parks (62.5 %), theatre or cultural clubs (58.8 %) and the workplace (55.4 %). Naturally, we spend more time communicating in the home environment or among friends with whom we usually share interests as well as values. The finding that Hungarian language is most commonly used in informal situations is in line with the findings of other authors. Ac-

Table 10: Frequency of use of Hungarian language by respondents in various environments in Košice

Environment	Frequency (%)			
	daily	week	month	year
at home, dormitory	74.5	2.5	12.3	3.4
with friends, acquaintances, in their apartment or house	31.1	19.4	21.3	5.4
in public areas, streets, parks	26.2	16.7	14.5	5.1
at elementary school, secondary school, in the university building	24.8	4.9	9.8	8.1
at the workplace	23.5	11.8	10.8	9.3
in public transport (bus, tram)	11.3	7.1	10.8	6.9
in theatre or in culture clubs	8.1	9.1	27.9	13.7
in church, church property	7.6	21.3	11.3	10.5
restaurant (canteen, cafe, pub)	6.9	13.2	19.9	8.1
Elsewhere	5.9	4.7	6.9	7.1
in sports facilities, sports grounds	2.0	3.9	4.7	12.5
at the doctor‘s, in the hospital, retirement home	2.0	1.5	10.0	12.7
in offices, police, courts	1.5	0.2	2.5	13.0

Note: week – several times a week; month – several times a month; year – several times a year

cording to Baker,[24] minority language is mainly used for communication at home and with the family, during various social and cultural activities in the community, for correspondence with relatives and friends, and for religious activities. Similarly, Fenyvesi[25] found that Hungarian immigrants in the United States used Hungarian mainly at home, talking to friends and practicing faith.

On the other hand, the least frequently reported were offices, police or courts (17.2 %), sports facilities, sports grounds (23.0 %) and at the doctor's, hospital or retirement home (26.2 %). The low frequency of reporting these environments is not surprising, as people usually need to arrange something in the office, police or court only occasionally, and the youngest respondents may not yet have such experience. At the same time, the limiting factor for the use of language at the authorities is the fact that Košice does not belong to those municipalities or towns in which pursuant to § 2 of Act No. 184/1999 Coll. on the Use of languages of national minorities, as amended, it is possible to use the language of a national minority in official contact. Similarly, there is

24 BAKER, Colin. *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism: 27* (3rd ed.). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 2001.

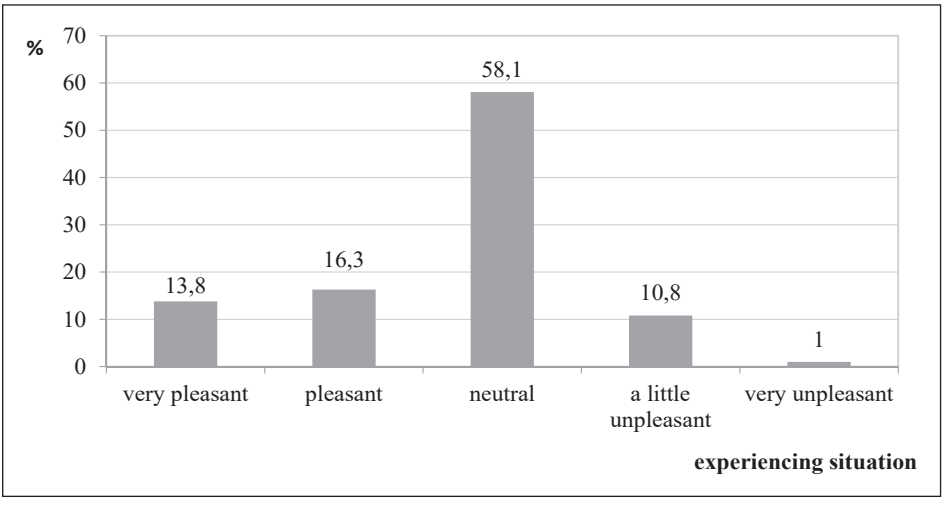
25 FENYVESI, Anna. Hungarian in the United States. In Fenyvesi, A. (Ed.). *Hungarian Language Contact Outside Hungary: Studies on Hungarian as a Minority Language*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2005, pp. 265-318.

less scope for using Hungarian language in individual sports where communication is limited. Also, healthy individuals visit the doctor or hospital only occasionally, which could be reflected in the respondents' answers.

Forty respondents (10.3 %) used the opportunity to write more precisely on what other place in Košice not mentioned in the questionnaire they speak Hungarian. The answers can be divided into four categories: communication with parents or other relatives (n = 7); a statement that respondents speak Hungarian wherever they want (n = 3); an indication of specific environment (n = 21), with shopping malls and places where respondents spend their leisure time appearing most often (e.g. student dormitory, library, retirement club) and the last group are responses that cannot be considered useful (n = 8), because they do not represent specific places located in Košice, e. g. "I don't know", "by phone", "Kosice region", "abroad" or "beach".

Another of the selected questions related to the feedback received by the respondents in the past (without specifying the exact period) due to the use of Hungarian language in the presence of Slovaks as the majority in society. One of the reasons why members of Hungarian minority do not speak Hungarian in public may be their experience with situations where they need to speak Hungarian in the company of Slovaks, for example, to receive a call from a Hungarian-speaking friend. About one in ten respondents (11.8 %) stated that they feel uncomfortable in such situation. These feelings may contribute to linguistic assimilation or the strategy to use exclusively Slovak language or some "neutral language" that the majority has no problem with (e. g. English) in the public. More than half of the respondents (58.1 %) did not choose neither pleasant nor unpleasant pole in their answers. One possible explanation is that, as bilingual or multilingual individuals, they use the language situationally, depending on the context, which does not produce a stronger response and cognitive evaluation.

Chart No. 2: Experiencing situation when an individual needs to speak Hungarian in the company of Slovaks



The choice to use or not to use Hungarian language in the presence of members of majority may also be related to previous experience, to the reactions of the environment when the respondents spoke Hungarian in the presence of Slovaks, or it turned out that they knew Hungarian language. The results show that the feedback received by respondents in Košice was more often positive than negative (Table 11). This may indicate the prevalence of respect and acceptance attitudes to cultural differences, in this case in relation to members of Hungarian minority. The rare or no occurrence of positive feedback reported by a third of respondents can be explained in various ways. One of them is that the environment accepts cultural diversity and the associated use of various languages, does not consider knowledge of Hungarian as something that deserves special attention or any positive reaction, and is perceived only as neutral information about the individual's linguistic knowledge, possibly his or her nationality. At the same time, however, only three out of ten respondents did not experience a negative reaction in their environment. Thus, 71.1 % of respondents have a negative experience, although rarely in some cases.

Table 11: The occurrence of feedback on the knowledge or use of Hungarian language in Slovak environment in Košice

Answer	Feedback			
	positive		negative	
	f	%	f	%
never	48	12,1	114	28.9
rarely	92	23.1	157	39.7
occasionally	181	45.5	100	25.3
often	63	15.8	24	6.1
always	14	3.5	0	0.0

The survey did not determine when, during which period the respondent had a negative experience. Based on interviews, Satinská [26] found out that respondents from Bratislava had a negative experience with using Hungarian language in public, especially after the Second World War and in the 1990s, when the characteristic slogan was "Slovak in Slovakia!". The fact that one of younger respondents in that study does not recall any negative situation was also explained by the possibility that, as an adult, she is no longer shouted at, maybe she is surrounded by open people, or Bratislava is more tolerant nowadays.

Although the negative experience of respondents living in Košice was not specified in detail in terms of time, it was examined in which environment in Košice they received negative, or even offensive feedback only because they spoke Hungarian in

26 SATINSKÁ, Lucia. Nezviditeľnenie a zjemnenie: reflexie verejného používania maďarčiny u bratislavských viacjazyčných trojgeneračných rodín. In *Slovenský národopis,* 2016, roč. 64, č. 1, pp. 32-46.

public. Based on their experience, respondents could also choose several options from the list (Table No. 12). Those who received negative feedback most often reported that it happened on the street, in a park or generally in some public space (33.3 % of the total number of respondents), followed by public transport (24.8 %) and in the workplace (15.0 %). Other environments that respondents added to the above options were a station, a confectionery, a forest road, from a taxi driver and drunk young people, without specifying where it happened.

Table 12: Negative feedback in specific environment in Košice

Environment	f	% of total sample
on the street, in the park, in public areas	136	33.3
on the bus, tram	101	24.8
at the workplace	61	15.0
in restaurants, pubs, other entertainment facilities	56	13.7
at elementary school, secondary school, university building	29	7.1
at the doctor, hospital, retirement home	25	6.1
in the place of temporary residence (boarding house, dormitory), e.g. from roommates, teachers	25	6.1
in offices, police, court	23	5.6
in the place of permanent residence (house, apartment building) from neighbours	15	3.7
in cultural institutions	14	3.4
on sports grounds and sports facilities	12	2.9
Other	6	1.5

In the last of the selected items, the respondents were asked where, if they were offered to do so, would they use the possibility to use Hungarian language (Table No. 13). Of the eight responses offered, respondents most often identified health care provision (29.9 %), i. e. the possibility to communicate with health care personnel in surgeries or in the hospital, either as patients or their relatives. It may be particularly important to be able to speak in the mother tongue with specialists where speaking is an important part of therapy (e. g. psychologists or speech therapists). The second ranked by 17.6 % of respondents was the possibility to use Hungarian as a client receiving various services (without specifying whether they are exclusively material services such as repair services or non-material services such as education or culture services). The third more common response was the possibility to use Hungarian language to communicate with local and municipal authorities.

Table 13: Selection of the place where the respondent could freely use Hungarian language

Answer	f	%
health care (doctor's practice, hospital)	122	29.9
Services	72	17.6
local government, municipal authorities	69	16.9
Tourism	37	9.4
Education	34	8.3
Business	17	4.2
Transport	6	1.5
Sport	3	0.7
Other	8	2.0

Only eight respondents used the option to add another place where they would like to speak Hungarian freely in Kosice. Two of them said that at none of the listed or other, the other respondents would like to speak Hungarian everywhere, while others stated that they spoke Hungarian wherever someone spoke Hungarian.

Conclusion

In the past, the process that had a significant impact on the development of Hungarian population was made up of two decisive factors, namely migration (voluntary and forced) and accelerated assimilation associated with nationality/ethnicity, especially for individuals without Hungarian roots. Currently, these factors are accompanied by a significant demographic trend, the aging population.

Stopping (or reducing) the negative demographic development of Hungarian population is one of the guarantees of ensuring its presence in the life of Košice. The assessment of factors affecting demographic development of Hungarian nationals in Košice needs a thorough analysis with an interdisciplinary approach. When analysing, it is necessary to bear in mind that the individual segments in Košice may behave differently and their examination may produce unexpected results (different data) than in other Hungarian communities in Slovakia (e.g. the share of mixed marriages).

For each ethnic minority, language has an important, symbolic meaning, showing their strength in a given country in the context of whether the position of the language of that minority is strong enough to be the official language.[27] The community of Hungarian nationality in Košice lives in a bilingual environment, they are open to different language culture, but at the same time strive to preserve their identity and mother

27 BRADEAN-EBINGER, Nelu „EUROMOSAIC – Kisebbségi és regionális nyelvek az EU-ban". In *Délkelet Európa – South East Europe. International Relations Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (2011):5, http://www.southeast-europe.org/pdf/06/DKE_06_M_EU_BEN_9.pdf [30. 1. 2019].

tongue. Analyses based on surveys with focus similar to the one carried out by the Hungarian Forum in Košice could help in finding ways to strengthen identity and preserve the mother tongue of members of Hungarian nationality living in Košice.

Representatives of Hungarian nationality in Košice understood that use and cultivation of language is also the task of the minorities themselves. The question is whether Hungarian community will have the strength to maintain or strengthen their own position as well as the position of Hungarian language in the city.

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2

Social Sciences and Humanities and National Relations Research in Central Europe

(Historical, Ethnological, Demographic, Political and Psychological Aspects of National Issues)

Continuing Transformation of Family and Reproductive Behaviour of National Minorities in Slovakia at the Beginning of the 21st Century

Branislav Šprocha

Abstract:

Family and reproductive behaviour in Slovakia has been undergoing significant changes since the early 1990s. One of its main features is the postponement of entry into the first marriage and the first birth and the associated decline in the intensity of marriage and fertility. The main objective of this article is whether we can identify these changes also for individual ethnic minorities in Slovakia. Using population census data from 1991 and 2011, we will therefore attempt to analyse changes and differences in the proportion of single persons, the structure of women by parity and the cohort fertility rate of women by nationality. We will analyse the four most numerous ethnic groups: Slovak, Hungarian, Ruthenian and Roma.

Keywords:

Nuptiality, fertility, ethnic minority, postponement, Slovakia

Introduction

Family and reproductive behaviour in Slovakia has been undergoing dramatic changes since the early 1990s. One of the main features is postponing entry into marriage and parenthood (see e.g. Potančoková et al. 2008; Šprocha, Tišliar 2018). The changes in timing have proven to be an important aspect of the overall intensity, as well as the nature of marriage and fertility processes, thus making the development in Slovakia no different from the main developmental trends observed in the overall European area (see e.g. Sobotka, 2004 and 2011; Kohler, Billari, Ortega 2002). The emerging model is characterized by a great diversity of transitions to adulthood (e. g. Potančoková, 2011), different intensity, timing as well as character, and it is therefore in stark contrast to the situation prevailing in our society until the early 1990s. For a long time, Slovakia was characterized by an early marital and maternal debut and an almost universally expanded life in marriage with maternal duties, which significantly differed from Western and Northern Europe (see Fialová, 1992; Monnier, Rychtaříková 1992). As shown by the results of several analyses of the ongoing transformation of family and reproductive behaviour in Slovakia (e. g. Potančoková 2011; Šprocha 2014d, 2016) in the new social, economic and political conditions, a normative discourse of the advantages (or suitability) of postponement of long-term commitments to higher age or to a more

appropriate part of the life cycle. Thus, we can talk of a strategic delay, but we can also consider increasing the representation of men and women who can programmatically reject marriage and motherhood. However, we can agree with the conclusion that the so-called Eastern European (also socialist) model of early and almost universal marriage and motherhood has not found much response in the young generations most affected by society wide transformation.

It is a fact that the postponement of marriage and parenthood has become one of the dominant features of reproductive behaviour in postmodern societies (Sobotka 2004) and is one of the most important features of the second demographic revolution (Lesthaeghe, Neels 2002). At the same time, however, it should be added that the dynamics of these changes, as well as their extent, vary between countries, individual ethnic, religious, educational and otherwise excluded groups of the population. Diversity growth is typical of all European countries, but at the same time each society retains some distinct differences in family behaviour (Kuijsten 1996). Ethnicity or nationality are a traditional explanatory factor for the existence of differences in family and reproductive behaviour (see, for example, Andorka, 1978; Livi-Bacci 1986).

Slovakia is not an exception in this respect. In the long term, several analyses have shown the existence of historical (e. g. Šprocha, Tišliar 2016; Šprocha, Šmigeľ, Tišliar 2016) and current (Šprocha, 2012ab; 2014abc; 2017; 2018) differences in population development or in intensity, timing and nature of family and reproductive behaviour of selected national minorities. However, the overlooked aspect in the analysis of population development in Slovakia remains whether the dynamic, and in many ways unique, transformation of reproduction has affected these population groups and how and to what extent it has been reflected in their population development.

Therefore, this paper aims to find answers to the following questions:

- Did the model of early and almost universal nuptiality and fertility apply to persons of Slovak, Hungarian, Roma and Ruthenian nationality?
- How has this model changed? Can we identify the postponement process in all the monitored nationalities?
- Were there or have there been differences in timing of marriage and motherhood between Slovaks and selected national minorities?

With regards to the availability of data and especially the number of individual nationalities in Slovakia, we will focus on persons of Slovak nationality and the three largest national minorities: Hungarian, Roma and Ruthenian.

Source of data and work methodology

The main source of data for our analysis of family and reproductive behaviour of the four largest ethnic minorities were the results of the 1991 Population and Housing Census (hereinafter the PHC 1991) and the 2011 Population and Housing Census (hereinafter the PHC 2011). Due to the fact that we had primary source databases from both censuses, our analytical options were significantly expanded. In order to achieve these aims, we sorted out information on the number of children born to women in combi-

nation with their age and nationality, which they reported at the time of the census. When analysing the process of marriage, we worked with the marital status of men and women, their age and nationality. These input data were subsequently used for the construction of some simpler but also more complex analytical tools enabling evaluation of not only intensity, but also timing and character of monitored processes. From the point of view of fertility, the average number of children born to women of a certain age was constructed; in the case of women with finished reproduction (after the age of 50) it was the final fertility. Furthermore, we used information on the composition of women reporting to selected four ethnic groups according to the number of their children born (the so-called parity structure), analysing in particular the level of childlessness, the representation of a family model with one, two children and the proportion of women with three or more children.

The results of the structures of ethnic groups according to marital status were used to analyse the nuptiality of singles. On the one hand, we work with the proportion of single men and women according to age and nationality, who represent the part of population that has not yet married. In addition to the level in each age group, the proportion of single persons who remain single after the age of 50 is also important for the overall intensity of the process. These are referred to in the demography (from the reproduction point of view) as permanently single and show the influence of the overall intensity of nuptiality on individual ethnic minorities in Slovakia.

As mentioned above, in addition to the intensity indicators, we also use timing indicators of nuptiality and fertility processes in our analysis. Since we do not work with classical measures, but use the structural characteristics obtained from the censuses, we apply the methodological approaches proposed by John Hajnal (1953) and Heather Boother (2001) for this purpose. These allow for the construction of indicators labelled as Singulate Mean Age at Marriage (SMAM) and Singulate Mean Age at First Birth (SMAFB), which present the average number of years a person survives until the end of the reproductive age as a single or childless person and thus can be perceived as an alternative to the average age at first marriage and average age at birth of the first child.

Transformation of nuptiality of ethnic groups in the census results 1991 and 2011

The 1991 census captured the state of Slovak society still at the beginning of a great transformation, and therefore the monitored population structures reflected mainly the effects of the previous population development and its character. Therefore, the values of constructed indicators clearly pointed to the main characteristic features of nuptiality and fertility, which were of historical character and also largely highlighted by the specific conditions that existed during the previous political regime. As we can see in the pictures No. 1 and 2, the share of single men and especially women with age decreased very quickly. For example, more than half of men got married until they reached the age of 24, women even before they were 21 years old. At the age of 30, only about a fifth of men and only about a tenth of women remained without experience of marriage. According to the 1991 census, approximately 7 % of men and less than 5 % of women

remained permanently unmarried. However, the process of postponing marriages to an older age, which started just in the 1990s and continues to exist to the present day, has changed this model of early and almost universal marriage significantly. This is also indicated by the results of the last 2011 census. At the age of 35, almost a third of men and more than a fifth of women still have no experience of living in marriage. Given the relatively low marriage rate of single persons aged 40 and over, it can be expected that the proportion of permanently single persons in Slovakia will increase quite significantly. Recent data for people at the end of the reproductive age indicate that the share of single men has reached approximately 12 % and that single women are around 8 % at that age.

Table 1 and 2: Share of single men and women in Slovakia aged 16 – 50, census 1991 and 2011

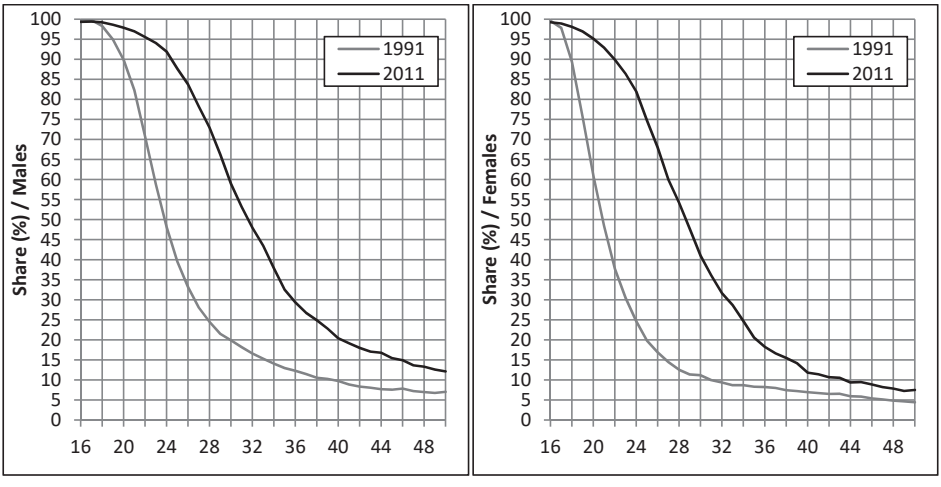
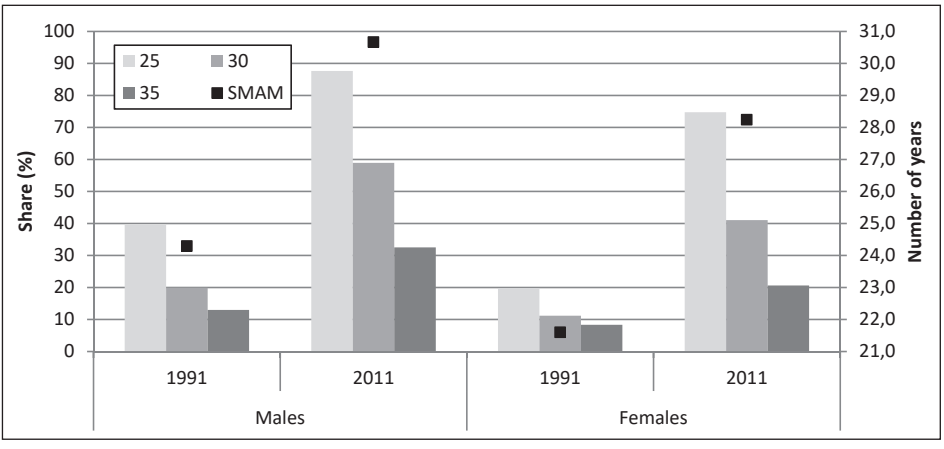


Table No. 3 not only presents the share of single persons at selected ages and thus confirms the increasing representation of single men and women in the Slovak population in the first half of reproductive age, but also points to the associated changes in the timing of nuptiality process. SMAM values increased between 1991 and 2011 in the male population by more than 7 years from 24.3 year to approximately 31.7 years. For women it was approximately 6.5 years from 21.6 years to over 28 years.

As demonstrated by Table No. 4 for men and Table No. 5 for women, significant changes in the timing of nuptiality and hence the share of single persons, especially in the first half of reproductive age, occurred between the 1991 and 2011 censuses, in the case of Slovaks, as well as in all monitored national minorities. If we also look at the data from the early 1990s, we also find that the early and almost universal nuptial was basically characteristic of all the monitored ethnic minorities as well as persons of Slovak nationality. From the point of view of certain differences, it is possible to say that Roma people got married even earlier, as did women of Hungarian nationality. On

Table 3: Development of the share of single men and women in selected age groups and SMAM indicator in Slovakia according to the results of the 1991 and 2011 censuses



the other hand, members of Ruthenian nationality lived outside marriage slightly longer (than average for Slovakia) in case of both. This minority, together with the Roma, was also characterized by a slightly higher proportion of permanently single people. Ultimately, however, it should be noted that the aforementioned differences were relatively small and, compared to the current situation, it can be unequivocally said that in Slovakia, regardless of nationality, the model of early to very early nuptiality prevailed with a low proportion of permanently single persons.

This is also confirmed by SMAM values, which ranged from 22 years for the Roma to 26.6 years for the Ruthenians in the monitored ethnic minorities for men (for more details see Table 4). In case of women, the average number of years spent out of marriage was the lowest among Roma (20.5 years) and Hungarians (20.8 years), while women belonging to Ruthenian nationality postponed marriage the longest (more than 24 years).

The process of extending the period spent unmarried, which has been relatively dynamic in case of Slovaks since the beginning of the 1990s as well as all national minorities, brought both an increase in the share of single persons and an increase in SMAM values. As can be seen in Table No.4, as for the male population, only among the Roma we can see a higher proportion of people that have already experienced marriage by the age of 25. Despite a noticeable increase in SMAM values (from 22 to more than 27 years), four out of ten people got married at this age in this ethnic group with specific reproductive behaviour. On the other hand, they did not differ so much from other national minorities at an older age. This means that the early onset and the associated higher nuptiality at a younger age continue to affect their composition according to marital status, but we do not see such dramatic decreases in single life at an older age and therefore the chances of marriage are reduced. According to the results of the 2011 Census, the highest number of unmarried years is demonstrated by men of Hungarian

nationality (over than 31 years), followed by persons declaring Ruthenian nationality (almost 31 years). In their case at the age of 30 almost two thirds of men (Hungarians) or 60 % (Ruthenians) were single. In addition, we will add that the majority population of Slovak nationality in 2011 had SMAM values of 30.8 years and a little less than 60 % of men were single in the middle of the reproductive age.

Table 4: Share of single men of Slovak, Hungarian, Roma and Ruthenian nationality in Slovakia in selected age groups and value of SMAM indicator according to results of 1991 and 2011 censuses

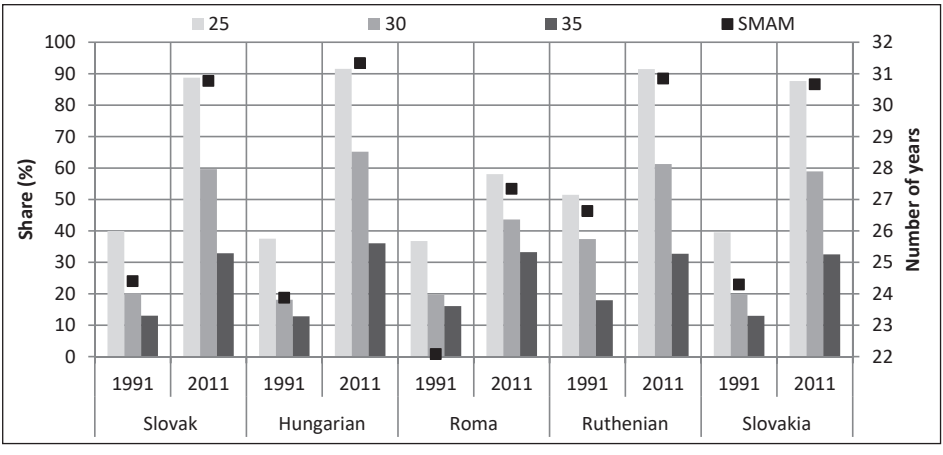
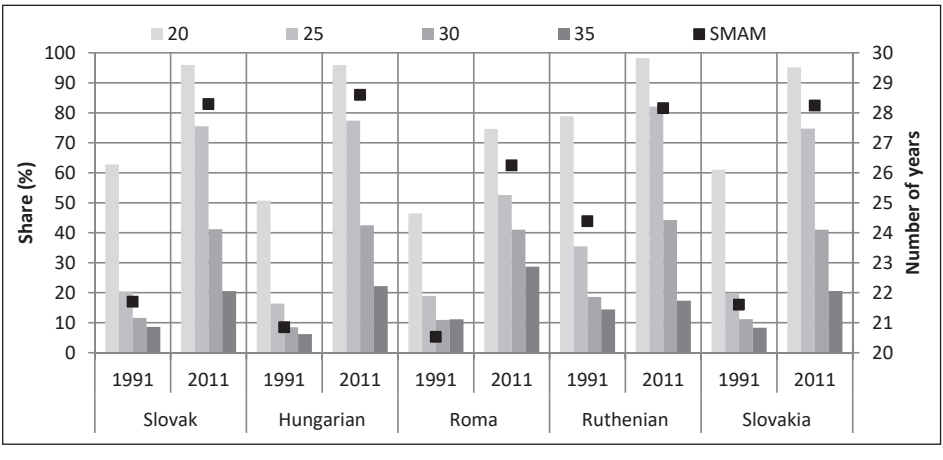


Table No. 5: Share of single women of Slovak, Hungarian, Roma and Ruthenian nationality in Slovakia in selected age groups and value of SMAM indicator according to results of 1991 and 2011 censuses



In the female part of the population we can also clearly identify the increase in the share of single persons and the values of SMAM indicator. If we look at the emerging differences, Roma women definitely marry earlier, their SMAM reaching slightly more than 26 years in 2011, and the share of single 25-year olds was just over 50 %. On the contrary, in the case of Hungarian women were unmarried for 28.6 years on average, while at the age of 25 more than three quarters of them were single. In the case of women of Ruthenian nationality, SMAM was above the age of 28, but more than 80 % of women remained single at the age of 25. It is also interesting to note that the early timing of nuptiality for Roma does not automatically mean the lowest share of single women in their higher reproductive age. On the contrary, the results from the 2011 Census point out that although these women are more likely to marry at a young age than other ethnic groups, it is also true that more of them are unlikely to marry at all. At the age of 35, almost 29 % of Roma women were single, while the national average only slightly exceeds 20 %.

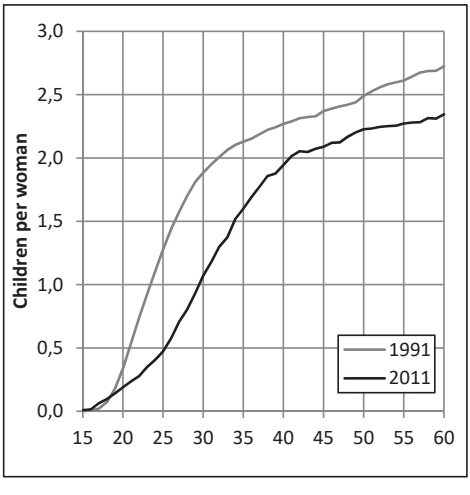
Transformation of fertility of ethnic groups in the results of 1991 and 2011 censuses

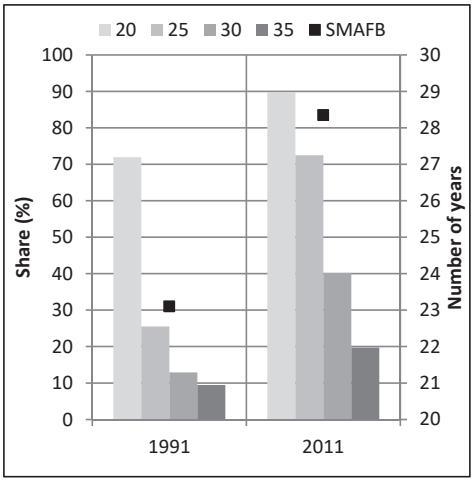
The main feature of the long-term development of realized fertility of women in Slovakia is its continuous intergenerational decline (see e.g. Šprocha, Tišliar, 2016). While women born at the beginning of the 20th century had on average three children, generations from the second half of the 1960s are probably the last to have two children on average. The dynamic postponement of maternity is reflected not only in the timing of first children, but also in a change in the setting of transitions to second and subsequent children. However, with the increasing age of maternal debut, there is an increasing risk that second and possibly other children may not be born to a woman (couple). As detailed analyses of the postponement process from a generational perspective show (e. g. Potančoková, 2011; Šprocha, 2014d; Šprocha, Tišliar, 2016), it is precisely the decrease in the birth rate of second and other children is one of the main causes of the overall decline in final fertility. Although the postponement mainly affects the first children, these reproductive intentions are quite intensely caught up in higher age, however the recovery rates of second and third children reach very low values (Šprocha, Tišliar, 2018). The result is not only the decline in final fertility below the threshold of two children in the transformational generations of women born in the 1970s, but also a gradual change in their structure according to parity. From this point of view, a two-children family model accompanied by a more frequent occurrence of a family with three children was gradually established in Slovakia. The peak of this reproductive track is found in women from the late 1950s and early 1960s, approximately 45 – 47 % having two children having and approximately 20 – 25 % having three children. Childlessness and having one child were at low levels (around 10 %) and represented a marginal reproductive strategy (for more details see Šprocha, Tišliar, 2016).

PHC 1991 and PHC 2011 results presented in Table No. 6 confirm the above facts. On one hand, we are witnessing the aforementioned decline in the final fertility rate of women over 50 years, by approximately 0.3 – 0.4 children per woman. Moreover, for

women in the last decade of their reproductive period, according to the last census, only little over two children were born, and a steep drop in realized fertility below this age at 35 – 39 years indicates that they were probably the last with final fertility above two children. Other important findings include a significant decrease in realized fertility in the first half of reproductive age. While in the early 1990s women in Slovakia at the age of 25 had an average of 1.3 children and at the age of 30 even nearly 1.9 children, the results of the 2011 Census show that at 25 years the average number of children was only 0.5 child per woman and in the middle of their reproductive age there was on average just a little more than one child per woman. These data clearly point to the extent of the process of postponing the birth of children for younger generations. An even more detailed demonstration of older maternal debut of women in Slovakia is given in Table No. 7. It presents the proportion of childless women in selected age groups and the average number of years a woman spends until the end of her reproductive age without experiencing maternal role. According to the 1991 census, almost 30 % of women had at least one child in 20 years of age. By the age of 25, the vast majority of women had become mothers, childless people accounted for only about a quarter. The value of the SMAFB indicator was only just above 23 years. Over the next two decades, however, this picture changed completely. Nine out of ten women are childless at the age of 20, almost three-quarters of women remain without maternal role at the age of 25. It is only at the age of 30 that women who have at least once become a mother prevail. At the same time, about 40 % of women still remain childless by the middle of their reproductive age. In view of the above, it is not surprising that the average time spent outside the maternal state has been extended by more than 5 years to 28.4 years compared to the last Czechoslovak census.

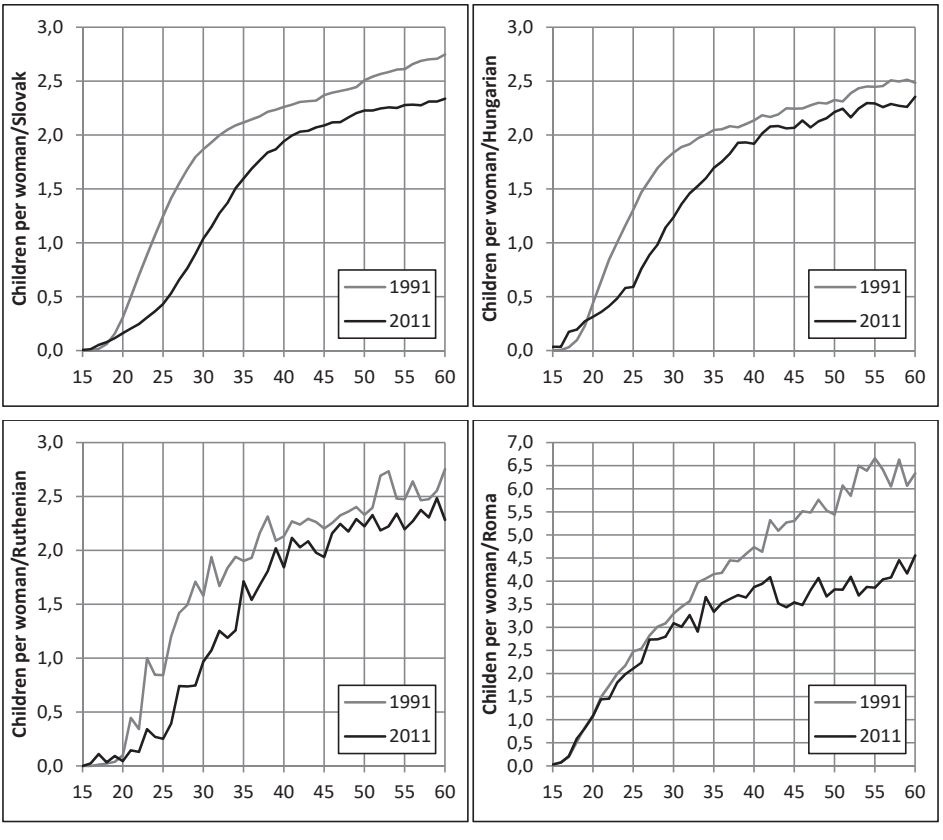
Table 6 and 7: Development of the average number of children per woman, the share of childless women in selected years and SMAFB values in Slovakia in the results of 1991 and 2011 Census





Comparison of realized fertility between the censuses 1991 and 2011 in the monitored ethnic groups confirms that the aforementioned changes, which took place at the national level, can be identified also in their case. For women of Hungarian and Ruthenian nationality, the changes in final fertility (aged 50 – 60 years) were smaller than for women of Slovak and especially Roma nationality (Table 8 – 11). Especially for women claiming Roma nationality, we can identify the most significant decrease in final fertility, when this dropped from more than six children to approximately four children between the 1991 and 2011 censuses. Nevertheless, the Roma still have the highest realized fertility in Slovakia. Differences between the other three nationalities at the level of final fertility are, according to the last 2011 census, essentially negligible (Tables No. 8 – 11). In terms of the development of realized fertility at a younger age, there was a decrease for all three nationalities. The only exception are women of Roma nationality, who still have a relatively high fertility rate in the first half of their reproductive age, since at the age of 30 these women already have approximately three children on average (Table No. 11).

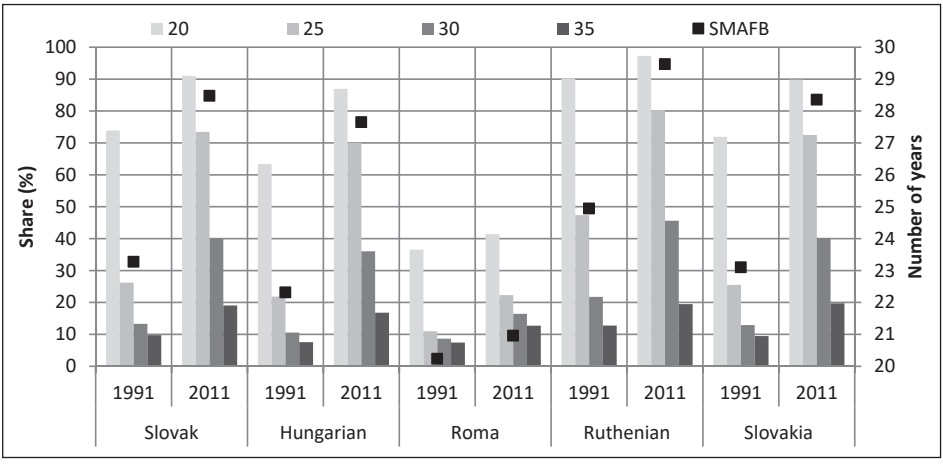
Table 8 – 11: Development of the average number of children per woman by age and nationality in Slovakia in the 1991 and 2011 censuses



Early onset and higher fertility at a younger age compared to the national average and women of Slovak and Ruthenian nationality are also found in women of Hungarian nationality (Table No. 9). According to the results of the 2011 census, there was approximately 1.4 child per woman at the age of 30, whereas in the other two nationalities it was only slightly more than 1 child.

The significantly different maternal timing of Roma women is also confirmed by the development of the share of childless women and the value of SMAFB. Although there was a certain increase in the share of women without maternal experience between the 1991 and 2011 censuses, the Tables still confirm a significant shift towards early maternal start in this ethnic minority in Slovakia. This fact is presented in more detail in Table No. 12. Essentially, in case of Roma, women with at least one child had a predominance at the age of 20. This is true not only in the early 1990s, when childless women of Roma nationality accounted for just under 37 %, but also according to the latest 2011 census, when the childlessness rate in this national minority slightly exceeded the 40 % threshold. At the age of 25, no more than a quarter of women of Roma nationality remained childless. Given this persistence of early motherhood, the SMAFB values did not change significantly between the 1991 and 2011 censuses. While in the early 1990s the average period of childlessness was just over 20 years for the Roma, according to the 2011 Census results, it grew by slightly less than one year to 21 years. As the SMAFB data and their inter-census development show, the process of postponing birthing children to an older age hardly affected the timing of maternal starts of Roma women.

Table 12: Development of the share of childless women in selected years and values of SMAFB in the monitored nationalities according to the results of the 1991 and 2011 censuses



Already in the early 1990s, women of Ruthenian nationality postponed the birth of their first child the longest. At the age of 25, almost half of them remained childless, while for women of Slovak nationality it was just over a quarter and for Hungarians

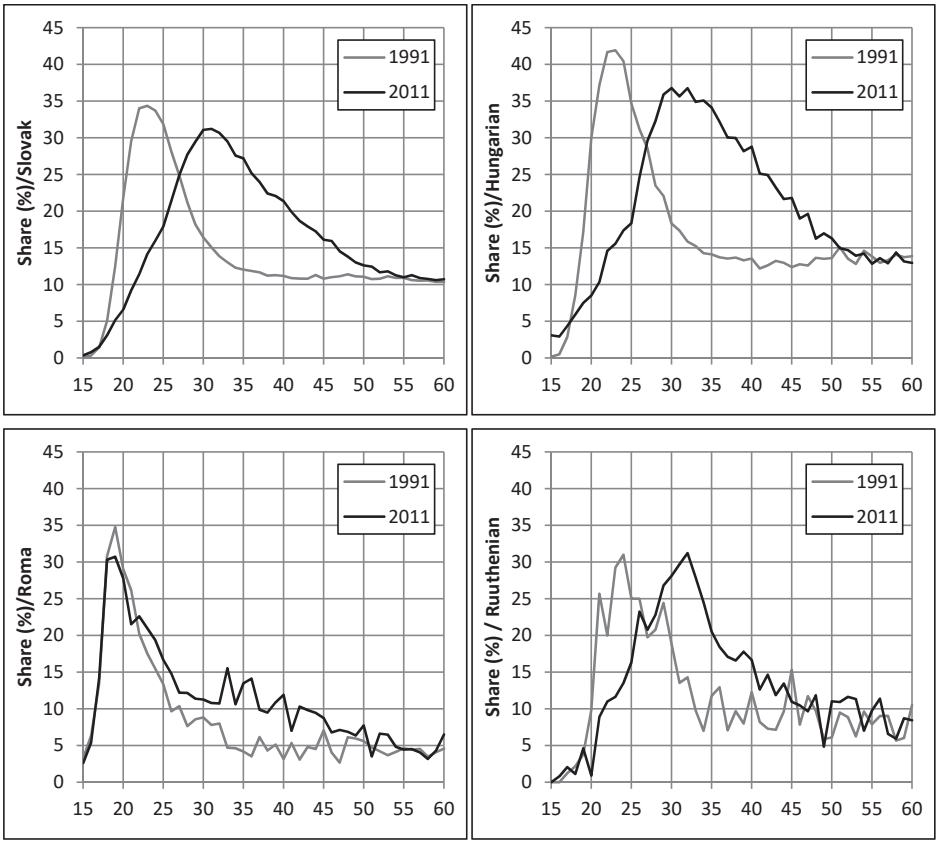
even less than 22 %. Therefore, according to the 1991 census, the SMAFB of women of Ruthenian nationality was almost 25 years. It was more than 23 years in the case of Slovak women and one year less in the case of the Hungarians (Table 12). Ruthenian women retained this position in the 2011 census as the SMAFB was well above the age of 29, and about eight out of ten women were childless at the age of 25. However, women of Hungarian nationality seem to have the most dynamic postponement process. In their case, the SMAFB values increased the most between 1991 and 2011 by 5.3 years to 27.6 years. However, the number of childless years is still lower than that of women of Slovak nationality, as their SMAFB reached 28.5 years. In addition, the share of childless women of Hungarian nationality at the age of 25 grew to approximately 70 % and it reaches almost 74 % for women of Slovak nationality. Overall, however, childlessness after the end of reproductive age was not significantly differentiated in connection with nationality, suggesting a high normativity of maternity regardless of nationality. However, changes in timing and the postponement of maternity itself may change this situation. We can expect a rise in childlessness, probably in all nationalities except the Roma. Whether and what differences will occur between them in the final childlessness we will only be able to say on the basis of the results of the next census, when the first transformation generations of women in Slovakia end their reproduction.

Changes in the timing of the birth of the first children are also reflected in the development of the proportion of women with one child according to age and nationality (Tables 13 – 16). With the exception of the Roma, the maximum in all monitored nationalities shifted to the older age, around 30 years of age, while in the early 1990s the maximum representation was at 22 – 23 years. At the same time, there was a relatively apparent widening of the age spectrum, with the proportion of women with one child reaching higher values. This is related not only to the declining chances of becoming a mother for the second time, but also to the pluralization of the timing of first births, which are no longer as conspicuously concentrated in a very narrow age range as the 1991 census pointed out.

The aforementioned specific nature of the timing of Roma women also manifests itself in this case. As can be seen in Table 15, the maximum share of women with one child is shifted to a very young age before the age of 20, basically its position and value does not change and, regardless of census, there is a very dynamic decline following its achievement. This is evidence of immutability or less dynamic changes in the timing of the birth of the first children in this ethnic group, with transitions into maternity being concentrated in a very narrow age range. The subsequent sharp decline also suggests a very frequent continuation of reproduction towards the birth of other children at a young age.

From the point of view of the representation of women with one child after the end of the reproductive age, it is true that in both censuses we find higher number of these persons in women of Hungarian nationality. In their case, having one child was just below 15 %. For women of Slovak nationality it was slightly more than 10 % and below this level there were women of Ruthenian and especially Roma nationality, for whom having only one child was a very atypical reproductive model.

Table 13 – 18: Development of the share of women with one child by age and nationality in Slovakia, 1991 and 2011 Census

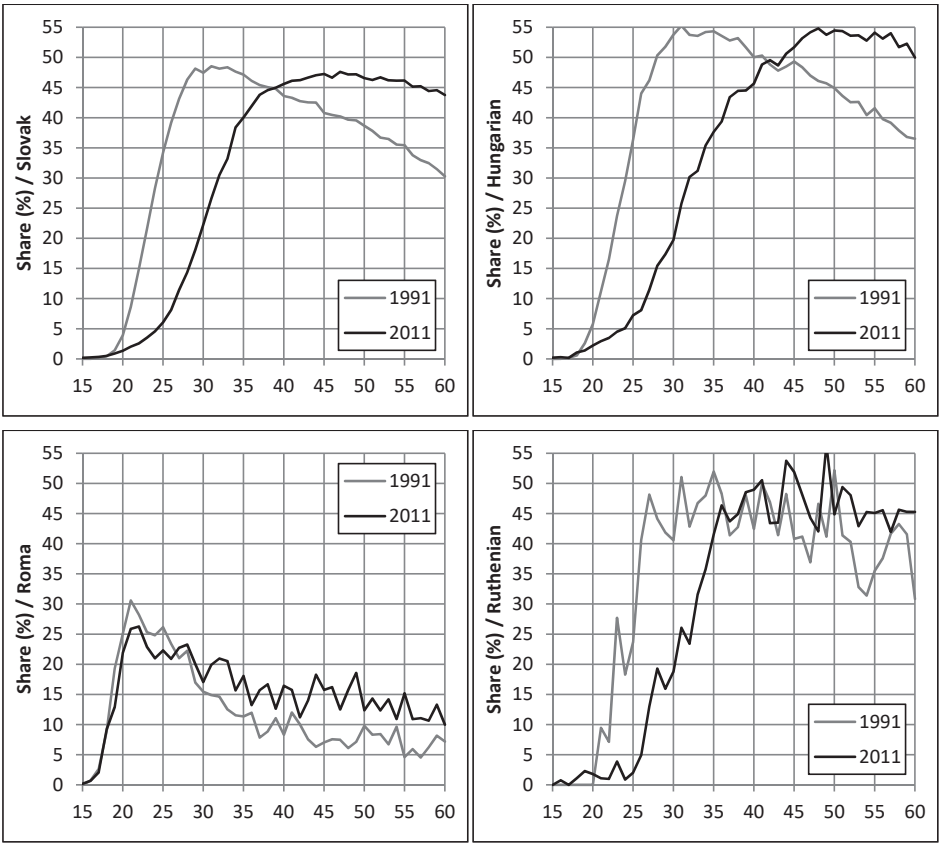


With the exception of the Roma, the two-child model of the family belonged to the dominant reproductive model in Slovakia. Most often, women of Hungarian nationality had just two children after the age of 50, their share was 50 – 55 % (see Table No.20). In case of women of Slovak and Ruthenian nationality (on average) it was at the level of 45 – 50 %. Comparison of the data from 1991 and 2011 censuses also points to an age shift in the maximum share of women with two children. While in the beginning of the 1990s this shift was established in case of women of Slovak and Hungarian nationality shortly after reaching the age of 30 and consequently we can see a gradual decline as a result of the birth of third and other children, in 2011 census the maximum occurs at the end of reproduction age and its value does not reduce significantly. This phenomenon is due to a significant decline in the proportion of women with three or more children (see below).

In case of the Roma, the development of representation of women with two children has taken a very different course. On one hand, we identify a clear sharp maximum in

this parity (as in the case of women with one child) at a very young age (after reaching the age of 20). Subsequently, we witness a rapid decline and some stabilization at a very low level (10 – 15 %). In this case, the changes in the representation of women with two children are the result of an early transition to third and more children, which in turn is reflected in their increasing share, essentially until the end of their reproductive age (see Table No. 25).

Table 19 – 22: Development of the share of women with two children by age and nationality in Slovakia, 1991 and 2011 Census



It is the representation of women with three or more children that makes Roma women most different from other ethnic groups. Their share in both censuses remains relatively high, reaching 70 – 80 % at the post-reproduction age. On the other hand, it should also be noted that there was a significant decrease in the monitored censuses, which significantly contributed to the mentioned decline in final fertility.

A significant decrease in the share of women with three or more children can be also identified in other nationalities. In the case of Slovak nationality, this share was between

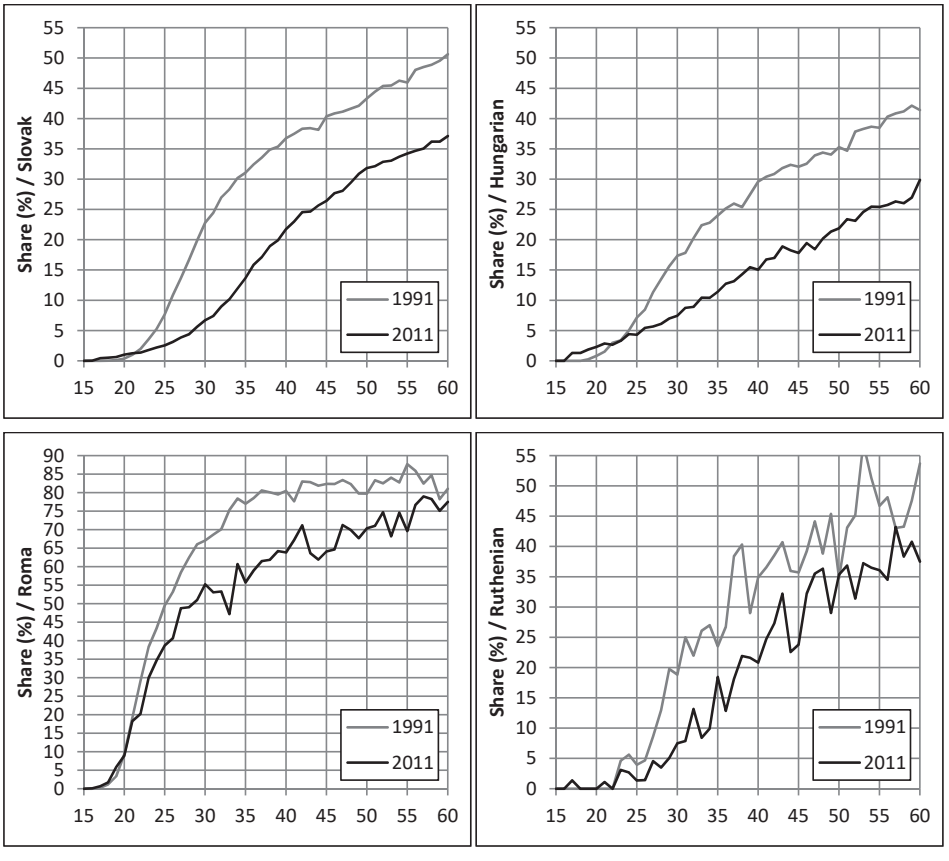
40 – 50 % for women aged 50 – 60, i. e. 40 – 50 % after the end of reproductive age in the early 1990s, but according to the 2011 Census results, it fell significantly below the 40 % threshold. In case of Hungarians, the significance of this parity group was not so high, since according to the 1991 Census they made up approximately 35 – 40 % and in the last census they made up even 20 – 30 %. At younger ages, we cannot yet speak of the resulting shares, but it is clear that we will see a further intergenerational decline regardless of nationality. Gradually, this reproductive model will become a somewhat marginal matter, although some differences are likely to remain between ethnic groups. In this respect, despite the presented development, women of Roma nationality represent a diametrically different reproductive behaviour of subpopulation for whom the continued birth of a higher number of children is the dominant element of reproductive track.

Conclusion

The results of the differential analysis of 1991 and 2011 Census data in Slovakia confirmed several known facts concerning the transformation of nuptial and reproductive behaviour of young generations. First of all, it is the significant decline in the intensity of marriage of single persons as well as fertility of women, especially in the first half of reproductive age. This is closely linked to the process of postponing marriage starts and transitions into maternity and parenthood. These are the changes in the timing of these life steps towards maturity that become the main aspect of the transforming population development of Slovak society. However, as our analysis has shown, these changes do not happen equally across nationalities and are not unequivocally accepted by all nationalities as dominant elements in family and reproductive behaviour. At the same time, it was also confirmed that although at the beginning of the transformation period we can point out that the model of early and almost universal nuptiality and fertility was applicable on all monitored nationalities, in the early 1990s, there were some variations in the intensity and timing of both processes. From the point of view of nuptiality, it is confirmed that, regardless of nationality, there is a process of postponing first marriage in Slovakia and early marriages thus ceased to be the dominant model of family behaviour. However, there are still some differences in the intensity and timing of this process between nationalities.

Similarly, we can evaluate the development from the point of view of fertility. However, it is necessary to draw attention to the very specific position and character of the reproductive behaviour of women of Roma nationality. In their case, the results of the 1991 and 2011 Censuses revealed minimal changes in the timing of first childbirth. On the other hand, even in this national minority, it is possible to identify a decline in final fertility, as we find in other monitored nationalities. However, it remains true that Roma women not only have their first children much earlier, but more often become mothers at a younger age, which is reflected in a completely different parity structure. Overall, the model of one-child families is becoming more and more common among persons of Slovak nationality, as well as in other monitored national minorities, while the proportion of families with two or more children is decreasing, and we can also assume a certain increase in childlessness. In terms of the main development trends,

Table 23 – 26: Development of the share of women with three or more children by age and nationality in Slovakia, 1991 and 2011 Census



persons of Slovak, Hungarian and Ruthenian nationality do not differ significantly from each other. However, there are some differences not only in the timing of first childbirth, but especially in the structure of women according to parity, where women of Hungarian nationality more often became mothers of only one maximum of two children, while not as many women of Slovak and Ruthenian nationality had one child, more common were families with three or more children. This is also reflected in the results of the last census, although gradual convergence is likely to occur in younger generations with unfinished reproduction. However, whether this assumption is fulfilled is only a matter of future census, which will allow us to analyse the final reproduction of the first group of transforming generations of persons born in the 1970s.

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Describing Feelings between Frustration and Hope: Potential of Anthropological Minority Research in Southern Slovakia

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Abstract:

The aim of this paper is to investigate the methods and possibilities available to anthropologists to describe the ambiguous perception of the Hungarian minority in southern Slovakia, by comparing anthropological fieldwork with sociological survey research. While the occurrence of inter-ethnic conflicts in Slovakia is well known, local inhabitants have emphasized their peaceful daily life in the multiethnic community, and previous anthropological studies have also shown inter-ethnic friendship ties at the community level. This paper's challenge was to consider how a researcher can see beyond these contradictions and capture Hungarian minority's perception. While a sociological survey has the advantage of being able to gather individual opinions, anthropological fieldwork is capable of discerning community norms. Sometimes those results seem quite different, because each method approaches targets according to its own specialization. However, both results indicate different characteristics of the same society. Hungarian minority community has become significantly more complex. Therefore, anthropologists have the potential to incorporate more research methods to capture the ambiguous perception, specifically with respect to minority issues.

Keywords:

Multiethnic community, Hungarian minority

Introduction

"I am talking about ethnic relationships now, because you requested to interview me about it. But we usually do not think about ethnic relationships: We have many other things to think about."[1]

"The most serious problem for us is that the number of those who are interested in visiting our library and its cultural events is decreasing. That is a more serious and fundamental problem for us than minority issues."[2]

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1 Interview with the leader of a cultural organization in Komárno (2013/09/24). Most of the interviews cited in this paper were conducted in Slovak language and translated by the author to English for this paper.

2 Interview with a library staff member in Dunajská Streda (2013/09/06).

The first quote forms the narrative of a leader of a cultural organization in Komárno. The second one is from an interview with a library staff member in Dunajská Streda. Since 2012, I have conducted anthropological research in southern Slovak cities to investigate ethnic relationships between Slovaks and the Hungarian minority (Kambara, 2015, 2017). During my research, some interviewees stated that minority issues are not the most important problems in everyday life for them, despite reported ethnic conflicts and severe political confrontations between Slovak and Hungarian minority politicians that have persisted for years. Their statements could be considered a warning to researchers who ignore such realities of daily life.

The Hungarian minority is one of the dominant ethnic minority groups in Slovakia, with a population of 450,000, and is a large enough ethnic group to share one perspective. It is not easy to evaluate the relationship between Slovaks and ethnic Hungarians. This is because previous anthropological and sociological research has demonstrated their friendship ties at the community level (e. g. Frič, 1993; Lukácsová, Kusá, 1995; Macháček et al., 2011), although people are aware that conflicts have occurred among them (e.g. Balogh, Gyelník, 2017; Burzova, 2012; Jablonický, 2009; Orosz, 2012; Filep, 2017). In fact, according to my fieldwork experience, inhabitants of ethnic heterogeneous areas tend to emphasize their peaceful daily life (Kambara, 2015, 2017), despite historical and political confrontations between Slovaks and ethnic Hungarians. This paper's challenge was to consider how a researcher can see beyond these contradictions and capture Hungarian minority's perception.

To approach each Hungarian minority's vision and opinions, many sociological surveys have been conducted already. However, surveys have the disadvantage of forcing respondents to select only one approximate choice concerning their feelings about ethnicity. For instance, some people cannot select their nationality and mother tongue, as shown in Table 1, based on the latest census of 2011.[3] There is a remarkable difference in the number of "not specified", depending on the city. Generally, the cities located in ethnic border zone tend to have a higher proportion of "not specified." In addition, according to the results of my interviews, these ethnic border areas have often been singled out by many Hungarian community elites as being in danger of ethnic assimilation by Slovaks. It is certain that a proportion of ethnic Hungarians live with this kind of ambiguity or vagueness about their identity.

The aim of this paper is to investigate the methods and possibilities available to anthropologists to describe the ambiguous perception of Hungarian minority by comparing sociological survey research. In particular, this paper engages in a methodological discussion using my anthropological research data about Hungarian minority activities and ethnic ties among inhabitants of southeastern Slovakia. In the next section, I will begin by reviewing previous surveys and ethnographic research to determine the characteristics of the results. I will then discuss my ethnographic data from southeastern Slovakia.

3 The census of 2011 has been criticized for not being able to collect proper data about sensitive issues, because some people found a printed bar-code on the questionnaire and were afraid the respondent's privacy would not be protected. Minority experts estimated that many minorities might avoid answering questions about ethnic issues. This kind of political pressure could make them ambiguous, as well.

Table 1: Nationality and mother tongue in the main cities where ethnic Hungarians live (2011)[4]

City	Population	Population of ethnic Hungarians	Nationality (%)		Mother tongue (%)	
			Hungarian	Not specified	Hungarian	Not specified
Komárno	34,349	18,506	53.9	10.8	58.5	11.1
Dunajská Streda	22,477	16,752	74.5	2.0	79.2	2.7
Bratislava	411,192	14,119	3.4	2.4	3.7	2.6
Nové Zámky	39,646	8,863	22.4	11.5	25.5	12.3
Šamorín	12,726	7,309	57.4	6.8	59.4	7.3
Rimavská Sobota	24,640	7,298	29.6	14.6	31.3	14.9
Štúrovo	10,919	6,624	60.7	11.0	65.1	11.4
Košice	240,433	6,382	2.7	19.1	3.6	20.7
Kráľovský Chlmec	7,698	5,670	73.7	2.4	85.6	3.1
Galanta	15,138	4,623	30.5	24.3	31.9	10.3
Rožňava	19,706	3,909	19.8	16.8	23.4	17.2

Hungarian minority images by survey research

Since 1989, many kinds of sociological surveys have been conducted on ethnic minorities. According to Zeľová (1991), research on ethnic groups was difficult to conduct during the communist era in Czechoslovakia, because officially, Czechs, Slovaks, and other minorities coexisted peacefully and people had no anxieties about their conditions. In the 1990s, it was typical for questionnaires relating to ethnic minorities to be included in the surveys of general political orientations in Czechoslovakia. It is natural that research regarded ethnic issues' influence on political tendencies as an important factor at the time, because of the salience of Slovak nationalism before the separation of Czechoslovakia in 1993. According to the result of the survey conducted by the Center for Research on Social Problems in 1990, ethnic Slovaks tended to view Slovak-Hungarian relationships more negatively than ethnic Hungarians[5] (Belica et al., 1990, 48). Similarly, another survey also showed clear difference between ethnic Hungarians and

4 Source: Author-created table based on data from the Slovak Republic statistical office (2001)

5 A total of 70.5 % of Slovak respondents selected negative answers (24.0 % selected "very bad relationship," while 46.5 % selected "rather bad than good"), contrasted with 52.2 % of Hungarian respondents (14.8 % selected "very bad relationship," while 37.4 % selected "rather bad than good"). In addition, 44.8 % of Hungarian respondents selected positive answers (10.3 % selected "very good relationship," while 34.5 % selected "rather good than bad"), compared with 22.5 % of Slovak positive answers (2.1 % selected "very good relationship," while 20.4 % selected "rather good than bad").

Slovaks with respect to the Hungarian minority's petition for the expansion of bilingual signboards; ethnic Hungarians understood this to be a valid demand, while over 50 % of Slovaks regarded it as excessive (Bútora et al., 1994, 47). These results show an ethnically divided Slovak society.

Although such statistical data prove a hostile Slovak-Hungarian relationship, another result of surveys that focused on southern Slovakia indicates a different view of this issue. The most interesting result is that Slovaks living in areas where ethnic Hungarians live as the majority (more than 50 % of inhabitants) tend to regard their ethnic relationships as good (Belica et al., 1990, 50-51). This result is well-known among ethnic Hungarians, because many of my research collaborators mentioned to me, "According to statistical data, only Slovaks who have never lived with ethnic Hungarians hate Hungarians just because of negative stereotypes. We have good relationships here." An updated but similar result was found in the survey conducted by Dolník and Pilecký in Southwestern Slovakia in 2011. They asked respondents if they agreed with the opinion that Slovaks living outside ethnically mixed areas have a biased view of the coexistence of Slovaks and Hungarians. The responses showed no difference, because 80 % of respondents from each ethnic group agreed with this opinion (Dolník, Pilecký, 2012, 26). This is an obvious difference in insight on the ethnic issues between inhabitants in ethnically mixed areas and those who live outside such areas.

Besides parts of surveys for political orientations in the whole Slovak territory, the Institute of Social Sciences at the Slovak Academy of Science (Spoločenskovedný ústav) in Košice have repeated surveys on this topic: They conducted a survey of Slovaks, ethnic Hungarians, and ethnic Ukrainians in eastern Slovakia in 1990 (Zeľová, 1991),[6] of Slovak intellectuals and ethnic Hungarians in 1992 (Zeľová et al., 1992; Homišinová et al., 2005), and of ethnic Hungarians, Czechs, Germans, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Jews, and Slovaks who lived in ethnically heterogeneous areas in 2005 (Šutaj et al., 2006). Krivý at the Slovak Academy of Science also surveyed the collective identity of Slovaks and ethnic Hungarians in 2003 (Krivý, 2004, 2006). Macháček's was a unique survey conducted with ethnic Hungarians in 2009 as part of a major research project on ethnic minorities in Central and East Europe (Macháček, 2011; Macháček et al., 2011). In general, Hungarian minority has been researched by Slovak academics as part of a large comparative research project.

Other than this comparative study, ethnic Hungarian scholars tend to concentrate on ethnic Hungarian research. Lampl, a Hungarian minority sociologist, criticized the fact that surveys targeting Slovak citizens over the whole of the national territory have a disadvantage in that the number of minority respondents becomes relatively small (Lampl, 2013, 9). Usually, researchers must analyze results from only 10% of all respondents in such kinds of surveys. Lampl has conducted more than 20 surveys, mainly in southern Slovakia, of ethnic Hungarians and Slovaks since the 1990s, with an average number of respondents per survey of approximately 1,000. Needless to say, many other Hungarian

6 The Institute of Social Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences also conducted surveys in 1982 and 1987 during the late Communist period (Zeľová et al., 1992).

researchers have conducted all types of smaller-scale surveys in schools or municipalities in southern Slovakia (e. g., Dolník, Pilecký, 2012, Győriová-Bakova, 2015).

The difficulty of sociological surveys is that research results can sometimes be different, even if the surveys were conducted under similar conditions. In Macháček's 2009 survey, nearly 70 % of ethnic Hungarians selected "Hungarian in Slovakia" as their ethnic identity, while only 16 % of them selected "Hungarian" (Macháček et al., 2011). Contrarily, according to Lampl's 2007 survey, a higher proportion of inhabitants identified themselves as "Hungarian" (33.8 %), and less respondents selected "Hungarian in Slovakia" (30.4 %) (Lampl, 2013, 77). Both surveys had around 800 respondents. This means that this type of nuanced question about ethnic identity risks confusing respondents themselves.[7] The difference of implication between "Hungarian" and "Hungarian in Slovakia" is not so distinct among ethnic Hungarians.

On the other hand, similar tendencies emerge among different surveys of Slovaks, wherever they live. For example, many Slovaks do not find the need to learn the minority language in an ethnically heterogeneous area (Mészárosová-Lamplová, 2009, 176; Krivý, 2006, 50). Furthermore, there is no difference among Slovaks in terms of historical understanding of the period from the 19th to the 20th century (Homišinová et al., 2005, 160; Krivý, 2006, 42). Knowledge and perceptions of important historical events tend to be divided according to ethnicity. This means that language and history are still keys to understanding the ethnic relationship, because minorities may feel frustration about inequality with Slovaks, in terms of the usage of language and the lack of understanding of the different historical perspectives.

These results from previous surveys certainly make us share the future risks of their "good" ethnic relationships that may be easily broken. However, this negative image slightly differs from the results of previous ethnographic research (Árendás, 2011, Lukácsová, Kusá, 1995; Torsello, 2006; Škovierová, Sigmundová, 1981), as well as from my research experience, when I started conducting fieldwork in southern Slovak cities in 2012 and thereon. One hypothesis of the reason for the difference is that people may wish to explain an ideal community for researchers.[8] In my case, especially, it is understandable that they wanted to emphasize their good ethnic relationships as representatives of their community, because most interviewees were elites from southern Slovak cities. In the next section, I will review the results of ethnographic research by comparing with those of the surveys and considering the researcher's position in the field of research.

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7 In addition, Nakazawa's survey, which allowed multiple choices, shows other results: "Hungarian" was selected by 38 % of respondents and "Hungarian in Slovakia" was selected by 75 % of respondents (Nakazawa, 2018, 72). The sample number of this survey is 223 from among students of Selye János University, whose taught language is Hungarian in Slovakia.

8 In addition, it might be possible to suggest a second hypothesis for the difference – that the difference between cities and villages could be enormous – because my field research was conducted mainly in cities. However, some previous ethnographic research (Torsello, 2006; Škovierová, Sigmundová, 1981) was conducted in villages. They also showed peaceful relationships.

Characteristics of anthropological research on minority communities

Not only anthropological researchers but also some political scientists (e. g., Filep, 2017; Paul, 2003) have mentioned peaceful ethnic relationships as the local reality based on their fieldwork. In fact, those studies also reported some trouble or conflicts; however, inhabitants understand them to be usual problems in the neighborhood that are not the results of differences in ethnicity. Or, people tend to regard some nationalistic activists as "outsiders" in the community (Filep, 2017; Frič, 1993; Kambara, 2015, 2017).

Since 2012, I have conducted fieldwork research in southern Slovakia, conducting interviews with more than 50 community elites and participating in observation of minority associations. The main research cities are Komárno, Dunajská Streda, and Košice. Additionally, I conducted some supplemental fieldwork in Bratislava, Šamorín, Štúrovo, Rožňava, and Kráľovský Chlmec. In this paper, I focus on the case of the southeastern part of Slovakia. I use research data mainly from Košice, with supplementary data from the surrounding cities of Kráľovský Chlmec and Rožňava, all of which are located in southeastern Slovakia. As Hungarian elites often warn, ethnic Hungarians from southeastern Slovakia are going to be "assimilated," compared to southwestern Slovakia, which has a high density of ethnic Hungarians. However, this area has characteristics of a highly multiethnic region in Slovakia.

In Košice, only those who are "orthodox" ethnic Hungarian identify themselves as Hungarian, but many people have both ethnic backgrounds. It is impossible to count. Around 15 % of inhabitants may also have a Hungarian identity, even if they never introduce themselves as Hungarian. For example, more than 5 % of inhabitants celebrate Istvan's holiday[9] on August 20th.[10]

Although Košice's ethnic Hungarians amount to only 2.7 % of its population, there are many people with multiethnic backgrounds, as in the above citation. To be precise, not only Hungarians but Ruthenians, Roma, Ukrainians, and Germans live as historical national minorities in the eastern part of Slovakia. Such multiethnic conditions could lead some inhabitants to question where they belong. The interviewee who mentioned the quote above also has a Hungarian mother, although he calls himself a Slovak. In addition, I also met some other "Slovaks" (who identify themselves as Slovaks), who speak Hungarian at cultural events organized by Hungarian associations in Košice. Ethnic Hungarians from there may feel more pressure to live as an ethnic minority than in the western part because of their small number; however, this does not mean they are simply being assimilated. At least, as a foreign researcher, I have seen people naturally accept those with a different ethnic identity.

Sometimes, the community seems divided by a language group, but many of them interact with others who speak different languages. This kind of bilingual condition has often been reported in previous research on ethnic relationships in southern Slovakia (Lukácsová, Kusá 1995; Šoucová 1994; Torsello 2006). People seem to enjoy communicating beyond language barriers to preserve friendly relationships as members of the

9 Istvan's holiday is a Hungarian holiday that commemorates the first Hungarian king Istvan's coronation.

10 Interview with a director of a museum in Košice (2016/9/6).

community; however, it is possible to predict that some people may be unhappy in such a place. That is a disadvantage of the method of observation. Individual opinions are difficult to be singled out using the ethnographic method, including observation. Moreover, it is impossible to conduct research on inter-ethnic relationships, without inter-ethnic contacts. Ethnographic researchers who are interested in inter-ethnic relationships inevitably focus on existing inter-ethnic relationships in the community. The ethnographic method makes it easy to discern community norms in existing community. Therefore, ethnographic research tends to prove to be a peaceful ethnic symbiosis, because the ethnographic method can explain how closely people relate to each other or what kinds of practices sustain their community moral, than how people are isolated there.

On the contrary, sociological surveys have the advantage of conducting research without a community. Instead of conducting surveys, however, semi-structured interviews enough helped anthropologists investigate this topic. In fact, some ethnographic studies referring to ethnic conflicts or divided situations in ethnically heterogeneous areas, depend more on interview data, not observation of the community. Botíková reported conflicts between Slovak newcomers and Hungarian residents in an ethnic Hungarian settlement near Bratislava (Botíková et al., 1994). Blaive noticed that some teenagers are often isolated in one language society even if they live in the city (Blaive, 2011). Árendás, who researched mix-marriage families in southern Slovakia, pointed out that they sometimes avoid attending events relating to ethnicity so as not to cause troubles among themselves because of ethnic differences (Árendás, 2011). According to those studies, the inhabitants must have been aware of problems or complaints around them.

Actually, I have also heard complaints during interviews about ethnic relationships in Slovakia. To be specific, when I was with colleagues who spoke Hungarian during the interviews, or since 2016 when I stayed in Hungary for a year, I began to hear more complaints from the Hungarian side. Complaints and frustration with current ethnic relationships are expressed in individual or collective interviews with people of the same ethnicity. These complaints are certain evidence that some unfairness remains in this area.

When I studied in Bratislava, I visited my Slovak friend's home in Žilina. He introduced me to his family, saying, "He is Hungarian, but he is good." I could not understand why he used the word "but."[11]

Many ethnic Hungarians have similar displeasing experiences, like that told to me by a Slovak, an ethnic Hungarian, "why don't you know basic things about the Slovak language, even though you were born in Slovakia?" We need education to be proud of our ethnic identity.[12]

The eastern part is a forgotten area, even in southern Slovakia. Statistically, the number of Slovaks is now increasing here. Historically, 100 % of inhabitants in this area were ethnic Hungarians, yet people are losing their Hungarian identity.[13]

Ethnographic research is inevitably influenced by the researcher's background and interview conditions, and through my experience I encountered more ethnic Hungar-

11 Interview with the leader of a Hungarian association in Košice (2016/3/16).
12 Group interview with teachers and staff of a city office in Kráľovský Chlmec (2016/9/7).
13 Interview with a member of a Hungarian NGO in Kráľovský Chlmec (2016/9/7).

ians' complaints, indicating that some people exercise caution while addressing this topic, in case they have some complaints. This is because complaining to someone risks their "peaceful" community existence. Inhabitants in ethnically heterogeneous areas tend to choose not to complain in order to maintain societal decorum and "peace" in their community. During my research, Hungarian intellectuals often asked me how other Hungarians and Slovaks talked about their relationships. When I answered that almost all respondents emphasized peaceful relationships, they agreed with my answer and sometimes added comments that people refrained from during the Communist era. Their comments imply certain frustrations among ethnic Hungarians in peaceful communities. All these phenomena explain that they share a strong community moral that maintains or hopes for good relationships despite daily personal frustrations.

While sociological surveys have the advantage of collecting individual opinions, ethnographic fieldwork is capable of discerning community norms. The difference in the results in sociological surveys and ethnographic research on the Hungarian minority mainly depends on the choice of research method. Both results indicate different characteristics in the same society; in other words, both results are two sides of a coin. As I introduced in the section above, ethnographic research is also able to explore ethnic conflicts in the society, not only ethnic symbiosis, using its great advantages of collecting personal details on the topic. This approach, however, could be more effective by collaborating with sociological survey, because focusing on individuals in a broader society rather than a community is not an orthodox and traditional target for cultural anthropologist.

Ambiguity between frustration and hope in daily life

It is true that cultural anthropological fieldwork has developed through the study on relatively small communities. The minority community located in a multiethnic city, like Košice, does not attribute the same character of classic meanings of a community. The boundary of their minority community is vague, because the membership of the community is not obvious and the functions of their community are limited in their daily life with the majority. As I mentioned in the introduction, minority issues are not felt to be very important in their daily life for some minorities. This is a current dominant feature of the minority community. Contemporary anthropologists should portray the culture of the uncertain group through consisting of their current values and ambiguous perceptions. That is why I focused on minority associations that form a center of their network, with the minority elites possibly influencing other minorities up to a certain level. Hidden feelings about ethnic relationships are an important target of a description as the "Other" culture in ethnically heterogeneous area. Describing the Other culture requires one to trace ambiguous feelings, which is now a new possibility, given the collaboration of scholars from different disciplines and backgrounds.

Most inhabitants feel both frustration with ethnic "Others" and hope to live together. All of those feelings are a part of their daily lives and nothing special for those who live with the majority in a multiethnic city. As I stated, their daily ethnic relationships are usually peaceful, until someone brings up a sensitive topic such as a historical perspective or language issues between them. If they talk about such sensitive topics, one

might be able to easily categorize their views as complaints. The following quote is said as a critique of Slovak minority's education policy in the context of the original interview. However, it could be a relatively acceptable and realizable vision in the context of European countries, not being easily categorized as complaints. At least, Slovak and ethnic Hungarian historians have a plan to publish common school text books together. Such an endeavor can be understood as a ray of hope for the future.

Our ideal education system is Finland, where students can learn the languages and histories of the majority and the minority. Such a system should be the model for the 21st century.[14]

Moreover, the same phenomena are sometimes understood differently depending on the positions of inhabitants. For example, a mixed ethnic marriage is a symbol of ethnic symbiosis and assimilation. When inhabitants explain peaceful ethnic relationships, they often refer to this. Usually, they do not deny mixed ethnic marriages during the interviews. However, some ethnic Hungarians fear their children's school choices because it could be the starting point of assimilation to Slovak, if they visit an elementary school with Slovak medium of instruction. In fact, the population of ethnic Hungarians is decreasing by the generation, and one of the factors of losing one's Hungarian identity is ethnically mixed marriage and children's language of instruction (Gyurgyík, 2005). Moreover, the number of Slovaks with ethnic Hungarian father is almost 10 times the number of ethnic Hungarians who have a Slovak father (Šutaj, Sáposová, 2007, 187).[15] This survey targeted ethnic groups based on those who identified themselves as members of a certain ethnic group. This means, Slovaks can include more people with other ethnic backgrounds, but ethnic Hungarians tend to lose the opportunity to pass on their ethnic identity to their children. This kind of inequality for minorities associates assimilation with fear.[16] Hungarian minority is a large enough ethnic group; therefore, it is natural that there are such ambivalent understandings of a phenomenon. Such diversity among ethnic Hungarians, however, obscures not only their boundary of the community but also collective feelings of minority in current society.

Conclusion

It is a classic question for anthropologists which element should be more important in analyzing field data – the influence of culture as things shared by a certain group or people's agency that might transform their culture. In Košice and southeastern Slovakia, research on minority issues or inter-ethnic relationships has certain difficulties. The culture and boundaries of ethnic Hungarians have been transformed, because many people with Hungarian origins are not recognized as ethnic Hungarians to support their culture. In this case, research results may not be appreciated by those described by eth-

14 Interview with a teacher in a Hungarian high school in Rožňava (2016/9/6).

15 In the case of replies concerning their mothers, the number of Slovaks with ethnic Hungarian mothers is almost five times the number of ethnic Hungarians who have Slovak mothers.

16 Based on a survey conducted in 2005, both Slovak and ethnic Hungarians tend strongly toward ethnically homogeneous partnerships. In fact, over 90 % of them have an intimate partner in the same ethnic group (Šutaj, Sáposová, 2007, 187).

nography, because they also live in the ambiguity that forces them not to identify themselves. However, ethnographic data are able to become deeply interpretative through the challenge of tracing their ambiguity. Ethnic Hungarians live in multi-layered societies, where they judge when to talk about the hope of ethnic symbiosis and where or when to talk about complaints of daily life. Such ambiguity fertilizes the studies on the minority, combining the results of sociological surveys and that of other disciplines.

To return to my research question in the introduction, anthropologists have a potential to incorporate more research methods to capture the ambiguous perception in the field, specifically with respect to minority issues. Not only the classical ethnographic methods such as observation and interviews but combing with sociological surveys, oral history, and autobiography analysis could be effective for understanding the hidden nuances behind the usual communication.

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New Ethnic and Religious Minorities in Slovakia

Silvia Letavajová

Abstract:

Unlike traditional national (ethnic) and religious minorities, new minorities are mainly associated with communities that have emerged in recent decades and are not so numerous. Their creation is related to modern social changes, migration processes, contact with otherness, weakening of traditional behaviour patterns. The bearers of new ethnicities and religiosity are not only the new-coming inhabitants, but also the domestic population. The presented study is focused on new minorities, which have been formed recently from among migrants. Its aim is to characterize these minorities, to describe their relationship to the majority on the example of their activities. The number of migrants in Slovakia is not very large, however, several informal as well as formal groups, organizations or communities of migrants have been established in our territory. They are active not only in their own ranks, but also in communication with the majority institutions and the population. Minorities, which are the subject of frequent professional, political and public interest are particularly Muslims and Afghans, who will be discussed in the final part of the paper.

Keywords:

Afghans, ethnicity, migration, minority, Muslims, religiosity

Introduction

In terms of ethnic and religious characteristics, the majority of the Slovak population is of Slovak nationality and of the Roman Catholic faith.[1] Slovakia officially supports the culture of 13 national minorities and ethnic groups.[2] Presence of these ethnic minorities is historically connected with the Slovak territory and its development. Despite the fact that their formation is continuous and is also linked to current social processes and mobility of the population, they are often referred to as the so-called traditional or autochthonous minorities. Traditional religious minorities in our country include

1 According to the last census in 2011, 80.7 % of the population claimed Slovak nationality and 62 % claimed Roman Catholic faith. (Sčítanie obyvateľov, domov a bytov, 2011. Štatistický úrad SR.)

2 It is the culture of the Hungarian, Roma, Ruthenian, Czech, Ukrainian, German, Moravian, Polish, Russian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Serbian and Jewish minorities. (Office of the Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Slovak Republic for National Minorities)

the numerous and long-term branches of Christianity, other than the dominant Roman Catholic faith, as well as the Jewish religion.

With regard to minority ethnicities and religiosity, Slovak legislative, political and professional practice uses several terms: ethnic or religious minority, national minority, ethnic group, new religious movement, new or alternative religiosity. (Lužný, 1997; Moravčíková, 2002; Deák at al., 2010; Letavajová et al., 2014) In scientific and public debate, new ethnic and religious minorities in Slovakia are most often associated with communities that have occurred in recent decades and are less numerous in the context of traditional minorities. They are conditioned by changes caused by the arrival and settlement of culturally different people in our territory, but also by migration experience of Slovaks and their contact with otherness and different cultural patterns abroad. They relate to modern globalization processes, other cultural influences, the acquisition of new thought directions and the weakening and deviation from traditional religiosity. Thus, the bearers of new and untraditional types of ethnicities and religiosity for our territory are not only the new-coming people but also the autochthonous people of Slovakia themselves. In this context, ethnic groups that are formed by migrants and their descendants are particularly important. In the context of traditional and new religiosity of the population, there is also common reference to the so-called registered and unregistered churches and religious societies.[3]

In our text we focus mainly on the new minorities, which have been forming in the territory of Slovakia in the last few decades from the migrants. Our aim will be to characterize these minorities, to describe their relationship to the majority, on the basis of some activities. Finally, we will focus on two selected types of ethnic and religious minorities – Muslim[4] and Afghan.

Migration processes and minority communities

In terms of migration processes, Slovakia can still be characterized as a traditional emigration country. Even today, Slovakia is affected by the unfavourable demographic balance and the outflow of inhabitants abroad.[5] The arrival of foreigners in our territory is related to the relaxing of the political and economic situation after 1989 but mainly

3 The Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic registers 18 subjects in the list of registered churches and religious societies: Apostolic Church, Baha'i community, Baptist Union Brotherhood, Seventh-day Adventist Church, Brethren Church, Czechoslovak Hussite Church, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Evangelical Church of Augsburg Methodist, Greek Catholic Church, Christian Congregations, Jehovah's Witnesses, New Apostolic Church, Orthodox Church, Reformed Christian Church, Roman Catholic Church, Old Catholic Church and the Central Union of Jewish Religious Communities. Several of them have been registered in the last two decades. Among the wide range of unregistered churches and religious communities we will mention, e.g. New Age, Mormons, Neopaganism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. (Letavajova et al., 2014, 7)

4 There are several transcripts of the terms "Islam" and "Muslim". In my work I use the transcripts used in Slovak professional practice. I use the term Islam, Islamic as well as a Muslim, Muslim (as an adjective) only when it is used in the official name of the organization.

5 According to estimates, about 300,000 to 350,000 Slovaks currently live abroad (Jurčová, Pilinská, 2014)

to the accession of the country to the European Union (EU) in 2004 and the Schengen area in 2007. In the international context or the context of EU countries, the number of migrants in Slovakia is still low, though it is gradually increasing. It increased 4.2 times between 2004 and 2016, the third fastest growth in the EU in this period (Divinský, 2017). After 2004, mainly economic migration in Slovakia was more dynamic. Other reasons for the arrival of migrants were study, family ties and also asylum application. At the end of 2017, the total number of foreigners with residence permits represented 104,451 persons, which represents 1.92 % of the total population of Slovakia. The most common countries of origin of migrants are neighbouring countries and EU countries. The number of third-country migrants reached 48.2 % in 2017. According to statistics of the Border and Alien Police Office, 54,056 EU citizens and 50,395 third-country nationals with valid residence were registered in Slovakia. Among EU citizens, there were mostly people from the Czech Republic (10,663), Hungary (8,057), Romania (7,149), Poland (5,748), Germany (4,562) and Italy (2,931). The most numerous third-country nationals were the citizens of Ukraine (16,102), Serbia (10,608), Russia (4,331), Vietnam (3,609), China (2,473) and the Republic of Korea (1,615). Third-country nationals are also registered according to the purpose of residence. In 2017, the most frequent reasons for their arrival were the status of a Slovak living abroad (9,283 persons), job (7,272), family reunion (6,910), business (6,112) and study (3,924).[6]

The presence of these inhabitants in a culturally different environment, a sense of detachment from the country of origin, sharing of common characteristics based on ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural diversity, nationality or a combination of these factors give them a sense of fellowship and solidarity, and at the same time, the feeling of otherness in relation to the majority. They are characterized by specific belief and attitude systems, but also by collective strategies and various forms of social self-awareness and action, the need to protect their characteristics from the influence of the dominant society and, in some cases, the feeling of discrimination by the majority. Based on these characteristics, some groups of migrants are described not only as minorities, but also as communities.[7]

Migrants express their collective identity through informal relationships but also through formal associations. There are several officially registered organizations or associations of migrants in Slovakia. They focus on their own members, cooperate with the public, governmental and non-governmental organizations. Several communities

6 Prepared according to Štatistický prehľad legálnej a nelegálnej migrácie v Slovenskej republike, 2017, 9; Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu.

7 Although the name 'community' is not entirely unambiguous, since many of these groups are diversified within, they form several subgroups and individual approach rather than a group approach is evident on many occasions. They are labelled as communities by many governmental and non-governmental organizations, and some of the groups also refer to themselves as communities in the names of their organisations. In the broadest sense, a community can be defined as a group of people living in a geographically limited space, bound by social relationships, one or more psychological bonds and space where they live (Švihlová, 2006, 64). Understanding, distinctiveness from other human groups as well as self-sufficiency and stability are also essential features of a community. (Bauman, 2006, 9-17)

are also registered by the International Organization for Migration in Slovakia (IOM), which cooperates with them through the so-called cultural mediators (currently about 20 people). For these needs, IOM has created an online information portal called *„Atlas of Migrant Communities“*.[8]

Atlas mentions the following migrant communities based on the principle of country of origin, religion, geographical delimitation or different citizenship: Afghans, Thais, Ukrainians, Vietnamese, Cubans, Russians, Koreans and Serbs, Islamic Foundation, Latin Americans, African Cultural, Information and Integration Centre and Internationals Bratislava.

Several of these organizations are based in Bratislava. As some studies suggest, urban environment is better suited for migrants and their activities within their own ranks, but also for interaction with the majority environment than the rural environment.[9]

The activities of migrants and their associations are focused on helping and providing information to their own members, in particular to new arrivals, but also on contacts with domestic institutions and population. They are building networks between the two countries, trying to maintain and transfer cultural identity, as well as create communication space between the majority and minorities. For example, the Association of Afghans in Slovakia is active in organizing cultural, sporting or educational events. The Centre, which brings together Africans, helps African migrants in Slovakia, as well as African and Slovak investors and tourists from these two areas. Migrants in Slovakia are generally covered by the Internationals association. The Islamic Foundation supports their members, strives to maintain Islamic traditions, and is active in establishing intercultural dialogue. Several organizations based mainly on a cultural basis were also created by residents with Ukrainian, Serbian or Russian identity.[10] Migrant organizations and communities from Korea, China, Vietnam and other countries are meeting economic and cultural goals.[11] The life of migrants in Slovakia as well as the activities of individual migrant communities is popularized by a series of film documentaries called “Integrate”.[12]

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8 Prepared according to www.mic.iom.sk/atlas.

9 Cities are more attractive for migrants due to job opportunities, as well as the presence of university institutions, national and multinational organizations of economic, political, cultural or sporting type. Other pull factors for migrants to stay in an urban environment are high urban density (multiplying the possibility of contacts with other migrants and the local population), diversity, multiculturalism of large cities and the ability of urban population to adapt to communication with strangers. Bratislava Region and Bratislava itself can be clearly identified as the centre of migration activities in Slovakia. (Uherek, 2003, 197, 200).

10 Union of Ruthenians-Ukrainians in Slovakia, Folk Ensemble Karpaťan, Association of Ukrainian Writers in Slovakia, Taras Shevchenko Theater Ensemble, Association of Serbs in Slovakia.

11 Association of Vietnamese Businessmen in Slovakia, Slovak-Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce, Slovak-Chinese Society.

12 Several documents on individual migrant communities in Slovakia are available at www.integruj.sk. The documents were broadcast on public service television and local televisions.

Activities supporting relations between majority and minority

The presence of migrants in our territory, consolidation or changes in their group identity, adaptation, acculturation, integration and other ethnic and cultural processes and manifestations that occur within the relations of these minorities with the majority are currently not only of interest to the public or academics, but also non-governmental organizations. These organizations realize that knowing the cultural environment of the countries from which migrants come to us, as well as knowing their specific problems and needs after they come to Slovakia, is essential for successful intercultural communication. By means of various projects, these organizations try to create space for practicing cultural traditions of migrants, promoting communication between communities themselves, as well as dialogue between migrants and the professional and lay public. Out of the many programs aimed at presentation of cultural specificities of migrants to the Slovak public, we will present the following three projects:

Multi-genre festival "*Week of new minorities [fjúžn]*", organized in Bratislava by Milan Šimečka Foundation since 2006. The aim of the project is to increase the awareness of Slovak public about the life, culture, traditions of new minorities living in our country and their position in society, as well as sensitizing public attitudes towards them. In the scope of a few days, members of majority have the opportunity not only to see and learn something about the culture of migrants, but also to participate in it and try it out, so to speak "first-hand". Cultural traditions are presented to the public in an entertaining and popular form of music or dance performances, sampling of traditional dishes and specialties of world cuisines, discussions involving migrants themselves, scientific experts, students and the general public, film performances or creative workshops for children. The majority community can talk to migrants in person, learning not only about their culture, but also about the motivations of their arrival, or how they perceive the Slovaks or Bratislava itself.

Several migrant communities in Slovakia, in cooperation with the International Organization for Migration, also organized events entitled "*Food Festival of Migrant Communities*". These activities took place several times, for example at the Open Park and Gardens Weekend in the Grassalkovich Garden at the Presidential Palace. Representatives of Afghan, African, Latin American, Ecuadorian, Cuban and Turkish communities in Slovakia presented their traditional dishes there. The event also included an international recipe exchange, an introduction of individual communities of foreigners and a performance of a musical group whose musical instruments visitors could try out during workshops. It is necessary to highlight two moments that significantly contribute to increasing the integration of migrants in Bratislava. The first is the fact that the festival took place in the city centre, in an environment that is extremely popular and accessible not only to ordinary Bratislava residents, but also to its visitors, which increases the possibility of participation in this project. The second moment is the very intention – presentation of gastronomy. It is known that mutual hospitality is one of the main elements of overcoming prejudices against foreigners. The presentation of national gastronomy of foreigners is almost always perceived positively and accepted without prejudice as part of the cultural heritage of a host and a guest. Getting to know foreign

foods and cuisine does not lead to negative confrontational situations between two cultures. On the contrary, unusual dishes, ingredients, instructions for their preparation are perceived as diversification and enrichment of the local cuisine. Dining together can be considered as conflict-free within the interethnic contacts and, moreover, joint dining is also an opportunity for mutual communication and getting to know each other. Common dining thus becomes an element of interethnic communication. Offering food and accepting it symbolically means accepting a foreigner into the majority community at an individual level (more Letavajová, 2007, 129).

A new interesting project that brought the cultural specificities of migrants directly to the environment of Slovak families was the international project *"Next Door Family EU – Inclusive Neighbourhoods"*. The International Organization for Migration, which covered the project, implemented it among migrant families and Slovak families who volunteered and were interested to meet people from other countries, find friends and learn more about their culture, cuisine and customs. Approximately 20 lunches were held in Slovakia on the same day and at the same hour, as was the case in other European countries – 18 November 2012 at 1 pm. A total of 420 foreign and local families lunched together on this day. The meeting was held in the presence of an assistant who coordinated it. This activity is exceptional and unique as it enabled direct, informal and personal contact with migrant families in the privacy of family homes.[13]

Muslim minority

Muslims are one of the minorities of migrants who are united by the principles of a shared religion. According to the 2001 census, 1,212 inhabitants in Slovakia claimed Muslim religion, in 2011 it was 1,934 persons. (Šprocha, Tišliar 2014, 143) According to representatives of Muslim organizations, their numbers range from 4,000 to 7,000. Muslims are concentrated mainly in larger cities, especially in Bratislava, Martin, Košice and Piešťany. An estimated 200 to 250 practicing Muslims live in Bratislava. According to the country of origin, we divide Muslims in Slovakia into the so-called native Muslims and Slovak converts. The number of converts is estimated between 150 to 400. The so-called new Muslims, converts, are mainly young women who embraced Islam at a relatively young age or after a relationship or marriage with a Muslim man, to a lesser extent young Slovak men. The ethnicity of Muslims is very varied, they are mostly from the Near and the Middle East and former Soviet republics or Muslims from the Balkans. In terms of gender, the group of Muslims is primarily made up of men (Štefančik, Lenč, 2012,104-121; Letavajová, 2009, 65). These include foreign students, entrepreneurs or business people, i.e. people who are educated and well off, with a relatively high social status and the ability to take care of themselves and their family.

Muslims in Slovakia are covered by several official organizations that have their headquarters in Bratislava. The oldest of these was the General Union of Muslim Students in Slovakia (VZMŠ), which was established in 1990. The organization mainly associated students and former students from Arab and other Muslim countries. Two years later,

13 More on the project at www.iom.sk.

the Association of Friends of Islamic Literature (ZPIL) was established, which originally brought together those interested in Islamic literature. In 2000 this organization was renewed and transformed into an association of Slovak converts. In particular, women converts, or women interested in Islam met there. In 1999, the Islamic Foundation registered as an official association. Its women's section is particularly active.

The Muslim community in Slovakia does not present itself as united (Cenker, 2010, 226) and is publicly represented by several representatives. Common community life of Muslims is realized mainly by means of a house of prayer, which provides space not only for religious ceremonies, it is also a place for exchange of information within the community and towards the majority population. There are several places in Bratislava where Muslims meet for religious acts. Perhaps the best known is the house of prayer, which is part of the cultural centre Cordoba, covered by the Islamic Foundation. Its location in the city centre on Obchodna Street is suitable for cultural contacts within the community as well as with the majority population. The main task of this institution is to link the majority and minority culture. In addition to regular Friday prayers, the centre offers educational programs and seeks to contribute to intercultural dialogue. The Centre offers consultations on final works for students, cooperates on several projects and research in the field of migration, integration and multicultural education.[14] In addition, the Muslim community organizes exhibitions, seminars and lectures through which it seeks to familiarise Slovak majority with Islam and the life of Muslims around the world and Slovakia. The events are intended not only for the Muslim community but also for sympathizers and those interested in Islamic culture, as well as representatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations. There are interesting activities of the women's section, multicultural evenings or "ladies' nights", with lectures, films about Muslims, food tastings, handicrafts, belly dance courses or henna painting are prepared for Muslim and non-Muslim women.

Muslim community in Slovakia (as well as Muslims in other countries) was made much more visible after the events of September 2001. Muslim organizations in Slovakia responded to these and other foreign and domestic events through official statements advocating the attitudes and goals defending Muslim rights in Slovakia, help them integrate and try to bring their activities closer to the non-Muslim public. They have become "visible" due to emancipation efforts and the status of "registered church" and the attempts to build a Muslim cultural centre. However, the amendments to the law, media coverage of the issue and negative statements made by political representatives, which have largely stirred up public opinion, have weakened these efforts.

Afghan minority

Despite the fact that most of them left Slovakia, some decided to settle here. The second largest group are former Afghan students who came to our territory from the 1980s under international treaties between the former Czechoslovak government and then Pro-soviet Afghanistan. Afghan students studied at universities with a focus on con-

14 Prepared according to www.islamweb.sk.

struction, chemistry or technology, medicine, biology, law and other specializations. Their numbers gradually decreased as a result of increasing political and social destabilization in Afghanistan. Whereas between 1988 and 1992 there were about a hundred students each year, in 1993 the number decreased by half, until finally in 1998 only four Afghan students were officially registered in Slovakia (Štatistická ročenka, 1989 – 1999).

Some of the Afghans, who came to us as students, later applied for refugee status because of the worsening situation in their home country. During their stay in Slovakia, many established families, established friendships or working relationships and did not return to their country. The group of Afghans was mostly made up of men. Some of them now have a PhD., CSc. or even the title of associate professor in addition to their university degree. They settled mainly in the cities where they attended universities, alternatively another city where they found employment or their spouses. It is currently estimated that the number of Afghan residents is approximately 150, and together with the families they form a community of around 500. According to data from the last census, 138 people born in Afghanistan (118 men and 20 women) and 68 people with Afghan citizenship (53 men and 15 women) lived here in 2011.[15]As for the numbers of citizenship granted, as of 31 December 2018, the Ministry of Interior registered 79 Slovak citizens with Afghan nationality.[16]

In 1997, cultural and social association "Association of Afghans in Slovakia" (ZAS) was founded by Afghans in Slovakia with the aim of mutual information and help in solving various problems. Its cultural activity is equally important, it is reflected in the organization of events in order to preserve Afghan national traditions and mother tongue and in drawing the attention of Slovak and world public to the Afghan disaster in recent decades. Afghans organize lectures, discussions, exhibitions and other activities to show their country from a different perspective than the one from TV news. The opportunity to return to Afghanistan's cultural values is a joint celebration of the New Year – Novruz. Novruz is one of the most important holidays of the Central Asian Persian region. The tradition of celebrating the New Year is so strong even among Afghans who find themselves in a culturally different country that it becomes the most distinctive symbol of their return to folk culture and the customs of their country of origin. The celebrations usually include an official part, consisting of discussions and lectures by representatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations, media representatives, travellers around this country and the Afghans themselves. The cultural program is complemented by music, dance and recitation performances. The festive atmosphere of the meeting is enhanced by typical Afghan attire. Program of the Novruz finishes with a tasting of Afghan specialties. On this occasion, some typical dishes appear on the tables, such as palao – rice flavoured with carrots, raisins and almonds, sabzi, the basic ingredient of which is spinach, specialty sweets dzelabhi, lamb or chabli kabab – roasted meat.

The integration of Afghans is made easier by their knowledge of world languages and a very good knowledge of Slovak language, as they studied at Slovak univer-

15 Prepared according to the data of the Statistical Office – Datacube. TableHC3, Available at: www.statistics.sk.

16 Prepared according to https://www.minv.sk/?statistiky-20.

sities. The Afghans who came to our territory for the purpose of study learnt Slovak language fluently and naturally several years. Rapid improvement was mainly due to daily contact with Slovak classmates or roommates (who were mostly peers at approximately the same age, which allowed them to overcome initial communication and thus language barriers).

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Košice and Problems of Ethnicity after the Second World War[1]

Štefan Šutaj

Abstract:

The paper deals with changes in the ethnic structure of Košice after the Second World War. The changes were the result of the situation in the ethnic status of population, which adapted to the changing borders and the population claiming to be of Slovak or Hungarian nationality. The changes in ethnicity were also the result of the post-war measures of Czechoslovak authorities, in particular reslovakization, but also the resulting exchange of population between Czechoslovakia and Hungary and the unilateral expulsion of the Hungarian population, which moved to Košice after Vienna Arbitration, based on the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the winning powers.

Keywords:

Košice, changes of ethnic structure of population, history after 1945

Košice has long been a multi-ethnic city where Germans, Slovaks and Hungarians played an important role. In the twentieth century, the emphasis on ethnicity was strengthened in view of the prevailing tendency of creating national states.

Statistical data on previous periods in the history of Košice have been addressed by several Slovak and Hungarian historians, therefore I will not discuss or analyse them in detail. The character of Košice is clear from these works, as well as the fact that the ethnic character of Košice was significantly influenced by migration processes, migration of the population to Košice from both near and far. Bilingualism of population and adaptation to political conditions in relation to changing borders and the affiliation of Košice to existing state units also played by an important role. When reporting ethnicity, population adapted to the required ethnicity. This played an important role in the development of the ethnic character of the city in the second half of the 20th century.[2] We will therefore focus on the specifics of the post-war period.

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1 The paper was created within project APVV-15-0745 *Tendencies of development of ethnic relation in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020).*

2 ŠALAMON, Pavol. Demografický vývoj Košíc v rokoch 1848 – 1870. In *Slovenská archivistika,* 1991, roč. 26, č. 1, s. 56-77; REGINÁČOVÁ, Nikola. Causes of Population Growth and Decline in Košice the 19th Century: A Historical and Demographic Analysis. In *Studia historyczne,* 2013, Vol. LVI, no. 4 (224), pp. 453-469; ŠALAMON, Pavol. Demografický vývoj Košíc v rokoch 1870 – 1918. In *Slovenská archivistika,* 1991, roč. 26, č. 2, s. 44-61; HENSCHEL, Frank. Religions and

It should be noted that in 1918 or 1919 Košice was incorporated into the Czechoslovak Republic against the will of a large part of the population claiming Hungarian nationality. Nevertheless, a part of political elites from Hungarian minority, thanks to the character of the interwar war republic, found their place in the administration and management of the city. Even after the city was taken over by Hungarian administration after the Vienna Arbitration, there was *„considerable personnel continuity"*.[3] In 1938, Košice and its surroundings, together with Slovak municipalities, were attached to Hungary on the basis of Vienna Arbitration of 2 November 1938. The way in which the integration of the territory of southern Slovakia into Hungary took place and how a part of the Slovak population had to leave this territory has remained in the minds of Slovaks as one of the injustices of the past.[4]

After the end of World War II, the scheme of personnel continuity in the city administration no longer existed. The elites who worked with the Horthy and Szálasi administration escaped from the city, were dismissed from the city's services and, in many cases, brought before the popular courts. The employees of the city of Košice, who came to Košice after November 2, 1938 from the Post-Trianon Hungarian territory, were dismissed from service on 28 February 1945 without any severance. However, they had the opportunity to apply for continuance or reappointment into service.[5]

For Košice, liberation by the Soviet army in January 1945 represented not only an escape from the repression of the authoritarian regime, but also a return from Hungary to Czechoslovakia. The last months of Košice in royal Hungary, after the coup and deposition of Miklos Horthy in October 1944, were marked by terror. In Košice, these repressions were organized by the district administrator Gabriel Gyarmathy, the city's head of the Arrow Cross Party, László Darabos, the Chief of the Secret Police Varholy and others. The result of their activities in Košice and its surroundings were the deportations of Jews to concentration camps, more than 500 people were murdered in Košice, many people were taken to Germany for forced labour. On January 5, 1945, 12 people were

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3 SZEGHY-GAYER, Veronika. Personálna kontinuita politickej elity v Košiciach po Viedenskej arbitráži. In *Forum historiae,* 2018, roč. 12, č. 1, s. 129-140.

4 ZEĽOVÁ, Alena – BAČOVÁ, Viera – ŠUTAJ, Štefan – VÝROST, Jozef. *Interpretácia slovensko-maďarských vzťahov v súvislosti s vybranými etnickými a sociálnopsychologickými charakteristikami (výsledky na súbore učiteľov).* Košice: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1992; ZEĽOVÁ, Alena et al. *Minoritné etnické spoločenstvá na Slovensku v procesoch spoločenských premien.* Bratislava: Veda, 1994.

5 The Košice City Archives (next KCA) Zápisnica Správnej komisie mesta Košice z 8. 3. 1945. Due to the bilingual environment and knowledge of Hungarian language, even administrative disputes were presented as ethnic disputes in the post-war period. At the office of the National Commitee of Košice, on 13 November 1946 appeared leaflets that demanded cleansing of the office from *„Hungarian elements" Východoslovenská pravda,* roč. 2, č. 261, 14. 11. 1946. Bude očista MNV v Košiciach?

publicly hanged on trees and lampposts on today's Main Street, and on January 17, 1945, 17 people were shot by the Ťahanovce Tunnel.[6]

After the liberation, the city was not administered by the national committee, as was common in Slovak towns, but by the administration committee, as in municipalities and towns with a predominance of Hungarian or German nationality. First, the Revolutionary National Committee of the City of Košice, led by Štefan Kaifer, was established, who took charge over the city on 23 January 1945. He was confirmed to be in charge the Commissioning of the Slovak National Council for the Interior on 8 February 1945. Later, a 7-member Administration Committee of the City of Košice (ACCK) was created, headed by Š. Kaifer. The first meeting on 19 February 1945 was attended by the Chairman: Š. Kaifer, Vice-chairman Július Maurer. Members: Pavol Drocar, Anton Harčar, Jan Herha, František Bajus, Štefan Sendek.[7] Štefan Kaifer later left for the Ministry of Justice and communist J. Maurer became the new chairman of the ACCK on 9 May 1945. ACCK finished on 22 August 1945 and at the same time a national committee chaired by J. Maurer was elected. Even in communist circles, J. Maurer was criticized for his pro-Hungarian views and organizational inability. They attributed this to the loss of communist positions in favour of active politics of the Democratic Party (DP) in Košice.[8]

In the Communist Party, the expected pro-national policy supported by the rebel leadership of the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS)[9] transformed into a line manifested in urban life in Košice. In the CPS ranks there was a group of party members and unionists who were brought up in a Hungarian family environment and tended towards Hungarian language and were described by the CPS representatives as "lukewarm Slovaks".[10] There were people with Hungarian mother tongue leading unions, enterprises, women's union. Negotiations of the union movement in Košice brewery were conducted both in Slovak and Hungarian. For these groups, Slovakism was not the aim, but a means of success. At a meeting of regional and district secretaries of the CPS in Bratislava on 28 December 1945, Košice deputy J. Kytka said: *"It is a quite difficult work, as the old comrades are mostly of Hungarian nationality and new members have not yet been recruited. The cadre is made up of these old members. However, they do*

6 ŠUTAJ, Štefan et. al. *Kľúče k dejinám Košíc.* Košice – Prešov: Universum, 2009, p. 72.

7 KCA, Zápisnica zo zasadania Správnej komisie mesta Košice, 19. 2. 1945.

8 The Slovak National Archive (next SNA) Bratislava, fund (next f.) ÚV KSS, Generálny tajomník, carton No. (next. c.) 2185, č. 344 Information from 17 November 1945 (probably written by Andrej Kaboš) *"The situation among the youth in Košice is dismal. The Slovak Youth Union organizes street nationalist disturbances of guardist kind. The Slovak Union of Women is led by a Hungarian, who was also delegated by the party to the National Committee. Membership is disoriented, nervous. Personal responsibility for the development of the situation in Košice rests with Comrade J. Maurer, as chairman of the National Committee of Košice, and at the same time the regional party secretary and a member of the Temporary National Assembly."*

9 At an extended session of the CPS Presidency on 16 June 1945, one of the resolutions spoke about the "de-Hungarianization" of the returned cities, including Košice. SNA Bratislava, f. ÚV KSS, 03, a. j. 12, 1945. Zápis z rokovania rozšíreného Predsedníctva KSS 16. 6. 1945.

10 *Demokrat,* roč. 1, 1. 12. 1945, č. 126. Ešte raz košický pivovar.

not understand the party's line and consider it chauvinistic.[11] Radical anti-Hungarian sentiments dominated mainly among the resistance fighters, who mostly did not come from Košice and its surroundings. At the manifestation of the Union of Slovak Partisans in Košice on 13 May 1945, which was called *„due to the cleansing of Košice and the Slovak character" of the city, Lieutenant Suchý talked about how the Hungarians abused the democratic situation in the Czechoslovak Republic and concluded: Because eventually, whether the Hungarian was red, black or green, each one only dreamed of the restoration of Nagymagyarország."*[12]

Leftist groups of Hungarian nationality sought to return to politics, especially in the first period after the war. In fact, they only succeeded to a small extent, only when they claimed Slovak nationality.[13]

Leftist groups of Hungarian nationality sought to return to politics, especially in the first period after the war. In fact, they only succeeded to a small extent, only when they claimed Slovak nationality. They tried to eliminate Slovaks working in the Party of Slovak National Unity (PSNU). They blamed them for collaboration with the Slovak State and they were repressing this group of Slovaks. This resulted in their detention and, in part, their transport to the Soviet Union.

From 23 January 1945, PSNU leaders in Košice (Július Grobon, Ladislav Štofko, Anton Harčar, Michal Potemra, as well as editors of *Slovenská jednota* Ladislav Saučin, A. Berta, František Mondík) were detained by People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs

units and were released only after the intervention of the Slovak National Council (SNC) Delegation for liberated territory. J. Grobon and F. Mondík had already been transported to Dombas. F. Mondík died in the Soviet Union and J. Grobon died after returning from prison.[14] Even in later political struggles, this group, whose representative was primarily the commissioner for health and the vice-president of the *Constituent National Assembly (CNA)* Emanuel Böhm became subject to political attacks by the communists.[15]

Since its foundation, Košice has been one of the most important cities in all state departments to which it belonged. The geopolitical situation at the end of the Second World War predestined it to become the centre of the renewing Czechoslovakia. Here, following the events of the previous development, the real foundations of the new society, the

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11 SNA Bratislava, f. ÚV KSS, Generálny tajomník, č. 68, 1945. Zápisnica z porady oblastných a okresných tajomníkov KSS z 28. 12. 1945.

12 *Demokrat,* roč. 1, č. 33, 15. 5. 1945. Za očistu Košíc a za ich slovenský ráz.

13 It was only in 1947, when the first signals of a change in policy towards Hungarian minority began to appear. The Regional Committee of the CPS in Košice *"took the first steps towards a certain involvement of Hungarian nationals in political life."* BAJCURA, Ivan. KSČ a riešenie národnostnej otázky na východnom Slovensku. In BRIŠKÁR, Juraj (Ed.). *KSČ na východnom Slovensku.* Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1971, s. 238-239.

14 *Národná obroda*, 19. 1. 1995, s. 10; HARČAR, Anton. Ako vkročila do okupovaných Košíc v štyridsiatom piatom sloboda; ŠUTAJ, Štefan. *Občianske politické strany na Slovensku.* Bratislava: Veda, 1999.

15 More detail: ŠUTAJ, Štefan. *Emanuel Böhm a Jozef Styk – Košičania z Turca a Oravy. Rivali a spolupracovníci v slovenskej politike (1945 – 1948).* Košice: ŠafárikPress, 2018, 193 s.

political and economic system of the new republic were formed. Basic organizational structures of political parties were formed. Košice, as the seat of the President, the Czechoslovak Government and Slovak national authorities, the SNC and the Assembly of Commissioners (AC), made a special contribution to this period, by its atmosphere and conditions – both material and personnel. Here the basic conceptual questions of the state were addressed, and topics of the character of the state and society were raised.

Ethnic development of Košice in the post-war period was influenced by several factors. The consequences of the war development, including changes in the ethnic structure of Košice during their attachment to Hungary, were also reflected in the city administration. The propaganda very often emphasized the "legacy" of President Beneš, from his first address of the inhabitants of Košice. With regard to the principles of building a new state, he said: *"This is also true of its relationship with other nations, and especially those Germans and Hungarians who were its political partners before the war. After this war, this is no longer possible. Our state will be a national state, a state of only Czechs and Slovaks and no one else."*[16] This political directive was emphasized by political parties and new Košice elites on various occasions.

Similarly as during the changes of borders in previous periods, Košice significantly changed the ethnic structure, although the movement of population itself was not great. The post-war period was specific in that the actions aimed at changing ethnic identity were organized by the state. To this end, appropriate legislation was developed from the outset. On the basis of the decision of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council, in Košice on 1 March 1945, the Commissioner of the Interior, before the arrival of the President, issued a call for emergency measures. The security authorities should have paid *„particular attention to the search for fascist spy and saboteur elements"*. *„Dangerous and suspicious people of German and Hungarian nationality"* were to be evicted from the city district if they participated in the activities of fascist organisations who were acting against the Red Army, the state interests of Czechoslovakia and Slovak national interests. Those against whom evidence could be collected were to be imprisoned. The evictions were to be made to municipalities in the territory of Czechoslovakia. The evicted persons were given a period of 24 hours to prepare for departure. They could only take what they could carry. In the case of elderly and sick people, or for economic reasons, it was possible to allow a postponement of eviction for 30 days. At the end there was a warning that the action *„must be done in a decent and humane way and we will prosecute any misdemeanours of security authorities"*.[17]

The formation of minority policy, especially towards the Hungarians, underwent a turbulent development in the period of the SNC in Košice. Modification of uprisers' solution to minority issue based on punishment of those who were guilty and *„rooting out the influence of Germans and Hungarians and their Slovak helpers"* presented in the SNC Manifesto of 4 February 1945 on the Beneš model of creation of national state of Czechs and Slovaks (the Košice Government Program) was constructed in the dis-

16 *Demokrat,* roč. 1, č. 14, 4. 4. 1945. Áno, začíname ozaj nový život. Prejav E. Beneša.
17 SNA Bratislava, f. Povereníctvo vnútra, inv. č. 16, c. 1. Mimoriadne opatrenia v Košiciach.

cussions of the Košice period and transformed into the later legislative form of the presidential decrees and regulations of the SNC.

In an interview for the press, the delegate of the London government on the liberated territory František Němec said that the nations living in this territory can only count on those who stood up for the Czechoslovak Republic. *"All the others who participated in the destruction of our state must bear the consequences. It is often forgotten that in many ways, the Hungarians were doing the same, if not worse, as the Germans."*[18] His statement for *Demokrat* newspaper, despite his weakened position on the liberated territory, may be considered representative from the point of view of Slovak and Czech elites. *"The territories occupied by Hungarians, especially Košice, must be Slovak. Those who disagree with this opinion must count expect consequences,"*[19] emphasized *Demokrat*.

War and post-war atmosphere also influenced relations in the city. The reaction to the monopolization of power by the Hungarians in the years 1938 – 1945 were increased manifestations of anti-Hungarian nationalism, which took various forms. This line went across the existing political spectrum. The *Demokrat* daily newspaper of the Democratic Party (DP) wrote: *"... whether the Košice Hungarians like it or not, Slovaks the masters here... and we shall repeat the slogan with which they went to the streets on the day of victory: who does not want to speak in Slovak should shut up.*[20] There were reports in the press about foreign character of Košice, boards saying *"Speak Slovak"* appeared in shops and restaurants, characterizing the period.[21]

While Slovak national policy seeking to resolve the Hungarian issue by displacement of Hungarians from the Republic was a uniformly declared policy in national politics, at the regional policy level both sides were blamed for pro-Hungarian policy (DP was mainly accused of protecting rich landowners from land reform, while the Communists we blamed of pro-Hungarian policy at the local level, supporting the communists and leftists of Hungarian nationality). This national aspect was very obvious in Košice environment.

In this context, especially in the local press as well as in Košice's "background", there were later mentions of "Košice nationality", which, for some, was supposed to be a "solution" of unclear ethnic status, for others an example of national lukewarmness and calculation. The DP newspaper published in Prešov wrote about it maliciously. *"Behold, these are the people of Košice. This is the Košice nationality. Once they are Slovak, another time they are Hungarian. According to circumstances and need. Thus what nationality means for s citizen? ... Nationality is the holy thing for a member of a nation that cannot be changed according to situation and benefits. Who has Slovak roots will remain Slovak even if he knew Hungarian better than a genuine Arpád person. If you are Slovak, declare being Slovak. And then respect your family, your language, which is at least as beautiful as the one that sounds so strange from your mouth. But if you are Hungarian, do not be ashamed of your nation, your nationality, for your mother*

18 *Demokrat,* roč. 1, č. 1, 4. 3. 1945, s. 1. Slováci spoločne s Čechmi.
19 *Demokrat,* roč. 1, č. 1, 4. 3. 1945, s. 1. Slováci spoločne s Čechmi.
20 *Demokrat*, roč. 1, č. 43, 7. 6. 1945. V jednote je sila.
21 *Ozvena,* roč. 2, č. 37, 14. 9. 1947. Hovorte po slovensky.

awaits you with open arms"[22] After the end of World War II, a prominent representative of the Communist Party Gustáv Husák wrote: *"There will be no minority rights. Košice nationality does not exist "*.[23]

Political leaders also realized that nationally oriented actions, which ultimately put pressure on an unnatural change of ethnicity, were not a cure for achieving Slovak character of the territory of Slovakia and Košice. Despite all the actions mentioned in this article, the realistic character of Košice was presented by Karol Folta, a representative of the Freedom Party at that time (later a political prisoner sentenced to death for espionage, his penalty was changed to life sentence by K. Gottwald)[24]: *The problem of slovakization of Košice does not seem to be resolved even after the expulsion of Hungarians. ... We are building a national state of Czechs and Slovaks, relocating Germans and Hungarians and it is not appropriate for us to have Hungarian and German-speaking Slovaks in Košice. And in Košice, there is precarious behaviour not only of Hungarians who should have long been behind the borders, but also some Pean re-slovakizants and repatriants."*[25]

The change in the ethnic structure of Košice in the post-war period was influenced by several factors, which took the form of organized resettlement of the population, but also of state-organized ethnicity change.

Especially current topic of the period after the end of the war was the issue of the so-called anyási. After the signing of truce between the Allies and Hungary on 20 January 1945, Hungarian nationals who moved to the territory of southern Slovakia after 2 November 1938 were displaced. The term anyási was used in contemporary terminology for these persons. The truce agreement stated that Hungary had stopped the war against the Soviet Union and other United Nations, including Czechoslovakia. In the second article of the agreement, Hungary undertook to withdraw from their occupied territories, including Czechoslovakia, all its troops and officials to the borders of Hungary as of 31 December 1937.[26] In the view of Slovak political representation, anyasi symbolised the hungarisation of the south of Slovakia, territorial changes and demands from Hungary. Hungarian nationals who moved to southern Slovakia after the Vienna Arbitration were evicted, their property confiscated and put under national administration. According to archives, by 1 July 1945, 31,780 Hungarians who had migrated to southern Slovakia after 1938 had been displaced from southern Slovakia.[27] This group of people of Hungarian nationality never had Czechoslovakian citizenship and was the only one that Czechoslovak state authorities moved out of the territory of

22 *Ozvena,* roč. 1, č. 11, 10. 3. 1946. Koľko raz možno prevrátiť kabát.

23 *Východoslovenská pravda*, roč. 2, č. 240, 18. 10. 1946. Dívame sa s optimizmom na východ.

24 PEJČOCH, Ivo. *Gottwaldovy milosti. Tresty smrti změněné milostí prezidenta republiky v období úřadu Klementa Gottwalda 1948 – 1983.* Cheb: Svět křídel, 2017, s. 116-117.

25 *Sloboda,* roč. 1, č. 87, 6. 8. 1946. Boj o Košice.

26 SNA Bratislava, f. Úrad Predsedníctva Slovenskej národnej rady (ÚP SNR), inv. č. 247, c. 284. Dohoda o prímerí s Maďarskom.

27 BALOGH, Sándor. *A népi demokratikus Magyarország külpolitikája 1945-1947.* Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1982, s. 131; ZVARA, Juraj. *Maďarská menšina na Slovensku po roku 1945.* Bratislava: Epocha, 1969, s. 56.

Slovakia without compromise, with a few exceptions (in 1948, 539 such inhabitants were detected in 31 districts of Slovakia) .[28]

Until June 1945, 3,483 Hungarian-Anyás were evicted from Eastern Slovakia, of which 1,833 were from Košice. Political perceived them as a strange element and tried to get rid them as they were the people who symbolized the Hungarian occupation of Košice. An explanation of their eviction in propaganda can be illustrated by an article from the period press. *"We do not want to Hungarize people who have come to us since 1938, and therefore we return them in genuine form to their country of choice. That is the big difference between us and the Hungarians."*[29] Perhaps it should be added that, similarly as the Hungarians did in 1938, part of these people was transported across the borders only with what they could carry.

In its second issue, *Demokrat* brought an article that pointed out the justification of the eviction of anyases from Košice. According to the newspaper, Slovaks *„do not want anything else, just for them to come back to where they came from"*.[30] The Administrative Commission in Košice verified the activity of each anyás and by 8 March released 20 anyáses from the services of the city. The reasoning was as follows: *"The Administrative Commission merely informed them that it did not reflect on their future services. This is in line with the issue of the duration of the Czechoslovak Republic. In legal and state terms, the Czechoslovak Republic never ceased to exist, and what happened in the occupied territory by the Hungarians after 1938 was illegal and invalid. Therefore, the Administrative Commission of the City of Košice could not dismiss Anyases, because they were never hired under the laws and regulations of Czechoslovakia to the employees of the City of Košice"*[31]

This interpretation from early March is interesting with regard to the perception of continuity of Czechoslovakia, which was the reasoning for dismissal of Anyases from their offices.

The grossest form of anti-Hungarian chauvinism were the actions of pseudo-revolutionary individuals and adventurers who used the post-war situation, including actions against Hungarian nationals and Anyases in the city, to persecute the civilian population, loot and terrorize. There were various militias operating individually to ensure "order". The adventurers benefited from the post-war situation and exploited the possibilities and conditions for plundering, enriching and persecuting the affected groups of the population. The best-known case in Košice was the case of Cpt. Of National Security (NS) 2 Josef Mlynský, who was under the protection of communist officials.[32]

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28 State archives of Košice (SA Košice),department Trebišov, f. ONV Kráľovský Chlmec, č. 39/48 prez.

29 *Demokrat,* roč. 1., č. 2, 7. 3. 1945, s. 2. Zachraňujeme iba slovenskosť Košíc.

30 *Demokrat,* roč. 1., č. 2, 7. 3. 1945, s. 2. Zachraňujeme iba slovenskosť Košíc.

31 *Demokrat,* roč. 1, č. 3, 9. 3. 1945, s. 3. Zo služieb mesta odišlo 20 aňášov.

32 Mentioned in LETZ, Róbert. *Slovensko v rokoch 1945 – 1948. Na ceste ku komunistickej totalite.* Bratislava: Ústredie slovenskej katolíckej inteligencie, 1994, s. 112; Speech of the deputy for DP Július Kukliš at the plenary of the SNR. Stenografický záznam o priebehu 4. zasadania pléna SNR 28. – 29. 11. 1946 http://www.psp.cz/eknih/1946snr/stenprot/004schuz/s004009.htm [180910] and also HLAVÁČ, Štefan. *Po priamych cestách.* Trnava: Spolok sv. Vojtecha, 1990, s. 222. J. Mlynský

His criminal case was brought before a military court on 17 October 1947. According to the findings, his NS units were conducting searches at Germans' and Hungarians' and stole from them in the period between May and August 1945.[33]

Other events that influenced the ethnic composition of the population of Košice included the exchange of inhabitants on the basis of the inter-state agreement between Czechoslovakia and Hungary of 27 February 1946.[34] Although the Agreement on the Exchange of Population between Czechoslovakia and Hungary was signed on 27 February 1946, the exchange itself was postponed. This was mainly due to the Hungarian side's efforts to prevent population exchange, anticipated results of the 1946 Paris Conference, tactics on both sides, which resulted in the Czechoslovak forced relocation of Hungarians to Bohemia and the subsequent halting of population exchange. All this was influenced by various forms of propaganda on both sides of the border.[35] After complicated negotiations, a real, "reciprocal" population exchange began in April 1947.[36] It is difficult to find exact results on the number of people displaced from Košice in a population exchange. The situation is complicated by the lack of records and inaccessibility of the archives of the Settlement Office.[37]

Also, data obtained from regional sources are partial and may not be correct. In addition, when it comes to information on transports, the place of boarding (where the

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was already in 1947 was employed in the company „PARTKO – Ústredné družstvo Zväzu partizánov". (The Central Cooperative of the Association of Partisans)

33 On trial were cpt. Jozef Vladimír Műller-Mlynský, clerk of National Security Karol Jamriška and sergeant NS Ľ. Horák. *Čas,* roč. 4, č. 240, 19. 10. 1947, s. 1-2. Súdy donucujú skladať účty z revolučných prechmatov; SA Košice, department Košice, f. Krajský súd Košice, tk, 1946, c. 504, sig. 255. Zápisnica spísaná 18. 9. 1947.

34 SNA Bratislava, f. ÚV KSS, Generálny tajomník Š. Bašťovanský, č. 522, Správa Osídľovacieho úradu o ukončení výmeny obyvateľstva medzi ČSR a Maďarskom. According to Article V. of the Agreement, a population that was equal to the number of persons of Slovak and Czech nationality, who applied to move from Hungary to Czechoslovakia was to be relocated from the territory of Czechoslovakia to Hungary. Pursuant to Article VIII. of the Agreements persons of Hungarian nationality who committed crimes, the so-called big war offenders under Sections 1-4 of Regulation No. 33/1945 Coll. SNC of 13 May 1945 and pursuant to Section 5 of this Regulation small war offenders were to be unilaterally moved to Hungary. The number of these persons was not to exceed a thousand. Slovaks from Hungary could voluntarily apply for exchange of population. Hungarians from Slovakia were determined for exchange by state authorities of Czechoslovakia.

35 HELDÁKOVÁ, Lucia. Propagačná kampaň výmeny obyvateľstva medzi Československom a Maďarskom prostredníctvom fotografie (na príklade časopisu Sloboda) In ŽILÁKOVÁ, Mária – DEMMEL, József (Eds.). *„Mať volá?" Výmena obyvateľstva medzi Československom a Maďarskom 1946 – 1948.* Békešská Čaba: Výskumný ústav Slovákov v Maďarsku, 2018, s. 125-146.

36 More detail e. g. ŠUTAJ, Štefan. *Parížska konferencia 1946 a mierová zmluva s Maďarskom.* Prešov: Universum, 2014; ŠUTAJ, Štefan. Magyar minority in Slovakia before and after the Second world war. In TEICH, Mikuláš – KOVÁČ, Dušan – Brown, Martin D. (Ed.). *Slovakia in History.* Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 269-284.

37 TVRDOŇOVÁ, Daniela. Osídľovací úrad pre Slovensko v Bratislave (1945 – 1950). In KVASNICOVÁ, Oľga – MUNKOVÁ, Mária (Eds.). *Verejná správa po roku 1945 v zrkadle archívnych dokumentov.* Bratislava: Spoločnosť slovenských archivárov, 2013, s. 56-89.

transport was coming from) was important for the organiser and not whether there were people directly from Košice or from its near or far surroundings.

The selection of persons for resettlement from Košice was carried out by the Regional Office of the Settlement Office in Košice, for the whole Slovakia Settlement Office in Bratislava. On August 26, 1946, the list of persons of Hungarian nationality intended for displacement from Czechoslovakia was handed over officially to the Hungarian Government, which also began to apply consular protection to those persons who were accepted as persons of Hungarian nationality.

Data on persons designated for the exchange of population differ as well. According to sources from the Hungarian Resettlement Commission, getting data from the list submitted by Czechoslovak officials on 26 August 1946, 2,832 persons were sent from Košice and its surroundings for the exchange of population under Article V, and 2,033 persons were listed in the list of war delinquents according to § 5 it was 372 persons.[38]

Overall, according to this source, 5,237 persons were designated for exchange from Košice, of which 2,832 were designated for reciprocal exchange pursuant to Art. V of the Agreement and 2,405 persons under Art. VIII of the Agreement.

According to the *Statistics of persons of Hungarian nationality designated for the exchange of population,*[39] 2,025 persons, owning 525 houses, constituting 816 economic units, were designated for the exchange of population from Košice under Article V of the Agreement. They owned 7 agricultural plants, 200 small business and 525 other factories. Pursuant to Article VIII. of the Agreement, 1,288 persons, constituting 689 business units and owning 193 houses, 179 agricultural plants, 159 small businesses and 351 other plants were listed for the exchange of the *"accused"* under §§ 1-4 of SNC Regulation No. 33. According to § 5, there were 92 *"convicted"*[40] persons who, according to this report, did neither own any houses nor constitute separate economic units (e. u.).[41] In total, according to this source, 3,405 persons were designated for exchange from Košice, of which 2,025 were reciprocal exchanges from Košice and 1,380 persons were displaced as war delinquents.

However, there are other sources that provide different data. In the materials of the Regional Office of the Settlement Office in Košice, there is a file called *the Hungarians*, which contains a general overview of the District Office in Košice about proposals for population exchange.[42]

38 POPÉLY, Árpád. Výmena obyvateľstva medzi Československom a Maďarskom a menné zoznamy Maďarov určených na presídlenie. In *Človek a spoločnosť*, roč. 12, č. 1, 2009, dostupné na http://www.saske.sk/cas/public/media/5850/200901_05_popely.pdf [180910]

39 SA Košice, department Košice, f. Oblastná úradovňa Osídľovacieho úradu (OÚOÚ) Košice, c. 5. Štatistika osôb maďarskej národnosti určených na odsun podľa dohody medzi republikou maďarskou a Československom.

40 It is unclear whether in one case they were accused and in the other they were convicted, the official who drafted this table was not aware of the difference between the two concepts.

41 SA Košice, department Košice, f. OÚOÚ Košice, c. 3. Zoznam reemigrantov z Maďarska, došlých legálnym spôsobom.

42 SA Košice, department Košice, f OÚOÚ Košice, c. 3. Celkový prehľad OÚ v Košiciach.

It provides the following data:

- Proposals for population exchange: 734 e. u.); number of persons: 1,559;
- Accused: 568 e.u.; persons 1,456;
- Intellectuals: 65 e.u.; persons 151;
- Total: 1,367 e. u.; persons 3,183.

Information on persons bound for resettlement gives us data on intentions, but not on the real results of population exchange. The exchange of population between Czechoslovakia and Hungary was not fully performed and already during its course, a part of population was excluded from the lists for various reasons. These include ethnic, family, political, interventions of various personalities and influential social groups, as well as corruption or other reasons that deserve special research and attention. Even before the real commencement of the exchange, Bishop Jozef Čársky expressed his concerns about the resettlement. *"Now they are going to confiscate the property and expel from the territory of the state the women who were in Hungarian costume at the welcoming celebration of Horthy and the people who were members of the then allowed Hungarian party. For the bishop it is ... an awkward situation when he can't help them"*.[43] Košice archives also contain lists of persons to be exchanged from Košice in August 1946, which became 'irrelevant' in relation to the exchange of population.[44]

Another source of information may be data on transports from official sources of the offices that carried out the exchange and information from the press, which paid great attention to the exchange of population. According to the transport scheme, Košice exchanged transports with the following cities: Budapest 11 transports; Miskolc 2 transports; Sátoraljaujhely 9 transports and Forró 2 transports. A total of 24 transports.[45]

In the period from 11 April to 22 December 1948, 12 transports arrived in Košice from Hungary, 2 trains transporting 270 economic units (families) and 970 persons were resettled.[46] At the same time, 16 transports and 38 trains with 405 e.u. consisting of 1,511 people left Košice or Kraľovský Chlmec.[47] Information about the departure of transports from Košice is not clear. Košice *Demokrat* wrote that the first transport of Hungarians to Hungary left Košice on 7 July 1947. According to this report, 84 people, mostly freelancers and traders, were in the transport. Ten days later, other articles were

43 Archives of the Greek Catholic Bishopric Prešov, f. Gréckokatolícke biskupstvo, prezidiálne spisy 1949, č. 29/1949 prez. List J. Čárskeho z 1. 8. 1946 Pavlovi Gojdičovi.

44 ŠA Košice, pobočka Košice, f OÚOÚ Košice, Doplnok, c. 2.

45 Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic Prague (AMZV ČR), f. Generálny sekretariát Jana Masaryka a Vladimíra Clementisa (GS-A), c. 170.

46 National Archives Praque (next NA Prague), f. Úrad predsedníctva vlády (ÚPV), k. 1112 Číselný výkaz odsunu osôb maďarskej národnosti združenými transportmi. However, these reports include neither persons who arrived before signing the agreement nor persons resettled in one-way transports in the second half of 1946. In this case, we do not even know whether they were settled in or around Košice.

47 NA Prague f. ÚPV, c. 1112. Číselný výkaz odsunu osôb maďarskej národnosti združenými transportmi. It does not mean, however, that they were all from Kosice, moreover, in the common table are also transports and trains leaving from Kráľovský Chlmec.

published in the press announcing that the first Hungarian transports were leaving Košice. According to them, the first transport left Košice on 17 July 1947. The first part left in 67 railcars, with 23 families and 67 people. On Friday, 18 July 1947, the second part of transport left, with 16 families and 48 people. According to this information, 39 families and 115 inhabitants of Košice left in the first transport. They were mostly families of traders and craftsmen.[48]

Registration of persons who came to Košice as part of the exchange of population is also problematic. The first group of unilaterally resettled persons of intellectuals and socially disadvantaged people came to Košice in mid-1946. On 14 October 1946, a "further" group of Slovaks came from Hungary from Nyiregyháza and Debrecen in the number of 118 persons.[49] As of 30 November 1946, the district headquarters of NS I in Košice processed a list of legal re-emigrants from Hungary.[50] It is a list of 122 people who were settled in Košice. The arrival time of these people is interesting. This was a period when reciprocal population exchange had not yet taken place. After mutual agreement on the basis of the Mixed Czechoslovak-Hungarian Commission for the Exchange of Population,[51] groups of socially disadvantaged population were unilaterally moved to Czechoslovak territory. After the negotiations of the Paris Conference and the deportation of Hungarians to the Czech Republic as part of the "recruitment" of workforce to the Czech Republic, the Hungarian government stopped unilateral transports.[52] According to the list of 167 re-emigrants from Hungary from the Košice archives, it can be concluded that the arrival of re-migrants continued unorganized in the following period. The list contains the names of the persons, the place and time of their arrival in Slovakia, which confirms that at the end of October and the beginning of November other Slovaks arrived from Hungary to Košice, although this was probably not in officially organized transports.[53]

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48 *Čas,* roč. 4, č. 164, 20. 7. 1947. Odsun Maďarov z Košíc; This report was also published by *Demokrat,* roč. 3, č. 163, 19. 7. 1947. Z Košíc sa dosiaľ odsunulo 39 maďarských rodín. *Demokrat,* roč. 3, č. 153, 8. 7. 1947. Maďari z Košíc odchádzajú. *Demokrat,* roč. 3, č. 154, 9. 7. 1947. Odišiel prvý transport Maďarov z Košíc.

49 *Hlas ľudu,* roč. 2, č. 233, 17. 10. 1946. Ďalší Slováci z Maďarska v Košiciach.

50 SA Košice, department Košice, f. OÚOÚ Košice, c. 5. Štatistika osôb maďarskej národnosti určených na odsun podľa dohody medzi republikou Maďarskou a Československom.

51 KACEROVÁ, Barbara. Československo-maďarská zmiešaná komisia pre výmenu obyvateľstva. In Žiláková, M. – Demmel, J. (Eds.). *„Mať volá?" Výmena obyvateľstva...,* s. 99-124.

52 ŠUTAJ, Štefan. Rokovania medzi Československom a Maďarskom o výmene obyvateľstva v období od ukončenia mierovej konferencie v Paríži do podpisu mierovej zmluvy. In Petruf, Pavol a kol. *Slovensko a Československo v XX. storočí: vybrané kapitoly z dejín vnútornej i zahraničnej politiky: k 70. narodeninám PhDr. Dagmar Čiernej-Lantayovej, DrSc.* Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV vo vydavateľstve Typoset print, 2010. s. 203-225; ŠUTAJ, Štefan. Výmena obyvateľstva medzi Československom a Maďarskom a Parížska mierová konferencia. In Klimko, Jozef – Michálek, Slavomír a kol. *Mierové zmluvy v kontexte geopolitiky 20. a 21. storočia.* Bratislava: Paneurópska vysoká škola a Historický ústav SAV, 2013, s. 220-243; ŠUTAJ, Štefan. Rokovania o mieri s Maďarskom a ich vplyv na postavenie maďarskej menšiny na Slovensku. In *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Iuridica*, 2013, č. 1. s. 277-299;

53 SA Košice, department Košice, f. OÚOÚ Košice, c. 3. Zoznam reemigrantov došlých transportom z Maďarska.

In the case of persons intended for exchange of population, it is necessary to pay particular attention to the category of war offenders who were to be included in the exchange under Art. VIII.[54] Central, currently available registers, state that in the lists of persons of Hungarian nationality designated for exchange of population according to Art. VIII of the Agreement, in Košice,[55] under §§ 1-4 Regulation of SNC from 1945, 41 economic with 63 persons and pursuant to § 5 of the Regulation, 46 economic units with 151 persons, were notified. According to the data, 21 e.u. and 30 persons convicted under Sections 1-4 of the Regulation and 6 e.u. and 15 persons according to Section 5 of the Regulation were actually displaced. 20 h. and 33 persons convicted under Sections 1-4 of the Regulation and 40 e.u. and 136 persons under Section 5 of the Regulation. According to the lists available at the Justice Authority, in Košice there were 37 economic units with 59 persons in the list of offenders under Sections 1-4, and, according to Sections 5, 49 were economic units with 162 persons.[56] Statistical overview of convicted Hungarians by Reg. No. 33/1945 in Košice from the funds of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Masaryk and the State Secretary of the Ministry Vladimír Clementis contain slightly different data.[57] Although these data differ slightly, they point to differences between the intention to displace around 1,300 persons of Hungarian nationality from Košice as war-offenders, by notifying about 200 persons to be displaced actually displacing about 40 persons between 1947 and 1948. The displacement of war offenders was complicated by the fact that the Czechoslovak and Hungarian parties did not agree on how many persons should be displaced within Art. VIII. Czechoslovakia assumed that it could displace all war offenders under Sections 1-4 of Regulation of SNC No. 33 and 1,000 further offenders under § 5 of this Regulation. The Hungarian side interpreted this article as saying that, according to all the articles, 1,000 offenders could be displaced, irrespective of the paragraph under which they were sentenced. It was only on the basis of the Okáli-Heltay agreement that from 15 September 1948,

54 AMZV ČR, f. GS-A, c. 169. Štatistický prehľad odsúdených Maďarov presídlených podľa čl. VIII Dohody. In total, 22,278 persons were tried in Slovakia before the National Court and People's Courts until 31 December 1948. The judgment was handed down in 8,962 cases (40.23 % of the number of defendants) and 13,316 were acquitted. A total of 14,246 persons of Hungarian nationality were brought before the national courts, of which 34.7 % were convicted. The most frequently imposed sentences were imprisonment up to 1 year (36.05 %) and public reprimand (32.31%).

55 NA Prague, f. ÚPV, c. 1112. Štatistický prehľad odsúdených Maďarov podľa nar. SNR č. 33.

56 SNA Bratislava, f. Poveréníctvo spravodlivosti, c. 543. Zoznam presídlencov z Československa do Maďarska.

57 AMZV ČR, f. GS-A, c. 169. Štatistický prehľad odsúdených Maďarov presídlených podľa čl. VIII Agreements in Table No. 1.

Table No 1 Overview of the numbers of resettled war offenders from Košice between 1947 – 1948

Notified				Resettled				not resetlled			
§§ 1 – 4		§ 5		§§ 1 – 4		§ 5		§§ 1 – 4		§ 5	
e.u.	persons	e.u.	persons	e.u.	persons	e.u.	persons	e.u.	persons	e.u.	persons
41	63	46	151	17	26	12	17	20	33	27	45

1,500 war offenders were to be displaced in "D" transports, and the number of displaced people and their family members was not to exceed 5,000. According to data from Katalin Vadkerty, who had access to statistics at the Settlement Office for Slovakia, 89 economic units, with 364 persons were displaced in 19 transports and 11 train sets.[58] However, in the *Overview of Displaced Economic Units* as of 5 February 1949, 67 displaced e.u. are reported. from Košice according to Art. VIII of the Agreement.[59]

Summary statistics of the Settlement Office on population exchange indicated that 16 transports, 32 trainsets with 403 economic units made up of 1,507 persons left from Košice until 20 December 1948. Later, another transport left with 21 e.u. and 38 persons. In total, 404 families (economic units) and 1,545 persons left Košice.[60] According to the same source, 11 transports, one train with 245 e. u. and 894 persons arrived from Hungary to Košice between 11 April 1947 and 11 December 1948.[61]

It is also possible to conclude from these figures that the Slovaks who came from Hungary were poor, while the outgoing Hungarians, who could move their property, needed disproportionately more trainsets.

Another important event, the forced resettlement of Hungarian population to the Czech Republic, did not affect the city of Košice.[62]

The state-organized change of ethnic identity – reslovakization had the most important effect on the ethnic structure of the population of Košice during the post-war period.[63]

The state originally wanted to create conditions for the return to Slovak nationality of those Slovak citizens who were forcibly assimilated (Hungarized) in previous periods. On 17 June 1946, the Authorised Ministry of the Interior also issued a decree on reslovakization, in view of the exchange of population, in order not to resettle these population groups to Hungary.

Following problems with the acceptance of the Reslovakization Commission by the central authorities (Ministry of the Interior), Reslovakization followed the directive of the Minister of the Interior of 1 March 1947 for the implementation of § 1 par. 1 and 2 of the Decree of the President of the Republic of 2 August 1945, as well as Government

58 VADKERTY, Katalin. *Maďarská otázka v Československu 1945 – 1948. Dekréty prezidenta Beneša a ich dôsledky na deportácie a reslovakizáciu.* Bratislava: Kalligram, 2002, pp. 352-354.

59 SNA Bratislava, f. ÚV KSS, GT, 516/6.

60 VADKERTY, Katalin. *Maďarská otázka v Československu 1945 – 1948*..., p. 339, 342.

61 VADKERTY, Katalin. *Maďarská otázka v Československu 1945 – 1948*..., p. 356.

62 More detail: ŠUTAJ, Štefan. *Nútené presídlenie Maďarov zo Slovenska do Čiech. Deportácie obyvateľstva maďarskej národnosti zo Slovenska do Čiech po druhej svetovej vojne.* Prešov: Universum, 2005; ŠUTAJ, Štefan. Slovakia and Hungarians in Slovakia in the Aftermath of World War II, 1945 – 1948. In Suppan, Arnold (Hg.). *Auflösung historischer Konflikte im Donauraum: Festschrift für Ferenc Glatz zum 70. Geburtstag.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2011, p. 619-633.

63 More detail: ŠUTAJ, Štefan. *Reslovakizácia. Zmena národnosti časti obyvateľstva Slovenska po II. svetovej vojne.* Košice: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1991; ŠUTAJ, Štefan – BAČOVÁ, Viera. Reslovakisation. The Changes of Nationality and Ethnic Identity in Historical Development in Slovak-Hungarian Environment. In *Small Nations and Ethnic Minorities in an Emerging Europe.* München: Slavica Verlag dr. Anton Kovač, 1993, pp. 239-243.

Decrees of 21 June 1946 and 9 August 1946. [64] People intended for the exchange of population were also excluded from reslovakization.[65] The Slovaks who lived in the arbitration area (they had their permanent residence there) were not expected to be reslovakized according to the reslovakization directives of 2 April 1946, although they claimed to be of Slovak nationality during the census in 1930.

Also with the data on reslovakization we encounter different data in individual documents. In the city of Košice, 98.7% of those claiming Hungarian nationality in 1930 filed an application for reslovakization.[66] In the initial analysis of reslovakization material, it was assumed that in Košice, out of 12,700 registered persons, there were 3,700 Slovaks (claiming Slovak nationality at any of the previous censuses) and of the remaining 9,000 people, it was expected that about 6,000 people would accept and about 3,000 people would reject.[67] However, reslovakization action took a modified form in which ethnicity was subject to political criteria, ranging from attempting to reslovakize the territory of southern Slovakia to communist class criteria preferring to social classes before ethnicity. As can be seen from the district summaries of the reslovakization action of 9 January 1949, most of the reslovakization applications were accepted. According to this document, 5,793 applications for reslovakization were submitted in the city of Košice, involving 13,573 persons. Slovak "community" language was stated in case of 5,313 applications, in 384 cases it was Slovak and Hungarian language and in 96 cases it was Hungarian language. According to the occupation of the head of the family, there were 2,443 workers, 975 freelancers, 2,279 clerks, 96 domestic workers, no one claimed to peasantry. In 63 families, the heads of the family had Slovak nationality, in 89 families Slovak and Hungarian nationality was found and in 5,641 cases it was Hungarian nationality.[68]

According to the *Numerical Report of Persons registered for Reslovakization* (results according to District Administrative Commissions reports) the following data on the city of Košice were found by the Reslovakization Commission:[69]

- In 1930, 70,117 inhabitants lived in Košice
- Slovaks in Košice in 1930: 42,245 inhabitants (66.0 %)
- Czechoslovak nationals – Hungarians: 11,504 inhabitants (16.41 %)

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64 SNA Bratislava, f. Slovenská liga, c. 7. Právny základ reslovakizácie.

65 SNA Bratislava, f. Predsedníctvo ÚV KSS, a. j. 1, 1950. Správa o reslovakizácii zo 6. januára 1950. Total results: 135,317 applications; concerning 410,20 persons; 362,679 accepted for na reslovakization; 84,141 rejected. 41,269 persons not reported in summaries (they died, left for Hungary...) – there were a total of 452,089 persons interested in reslovakization action as subject of the action.

66 SNA Bratislava, f. ÚV KSS, GT, bez čísla, Poznámky k vývinu a stavu obyvateľstva južného Slovenska.

67 SNA Bratislava, f. Reslovakizačná komisia, c. 51 Výkaz o pravdepodobnom počte osôb, ktoré bude Ústredná reslovakizačná komisia akceptovať.

68 SNA Bratislava, f. Slovenská liga, c. 7. Okresné sumáre výsledkov štatistického spracovania reslovakizačnej akcie k 9. 1. 1949.

69 SNA Bratislava, f. Reslovakizačná komisia, c. 49. Početný výkaz osôb prihlásených na reslovakizáciu (výsledky podľa hlásení OSK).

– Hungarians from 1930 registered for reslovakization: 10,377 inhabitants (90.19 %)
– Number of families enrolled for reslovakization: 6,263 families
– Number of applicants in the 1st stage of reslovakization: 12,724
– Total number accepted for reslovakization by 1948: 9,339 inhabitants.

Although, similarly like in case of other actions, the statistics provide us with various data, we can say that the majority of the population of Košice, who in 1930 claimed Slovak nationality, declared Hungarian nationality after the Vienna Arbitration. More inhabitants of Košice applied for reslovakization than declared Hungarian nationality in 1930. It can be assumed that the vast majority of the inhabitants of Košice, who claimed to be Hungarian in 1930, applied for reslovakization. A part of the population, who claimed Slovak nationality in 1930 and after the Vienna Arbitration declared Hungarian nationality, also applied for reslovakization.

Reslovakization decrees started to be distributed in Košice in January 1948.[70]

After February 1948 and after the publicly leaked information on negotiations on the return of citizenship to the population of Hungarian nationality, many "reslovakizants" did not even get their reslovakization.

When summarizing the statistics and comparing them with the number of people who influenced actions against the inhabitants of Hungarian nationality, we can state: The population census in 1938, even after consideration that some Slovaks and most Czechs left the occupied territory, does not explain the loss of Slovaks in the town. *"Hungarian census in 1938 in Košice registered fewer inhabitants than the last Czechoslovak census of 1930, by about 12 thousand. A significant loss was also caused by the departure of Czech (and Slovak) officials from the city who settled there in the first decade after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic. The inclusion of military troops in the overall population also played a significant role in the differences between results. Hungarian authorities only registered the civilian population, while soldiers were included in the 1930 population census. The number of civilians in Košice in 1930 was 63,563. In this case, the difference between the census was only 5,473 persons, or 6 – 8 %."*[71]

In this census of 58 thousand inhabitants, only 9,441 inhabitants (4,230 inhabitants in 1930) claimed to be Slovaks and the number of Hungarians increased from 11,504 in 1930 to 44,472 in 1938. Most of the population changed their nationality by changing their declared ethnicity.

With regard to the decline of Hungarians after 1945, we can count on several factors. It is necessary to count with the decline of the Jewish population, who in the census of 1938 indicated Hungarian as their mother tongue. As of 15 December 1938, there were

70 *Československý východ,* roč. 3, č. 3, 18. 1. 1948. Nádeje reslovakizantov splnené; *Demokrat,* roč. 4, 13. 1. 1948, č. 11. V Košiciach sa budú doručovať reslovakizačné dekréty. *Východoslovenská pravda* informed already in October 1947 that reslovakization decrees will be issued in Košice, however, this information was premature. Still, it confirmed that approximately 13,000 persons applied for reslovakization in Košice. *Východoslovenská pravda,* roč. 3, 3. 10. 1947, č. 228. Reslovakizačné žiadosti budú väčšinou vybavené.

71 JELEŇOVÁ, Iveta – SÁPOSOVÁ, Zlatica. *Jazyk, interetnické vzťahy...,* pp. 66-67.

11,420 Jews (non-Christians) living in Košice, of which 10,114 declared themselves to be Hungarian, 68 Slovak, 699 German, 17 Ruthenians and 522 other. According to expert literature, 12,000 Košice Jews were killed in concentration camps. After 1938, non-Košice Jews stayed in Košice as well. As of 30 April 1944, 12,253 Jews were concentrated in the Košice ghetto and 15,707 persons were deported to Košice from concentration camps.[72]

Further reduction of the population of Hungarian nationality was influenced by Czechoslovak measures against the population of Hungarian nationality after the liberation.

Although many data are inaccurate, we can partially estimate the impact of post-war measures on the ethnic structure of Košice. 1,833 Anyas were displaced from Košice. As part of the exchange of population, about 404 families (economic units) and 1,545 persons in reciprocal exchange and 89 economic units, in which 364 persons were war offenders, left Košice. Thus, 1,909 displaced persons within population exchange. Total population decline was 13,856 persons. Another decline in the population of Hungarian nationality in Košice can be attributed to reslovakization and other natural population movements. About 13,000 people applied for it. According to the press authority of the Labour Party, when determining the nationality of the population in Košice in 1945, 3,500 people reported to be "*pure Hungarians*".[73]

This explains the decrease of about 27 thousand people of Hungarian nationality compared to 1938. The other 17 thousand people can be divided among people who claimed Slovak nationality in 1930, population migration (natural or forced by the circumstances of post-war development).

In 1950, when the actions related to the fulfilment of Czechoslovak conception of building the nation-state of Czechs and Slovaks were completed, only 1,642 of the 62,465 inhabitants in Košice claimed Hungarian nationality and made up 2.63 % of the city's inhabitants. However, we only consider the census of 1961 to be relevant from the point of view of ethnic structure; In 1970, 5,816 inhabitants registered for Hungarian nationality. By then, the majority of the population had already declared ethnicity in relative accordance with their internal beliefs. However, it is not possible, as is customary with ethnicity, to eliminate different forms of coercion on one side or another when declaring ethnicity. In the case of Košice, however, the population census was already significantly influenced by high population migration related to the construction of East Slovak Steelworks.

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72 POTEMRA, Michal. Židovská otázka v Košiciach. In Jurová, Anna – Šalamon, Pavol (Eds.). *Košice a deportácie Židov v roku 1944.* Košice: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV – Slovenské národné múzeum, 1994, p. 37, 48; ELIÁŠ, Štefan. Tragédia košických Židov v rámci rasovej perzekúcie v rokoch 1938 – 1945. In Jurová, Anna – Šalamon, Pavol (Eds.). *Košice a deportácie Židov v roku 1944...*, p. 107.

73 *Hlas práce,* 31. 3. 1946, č. 17. O výmene Slovákov za Maďarov. Odhad reslovakizačnej komisie k roku 1947 o obyvateľstve Košíc bol: Slováci: 48 000; Maďari: 3 000. AMZV ČR Praha, f. GS-A, c. 170. Reslovakizácia podľa obcí a okresov k 1. 1. 1947.

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Period press

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Československý východ 1948
Demokrat 1945, 1947, 1948
Hlas ľudu 1946
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Contexts of Changes in Culture and Identity of Lower Land Slovaks[1]

Jaroslav Čukan – Boris Michalík

Abstract:

Ethnic processes are ongoing and irreversible. The importance of local, regional and ethnic specifics weakens and disappears with the development of science, the market economy and sophisticated information technologies. Acculturation tendencies contrast with specific factors, which are, in comparison with trying to be trendy, unattractive. The aim of our contribution is to identify the factors of the formation of Slovak minority culture in the territory of the states situated south of the borders of the Slovak Republic and to define the contemporary ethno-cultural processes. The culture of every Slovak minority community is unique, and its knowledge requires identification and focus on crucial cultural factors and manifestations. We take into account some geographical, demographic, economic, political, confessional and ethnic contexts; they overlap and change as a result of historical events, influencing the ethnicity awareness, the need and the will to preserve and develop ethnic identity or the courage of ethnic identification or the effort and courage with regard to ethnic identification.

Keywords:

Lower land, ethnic minority, cultural potential, cultural formation factors, acculturation, cultural processes, ethnic identity

Ethnic issue and its importance at the beginning of the 3rd millennium.

Ethnic processes are continuous and irreversible. Nations are a different category than states, however, political and ethnic issues are closely related and strongly influence each other.[2]

Following the formal disintegration of Europe into two opposing political blocs, Europe united against Russia in this aspect and, in case of older generations, the original East / West polarization and the awareness of group difference that was formed

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2 We agree, but we dare to argue with the generally proclaimed thesis: the main difference between the two categories is that, unlike the nation, the state is formed and disappears by the will of the people. We even know several examples of the decline and creation of a nation by decision of people.

for decades is gradually diminishing. Common European identity has been cultivated throughout the lifetime of the youth and middle-age categories, and the stronger this awareness, based on political processes, is, the weaker ethnic awareness becomes. This is understandable as group identity is based on the awareness of otherness, and in the second decade of the new millennium there is a tendency to favour group unity, which is starting to compete strongly with traditional cultural values as the basis of ethnic identity. With the evolution of science, market economy and the increasingly sophisticated information technology, the importance of local, regional and ethnic specifics is inevitably weakened and disappearing, unified goods, including television series, services and their linguistic expression mean unified consciousnes/unconsciousness. The pursuit of cultural and linguistic uniqueness is considered to be unnecessary or a brake on efforts for European unity, progress, and current trends in all areas of everyday and extraordinary life – clothing, eating, living, leisure, but also education – are preferred. Accultural tendencies contrast with the specific, which is unattractive compared to the effort to *be trendy*. We are often unaware of such significant ethnic processes in the conditions of a nation, and yet we remind and explain the assimilation of our national minorities in other states, surrounded by population with other ethnic parameters.[3] The constant contacts with others that are the basis of the awareness of otherness and the formation of one's own identity. Efforts to manifest civic fellowship and unity, but at the same time diversity in all categories of culture where it is still possible and significant in terms of members of minority community – for example, knowing their family roots and local history, clothing and interior furnishing, customary traditions, efforts to organise expositions of traditional culture, collectively present forms of their specific folklore, amateur theatre, and manifestations of artistic creation. We can list many examples/manifestations of cultural potential that fulfil an ethno-identifying/ethno-differentiating function in the minority environment and no longer exist in the environment of the parent nation, or they have lost their original function and value.[4]

The aim of our contribution is to indicate the factors of formation of Slovak minority culture in the territory of states situated south of the borders of the Slovak Republic and to define current ethno-cultural processes. To demonstrate with particular examples that the culture of each Slovak minority community is unique; interethnic relations and their contexts as well as the course of acculturation as a phase of ethnic assimilation need to be considered separately everywhere; not to construct schemes, not to define

3 A comparison of the intensity of acculturation in the conditions of the mother nation and ethnic enclaves cannot produce a clear and generally acceptable result. There are different local and macro-social, economic and political conditions and a unique situation everywhere. For similar ideas, see a study in A. Divičan Vývojové premeny tradičnej kultúry Slovákov v Maďarsku, which is part of *Atlas ľudovej kultúry Slovákov v Maďarsku,* (1996, 7-36).

4 We could name a number of concrete examples from all three cultural categories that fulfil an important ethno-identifying function in a particular minority community: knitted lesa for drying of the Slovaks of Miľov in Milovske lesy of Slovakia, traditional women's clothing in Stara Pazova or in Pivnica; Slovak evangelical communities, the whole complex of wedding customs (courtship, announcements, wedding wishes...), participation in the Evangelical services or Roman Catholic mass in Slovak language, traditional song repertoire.

rules and laws, but to identify and study specific and relevant cultural factors and manifestations.

Slovak minority communities became the subject of a more intensive historiographic and ethnological study in the second half of 20th century. The publications gradually provided answers to questions about the period and causes of colonization, and "staged" the time course. Such work required demanding and extensive archive research, respect and re-evaluation of previously published sources originating from Slovak intelligentsia, especially from Evangelical pastors. The necessary degree of generalization slipped into the construction of stages of colonization and lack of respect for published documents. Ján Sirácky[5] duly evaluated the period and causes or circumstances of migration from the Higher counties of Hungary to the south, however, probably his adherence to his own scheme did not allow him, even in 1980, to regard the published Vereš's evidence that the oldest colonized village with Slovak population in the territory of nowadays Vojvodina was not Báčsky Petrovec, but Bajša.[6] Similar practice and disregard of relevant archive and published sources persists until now at least in the case of sites with Slovak communities in Bačka, Banat and Srieme, where a team from FF UKF in Nitra conducted research and published monographs with corrections of previous, generally used knowledge.[7]

In the preparation of ethnographic monograph Slovaks in Yugoslavia, the team under the leadership of Rudolf Bednárik paid increased attention to well-known enclaves, from the point of terminology and content, it was focused in accordance with previous knowledge and methodology.[8] Synthetic works that summarize Slovak Lower Land culture, including the settlement process, include primarily atlases of traditional Slovak culture and the dialects of Slovaks in Hungary, Romania, Atlas of Traditional Culture of Slovak Minorities in Central and Southern Europe,[9] or the publication Folk Culture of

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5 The first more comprehensive evaluation of the period and causes of Slovak colonization of the Lower Land can be found in the monograph of R. Bednárik *Slováci v Juhoslávii* (1966). In chapter Slovenské osídlenie vo Vojvodine (s. 9-62) continued on the previous publications of Slovak, Serbian and Hungarian authors, and also considered the role of religious freedom and the non-Catholic character of colonization.

6 Even in the subsequent publication *Sťahovanie Slovákov na Dolnú zem v 18. a 19. storočí* (1966), or *Slováci vo svete 1* (1980), chap. Slovenské osídlenie Dolnej zeme a jeho vývin do konca prvej svetovej vojny (s. 13-139) Sirácky does not use generally known publication of Adam Vereš *Slovenská evanjelická kresťanská cirkev a. v. v Kráľovstve Juhoslovanskom v slove a v obrazoch* (1930), where he writes about Slovak settlement of Bajša (p. 23-29). Moreover, 40 years have passed since the publication of the above-mentioned work in 1980, however, there is still the awareness of the arrival of Slovaks in the village in 1718 in the collective memory of the inhabitants of Bajša, which we found out in November 2018.

7 For more details on the topic see the monograph *Boľovce. Kultúrne tradície Slovákov v Srieme.* SVC Báčsky Petrovec – FF UKF v Nitre, 2011. Archival research has been able to correct the original number by more than 50 years. (p. 16, footnotes 1, 2 and 3.) The same applies to Dobanovce and similar corrections are also found in other monographs, especially Vojlovica and Silbaš.

8 The most frequent examples are from Stará Pazova, Kovačica, Padina and Pivnice.

9 *Atlas ľudovej kultúry Slovákov v Maďarsku. (Stav súčasnej existencie a poznania).* Békešská Čaba: Slovenský výskumný ústav Békešská Čaba, 1996. We could add also *Atlas slovenských nárečí v Maďarsku.* Red. KIRÁLY, Péter (Ed.). Budapešť 1993. *Atlas ľudovej kultúry Slovákov*

Slovaks in Croatia, which can be in some respects considered a supplement to the publication by Vít Ušák from 1978.[10]

Štefanek's monograph on Slovaks in Romania (2004) can also be included.

Naturally, Békéscsaba, Nadlak, Báčsky Petrovec have become the centres of Slovak Lower Land culture with central Slovak institutions, and in recent years, Našice has a similar ambition. In particular, the Research Institute of the Slovaks in Békéscsaba and the Cultural and Scientific Society of Ivan Krasko in Nadlak regularly organize scientific events focusing on various areas of Slovak minority culture and mother tongue. Thematically they also reflect the current problems of education, church life and Slovak institutions, which they also make available through magazines and calendars and offer attention to the public debate.

In some contexts and perceptions of the notion.

In certain contexts and understanding of the concept, Lower Land[11] represents a single geographical space, a cultural complex with similar characteristics, but in reality it is, from a number of perspectives, a multiple diversified space in which it is often difficult to find common intersections. In addition, the factors of culture formation and cultural phenomena in the same space are changing or modifying over time.

Even life-long experiences cannot be sufficient to reveal all the determinants of formation of specific cultural traits and could hardly be summed up in one large monograph. We focus only on those that seem most relevant to us at this stage of knowledge. We take into account geographical, demographic, economic and political, confessional and ethnic[12] factors and contexts which, to a varying degree, change due to historical events and affect the awareness of origin and ethnicity, the need and desire to preserve and develop ethnic identity, or ethnic identification. It should be emphasized that the factors overlap, are interdependent, linked, and it is difficult to clearly identify the relevant configuration. In any case, it is necessary to try and identify and clarify the specific, unrepeatable, on the background of the general.

The occupation of the population in many ways depends on natural conditions: the landscape, the climatic conditions, the richness of soil. It substantially affects the

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10 *Ľudová kultúra Slovákov v Chorvátsku.* Našice: Zväz Slovákov v Chorvátsku, 2002; UŠÁK, Vít. *Slováci v Chorvátsku. Historický náčrt.* Cleveland – Rím: Slovenský ústav, 1978.

11 In relation to the term Lower Land (adj. Lowerland), we would like to remind that we understand it in contrast North – South, or Upper – Lower, and in an effort to simplify the area of former Hungarian Kingdom situated south of the Upper Hungarian Counties and south of the border of today's Slovak Republic. At this point, we do not intend to argue with ethnographers and folklorists, who understand this term only as the fertile lowlands of south-east Hungary, Vojvodina, Arad County and the Romanian Banat. In their understanding, Ilok, Ľuba, Erdevík, Binguľa, Lúg, Slankamenské Vinohrady, Bajša, Butín, not to mention the hills of the Bakony Forest, the mountainous settlement of the Transylvania or Marmaroš, would not lie in the Lower Land. We are just trying to clarify our understanding and define the space in which we conduct our field research.

12 None of these factors can be understood separately; they all overlap, interact – for example, it is not possible to separate political and economic factors from demographic, demographic from confessional and ethnic, natality from customs in the family, school teaching, activity of associations.

whole way of life, including language and various levels of culture. However, it does not confirm the thesis that agriculture and occupation in their own locality preserve language and minority culture, that the proximity of the city and occupation in industry weakens traditional culture and language and accelerate the course of ethnic assimilation and many others. In the geographical area of the Lower Land, in terms of occupation, with a high degree of generalization, we register three different categories of localities with Slovak population:

– settlements on flat terrain with fertile agricultural land, where the cultivation of demanding crops linked to vegetable production, viticulture, hop growing, fruit growing and livestock farming could be the main occupation and source of income; it is irrelevant whether the area is a lowland (Soľany, Pivnica, Nadlak) or on sloping/undulating terrain (Erdevík, Bajša, Vuková);
– mountain, foothill and highland areas where agriculture was an important but not the only source of income and the population was forced to make a living by non-agricultural occupations (e. g. Varzaľ, Kestúc, Jašč or Čerňa by mining, Šoškut by cartering, Tárnok by railway, Dunaeďháza by ship transport, Stará Huta by glassmaking, Ledeník and Binguľa by woodcutting) and regular migrations for work also to more distant regions (for example from Čerpotok and other Slovak enclaves in Transylvania into Arad County and Banat);[13]
– suburban environment, which still provides occupation in industrial plants and services (Dobanovce, Vojlovica, Boľovce, Dunaeďháza),[14] sales of various agricultural and other products that are still produced for the needs of urban markets (growing flowers, vegetables, chickens and turkeys for fattening, production of noodles in Vojlovice, Šárka, Čemer, Kysáč), cleaning, washing and serving in the Belgrade bourgeois households (Boľovce, Kovačica, Padina).[15]

13 Since the 1960s, intensive colonization from the Bihor villages to the south has taken place. Getting to know the geographical and cultural environment has become an important stimulus for the relocation of Butín, Vuková, but also for example Cipár and Nadlak. Older Slovak evangelical communities are complemented by Roman Catholic Slovaks and the diminishing Slovak settlements are significantly revitalized.

14 The settlements near the railway lines also benefited from the possibility to work in various positions on the railway (Boľovce, Malý Kereš, Békešská Čaba); locations along the Danube, Tisza, Sava, Maruša provided opportunities for fishing, ferrying, trade or labourer occupations related to transport, construction of bridges, regulation and maintenance of streams (Boľovce, Vojlovica, Apostag, Sarvaš).

15 In the case of Vojlovice as part of industrialized Pančevo, it would be possible to assume the highest degree of acculturation and the absence of Slovak minority culture and language. The opposite is true – due to employment opportunities in the surrounding area, we do not register any exodus for work abroad, which causes the depopulation of most Slovak communities in Romania and Vojvodina; the possibility to work and educate in the immediate vicinity of their home means everyday life in their village, maintaining intergenerational and interpersonal relationships within the family, relatives, neighbourhoods, applying social control, custom traditions, but also active life of children, youth and adults (activities in culture, folklore and amateur theatre SKUS Detvan also within MO Matica slovenská).

The city was a social space that allowed specific forms of inter-local economic and cultural contacts and national social life.[16] Ultimately, it has contributed to the creation of ethnic and cultural polarization, coherence and the formation of ethnic belonging.[17]

The city provided opportunities to study, contributed to the modernization of the way of life and progress, but also to the awareness of ethno-cultural personality and the preservation of traditional forms of culture.

One of the important geographical contexts is the position of minority community in relation to its mother nation. Existence at the ethnic border and transitional contact may in some cases be a serious factor in language use, physical and psychosocial contact with the mother nation, and an incentive to maintain ethnic belonging. As a rule, it means accessible television, mother-tongue broadcasting, the ability to be part of everyday social, economic and political events in the old homeland through the media, providing greater opportunities for private or institutionalized meetings – however, only if the ethnic minority is interested, which is influenced by economic situation as well as political orientation of state's leadership and its relation to minorities in their own territory. In the context indicated, there are large differences in the geographical distance of individual minority communities from the core of their ethnic community, in their ability to enjoy television and radio broadcasting,[18] in relation to national minorities at the state's territory, as well as the will and need of the minority community to contact their nation and present their ethnic identity in any way. In the case of the Lower Land Slovak minorities, distance is not decisive with regard to any contacts with Slovakia. Relations of Romanian and Vojvodina Slovaks (regardless of the location of individual settlements) with their mother nation have been at least since the turn of the millennium the most intensive not only in the abovementioned parameters, but also in institutional cultural contacts and economic migration.

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16 No later than 19th century, in Budapest, Sarvaš, Oradea, Pančevo, a class of Slovak craftsmen and various bourgeoise formed, which gradually merged with the surrounding macro environment of different ethnicity and had diverse relations with Slovak rural population.

17 For more details, see Boľovce (2011, p. 37 et seq.). In the first half of the 20th century, Slovak girls from nearby villages served in Belgrade's households. On Sunday, Slovak students and young men from all over Banat and Sriem came to see them; they met in the Slovak House for dancing, in parks, got to know each other and created awareness of the Slovak settlement in Vojvodina and a sense of belonging. Numerous examples from the suburban villages around Belgrade, Budapest, Oradea, Arad, Nadlak and Temesvar are evidence of rich economic and social contacts at the city markets.

18 Watching TV programs from Slovakia is now available wherever on demand – in Sriem in Vojvodina, as well as Banat in Romania. It is not important what programs are preferred, but the intensity of contact with Slovak television broadcasting (especially STV 1, STV 2, Markíza) significantly changes the language culture. Dialect expressions, even Serbisms, are reduced, and proper words were never used or unknown in the environment of particular minority communities appear in the language. This is particularly noticeable in terminology with regards to relatives, where for example they did not know the terms ujo, ujčiná, strýko, stryná quite recently, and now they use them correctly – often more correctly than in Slovakia. Similarly, job migration to Slovakia, various courses related to activity of associations and education in general – intelligentsia is trying to present their higher status also by means of proper form of language.

Demographic factors play an important role in contemporary ethno-cultural processes. The number of members of minority communities, natality and mortality directly influence the school lecturing of mother tongue, the activities of churches, folk and theatre amateur groups, music groups, determine the events in the family, relatives and local community that are related to the most important events in human life (christening and the celebration associated with it, the confirmation of the First Communion as a celebration in the church/parish, marriage, death and funeral), the execution and course of customs associated with specific days and periods of the calendar year and many others that were inherent part of the way of life and culture of Slovak communities and fulfilled an ethno-differentiation function. Birth registries in Slovak Evangelical Churches in Croatia, Serbia, Hungary and Romania document changed proportions of births and christenings, or deaths and funerals. Whereas the number of births and deaths within one calendar year was still balanced in the second third of the 20th century and there were generally dozens of christenings and funerals, nowadays deaths are considerably more numerous and many church registries register so few births that ten christenings occur in about five to ten years.[19] It is natural that the number of confirmation celebrations and marriages is also decreasing, and there is a minimum of children and youth attending church service, thus weakening the opportunities for the use of their mother tongue and one of the most important sources of the division between US/ THEM and ethnic awareness. In each Lower Land state, there are different intentions with ethnic minorities, as well as different criteria for the number of pupils required for teaching in their mother tongue. In Békéscsaba, the teaching of the Slovak language is proclaimed in one institution for pupils from kindergarten to grammar school, however, a conversation in Slovak language can only be heard in families and on the street only exceptionally by the members of older generations. In general, bilingualism has also disappeared, and mother tongue and really practised language is Hungarian. Only the awareness of Slovak ancestors remains, but it is presented with caution externally.[20] In Bajsa, the Slovak language at school has not been taught for decades and it would be useless to make an effort for religious education and confirmation preparation in Slovak language. In Oradea, in 2019, parents bring children from all over the city to learn Slovak to one school so that the number of pupils reaches the required minimum. Citizens with Slovak ethnicity or with knowledge of Slovak ancestors are scattered throughout the city, where communication is generally in both Romanian and Hungarian. Parents and even grand-

19 In February 2019, as part of mapping and evaluation of cultural potential, we visited Tipar approximately 100 km northeast of Nadlak. Pastor Bálint informed us that in the past 25 years there has not been a single christening, and, naturally no confirmation, in the evangelical church. School lessons in Slovak language ceased to exist. Young people leave to work in towns and abroad, only six women over the age of 70 attended Sunday services. The cause of the extinction of ethnic minorities is not the assimilation tendencies, but the economic situation and the departure of young people from village. There are few large congregations such as Nadlak, Báčsky Petrovec or Kysáč, where there are fewer confirmants each year, but there are still a few dozen.

20 We encountered the same phenomenon when visiting villages with Slovak population on the Polish side of Spiš.

parents (Slovaks) use Romanian to communicate with their children.[21] The city is bilingual, but mostly Romanian-Hungarian.

In the larger enclaves in Romania, Vojvodina and Slavonia, Slovak language teaching persists, but bilingualism prevails (including Kovačica and Padina) and Slovak is still the only language prevailing in the home environment, in federal life and on the street, probably only in Pivnica (partly in Vojlovica, Báčsky Petrovec, Nadlak, Bodonoš, Čerpotok, Jelisavec and Ilok). The unfavourable economic situation in Romania and in recent decades also in Vojvodina has been increasingly reflected in labour migration to Slovakia after 2000. Single people of various ages, young married couples, families with children and even many priests[22] come mainly from Serbia and Romania come to Bratislava and the surrounding area, Trnava, Nitra, but practically all regions. Due to lack of human resources, activity of associations is stagnating or disappearing. Especially smaller Slovak communities suffer, even with developed cultural infrastructure, however, absence of people is also felt by such large Slovak communities as Kovačica or Kysáč. It is a further confirmation of the thesis that the answers to questions of ethnic processes are not black and white, but complex, multi-layered. Demographic problems, low natality, increasing number of ethnically and concessionally mixed marriages, economic situation/labour migration, ethnic identity and cultural activities form a relationship circle – without an effort to hierarchize individual factors. In each cultural system, the conditions are specific, and the elements have a different function and hierarchy.

Slovak population of the Lower Land is predominantly made up of Protestants of Augsburg Confession, which is related to the period and causes of colonization from the Upper Hungarian Counties. Roman Catholics are mainly in the northern Hungarian counties and Transdanubia, there is a compact settlement in Transylvania and with a few exceptions (Ilok, Nestin and Solany) also in Croatia. Croatian and Hungarian Slovaks of Roman Catholic faith belong to parishes in which the religious language is Croatian or Hungarian; worship, church and religion are not a sign, church registries are not written in Slovak language, believers from the surrounding nation and minority communities are recorded in the registry books together, not separately; religion is in no aspect a manifestation of ethnic polarization, in both states it is a means of creating and realizing unity with the surrounding ethnic environment. Probably only with the exception of Jelisavec, Slovaks are in a high stage of acculturation; bilingualism is gradually disappearing, in the common communication in the family and on the street, the language of choice is predominantly Croatian or Hungarian, which are the mother tongues and the media of socialization for children and youth. As Hungarian and Slovak languages are totally different (in the case of institutionalized forms of culture on Slovak ethnic principle), Hungarian pupils and mostly even adult members of singing groups and folklore ensembles do not understand the meaning of recitatives/songs in Slovak language.

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21 Slovak language is used only by natives of Slovak Bihor communities during random, occasional meetings When St. Nicholas arrived in the Slovak Roman Catholic parish (2018), children mostly did not understand the question in Slovak – *ako sa voláš (what's your name)?*

22 For example, a teacher from Silbaš also came to work in Hlohovec.

To date, there is a high concentration of the Roman Catholic religion in the Bihor county in north-west of Romania. In Orthodox Romania there are still parishes (for example Borumlak, Bodonoš, Nová Huta) based on ethnic principle. Slovak parishioners, Slovak as a religious language, church as an ethno-differentiative sign are prerequisites for preserving the mother tongue, customary traditions and, ultimately, ethnic identity. If the locality with a large Slovak population parish branch (Čerpotok, but also Cipár in Arad county, Butín and Vuková in Temeš county), the priest is not Slovak, and the above values are lost or significantly weakened. The degree of ethnic awareness depends on the attitude of the Hungarian bishop and the personal attitude and orientation of each priest. An important role is played by the economic situation and the departure of young people to work in Slovakia, to towns and southern counties (Arad, Temes). Thanks to the initiatives of the priest, close links between church activities and cultural activities of the Democratic Union of Slovaks and Czechs in Romania (Demokratický zväz Slovákov a Čechov v Rumunsku – DZSČR), as well as the influx of Slovaks from all around, a promising Slovak community in Oradea is being created. The intervention of the bishop's office (transfer of the parish priest) could be a threat, which would result in the loss of Slovak character of the parish and at the same time the Hungarization of the filial in Madarás, where he regularly commutes.[23]

The reality is the dispersed settlement of Slovaks in the city, mixed marriages and rapid retreat of Slovak as the mother tongue, which directly threatens the teaching of Slovak language in the city and the possibility of using Slovak in the church.

The awareness of ethnicity of minority communities is in line with relations of individual states with national minorities and ethnic groups, but also with the minority's will to preserve its ethnic peculiarities and identify oneself. It is clear that neither is a one-way and straightforward relationship. Human resources – priests, teachers and workers of institutionalized and informal minority culture, who are often responsible for practice of faith, the condition of cultural events, knowledge and presentation of their roots. The state of ethnic awareness does not depend solely on its own human resources. Slovaks in multi-ethnic villages of Biele Blato or Hajdušica are constantly reminded of multiculturalism and the need to favour a unifying local identity over a polarizing ethnic one. For example, in Hajdušica, an ethnic house was built, it is not Slovak, Hungarian, Bulgarian or Serbian, it is a Hajdušica multicultural exposition. It is to be reminded that the presence of a priest and a working evangelical church parish greatly weakens such tendencies.[24]

If the preacher of the words of God comes once a month, or at longer intervals, it immediately translates into weakening of the awareness of ethnicity. It is enough to compare the situation in Pivnica, Báčsky Petrovec, Stará Pazova, Kovačica or Nadlak

23 Teaching in Slovak language ceased to exist and children attend school in the neighbouring Salonta (exclusively Hungarian and Romanian).

24 The three-century long coexistence of evangelical Slovaks and Catholic Hungarians, their mixed marriages and multiple mixed relations made it impossible to identify oneself on an ethnic or confessional basis, they identify on a local basis – we are *Bajšans*. In this particular case, even at best will, the Evangelical pastor cannot contribute to the preservation of awareness of Slovak ethnicity.

with the Slovak evangelical communities in Srieme, where there are only two parishes with their own priests.

We often find that in the Lower Land the Protestant and Slovak churches are synonymous adjectives similar to the Protestant and Slovak. In general, but not in full, this is still true in Vojvodina and Romania with regard to the ethnically unifying aspect (our evangelical, our Slovak church, us evangelicals, us Slovaks) and ethnically differentiating (their evangelical / Slovak church, them evangelicals /Slovaks). Such an understanding of religious and ethnic unity is weakening for several reasons. We have mentioned above the unfavourable economic situation, labour migration and the decrease in population, which means the minimum number of christenings and confirmations as crucial prerequisites for the existence of church parishes. Members of the oldest generations are beginning to prevail in Slovak communities. Six women over the age of 70 attended the church services in Cipar on 10 February 2019. There is an analogous situation is in Temesvar, Luba or Zrenjanina. There can be no women's altar circle, no one to sing in church or with the dead, the absence of young people interrupted the natural course of socialization and all common traditions within the family, relatives and church life, which always reminded of the US/THEM polarisation.

In addition to the whole complex of factors and contexts, which derive from the unfavourable economic situation and negatively affect the weakening of the evangelical church and ethnic parameters, it is necessary to mention also small churches and religious communities, which cause a significant outflow of Evangelicals. Jehovah's Witnesses, Nazarians, Sabbatarians, Baptists are in all Slovak evangelical communities. They do not work on Slovak ethnic principle, but on a religious one. The teachings are usually so austere that they prevent participation in social and cultural events and basically, if an Evangelical transfers to another church, both evangelical church and Slovak community lose them. An exception is, for example, the evangelical Methodist church, whose members come mostly from evangelical churches, they are religiously very similar and do not seem disturbing in terms of ethno-cultural life and Slovak language.

As part of meeting the objectives set and the knowledge accepted, acquired by means of APVV Cultural Potential of the Lower Land Slovaks, we have had the opportunity to get acquainted with all Slovak minority communities in Croatia, Vojvodina and partly also in Romania and Hungary.

The study of cultural potential in the context of current cultural processes (without the intention of hierarchizing the issues) allowed us to comment on the following topics in a relevant way:

- specific forms of cultural systems;
- ways of acculturation / influence of other ethnic groups, technology development and globalization;
- disintegration / modification of traditional culture – syncretism – change of identity.

Each Slovak minority community represents an unrepeatable cultural system with a wide range of determining factors whose configuration and relevance are different everywhere. The varying degree of interethnic and cultural syncretism clearly leads to cultural and linguistic levelling and a change in ethnic parameters.

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The Image of Ethnic Minorities in the Czech Media at the Beginning of the 21st Century

Petr Bednařík

Abstract:

Media can play a significant role in shaping public attitudes towards ethnic minorities nowadays. This situation can be well monitored in the case of the Roma. The analysis of the Agency for Social Inclusion has shown that the regional and local press has been biased about the Roma living in the Ústí Region. In 2012, the media contributed to evoking anti-Roma sentiments in Břeclav in the alleged Roma attack on a minor boy. *Czech Television* filmed several documentary series on the life of the Roma, however, viewers made racist comments towards the Roma on the Czech Television website during their broadcast. The media portrayal of Vietnamese, both positive and negative, may be seen as well, however, sociological surveys of the Centre for Public Opinion Research show that public affinity towards Vietnamese is gradually increasing. Ethnic minorities in the Czech Republic have the opportunity to present their activities by means of their own periodicals, for this purpose they receive subsidies from the Ministry of Culture. Public media – *Czech Television* and *Czech Radio* - also pay constant attention to the activities of organizations and associations of ethnic minorities.

Keywords:

Media; Roma; Ethnic Minorities; Vietnamese; Press; Public Media

Before introducing the topic of representation of ethnic minorities in the Czech media, it is necessary to provide some data from sociological surveys. In March 2018, the Centre for Public Opinion Research (CPOR) of the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic conducted research on the relationship of Czech public with ethnic groups living in the Czech Republic. A total of 1,061 respondents were interviewed, they were asked about 17 nationalities living in the Czech Republic. Czechs were also included as a comparison group. They expressed their like and dislike on a scale of 1 – 5, 1 – very likeable, 2 – rather likeable, 3 – neither likeable nor likeable, 4 – rather unlikeable, 5 – very unlikeable. The question was formulated as follows: "*How would you use this scale to describe your relationship with the population groups living in the Czech Republic?*" The results were compared with the annual surveys in 2013 – 2017. In 2018, as expected, Czechs gave the best average evaluation of 1.69 to themselves and then to Slovaks – 1.85. On other places were the Poles (2.52), Greeks (2.69), Jews (2.83), Vietnamese (2.85), Hungarians (2.85), Germans (2.91), Bul-

garians (2, 97), Serbs (3.08), Russians (3.15), Chinese (3.15), Ukrainians (3.29), Romanians (3.50), Albanians (3.68), Roma (4.07), Arabs (4.09).[1]

A comparison of recent years shows that there are no major fluctuations in the attitude of the Czech public towards ethnic groups and that the like/dislike rate is quite stable. Looking at the results of 2013, it is evident that the Vietnamese improved over five years from 3.26 to 2.85 in 2018, with a slight increase in likeability over the five-year period also for the Serbs from 3.16 to 3.08, Chinese from 3.35 to 3.15, Ukrainians from 3.37 to 3.29. The result for the Roma shifted from 4.24 to 4.07 in five years, while in 2018 a total of 37 % of respondents rated Roma as 5 – very unlikeable. The Arabs, who were first included in the research in 2014 with a result of 3.79, had a negative shift, and in 2018 they had 4.09, when 37 % of respondents rated them together with the Roma as very unlikeable.

Following the development over the course of five years, the ongoing trend of growing affinity towards the Vietnamese is evident. The results also show a tendency towards greater affinity towards the Chinese, although at a much lower rate than that of the Vietnamese, when their average evaluation shifted from 3.27 to 3.15 between 2017 and 2018, while in previous years 2014 – 2016 their evaluation was rather stable at 3.28 – 3.25 – 3.27. The Roma had the worst ranking in 2015 – 4.30 and the Arabs in 2016 – 4.20. Albanians' evaluations changed, in 2013 they had 3.66. Afterwards their evaluation reached its worst value in 2016 – 3.86, only to return close to the former evaluation of 3.68 in 2018.[2]

It is up for the discussion that ethnic groups, which are in the Czech Republic as ethnic minorities, are mixed with those groups that do not have this status in the Czech Republic. As ethnic minorities, there are currently the following minorities in the Czech Republic according to legislation: Russian, Roma, Slovak, Hungarian, Ruthenian, German, Polish, Bulgarian, Greek, Ukrainian, Serbian, Belarusian, Vietnamese. But the research also includes the Chinese, Romanians, Albanians and Arabs who do not have a minority status. There is also a question with regard to the Jews, in what way do the respondents really perceive them. The research is formulated based on nationality, but some respondents may perceive Jews more as a religious group. A number of Jews from many countries of the world come to the Czech Republic, but the question is whether the respondents do not associate Jews only with those coming from Israel. Or whether they describe their attitude towards Jews who are Czechs but who perceive their Judaism only in terms of their religious faith, not in terms of nationality.

In October 2017, CPOR conducted research into affinity of the Czech public towards some countries. The respondents answered again on a scale of 1 – 5 from very likeable to very unlikeable. Research asked about 27 countries from various continents. Slovakia had the greatest affinity with an average of 1.77. Sweden (2.15), Austria (2.19), Norway

1 TUČEK, Milan. *Vztah české veřejnosti k národnostním skupinám žijícím v ČR. Zpráva z výzkumu.* Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění. [online] Praha: Sociologický ústav AV ČR, 2018. [cit. 24. 2. 2019]. Available online: <https://cvvm.soc.cas.cz/media/com_form2content/documents/c2/a4584/f9/ov180409.pdf>

2 TUČEK, Milan. *Vztah české veřejnosti k národnostním skupinám žijícím v ČR. Zpráva z výzkumu.*

(2.20) and the United Kingdom (2.22) finished in other top positions. In this survey, Israel ended up in 20th place with an average evaluation of 3.34. It is therefore clear when comparing the research among Jews that they ranked in the top positions in affinity, when the research concerned ethnic groups in the Czech Republic, however, Israel ended at the bottom places. After Israel was China with an average of 3.39. Afghanistan, Iran, Syria and the very last Iraq with an average of 4.23 were ranked last in terms of affinity.[3]

In this context we can mention another CPOR survey from March 2018. It concerned the attitude of the Czech public towards foreigners. A total of 27 % out of 1,061 respondents, strongly agreed and 37 % rather agreed with the opinion that foreigners living in the Czech Republic for a long-term were the cause of increase in crime. A total of 30 % strongly agreed and 32 % rather agreed that these foreigners pose a health risk due to spread of diseases, 18 % strongly and 28 % rather agree that foreigners threaten our way of life and 15 % strongly agree and 26 % rather agree with the view that foreigners increase overall unemployment. However, as CPOR showed in comparison with the results since 2009, there is a significantly downward trend of this opinion. In 2009, 72 % of respondents (strongly or rather agree), 58 % in 2016 and then dropped to 41 % in two years, which corresponds to daily media reports that the Czech economy is significantly lacking in the workforce, and therefore it is necessary to seek workers abroad. In 2009, 74 % thought that foreigners were the cause of increase in crime and 71 % thought that they were a health risk. Here, too, we see a decline over the years, but to a much lesser extent than in case of unemployment. On the other hand, in 2009, 36 % of respondents agreed that foreigners threaten our way of life, while in 2018 this agreement was 10 % higher. Respondents were also asked: *"Are newcomers of other nationalities a problem?"* It was clear from the research results that respondents perceived a greater threat if the answer focused on whether newcomers were a problem for the whole Czech Republic. Then 58 % answered yes and 34 % no. However, when respondents were asked whether they perceived the newcomers as a problem at their place of residence, only 26 % answered yes and 47 % answered no. Thus we see a very different perception in terms of looking at the whole republic and at the place of residence, where respondents are more worried about the territory of the state.[4]

Martina Křížková developed an analysis of the media portrayal of Roma in the Czech media from the beginning of July 2011 until the end of May 2012. This analysis was commissioned in 2012 by the Agency for Social Inclusion. It included a total of 6,252 texts/radio and television contributions from national and regional s, including their internet versions, news server Aktualne.cz, nationwide public and commercial radio and television stations. Most of the texts on Roma were from regional newspapers *Bohemia* 1,690 (27 % of all texts) and *Mladá fronta Dnes* 927 (14.8 %), while *TV Prima*

3 HANZLOVÁ, Radka. *Sympatie české veřejnosti k některým zemím. Zpráva z výzkumu. Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění.* [online]. Praha: Sociologický ústav AV ČR, 2017. [cit. 27.2.2019]. Available online: <https://cvvm.soc.cas.cz/media/com_form2content/documents/c2/a4462/f9/pm171204.pdf>

4 HANZLOVÁ, Radka. *Postoje české veřejnosti k cizincům. Zpráva z výzkumu…*

89 (1.4 %), *Impuls* radio 62 (1 %) and *Hospodářské noviny* 44 (0.7 %) had the least. The most significant representation of *Bohemia* and *Mladá fronta Dnes* (with regional mutations) corresponded with the fact that Roma appeared in the news mainly in the context of regional reports. According to the conclusions of the analysis, the dominant image of the Roma minority was mainly associated with crime and the concerns of the majority society over the Roma (61.9 % of all reports were related to crime). The media emphasized the need to ensure safety, the need for repression and created a picture of problematic coexistence of the majority society with the Roma. The analysis proved overuse of ethnicity in the news, where some of the contributions would not have been included in the news if they were not linked to the offender's ethnic origin. Strong emphasis on the criminality of the Roma thus brought their negative connotation in the news. According to the analysis, it was clear that journalists had little distance from politicians, for example, journalists considered mayors as relevant sources of information without taking into account their political ambitions. According to the analysis, the complicated issues of the Roma community proved to be less attractive to the mainstream media and got significantly more into regional news. Journalists also widely used agency news coverage of the Roma.[5]

A case from 2012 was essential with regard to the Czech media. On 15 April 2012, a minor boy was brought to a hospital where his kidney had to be removed. The boy said he was attacked by a group of Roma in Břeclav who beat him up. The event subsequently got a lot of space in the media. In Břeclav people began to gather on the streets and there was a large protest rally against the Roma, attended by two thousand people. In May, however, during a police investigation, the boy confessed that he had invented the attack. He was showing off in front of the girl, fell from the balcony, and no one attacked him. Some Czech media strongly encouraged anti-Roma sentiment. Zuzana Černá in her diploma thesis at the Faculty of Social Sciences of Charles University analysed the news and commentaries of several national dailies, news servers, weeklies. She also watched news programs of Czech Television, TV Nova and TV Prima from mid-April to the end of May 2012. As her analysis showed, the media did not disclose the perpetrators' nationality in the first days after the event. The connection with the Roma appeared only on the basis of a report by the Police of the Czech Republic and the boy's mother. Then some media began to stress that the minor boy was attacked by the Roma. The tabloid daily *Blesk* was influencing readers' emotions. It emphasized that the boy was an innocent victim and the Roma were evil. It approached the Roma in Břeclav negatively and expressed definite judgments about the victims and the culprits. However, when the truth surfaced, it started attacking the boy and demanded his punishment. Still, the ethnicity of the perpetrators was reported by the news servers iDNES and Novinky.cz even more than *Blesk*, their manner of reporting emphasizing the Roma origin of the perpetrators could have helped escalation of anti-Roma sentiments in society. *Respekt* weekly criticized the dissemination of unconfirmed informa-

5 KŘÍŽKOVÁ, Martina. *Analýza mediálního zobrazování Romů v českých médiích od začátku července 2011 do konce května 2012.* [online]. Praha: Agentura pro sociální začleňování, 2012. [cit. 28. 2. 2019]. Available online: <http://www.socialni-zaclenovani.cz/dokumenty/ostatni>

tion and wrote about the media's contribution to increasing tensions. However, Pavel Šafr, editor-in-chief of the daily *Blesk*, rejected any misconduct and insisted that *Blesk* was against racism, but when news appeared that the boy had been the victim of a Roma attack, the daily had to write about it.[6]

Multicultural Centre Prague is an organization dealing with issues of coexistence of people from different cultures in the Czech Republic and other parts of the world. Since its foundation in 1999, it has been conducting educational, cultural and information activities. It prepares workshops, courses, international seminars, cultural evenings. In 2016, Multicultural Centre commissioned an analysis of how Roma were portrayed in the local North Bohemian media. The analysis monitored dailies, biweeklies and monthlies published in the Ústí Region, where tensions between the majority society and the Roma minority are apparent. There are more Roma living there than in other regions of the Czech Republic (250,000 Roma), there is high unemployment and there is a greater concentration of the socially weak population. The analysis monitored a total of 17 periodicals published by municipalities and private owners throughout 2014. It focused not only on printed publications but also on websites of periodicals. It also followed discussions that appeared on the web under the published texts. However, the analysts were also interested in the Facebook pages of periodicals and what opinions readers wrote there. The analysis found a total of 1,201 references to the Roma, of which 715 were negative. The total ratio of negative – neutral – positive was 6:3:1. A total of 22 % of the references concerned cohabitation, housing, socially excluded localities, while 74 % of the references in this category were negative. The second most frequent category of references was socio-pathological phenomena and crime (21 %), with 82 % of these references being negative. In these categories, only 4 % of the references were positive. The mention of cultural and sporting activities represented a total of 6 %, only in this category positive information prevailed – 51 %.[7]

According to the analysis, some established myths about the benefits for the Roma and the entitlement to benefits were repeated in the texts. The references to the Roma were brought up in readers' discussions on texts that were not primarily about the Roma – city pollution, waste development, rodents, parasites, bedbugs, lice. The analysis monitored journalists' work with sources of information. In this case, it was clear that journalists did not use statistical data on the Roma and did not work with quotations of relevant competent authorities (e. g. the representatives of state institutions, non-profit organizations). They often wrote about the Roma only on the basis of their own observations or testimonies of a particular person. According to the analysis in the texts, Roma represented only 9 % of the quoted, although the texts were about them. The texts rarely

6 ČERNÁ, Zuzana. *Břeclavská lež: etické hranice práce se zdroji a sociální konstrukce reality médií*. Diplomová práce. Praha: Fakulta sociálních věd UK, Institut komunikačních studií a žurnalistiky, 2015, 131 p.

7 KADLECOVÁ, Kateřina – KISSOVÁ, Blanka. Analýza způsobu zobrazování Romů v lokálních severočeských médiích. In *Společně proti rasismu* [online]. Praha: Multikulturní centrum, 2016. [cit. 27. 2. 2019]. Available online: <https://aa.ecn.cz/img_upload/5161971da26c649ef6702ca724435813/analyza_medii_web.pdf>

quoted a Roma who was an authority within the Roma community. There was a great deal of generalization in the media saying that all Roma are socially inadaptable citizens. Terms brutal attack, unprecedented violence were often used. According to the conclusions of the analysis, a correlation was established between the long-term prevailing negative attitude of the public and the media's image of Roma. According to analysts, aversion appeared both in the texts of journalists and in readers' discussions. The media presented half-truths and utter untruths to the readers, misleading phrases, evaluating or emotionally tinged statements. Quite often, people who expressed a negative, racist opinion of the Roma were quoted, while the Roma had very little room to express their views. It was also interesting to note that a large part of racist and xenophobic views remained on the websites and Facebook of periodicals. Editors very rarely removed some comments. Analysts did not notice a situation when the author of the article tried to intervene in the discussion, correcting false and misleading data. The analysis ended with the conclusion that the media in their writing on the Roma acted in complete contradiction to officially advocated and recommended inclusion policies.[8]

In 2013, Newton Media, which specializes in media analyses, prepared an analysis of media stereotypes most often attributed to ethnic minorities living in the Czech Republic. The analysis monitored media outputs for the period 2000 – 2013, the monitored media were *Mlada fronta Dnes, Lidove noviny, Hospodarske noviny, Pravo, Blesk, GTC daily, Reflex, Respekt, Euro, Ekonom, Aktualne.cz, Czech Television – 1st program, TV Nova, TV Prima, Czech Radio 1 Radiožurnál*. The analysis included 41,000 contributions on Vietnamese, 46,000 on Ukrainians and 10,000 on Albanians.

The analysis showed that the context of organized crime dominated, when the Albanians were described as members of drug cartels and as perpetrators of violent crime. Alternatively, the media also paid attention to Kosovo Albanians as refugees. Newton Media found that in 13 years the image of the Albanians did not change much. Ukrainians were most often portrayed in the media as illegal workers or criminals involved in violent crime and organized crime. Ukrainians were also depicted as exploited victims of their criminal compatriot. Ukrainians were mentioned as victims of human trafficking, modern slaves. The analysis showed that the portrayal of Ukrainians as gastarbeiters was mitigated, but there was no positive form of their presentation. Media most often depicted Vietnamese in connection with their business – markets, grocery stores – convenience stores, bistros, restaurants. Contexts of counterfeit and dangerous goods and tax evasion appeared. The media reported on Vietnamese in connection with drug crime. With regard to Vietnamese cuisine, Vietnamese bistros with fast food were mentioned less often, in comparison with fashionable restaurants with original Vietnamese cuisine.

However, the analysis showed that positive attributes also appeared in connection with the Vietnamese. One of them was the attention paid to the so-called second generation, devoted to study. Vietnamese were described as hardworking, longing for education, speaking excellent Czech. The media reported on successful Vietnamese students

8 KADLECOVÁ, Kateřina – KISSOVÁ, Blanka. Analýza způsobu zobrazování Romů…

whose excellent integration was represented by excellent knowledge of Czech language. According to the media, the Vietnamese were hardworking, polite, orderly people.[9]

As mentioned above, according to a survey conducted by the Centre for Public Opinion Research, the affinity of Czech public towards Vietnamese is increasing. Here we can consider the influence of the media as representatives of the so-called second generation of Vietnamese become popular. For several years, the most popular Czech series "Ordinace v v růžové zahradě" (each part has more than a million viewers) has included the character of a likeable nurse. She is a girl corresponding with the above-mentioned characteristics – hardworking, decent, orderly, with excellent Czech and also Czech friends. The actress playing her, Thanh Špetlíková has often been interviewed for the media in recent years, talking about how she made her family accept her marriage to a Czech and how she, in addition to acting and scenography, also manages two cafes. In 2018, crime movie "Miss Hanoi" premiered in cinemas, Špetlíková played a police officer there. As emphasized in the reviews, it was the first time that a Vietnamese woman had a role of a police officer. Another popular person is the television presenter Monika Leová, who is from a mixed Vietnamese-Czech family. In 2013, she got into the final of the Czech Miss beauty contest. She graduated from the University of Economics, married a Czech and became a news presenter on TV Prima. Viet Anh Doan became also very popular, as he played the likeable owner of a convenience store and bistro Lia in the TV series of *Prima* television "Ohnivé kuře" (Chicken on Fire). In the series, this character makes fun of how the Czechs expect the convenience store owner to communicate with them in very feeble Czech, though Liu speaks it perfectly. *TV Prima* aired the show in prime time from 2016 to 2018.

The Vietnamese have recently been linked to an event where the Czechs blamed themselves for racism. In August 2018, two small boys of Vietnamese nationality (5 and 7 years) drowned in Lake Lhota near Brandýs nad Labem. One boy was by the water with both parents, the other with his mother. The children went swimming and the adults lost sight of them. Divers found them drowned only after several hours. The event attracted much media attention during the holiday season. The tabloid daily *Blesk* and *TV Prima* devoted a lot of space to the tragedy. They quickly came up with speculations that the swimming pool staff and their racism were the culprits, as according to the media they only slowly and reluctantly embarked on the search for boys and were unable to reach communicate with the mother of one of the boys. The media created the idea that children could live if they were Czech, as then the employees and visitors of the swimming pool would make a much faster effort to find the boys. Subsequently in the media and especially on social networks there was a lot of emotional discussion about whether the children were victims of Czech racism. Many people were convinced that Czechs were racists, and this tragedy was evidenced it. Thus, *Blesk* and *TV Prima* had a clear idea of the event. Other media reported on it as well but did not go into more

9 Mediální stereotypy nejčastěji připisované národnostním menšinám žijícím na území ČR. In *Mediainfo. Newton Media*. [online] Praha: 2013. Available online: <https://www.newtonmedia.cz/cs/mediainfo-cz/analyzy- s tudie/medialni-stereotypy-nejcasteji-pripisovane-narodnostnim/detail>[cit. 28. 2. 2019].

detail about how everything happened on that fateful day. When journalist Ivana Svobodová from the *Respekt* weekly went to the place, she talked to the employees. She also interviewed visitors to the swimming pool who spoke about the event for *Blesk* and *TV Prima*. The journalist found that there was a series of temporal inaccuracies and distortions under the influence of emotions in the testimonies of these witnesses. She managed to prove that the employees were trying to find the boy. According to her findings, there is no reason to link boys' death to any motive of racist behaviour.[10]

Ethnic minorities themselves also try to present their activities. Every year, the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic, Media and Audio-visual Department announces a grant procedure in the program Supporting the Dissemination and Receiving of Information in the Languages of Ethnic minorities or mainly in the Languages of Ethnic minorities. The Ministry funds periodical press and radio and television broadcasting. In the case of press in the languages of ethnic minorities, it is stipulated that it is not issued for the purpose of achieving profit and is publicly distributed in the Czech Republic, funding is only provided for demonstrable expenses related to its publishing and dissemination on the territory of the Czech Republic. The same applies to broadcasting in the languages of ethnic minorities. Legal and natural persons who have been working for the benefit of members of ethnic minorities for at least a year can apply for a funding. The funding is granted up to 70 % of the total budget of the approved project, which must be implemented in the calendar year in which the funding was provided. In 2018, the Ministry of Culture distributed a total of 20,850,000 CZK among 25 projects. The highest amount was received by the Congress of Poles in the Czech Republic for the publishing of the periodical *Glos* (CZK 5,050,000). Over one million CZK was granted to the Democratic Alliance of Roma in the Czech Republic for the Kereka Project (CZK 1,050,000), the Assembly of German Associations in the Czech Republic for the Landes Echo Project (CZK 1,436,000), the Documentation and Museum Centre of the Slovak Minority in the Czech Republic for *Listy Slovákov a Čechov, ktorí chcú o sebe vedieť viac* (CZK 1,335,000 crowns), Union of Hungarians Living in the Czech Lands for *Prágai Tükör* (CZK 1,125,000), Association of Compatriots and Friends of Russian Tradition for *Russkoje slovo* (CZK 1,750,000), Slovak-Czech Club for *Slovenske dotyky* (CZK 1,280,000) and RUTA for *Ukrajinský žurnál* (CZK 1,201,000).[11]

In 2010, the analysis of civic association Media 007 commissioned by the Government Office caused quite a stir among ethnic minorities. After ten years, the periodicals published by the organizations of ethnic minorities were again evaluated. The analysis then highlighted a number of problematic aspects. One of them was that a large part of the texts in a number of supported periodicals was published in Czech, although according to the funding procedure at that time it was supposed to be in the language

10 SVOBODOVÁ, Ivana. Anatomie jedné tragédie. In *Respekt,* týdeník, available online of Respekt 12. 8. 2018. [online]. Praha. Available online: <https://www.respekt.cz/spolecnost/anatomie-jedne-tragedie>[cit. 27. 2. 2019].

11 Data on funding program of the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic are available online: <https://www.mkcr.cz/i-progr a m-podpory-rozsirovani-a-prijimani-informaci-v-jazycich-narodnostnich-mensin-469.html>

of ethnic minorities. The analysis showed that some periodicals frequently infringed copyright when publishing texts. Some periodicals had only low level of articles. The analysis also described that the direction of the periodical was sometimes questionable, for example, *Srpska Reč* was very negative towards the West, Muslims, Albania, the USA and NATO. The authors of the analysis also pointed out that no one verifies whether the amount of print corresponds to the planned number from the project. The analysis provoked a great debate among the members of the Government Council for Ethnic minorities, who had considerable reservations with regard to its implementation and in the next selection procedure they also granted funds to titles the analysis was critical about.[12]

In the Czech Republic, public service media have consistently dealt with the issues of the life of ethnic minorities. Pursuant to Act No. 483/1991 on *Czech Television*, this institution is to provide a balanced range of programs for all groups of people with regard to freedom of religion and belief, culture, ethnic or national origin, national identity, social origin, age or gender. This program offer is intended to reflect, in general, the diversity of views and political, religious, philosophical and artistic directions, with the aim of enhancing mutual understanding and tolerance, and promoting the coherence of a pluralistic society. *Czech Television* is to develop the cultural identity of the population of the Czech Republic, including members of national or ethnic minorities. Identical wording is contained in Act No. 484/1991 on the *Czech Radio*. Both public media fulfil these tasks. Every Saturday at 15:05 (with a replay at 1:05), *Czech Radio Plus* broadcasts program "Medzi námi" (22 minutes), which is a magazine about ethnic minorities in the Czech Republic. The program features interviews with members of minorities about their lives and work. The editors report on the activities of various associations, on the history and present of ethnic minorities. Czech Television is preparing a monthly "Sousedé", which is broadcasted on *ČT 2* on Friday at 5 pm (replay on Saturday at *ČT 2* at 18:55). This show is 26 minutes long and informs about the activities of associations and organizations of ethnic minorities, invites to various events, and subsequently reports on them. Every Saturday, *Czech Television* on ČT 2 broadcasts in the afternoon the program "Babylon" (27 minutes), which is based on people's stories. There are two stories in each episode. It is a narrative of foreigners living in the Czech Republic, Czechs living abroad, members of ethnic minorities in the Czech Republic, the program shows their personal life stories.

Czech Television also makes a number of documentaries about the history and present of ethnic minorities. Over the past decade, some documentaries have attracted the attention of viewers, however, people with racist opinions were also involved in internet discussions on these programs on the *Czech Television* website. They make use of the anonymity of the internet discussion and present opinions they would probably have difficulty communicating without the possibility of anonymity. In 2009 – 2010, the Brno studio of *Czech Television* prepared a series "Ptáčata", a docu-soap genre by

12 POSPÍŠIL, Filip. Menšiny pro sebe. Analýza médií národnostních menšin. In *A2*, kulturní čtrnáctideník, [online]. Praha, č. 10/2010. Available online: <https://www.advojka.cz/archiv/2010/10/mensiny-pro-sebe.> [cit. 22. 2. 2019].

directors Kamila Zlatušková and Ladislav Cmíral. They responded to a situation where parents wrote a petition at one elementary school in Brno that they did not want their children to have Roma classmates. The authors were interested in these children, who were described as unwanted classmates. They shot a 16-part series about Class 2. B and captured it during one school year. Children became co-creators, as they shot the world around them on small cameras. They showed not only school but also their family, their daily lives and problems. More than 500 hours of material were created. Subsequently, in a time-lapse manner, the filmmakers shot the lives of these children from the 3rd to the 5th grades and Czech Television broadcast the second series of "Ptáčata" in 2014.[13]

Kamila Zlatušková, creative producer in the Brno television studio of *Czech Television*, created the documentary series "Třída 8. A", which was developed according to the Swedish docu-soap Class off. In 2008 and 2011, it achieved a great response in Sweden. Director Braňo Špaček made a Czech version of this format. He captured one school year at the elementary school in Brno, which recruited three new teachers without previous experience with a class with a large proportion of Roma pupils. The show openly showed conflicts between teachers and pupils. Gradually, teachers usually gave up the idea that pupils could learn something. The pupils also showed their family background. On the camera they talked about their dreams of what they wanted to achieve in their lives, often talking about how they wanted to live differently than their parents. The pupils, however, had quite a lot of problems with their performance and behaviour, so their further education was quite uncertain. One girl even got pregnant during elementary school. After each broadcasted episode (shown in 2014), there was a rather lively discussion on the *Czech Television* website. Many viewers were very negative to the Roma. They did not believe that Roma pupils could be educated at all. The audience felt sorry for the teachers and saw investment of the society in Roma education as rather useless.

A large number of racist views was associated with the launch of the documentary series "Paterčata" (The Quintuplets). *Czech Television* wanted to capture the first year of the quintuplets, who were born to Alexandra Kiňová and Antonín Kroščen in June 2013, when the partners had already had a six-year-old son. Director Alena Derzsiová also showed all the controversial events in the life of the family. Conflicts of mother and grandmother of the children with nurses. Gradually growing disputes between A. Kiňová and the organization to support quintuplets over finances. Repeated requests from partners that they need things for children. The program was broadcast in the autumn of 2014. Although *Czech Television* broadcasts documentaries on channels *ČT 2* and *ČT art*, this program was shown on *ČT 1* at primetime 9:30 pm. Every episode sparked vivid discussion of viewers on the web. Many opinions had a racist focus, saying there was no need to help Roma children. Many viewers negatively assessed the behaviour of Alexandra Kiňová and her mother, while generalizing the view of the Roma's character traits. Some viewers wrote that if a woman has more children shortly in a row, she will not receive any special help from the state, while here it is expected

13 Webpage of „Ptáčata" on the web of Czech television – https://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/10267754387-ptacata/4238-ptacata/ [cit. 26. 2. 2019].

that it is necessary to help the family with quintuplets. There have been views that the Roma do not want to work and just try to have a lot of children to live off social benefits. A number of viewers used the discussion forum of the program to present their negative views on the Roma.[14]

Conclusion

The influence of the media can be one of the factors involved in shaping public attitudes towards ethnic minorities. In this respect, the situation with the Roma and the way in which the media report on them is most questionable. As the analysis of the Agency for Social Inclusion showed, the regional and local press has been biased about the Roma living in the Ústí Region. They emphasized criminality, often without paying more attention to obtaining information. The Roma were also given very little room for their comments. In 2012, the media contributed to evoking anti-Roma sentiments in Břeclav in the case of the alleged Roma attack on a minor boy, when the tabloid press and news sites emphasized Roma origin of the alleged perpetrators. This cause has shown that the media can also contribute to creating an atmosphere where people protest in the squares. Czech Television made several documentary series on the life of the Roma, but during their broadcast viewers published racist views on the Roma on the Czech Television website. We will see further development of this issue. In 2019, Czech Television introduced the feature series Most!, with Roma Fanda as one of the main characters. This positive character became very popular with television viewers and the actor Zdeněk Godla (non-actor) became a media celebrity overnight, appeared on television shows and gave interviews to many printed periodicals, talking also about the life of the Roma in northern Bohemia. Television Nova cast him in the most watched Czech series "Ordinace v v růžové zahradě", where his character should now have more screen time. The media portrayal of Vietnamese, both positive and negative, may well be seen, but sociological surveys of the Centre for Public Opinion Research show that public affinity for the Vietnamese is gradually increasing. As it was shown, even media presentation of the death of two little boys led to a reflection on Czech racism. Ethnic minorities in the Czech Republic have the opportunity to present their activities through their own periodicals, for which they receive funding from the Ministry of Culture, although there are some questions related to this presentation. Public media – *Czech Television* and *Czech Radio* also pay constant attention to the activities of organizations and associations of ethnic minorities, as required by the relevant media laws.

14 Webpage of „Paterčata" on the web of Czech Television – https://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/10655291123-patercata/ [cit. 26. 2. 2019].

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ČERNÁ, Zuzana. *Břeclavská lež: etické hranice práce se zdroji a sociální konstrukce reality médií*. Diplomová práce. Praha: Fakulta sociálních věd UK, Institut komunikačních studií a žurnalistiky, 2015, 131 p.

HANZLOVÁ, Radka. *Sympatie české veřejnosti k některým zemím. Zpráva z výzkumu. Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění.* [online]. Praha: Sociologický ústav AV ČR, 2017. Available online: https://cvvm.soc.cas.cz/media/com_form2content/documents/c2/a4462/f9/pm171204.pdf [cit. 27. 2. 2019].

Russians and Russian National Minority in the Czech Lands in the 20th and 21st Century. Memory and Present

Helena Nosková

Abstract:

At the invitation of the Czechoslovak government, Russian refugees who fled from the Bolshevik regime joined the nationally varied Czechoslovakia. Czech politicians presumed that it will be in Czechoslovakia where new Russian and Ukrainian experts for new free Russia and separate Ukraine will be educated.
From 1922 to 1934, Russian scientific institutions, including schools, operated in Prague. Russian scientists of European fame worked there. There was different situation after 1935, when Czechoslovakia concluded a treaty with the USSR. There was a fundamental change in the years of World War II and in the years 1945 – 1989. In 1945, there was an influx of Soviet citizens to Czechoslovakia and Russian white emigration became a persecuted group. Part of them were exported to Russian gulags by authorities of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (Russian: Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del – NKVD) and special military sections SMERŠ (Russian: Smerť špionam). From 1948 until 1990, Russians with Czech citizenship stood outside any federal activity. In 1992, part of the former Ukrainian Russians was passively involved in the founding of Ukrainian associations. In 2003, on the basis of Act No. 2001/173 on National Minorities, a Russian national minority was established in Czechoslovakia, which acquired its historical minority rights following the arrival of Russian white emigrants in the 1920s. This new minority and its associations, especially Ruská tradice z. s., restored the cultural traditions of Russian emigration from the interwar years. In addition to these Russians with Czech citizenships, Russians with different lengths of residence were living in Czechoslovakia.

Keywords:

Russian national minority in the Czech Republic, Russian white emigration in Czechoslovakia, Ruská tradice, z. s., national minorities, refugees, foreigners.

Introduction

Few minorities raise as many opposing views among Czechs as the Russians. The Russian-speaking minority is a more suitable term, as the majority often does not distinguish nationalities from the countries of the former USSR, today's Russian Federation, and includes them under one term Russians, pejoratively and inappropriately "Rusáci". Manifestations of Russian culture also face criticism of a part of the majority, especially

Russian films and children's literature, other parts of Russian culture, including ballet. Negative connotations are often caused by confusing the terms "Russian" and "Soviet" and lack of deeper context.

In this study we will focus only on the Russian national minority; i.e. Russians with Czech citizenship and, with a few exceptions, we will leave aside Russian immigrants living as foreigners and the Russian-speaking population of other nationalities.

Russian minority in the Czech lands comes from the first major migration of the 1920s, when part of the democratically and monarchist Russians fled the terror of the Bolsheviks. In the interwar years, about 30,000 refugees from Russia lived in Czechoslovakia. Another influx of Russians occurred after 1945, however, with few exceptions, these people remained Soviet citizens. Only after 1989 new Russian migrants got a chance to become Czech citizens after years of residence. Currently, there are 17,367 Russians with Czech citizenship and approximately 67,000 Russians with status of foreigners in the CR.[1]

Interwar Czechoslovakia was recognized in the world for the admission of Russian emigrants and for the thoughtful care it provided them. Russian relief action was backed by President Tomáš G. Masaryk, Karel Kramář, Edvard Beneš and other politicians and intellectuals.[2]

The ethnic situation in the Czech Republic was complicated. Especially in border regions, German population had lived since the Middle Ages, there was also a strip of Polish settlements in the Těšín region. In the border regions below the Lusatian Mountains, Lusatian Serbs lived with continued settlements in Lower Lusatia in the then Prussia and Saxony. In South Moravia, there were villages inhabited by Croats in the border area.

Scattered throughout the territory of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, Slovaks lived as one branch of the Czechoslovak nation according to the then ideology of Czechoslovakism. In Slovakia, there was a large Hungarian national minority, part of the Poles, Carpathian Germans, Ruthenians and Ukrainians. Ruthenians, Ukrainians and Russians in Subcarpathian Ruthenia, which was an autonomous part of Czechoslovakia, also contributed to a varied ethnic structure. Jews in the interwar years were a minority, albeit already largely integrated, especially in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. We can conclude the list with the Gypsies, who were not nationalities, but were divided into three larger ethnic groups (Sints, Olas' Gypsies and Rumburgers).[3]

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1 Detailed data on Russian national minority, the relationship of Czech majority towards Russian minority is given in *Zprávy o situaci národnostních menšin v České republice* for individual years, especially years 2010 – 2017, issued by the Government Office of the Czech Republic, Secretariate of the Government Council for National Minorities, Praha: 2011 – 2018.

2 NOSKOVÁ, Helena. Festivity a každodennost ruských „bílých" emigrantů v pražském exilu v prolínání historie a vzpomínek. In *Národopisná revue*, 2018, 28, 1, pp. 51-63.

3 PAVELČÍKOVÁ, Nina. On Some Problems of the Roma Identity in the Czech Republic: Conflicts between in the Community with the Traditional Cultural Relics and the Modern Society. In NOSKOVÁ, Helena – BEDANAŘÍK, Petr & coll: *National Minoriries, Identity, Education*. Praha: Institute of Conterporary History of the Academy of Science of the Czech Republic, v. v i., 2011, pp. 59-64.

Germans, Poles, Hungarians became national minorities.[4] The position of new Russian-speaking migrants was specific.

The beginnings of emigration

After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Russians, Ukrainians and other people from Russia took refuge in various Western European countries, Lithuania, Latvia and overseas. Some found a new home in Czechoslovakia. Many Czechs had friendly relations with the Russian leftist SRs (socialist revolutionaries), who arrived in September 1919. Prague became the centre of the left-wing part of Russian emigration. The incoming SRs were scholars and Czechoslovakia thus gained experts from various professions. They were great opponents of Tsarism, contributed to the February Revolution of 1917, but were not united in their views on the future of Russia, and therefore did not create their own political organization.

Leftist cadets, agrarians and no part of the Cossacks made up the democratic part of Russian emigration. They were supported not only by T. G. Masaryk, but also by A. Švehl and his Agrarian Party.

Amongst the non-uniform monarchists, some were in favour of self-government, others for the monarchy. Due to the structure of Czech society, they did not find an appropriate response either in Prague or elsewhere. They were supported only by K. Kramář.[5]

Russian emigrants assumed that there would be economic disruption in Russia, that the government of the Soviets would be suppressed in a matter of months, at worst years, and they would return home. Czechoslovakia between the years 1918 – 1919 was a good destination for this emigration, since at that time the Czechoslovak legions in Russia fought on the Trans-Siberian Highway on the side of democratic forces, on behalf of the Czechoslovak government.[6]

Since the 1920s, emigrants from Russia[7] lived in Czechoslovakia without the rights attributed to recognized historical ethnic minorities according to the Constitutional Charter of 1920.[8] However, part of the young, Russian, the so-called white emigration found suitable space for graduation in Czechoslovakia, gained specialization and occupation for life, although the relationship to these emigrants was not defined by a specific

4 In detail: PETRÁŠ, René – PETRŮV, Helena – SCHEU, Harald, Christian. (Eds). *Menšiny a právo v České republice.* Praha: Auditorium, 2009, pp. 51-87.

5 TEJCHMANOVÁ, Světlana. *Rusko v Československu. (Bílá emigrace v ČSR 1917 – 1939).* Praha: Edice Panorama dějin, Nové pohledy H&H, 1993, pp. 12-13.

6 SAVICKIJ, Ivan. *Praga i zarubežnaja Rossija*. Praga: Russkaja ttradicia, 2002; ZUBOV, Andrej. (Ed). *Dějiny Ruska 20. století, 1. díl.* Praha: Argo, 2014; VEBER, Václav – SLÁDEK, Zdeněk – BUBENÍKOVÁ, Miroslava – HARBUĽOVÁ, Ľubica. *Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR v letech 1918 – 1945.* Praha: Karolinum, 1996.

7 Citizens of Russia lost Russian citizenship by Decree of the Soviet Government of 15 December 1921 and became refugees without legal protection. They had the possibility to return until 1 June 1921 and obtain Soviet citizenship, but under conditions unacceptable to them.

8 Original estimate was 10,000 – 15,000 refugees. With short term stay and return to Russia, which they should have been experts and democratic force of.

law.[9] On 28 July 1921, the Ministerial Council (ref. No. 23912/21) decided on an assistance action for these refugees and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs drafted a plan which, regardless of nationality, social and religious affiliation, provided young intellectuals with the abovementioned possibility to graduate, researchers, professionals, writers and artists to continue their creative activities and enabled wider members of emigration to gain expertise.[10]

Educated new Russian and Ukrainian specialists of various professions were supposed to get education in Czechoslovakia for a new free Russia and an independent, free Ukraine.[11] Other Czech politicians and intellectuals contributed to the integration of Russians and Ukrainians into everyday life in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia. Czechoslovak politicians opposed the October Revolution of 1917 and were aware of the future consequences of the Soviet government. Therefore, they provided broad humanitarian assistance.[12]

Thanks to the *Humanitarian Action*, Russian high school and university students were provided with free meals, clothing and they were enrolled at universities. The prerequisite for obtaining the scholarship was successful study, timely passing of exams with excellent results. The young graduates thus became quality specialists in various fields and were a significant contribution to the young Czechoslovak Republic and have remained such till this day.

Russian emigrants started to live in Czechoslovakia, scientists, nobility, industrialists, intellectuals, however, in the total number of emigrants they accounted for less than 10 %.[13] Emigration was divided into right-wing and left-wing. For example, a group of the so-called young Russians was formed, they wanted to link the monarchy with the Soviet system and create a new type of person who would be able to live in this system. Some right-wing emigrants became supporters of "all-Russian state nationalism". The Association of Russian Land and Town Officials, which was established in February 1921 (ZEMGOR) was also significant. Its members and leaders were the SRs. The Association took care of emigrants. ZEMGOR managed Russian schools, the Russian People's University, the Russian Historical and Foreign Archives, the Russian Research Institute and other smaller institutions.[14]

About 2,500 Cossacks from several Russian regions came to Czechoslovakia. Most of them settled in villages and focused on agriculture. Except for them, Russians lived and worked here as agricultural workers for hire, farm workers and other manual

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9 SAVICKIJ, I. *Praga i zarubežnaja…*; ZUBOV, A. (Ed.). *Dějiny Ruska 20. století …;* VEBER, V. – SLÁDEK, Z. – BUBENÍKOVÁ, M. – HARBUĽOVÁ, Ľ. *Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR…*

10 SAVICKIJ, I. *Praga i zarubežnaja…*; Zubov, A. (Ed.). *Dějiny Ruska 20. století…*

11 VEBER, V. – SLÁDEK, Z. – BUBENÍKOVÁ, M. – HARBUĽOVÁ, Ľ. *Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR…,* p. 15-26.

12 According to an agreement between T. G. Masaryk and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia P. Miljukov, Czechoslovakia accepted mainly Russian and Ukrainian students of secondary schools, trainees of military schools, students of various universities. In the years of civil war, they fought against the Reds, and after the Bolshevik victory, they were threatened by the Red Terror.

13 TEJCHMANOVÁ, S. *Rusko v Československu…*

14 TEJCHMANOVÁ, S. *Rusko v Československu…,* p. 25.

workers. They had primary education, some of them were illiterate. They integrated relatively quickly into the local majority.[15]

Personalities of Russian emigration in Prague, whose significance has not faded

Vladimir Nabokov captured the spirit of Prague in one of his novels, while he was there before emigrating to Berlin. His mother and sister lived in Prague; his nephew still lives in Petřiny. A leftist SR called "Babuška ruskoj revoljucii" (the grandma of Russian Revolution) E. K. Breško - Breškovskaja lived near Prague, in Horní Počernice. Her grave with a bust can be found at the cemetery wall. Although blind in her old age, she took care of handicapped children for years in a local children's home.

Young Czechoslovakia needed scientists, professors and experts from various fields. Many came as Russian emigrants of desired professions. Some were invited directly by the President of the Republic. One of them was Nikodym Kondakov, a historian of ancient Russian art and a byzantologist. He moved to Prague in April 1922 at the invitation of T. G. Masaryk. He lectured at Charles University, raised many of his successors who founded the Archaeological Institute of N. P. Kondakov in Prague.

An important figure was the diplomat and translator Vladimir Rafalsky. He studied several Oriental languages, translated from Persian, Turkish and Arabic. Until 1917 he was an envoy of Russia in many countries. Later he worked in the Russian Political Council against the Bolsheviks. As an emigrant in Prague, he graduated from Charles University and became a legal translator from nine languages, chaired the Russian Free University in Prague. On 11 May 1945, he was arrested by SMERŠ who led him to their headquarters in Dělostřelecká Street and has been missing since then.[16]

Other personalities survived 1945 and for at least another twenty years worked in Czechoslovakia and abroad.

Philosopher Nikolai Lossky, after a turbulent youth (expelled from high school for the promotion of atheism, joined the Foreign Legion from where he escaped by pretending madness) studied philosophy and since 1898 lectured at St. Petersburg University, advocated mystical intuition and created a new philosophical direction – intuitivism, or the way for a subject to know their inner world. Although not engaged in the revolutions, in 1922 he was expelled from Russia together with Russian philosopher

15 Their existence is evidenced by notes from 1945 sent to the central institutions by the national committees of towns and municipalities asking for a list of local residents of Russian and Ukrainian origin. (např. Fond ONV 1954/58 – 1960 SOkA v Semilech. Žádosti Ministerstva vnitra adresované správě SNB o soupisy obyvatel ruské a ukrajinské národnosti, SOkA Žilina, fond ONV Žilina 1945 – 1953, Žiadosti SNB o zoznamy obyvateľov ruskej a ukrajinskej národnosti.

16 ČERNOUŠEK, Štěpán – DVOŘÁK, Jan – HRADÍLEK, Adam. Zdokumentovali jsme bývalou vyšetřovnu NKVD [online]. Praha: Ústav pro studium totalitárních režimů. Available online: http://old.ustrcr.cz/cs/zdokumentovali-jsme-byvalou-vysetrovnu-nkvd-v-praze. Also BYSTROV, Vladimír. *Sovětská brutální svévole a československý ustrašený králíček: pokus o esejistický výklad stále nepříliš známého zločinu z roku 1945.Vyd.1.* Praha: Pro Nadační fond angažovaných nestraníků vydalo nakl. Euroslavica, 2009.

Nikolai Berdyaev on the so-called steamer of philosophers[17] as a counter-revolutionary. He assumed that Prague would become the centre of Russian philosophical thought, as several Russian philosophers had already lived here – Sergei Bulgakov, Peter Struve, Georgy Florovsky, Vasily Zenkovsky. However, philosophers gradually left Prague. N. Lossky lectured philosophy at the Russian People's University but found little understanding in the Czech philosophical environment. In 1938 a department of the "History of Russian Education" was founded at the University of Brno, where he lectured. He moved to Prague with the department. Here he lectured until 1939. In 1942 he went to Bratislava to escape the interest of the Gestapo. When the Soviet army liberated Bratislava, he emigrated to the USA.

Roman Jakobson moved to Prague legally. In 1920 he began working at the Soviet Embassy. In Prague he wrote for *Lidové noviny* and professional magazines. He worked in the Prague Linguistic Circle together with Czech scientists (Vilém Mathesius, Bohuslav Havránek) and Russian linguists (Nikolaj Trubeckoi, Sergei Kacerovsky).[18]

Notable scientists included academic Nikolai Andrusov, geologist and paleontologist. Agronomist Professor Viktor Brunst became chairman of the Union of Russian Agronomists and Forestry Managers in Prague. He lectured at the Czech University of Commerce and was an advisor to the Czechoslovak Ministry of Agriculture for agronomy and agricultural economy.

Philologist, folklorist and historian Alexander Grigoriev, professor at the University of Warsaw, lived together with other distinguished scientists, professors of the University of Warsaw in Prague. One of them was the philologist, Slavist, academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences and a foreign member of the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts Vladimir Francev.

Nikolai Jastrebov, a Slavist and historian, personally knew T. G. Masaryk, was a supporter of his ideas and promoted them in his lectures. His daughter Naděžda Jastrebovová-Ragozinová became an important philosopher and worked in the Slavic Library since 1928.

Alexey Lomšakov, a world-renowned expert, engineer, inventor and public official, became a member of the first Duma in 1906 in Russia. He was a member of the cadet party, supported the White Movement during the Civil War, and was a member of the Denikin government apparatus that sent him to Prague.[19] He improved the steam boiler, developed an instrument for measuring the calorific value of fuel, became a professor at the Czech Technical University, a technical advisor to the Škoda Holding, an honorary member of the Union of Czech Mathematicians, as well as other important functions.

Philologist Leontij Kopeckij, the most prominent Slavist, who published Russian textbooks including phonetics, morphology, lexicology syntax and stylistics in the 1930s. Since 1937, he published individual volumes of the Russian-Czech dictionary.

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17 CHAMBERLAINOVÁ, Lesley. *Parník Filozofů: Lenin a vyhnání inteligence*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 2009.

18 PUTNA, Martin, C. *Rusko mimo Rusko. Dějiny a kultura ruské emigrace 1917 – 1939.* Brno: Petrov, 1993, pp. 186-190.

19 http://www.langhans.cz/cz/archiv/online-archiv/name/l/lomsakov/1423/

In the years 1952 – 1964 he published a six-volume Great Russian-Czech Dictionary, which is still used nowadays. He published the Czech-Russian dictionary at the end of his life in 1976.

Petr Milovidov contributed to the development of biology in Czechoslovakia. He was interested in bacteria, cytoplasm and plant cell. Other personalities of Russian white emigrants included engineer, architect and painter Nikolai Pashkovsky, chemical technologist and state official Yefim Zubashev, lawyer, historian, philologist Sergei Zavadsky, astronomer Vsevolod Stratonov, professor Yevgeny Smurlo – historian and many others who worked not only in Prague,[20] but also in other cities. They organized cycles of professional lectures, congresses, conferences, wrote and published books.

Institution of Russian emigrants in Prague

The tragedy of Russian intellectuals in emigration was the October Revolution, with the Bolsheviks in power and their terror, which they had escaped, however, they lost their home. Thus, the Czech-Russian Union was established, which sought to interpret important phenomena, for example: What is Russia? The Russian Revolution of 1917; Memories of the Russian Revolution in 1905; Interpretation of the Revolution and prospects of future Russia. Russian press, published in Prague, was printed in the capitals of the free Baltic republics – Riga and Tallinn, where many white emigrants also lived. Original Russian pedagogical literature, unprecedented in other countries, was written in Prague. Magazine of a high standard *Russkaja škola za rubežom* (Russian School Abroad) was published in Prague. It was used not only by Czech teachers, but also by teachers in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. In another magazine – the *Educational Journal for Secondary and Lower Schools Abroad* – articles from congresses of Russian teachers in emigration were published, which dealt with the teaching of mother tongue, history, realities etc. in a foreign environment. Prague became the seat of the Union of Russian Teachers of Secondary and Municipal Schools and the Union of Russian Teachers organizations in emigration. There were 29 Russian nurseries and 52 Russian elementary schools in Czechoslovakia. Russian emigrants founded 37 secondary schools. The Russian Federal Secondary School in Strašnice (which was also a boarding school) was founded by Zemgor[21] in 1922. The second real reformed secondary school was established in 1920 in Constantinople. In 1923 it moved to Moravská Třebová, where there were better material conditions. In the early 1930s, both schools merged and moved to a new representative building in Pankrác.

Russian journals for farmers were also published in Prague, such as the *Calendar for Russian Farmers, Farmer and Illustrated Russia*. Thanks to the financial support of Czechoslovakia, important congresses of Russian emigration took place in Prague: in 1921 Congress of Russian Academics, Congress of Russian Academic Organizations, Congress of Russian Students in Emigration, Congress of Russian Farmers, Congress

20 DOBUŠEVA, Marina – KRYMOVA, Viktorie (Eds.). *Olšany, nekropole ruské emigrace.* Praha: Ruská tradice, 2013.

21 Zemgor was officially registered as a body of SRs in the Czechoslovak Republic (RČS) in 1921 and began its activities in 1922.

of Organizers of Secondary and Lower Russian Schools Abroad, Congress of Teachers of Russian Lower Schools in Emigration, etc.

Despite this impressive activity, the Russians were not citizens of Czechoslovakia. Only in 1930, the Russians (and other Russian-speaking refugees) gradually acquired the so-called Nansen refugee passport.[22]

In Czechoslovakia, the refugees remained, as initially they had no right of domicile in any municipality. They did not acquire the right of domicile even by marriage, on the contrary, the wife lost her right of domicile and received a Nansen passport as well. Only refugee children born in Czechoslovakia acquired right of domicile and citizenship.

However, Russian and Ukrainian holders of a Nansen passport could acquire a right of domicile in a municipality or town if the municipality decided to accept them and grant it to them. Many Russian and Ukrainian doctors, agricultural engineers, and technical intellectuals acquired right of domicile and citizenship as a certain community[23] needed a person's expertise and committed to meeting their obligations to the new citizen. The position of experts with less practical expertise was more complicated. Linguists, journalists, historians, philosophers, priests, etc. were not a necessity for the communities, and they often remained with a Nansen passport. Still, it also had its advantages, which, however, lost their significance after 1945. That is why after 1945 Russian white emigrants became an easy target for SMERŠ and NKVD. The Soviet Union enforced their return on the basis of an agreement between the superpowers in March 1945 on the return of former Russian citizens from various states to the USSR[24] and also on the basis of an agreement on population exchange between Czechoslovakia and the USSR from 1946, when Czechoslovakia had to return these emigrants to the USSR.

Russian and Ukrainian emigrants became an intellectual contribution for the new Czechoslovak Republic during the interwar years and Prague became the intellectual centre of Russian and Ukrainian exiled scientists, artists and politicians. They called it the Czech Oxford. Gradually, a Russian university was founded here – the Russian Faculty of Law in 1922, and in 1923 the Russian Pedagogical Institute of J. A. Comenius, which qualified and requalified Russian teachers. It ended its activity in 1926. The above-mentioned secondary schools were in operation, as well as Ukrainian Free Economic University, Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute, Russian and Ukrainian cultural and scientific institutions.

In April 1924, Russian scientific emigration in Prague established the Russian Scientific Institute of Agriculture and Peasant Culture. At its birth stood the idea of emigrant scientists Petr Pavlovich Maslov and Andrei Nikolaevich Chelincev. They intended to establish an Institute for the Study of Peasant Culture (or Peasant Cultures of Russian Regions). This institute was to deal with practical issues of peasant life and economy. Its founders planned to elaborate their materials from extensive research in various Russian governorates from the years 1900 – 1914, which they transported to

22 VEBER, Václav. a kol: *Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR…*, p. 24

23 https://www.psp.cz/sqw/text/orig2.sqw?idd=115747 Domovské právo – historie, komparace a současný pohled

24 Archiv vnešnej politiky Ministerstva inostrannych del Moskva, f. 22, spis 167.

Prague. According to another founder, the economist and statistician Karel Romanovich Kachorovsky (also spelled as Kocharovsky), the institute was also supposed to deal with scientific and theoretical problems.

Both ideas were incorporated into the organizational structure of the institute, which was to engage in scientific research of all classes of population in Russia, not just the peasantry. The aim of the Institute was to develop a comprehensive analysis of the diverse problems expected in Russia under Soviet rule, using Western experience. Therefore, the Institute had eight basic departments: economic, social, legal, cultural, political, historical, foreign and general. In the autumn of 1924 the Institute changed into the Institute of Russian Studies. There were five departments: 1. the sociology department, which examined the social forms of the peasant way of life, 2. the agrarian department, which studied agricultural relations and legislation in agriculture, 3. the department for the economy and organization of Russian agriculture, 4. the department for local authorities, 5. the department for practical questions of peasant way of life and examples of foreign experience. The work of the sociological department was the best, it prepared sociological materials from the Russian village until 1917 in several professional studies and utilised the research of its scientists from 1904 to 1914. The work of other departments also brought important and interesting results, which allowed professional insight into the then current problems of the USSR. They also focused on agriculture in other countries in post-war Europe, such as Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Bulgaria. The studies were published in the magazines *Rolnické Rusko* and *Věstník rolnického Ruska*, which were published in Prague. These magazines published reviews of books on social and economic issues published in the USSR. The inaccuracies in the statistical files presented by the USSR did not escape their critical analysis as well.[25]

Over a few years, Russian emigrant scientists created a scientific institution in Prague that was very significant in their knowledge of the key problem of Soviet Russia – the peasantry and the Soviet economy.[26] It has not been processed until now, however, Russian historians are already publishing articles from this archive. In 2004, the Russian State Archives of Economics and the Faculty of Economics of the Moscow University of Humanities held a conference 130 years since the birth of A. N. Chelinceva, which included contributions on his work in emigration.[27]

The Prague Linguistic Circle, which was later called the Prague Linguistic School abroad, became world renown. The basic concept was created by: Vilém Mathésius, Bohuslav Havránek, Russian linguist Roman Jakobson, Nikolai Sergeyevich Trubeckoy, Sergei Karcevsky. These and other Russian and Ukrainian intellectuals participated

25 VJUNICKAJA, Elena – PIVOVAR, Jefim, J. Anketa Pražskogo komitenta po oznamovaniju 175-letija Moskovskogo universiteta a ego fonde v GARF (Gosudarstvennyj archiv Ruskoj federacii). In *Otečestvennyje archivy,* 2018, N 5, Moskva 37-44. The authors mention the funds of the Russian Foreign Archive, which was transferred to Moscow in 1945 and is deposited in Moscow.

26 PAVLOVA, Tatiana, F. Predislovie/ Fondy Russkogo zagraničnogo archiva v Prage. In *Mežarchivnyj putevoditel'.* Moskva, 1999, pp. 3-32.

27 Andrej Nikolajevič ČELINCEV se v třicátých letech 20. století vrátil do SSSR. In Priglašenije 130 let so dnja roždenija A. N. Čelinceva. 1. Dekabrja 2004 goda, g. Moskva, Organizoval Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj archiv ekonomiky (RGAE).

in the foundation and expansion of the Slavonic Library in Klementinum, Prague, later the University Library, now the National Library. The study of Russian language, literature, phonetics, Russian culture and art at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague was also excellent thanks to the expertise of the Slavonic Library and its Russian department. In the 1930s, the position of Russian emigrants deteriorated following the conclusion of the Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance treaty.[28] Some left Prague. This also involved some of the members of the Prague Linguistic Circle. Those who stayed were under pressure from the NKVD after 1945. Ideological attacks intensified in 1947, when some scientists were kidnapped into gulags. The Circle ceased to exist in 1952.

Several Russian emigrants studied, but also lectured at the Czech Technical University, the Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Science, Charles University and other universities in Bohemia and Moravia. They were a part of our scientific life and are a part of it now, because they were joined by other personalities from later waves of Russian immigration to Czechoslovakia and later to the Czech Republic.

Monument of Russian white emigration

Except for the St Nicolas Church in the Old Town Square, where Orthodox worship took place from the second half of the 19th century with breaks until 1942, the Russian Orthodox were also looking for a place of last rest in their new homeland. In 1925, the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Mother of God at Olšany Cemeteries, also known as the Uspensky Temple, was built at the Russian Cemetery according to a design by architect Vladimir Brandt, professor at Kiev University (during World War II, he was tortured to death by the Prague Gestapo). With the financial support of Prague Russians, K. Kramář and his wife, and other financial donations, they built a sacral building in the northern Pskov-Novgorod Old-Russian style. The Orthodox church was inspired by the Orthodox Church of Saviour Church on Nereditsa in Novgorod. Prague's one-nave temple with one dome with "lantern-like tambour" is the only church of this style outside Russia. The contemporary Russian community thus received at least a reminder of the old homeland in their new country.

Many great experts and artists participated in the decoration of the temple. The most valuable part of the temple is its exterior and interior decoration according to the model of the renowned Russian painter and graphic artist Ivan Yakovlevich Bilibin, an emigrant living in Paris. The centre of attention is the icon of the Annunciation, the stylization of the miraculous icon of the Mother of God, called in the original "Znamenje Kurskaja Korennaja". It was discovered in the woods near Kursk in 1295 and, according to legend, she always appeared in the critical moments of Russia.

We can also see figures of saints, from the right: St. Cyril and Methodius, St. Vladimir and Olga, St. Alexander Nevsky and other Russian saints. On the left there are Czech Saints – St. Wenceslas and St. Ludmila, Serbian Saints – St. Stefan, St. Sava and St. Lazarus. The frescoes were created by painters – emigrants: Ryazanov, Jaskovsky, Levicky and others. The face of Christ in the dome is done by the "al fresco" method.

28 NOSKOVÁ, H. Festivity každodennost ruských „bílých" emigrantů…, p. 58.

Iconostasis designed by prof. Vladimír Brandt was installed in the Uspensky temple at the end of the 1920s and the individual icons were created for him by the painter K. M. Katkov and the painter Natalja G. Jašvilová, both important "iconographers".

In the vicinity of the temple, the graves with Orthodox crosses are the place of rest for important Russian personalities: satirist Arkady Averchenko, lawyer and philosopher Pavel Novgorodov, writer Yevgeny N. Chirikov, writer and philosopher Ivan Lapshin, economist, sociologist and geographer Pyotr Savitsky, his son historian Ivan Savitsky and others. Orthodox worship for Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and family ceremonies took place here.

Russian emigrants from 1945 to 1989

In the years of occupation and in the Protectorate, Russian and Ukrainian emigrants were under pressure from the Gestapo. The Orthodox lost the church of St. Nicholas on the Old Town Square, where they could no longer conduct worship. The liturgical objects were transferred to the common room in the basement of the so-called Professor's House in Bubeneč, where Orthodox worship was held later on. Also, the "Uspensky Temple" in the Russian Cemetery in Olsany served for worship – Rozdestvo, Easter, Pentecost, Saints Day.

In May 1945, Russian doctors, Czechoslovak citizens wrote a letter to the Soviet embassy, a testimony to their life in the interwar Czechoslovakia, demonstrating their understanding of democracy and belief in the generosity of the winner. They write (quoted in translation) that 25 years ago they came to Czechoslovakia as young people, where they found Slavic hospitality and a full understanding of the government of Czechoslovakia. E. Beneš and the Czechoslovak society founded an event that brought material assistance to Russians studying at universities in Czechoslovakia. They graduated and could work as doctors. They fell in love with the whole Czechoslovakia and worked honestly for 20 years. But they are also proud of Russia, whose successes they had been pursuing all along. The year 1938 came and there was also a Russian squad in the mobilized Czechoslovak Army. With Czechoslovakia, they all experienced the occupation and closure of their Alma mater. They always listened to both radios (London Calling and Moscow). Now they welcome the Red Army and Allied troops. They thank to the red tanks together with the Czechs. The letter ends with the words: *"We, Russian doctors in Czechoslovakia remain citizens of Czechoslovakia. We remain true to the legacy of democracy; we did not bend the back to Hitler. We are getting rid of all traitors and collaborators, condemn all injustice. Long live Benes, Stalin, Konev, Rybalko, Malinovsky, Yeremenko!"*[29]

The letter reflects the minds of the Russians in Czechoslovakia, who in the war years did not intend to accept the destruction of Russia, their homeland, by foreign powers and welcomed every victory of Soviet troops. They also believed in the generosity of the winners. But the Soviets failed them.

29 Archiv vnešnej politiki Ministerstva inostrannich del Moskva, f. 138, složka 25, spis 40.

After 1945, many men from this emigration were dragged to the USSR by the NKVD and were interned in camps for political prisoners – Gulags. Few of them returned to Czechoslovakia after many years. Most of them perished in the inhuman conditions of the gulags. It is commemorated by the plaque on the wall of the temple in Russian and Czech language from 1995, devoted to the fate of the Russians and Ukrainians, whose involuntary return to their homeland usually brought them death. It is still not known where they are buried.

In 1945, the Soviet Embassy in Prague was interested in local Russians and Ukrainians and in their federal activities. Associations from the interwar years were gradually banned.

In 1947, after the removal of approximately 6,000 Russians from Czechoslovakia, a report from the Soviet embassy tells us that about 600 Russians in Czechoslovakia were granted citizenship and provided with Soviet magazines and newspapers. Unfortunately, as the Embassy employee complained, it was not possible to organize regular meetings with these citizens, as the Embassy does not have the appropriate space, room, or several rooms (facilities) to arrange for regular meetings with these Soviet citizens in Czechoslovakia. A quote from the translated source:

"Currently, the part of the Russians who still do not have the USSR citizenship for various reasons or did not want to apply for it, continues to work in the former "Ochag" association. However, Soviet patriotic Russians who have acquired Soviet citizenship are outside any organization. The Embassy's effort to organize anything does not meet with success, because there is no money for renting a facility (understand buildings, rooms), which costs about 200,000 CZK. However, leaving these citizens unorganized and beyond the influence of the Embassy cannot be considered correct and it is therefore necessary to enter an item for renting a facility into the budget…"[30]

Since 1948, various advisors, experts and teachers of Russian language came to Czechoslovakia. Teams of Soviet lawyers also came to the Faculty of Law of Charles University and other institutions to prepare a two-year Law School together with Czech and Slovak lawyers. The two-year Law School covered the years 1949 – 1950, when all branches of Czechoslovak law were re-codified and the Soviet model was adopted – in the Family Law Act, the Civil Code and the Criminal Law. Changes in criminal law and their codification became a preparation for political trials in Czechoslovakia.[31]

In 1948, the Russian Federal Grammar School in Pankrác was cancelled and was donated to the Soviet Embassy by Czech politicians at the impulse of Z. Nejedlý.

A certain centre, especially of the new Russians with Soviet citizenship, was created around the Embassy Information Bureau, another around the College of Russian Language. Russian advisors had a newly established Planning Commission, the Czech Statistical Office, the Czechoslovak Agricultural Academy, various editors. The newcomers were citizens of the USSR and, with some exceptions, did not have the citizenship of Czechoslovakia (after 1969 the citizenship of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Citizenship of the Slovak Socialist Republic). Except for this new wave, Russian and

30 Archiv vnešnej politiki Ministerstva inostrannich del Moskva, f. 138, složka 25, spis 40.

31 Russkij gosudarstvennij archiv socialnoj i političedkoj Istrii (RGASPI) Moskvy, f. 87, spis 1126 b.

Ukrainian emigrants from the interwar years remained. They did not trust these new citizens of the USSR and perceived them as the instrument of Sovietization. In 1949, right of domicile was abolished and Russians with permanent residence in Czechoslovakia from the interwar migration waves gradually gained Czechoslovak citizenship, unless they applied for Soviet citizenship at the Soviet Embassy or were forcibly taken to the USSR as part of the above exchange. After 1953 (after Stalin's death) between 1956 and 1960, about 2,000 Russians returned from the gulags and were rehabilitated.

Former Russian and Ukrainian emigrants remained on the fringes of society in Czechoslovakia. They had shared a common destiny in the Czech lands for years, which united them to a certain extent. However, Ukrainians have been more frequently represented in the Slovak part of the republic, especially in the regions of eastern Slovakia. After the February coup in 1950, the Greek Catholic Church was banned in Czechoslovakia and some Ukrainians and Ruthenians lost religious freedom. In the same period, all Ukrainian clubs in the Czech Republic had to be closed down. The Ukrainian Museum and its association were also cancelled. The Ukrainian Grammar School in Modřany terminated its activities in 1944, the Ukrainian Free University and the Pedagogical Institute based in Prague ceased to exist. Ukrainian student, women's, cultural and scientific associations ceased their activities. Ukrainian periodicals disappeared. The Pro-Soviet Osvita was cancelled as well. The Ukrainians from Osvita joined the Soviet Citizens' Club at the USSR Embassy. In Eastern Slovakia, the only association of the Ukrainian Workers' Cultural Association (KZUP) was active. Ukrainians in Bohemia and Moravia were perceived as bearers of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism.[32] Even the smallest of group settlement of Ukrainians in Bohemia and Moravia was undesirable, and they were so to say dispersed by individuals and individual families so that they could not meet, let alone establish associations.[33] Russians and Ukrainians from the original White Emigration did not form any associations, stood apart from any activity related to the Soviet Embassy. In addition, they were under the constant supervision of the State Security (ŠtB).[34]

After 1968, they were aware of the negative emotions of the Czechs, which were based on the occupation in August 1968. In the 1970s and 1980s, there was an increase in the small percentage of Russian spouses of Czech partners who studied in the USSR or lived there for work for some time. These newcomers sought to acquire citizenship and were mostly accepted by the majority society. In early 1989, the Independent Intellectuals' Club was established in Prague. Its distinguished figure was the academic Miroslav Katětov (1918 Čembar, Russia – 1995 Prague) mathematician, chancellor of

32 Archive Ministry of Interior Prague, f. 310-11-1, Ministerstvo národní bezpečnosti. Směrnice k evidenci veškerých našemu lidově demokratickému zřízení nepřátelských živlů. Eastern department to which belong Ukrainians, Russians „vhite" emigrants, „previous" poeple etc. In NOSKOVÁ, Helena. *Návrat Čechů z Volyně. Naděje a skutečnost let 1945 – 1954.* Praha: ÚSD AV ČR, 1999, pp. 82-86.

33 ZILYNSKYJ, Bohdan. *Ukrajinci v Čechách a na Moravě (1894) 1917 – 1945 (1994).* Praha: Nakladatelství Egem, 1995, pp. 68-73.

34 Archive Ministry of Interior, f. 310-11-1, Ministerstvo národní bezpečnosti . „Směrnice k evidenci veškerých našemu lidově demokratickému zřízení nepřátelských živlů".

the Charles University (1954 – 1958), and the main speaker at Albertov at a student demonstration on 17 November 1989, who then participated in the Civic Forum. He sought in particular to reform the education system and transform the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

In November 1989, the Civic Forum of Ukrainians drew up statutes and convened a constitutive meeting of the Association of Ukrainians and Friends of Ukraine in Czechoslovakia. Russian as well as Ukrainian Russians also participated on the foundation of the association,[35] who otherwise did not conduct any activity, only part of them (mathematicians, physicists) felt affiliation to the Independent Intellectuals' Club, however, were not members due to the then opinion of the Czech majority rejecting everything Russian because of the memories of the occupation of 1968 and the persistence of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia.

In 1994, a new civic association Ukrainian Initiative in the Czech Republic separated from the Association of Ukrainians and Friends of Ukraine in the Czech Republic. The Czech Association of Ukrainians in the Czech Republic is also active.

Only the 1991 census produced new results on the number of inhabitants of various nationalities with Czechoslovak citizenship in the Czech Republic. Russian nationality was claimed by 5,062 people, 8,220 people claimed Ukrainian nationality.

In the same year 1991, the Act on Civic Associations was also passed, which was an incentive for nationalities as well as other minorities to establish other civic associations on the nationality principle.

After 1991, there was an influx of Ukrainians from Ukraine and Russians from the former USSR to Czechoslovakia, especially to the Czech Republic. They come for short-term work permits with the status of foreigners. In the first years, they did not establish and maintain any contacts with Ukrainians and Russians living permanently in the Czech Republic and holding Czech citizenship. In the following years, their tide did not cease.

The Russians did not take advantage of the status of a national minority in the 1990s and founded no associations. Descendants of former Russians and Russian intellectuals, who could only immigrate after 1948 as marital partners as part of unification of families, or experts knew that their position in the Czech Republic was predestined by the occupation in 1968. Although these descendants of white emigrants and the new immigrants did not participate in it; they continued their professional activities from the second half of the 1980s, when they met in the House of Science and Technology. They assumed that the Czech Republic would regulate its relationship with minorities before joining the European Union, as members of the Association of Compatriots and Friends of Russian Tradition wrote on their website. Therefore, they waited and founded their civic association "Association of Compatriots and Friends of Russian Tradition" after the adoption of Act No. 273/2001 on National Minorities in 2001, when they became, thanks to Russian white emigrants in the interwar years, a historical national minority

35 Ukrainian Russians came to Czechoslovakia after 1945, especially in the 1970s and 1980s. Mostly they were Russians and their descendants who were relocated from the RSFSR to Ukraine in the 1930s.

in the Czech Republic. Gradually, another Russian civic associations were established, Ruskij kulturnij sojuz Praga, Artek, Asociacia russkich obščestv, Koordinacionij sovet rossijskich sootečestvenikov v Čechii, Cennější než perla, etc.[36]

In Prague, there is a Russian-Czech grammar school, kindergarten, elementary school Science with Lyceum for Russian children who want to learn Czech language well and to maintain knowledge of Russian language.

Ruska tradice z.s. followed directly on the cultural, professional and publishing activities of Russian emigrants in the interwar years. It publishes the magazine *Russkoje slovo* with the supplement *Slovo detjam* on a high professional level. It has its own website where we can find information about the association, the magazine, cultural programs and book publishing. The most popular Russian cultural programs since 2003 include an evening of opera arias performed by Russian opera singers living in the Czech Republic called Bravo opera, literary evenings, exhibitions of Russian painters and artists, evenings of Russian poetry etc. Not only opera evenings, concerts of young Russian classical music performers, exhibitions of Russian painters, Russian tradition followed up on the day of Russian culture, which was established in Prague in 1928 and met with the interest of Czechs. After 1948, communist politicians multiplied the days that formed the Month of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship. Ruska tradice is trying to restore the original character of this day.[37]

Conclusion

Russian national minority that takes part in several associations is one of those minorities who have been able to draw on the traditions of their federal activities in the interwar years while responding to their new needs. It is not closed, as is often said, but immediate acceptance is given to those who know Russian culture and history, because they mostly know Russian language. Russians learn Czech language quickly and acquire complex phrases, idioms, etc., because they are interested in communicating not only well, but also on a certain level of education. They have chosen Czech Republic as their new home and Czech language is an imaginary entry key for them. The Russians-Czech citizens are surrounded by a large number of new immigrants from Ukraine and Russia, who come as part of labour migration, as new entrepreneurs and people seeking democracy and different living conditions. They bring with them their mother tongue, culture, traditions and accept our culture without problems. Russian and Ukrainian folk traditions come to life on various occasions. The Russian minority, as not only Ukrainians, but also Ukrainian Russians come from Ukraine, ensures a quality presentation of Russian and Ukrainian national culture (e.g. the unveiling of Taras Shevchenko's memorial in Prague in spring 2008, Ukrainian Culture Week, literary and music evenings of Russian writers and composers) opera, exhibition of Russian painters living in the Czech Republic called Post Red, Russian student theatre Sarafan,

36 A detailed list of all Russian associations with a description of their activities is contained in publication *Rossijane v Čechii včera i segodnja*. Praha: Ottovo nakladatelství, s. r. o., 2012.

37 Compare for example: *Kronika kulturního, vědeckého a společenského života ruské emigrace v Československé republice I 1919 – 1929.* Pod redakcí L. Běloševské, Praha: Slovanský ústav, 2000.

children's theatre festival Zimni pohadka) These many other cultural achievements are popular not only with the minority, but also with people from majority society.

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