

**Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities:
Nations between States along the New Eastern Borders of the European Union**

Series of project research reports

**Contextual and empirical reports
on ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe**

Belarus
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Research Report #5

**The Slovak Minority
in Hungary**

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Project host and coordinator



About the ENRI-East research project (www.enri-east.net)

The Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities: Nations between states along the new eastern borders of the European Union (ENRI-East)

ENRI-East is a research project implemented in 2008-2011 and primarily funded by the European Commission under the Seventh Framework Program. This international and inter-disciplinary study is aimed at a deeper understanding of the ways in which the modern European identities and regional cultures are formed and inter-communicated in the Eastern part of the European continent.

ENRI-East is a response to the shortcomings of previous research: it is the first large-scale comparative project which uses a sophisticated toolkit of various empirical methods and is based on a process-oriented theoretical approach which places empirical research into a broader historical framework.

The distinct ethno-national diversity in this region, along with the problems resulting from it was generated by dramatic shifts of borders, populations and political affiliation which have continued until today. The prevailing pattern of political geography of this part of Europe was the emergence and the dismemberment of empires, a process which created ethno-national enclaves within the boundaries of new nation states. These minorities were frequently drawn into inter-state conflicts and subjected to repression, ethnic cleansing and expulsion. The subjects of interests were ethnic minorities in the supra-region "Wider Eastern Europe", i.e. the region between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, along the current geo-political "East-West" division line. Estimated 8 to 10 millions of people are affected by "ethnic splits" or minority groups, whose ethnic compatriots would constitute a titular majority in another country, some of them even on each side of this contemporary geopolitical east-west diving border line.

The complex ENRI-East study was designed as a comprehensive set of theoretical, methodological, empirical and comparative work streams exploring the interplay of identities among the twelve ethnic minorities in the supra-region of Central and Easter Europe. These ethnic groups are: Russians in Latvia and Lithuania, Belarusians and Ukrainians in Poland, Slovaks in Hungary, Hungarians in Slovakia and in Ukraine, Poles in Ukraine, in Belarus and in Lithuania, Belarusians in Lithuania as well as Lithuanians in Russia (Kaliningrad oblast). The project includes also a case study of Germany, where our target groups were the ethnic Germans returning to their historical homeland after the centuries of living in other European countries as well as Jewish immigrants (so called "quota refugees" who had moved to the country since 1989).

ENRI-East addresses four general research themes. The first one deals with the interplay of identities and cultures by comparing 'mother nations' and their 'residual groups abroad'. The second theme is a cross-cutting approach which addresses the nations and the states: more exactly, the attitudes and policies of 'mother nations' and 'host nations' toward the 'residual groups' and vice versa. The third research theme comprise the reality of self organization and representation of "residual groups abroad" (ethnic minorities) along the East European borderland. Finally, the last research theme of the project deals with path dependencies, historical memories, present status and expected dynamics of divided nations in Eastern Europe.

The empirical data base for ENRI-East was generated through 5 sub-studies implemented in all or several project countries:

- ENRI-VIS (Values and Identities Survey): face-to-face formalized interviews with members of 12 ethnic minority groups in eight countries, 6,800 respondents;
- ENRI-BIO: qualitative, biographical in-depth interviews with members of 12 ethnic minority groups in eight countries (144 interviews);
- ENRI-EXI: semi-structured expert interviews with governmental and non-governmental representatives of ethnic minority groups in eight countries (48 interviews);
- ENRI-BLOG: online content analysis of weblogs and Internet periodicals run or maintained by ethnic minority group members;
- ENRI-MUSIC: special study on cultural identities and music; an innovative, multi-disciplinary pilot effort in Hungary and Lithuania.

The series of ENRI-East research reports (www.enri-east.net/project-results)

Main outcomes of the ENRI-East research program are summarized in the series of research papers and project reports as outlined below. The whole collection of papers will be publicly available on the project web-site by December 2011, while some papers can be accessed since September 2011.

Individual papers are written by ENRI-East experts from all project teams and the whole series is edited by the Coordinating Team at the CEASS-Center at the Institute for Advanced Studies under the guidance of the Principal Investigator Prof. Hans-Georg Heinrich and Project Coordinator Dr. Alexander Chvorostov.

Summarizing and generalizing reports

1. Theoretical and methodological backgrounds for the studies of European, national and regional identities of ethnic minorities in European borderlands (Edited by Prof. Claire Wallace and Dr. Natalia Patsiurko)
2. Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities among the ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe (main results of ENRI-East empirical program) (Edited by Prof. Hans-Georg Heinrich and Dr. Alexander Chvorostov)
3. ENRI-East Thematic Comparative papers and synopses of authored articles of ENRI-East experts (9 tender papers and further bibliography of project-related publications)

Contextual and empirical reports on ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe:

(edited by respective team leaders)

4. The Polish Minority in Belarus
5. The Slovak Minority in Hungary
6. The Russian Minority in Latvia
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10. The Belarusian Minority in Poland
11. The Ukrainian Minority in Poland
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13. The Hungarian Minority in Slovakia
14. The Hungarian Minority in Ukraine
15. The Polish Minority in Ukraine
16. Special Case Study Germany

Series of empirical survey reports:

17. ENRI-VIS: Values and Identities Survey
 - Methodology and implementation of ENRI-VIS (Technical report)
 - ENRI-VIS Reference book (major cross-tabulations and coding details)
18. Qualitative sub-studies of ENRI-East project (methodological and technical reports)
 - Methodological report on Biographical Interviews (ENRI-BIO)
 - Methodological report on Expert Interviews and data base description (ENRI-EXI)
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The treatment of historical, statistical and sociological data and facts, their scientific accuracy and the interpretations as well as the writing style are the sole responsibility of the authors of individual contributions and chapters published in the ENRI Research Papers. The positions and opinions of the project coordinator and of the editors of ENRI-East series of research papers as well as of the ENRI-East consortium as a whole may not necessarily be the same. By no means may the contents of the research papers be considered as the position of the European Commission.

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ABSTRACT

According to the 2001 census there were 17,692 Slovaks in Hungary. The main socio-demographic characteristics of the Slovaks in Hungary are: they are old, rural, geographically concentrated.

The current political and cultural situation of the Slovaks is very good: they have their own minority self-government, they have a research institute, primary and secondary schools in Slovak language and a weekly journal as well as regular radio and TV programmes in Slovak language.

Among the Slovaks in Hungary the dominant ethnic identity is Hungarian, followed by the “Slovak Hungarian” identity, only every tenth respondent claimed themselves close to a Slovak identity. The mix of the Hungarian and Slovakian language dominates the language use at home, followed by the Hungarian language while only a very small minority (no one in the youngest cohort) speaking only Slovakian at home.

As to self-identification, Hungarian Slovaks are characterized by an assimilative attitude of a dual feature: 66 percent of the respondents claim to be part of the Hungarian Slovak minority, 22% put more emphasis on his/her Hungarian background (“I am a Hungarian with Slovak descent”), and 12% characterized themselves as Hungarian.

Slovaks in Hungary are very assimilated in their identity preference and language use but keep their Slovak identity as a cultural component. The youngest cohort, however, shows clear signs that this cultural component is diminishing as well (smaller proportion of Slovak identity and using only Slovakian language at home, and having Slovakian music as favorite).

The emotional attachment to the country and the feeling of closeness to the Hungarian national space is very strong among ethnic Slovaks (in conformity with the majority population). But in a minority position this emotional component could play a significant role in building ethnic Slovak identity in Hungary.

The attachment to locality among the Slovaks significantly stronger than in the general population, and since it is combined this with the fact the strong attachment to their minority group as well, this indicates that the Slovak minority identity is integrated very strongly into their locality and (small-scale) ethnic community, simultaneously.

For the Hungarian Slovaks - the same way as for the majority - the most important aspects of the national categorization is mother tongue, self-identification, and ethnic ancestry, i.e. blood relationship. While in case of mother tongue and self-identification the difference between minority is small and decreasing (i.e. the difference between Hungarian Slovaks and the Hungarian majority in 1995 was more pronounced than in 2003), the difference in case of the latter is bigger and increasing.

The level of general trust among Hungarian Slovaks is much greater than among the Hungarian population. This high level of generalized trust does not contradict to minority and ethnic trust, i.e. trust the within the minority group and in the “unrelated and remote” Slovakian Slovaks as well. This result suggests that the within-minority bonding social capital and the cross-minority/majority bridging social capital live in peaceful coexistence.

There is no difference between minority and majority having low level of trust in politics and in the media. This indicates a common agreement of distrusting politics and modern communication. However, Hungarian Slovaks trust institutions (police, judiciary and minority self-

government) which have direct effect on their security much more than the majority. This shows that linking social capital is more important for them than for the majority, which is reinforced by the age effect: in the Slovak sample elderly people are overrepresented, who particularly feel important the role of personal relationships in shaping the lives.

1 SLOVAKS IN HUNGARY

Endre Sik

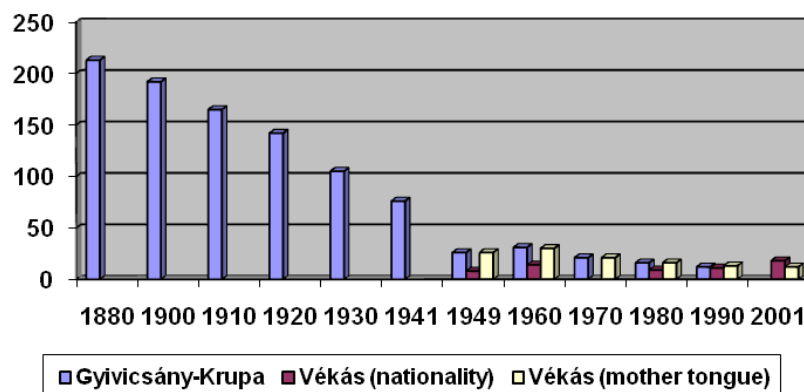
1.1 Hungarian majority and Slovakian minority relations

1.1.1 Historical overview

The Slavic ancestors of Slovaks have lived in the Carpathian basin since the V. century and several important Hungarian geographical names (including Balaton, Visegrad (one of the former centers of the Hungarian kingdom and Pest)) originate from the Slav language. The presence of the Slovaks as a minority in Hungary mainly dates back to the 17th and 18th century when they started settling in the northern parts of Hungary and developed strong mutual language contact with the Hungarians. This migration was forced by the fall of the reformation of the church when the catholic Habsburg administration defeated the protestant regime in the region. It was encouraged by the demand for labor all over Eastern Hungary as a consequence of the depopulation during the reign of the Ottoman Empire. The migrants were liberated from their servitude and they were allowed to build protestant churches. The main direction of internal migration was from the Northern region to the Southern Great Plain. This migration process was not a single mass flight but consisted several smaller scale migration movements (including seasonal commuting during the harvest periods from the North to the South as well the gradual re-settlement first in middle-Hungary later on in the Southern regions) and took almost two centuries (Gyivicsán – Krupa, 1997). Previous research indicated that for the Slovak community cultural traditions are much more relevant than nationality or language. This is historically explained by the fact that in those areas where the Slovaks migrated from there were rather big Hungarian speaking population therefore in everyday situation there was ample opportunity for the Slovaks to learn Hungarian. Moreover, they were forced to learn some Hungarian (and German) since the employers, the local intellectuals, the relatively more affluent in these areas usually belonged to these groups. The language loss was further increased by the long lasting and gradual migration process, which increased the chance to lose their feeling of belongingness to their places of origin as well as their grip on Slovak language.

The volume of the Slovak minority between 1880 and 1990 (using mother tongue as the basis for the estimation) was as follows:

Figure 1 The volume of the Slovak minority in Hungary (in thousands)



Source: Vékás, 2003. The data since 1949 refers to contemporary Hungary.

The decrease of the Slovakian population between 1910 and 1949 was due to the changing Hungarian borders and the post-WW-II forced resettlement. In about two years 73.273 Slovaks left for Slovakia¹. The first time when the Slovaks in Hungary found themselves in a position that a major historical event called their action as a minority community was after WW II when in 1946 as a result of the treaty on repatriation of Hungarians from Czechoslovakia and Slovaks from Hungary a Czechoslovakian Resettlement Committee was established in Budapest and started a three months long campaign to encourage Slovaks to return to their homeland (Gyivicsán-Krupa, 1997)². In about two years 73.273 Slovaks left for Slovakia³.

Before WW II most of Slovaks living in the Great Hungarian Plain were (often rather well-to-do) peasants, day laborers or artisans, those living in Central- or Northern Hungary were miners, coal burners, or industrial workers. The post WW II forced repatriation and the collectivization of the agriculture, the urbanization and industrialization generated growth in commuting, which reshaped the Slovakian communities. In 1955 60%, in 1980 35% of them worked in agriculture. Since World War Two assimilation has caused a further smaller decrease of the Slovak minority in the form of losing Slovak as a mother tongue⁴. While in the 1960-70s according to ethnographic material there were elderly and middle age women in the Slovak communities who did not speak Hungarian at all, by now there is an almost complete loss of language, i.e. the younger Slovak generation does not speak Slovak⁵. As the number of students taking Slovak language classes decreases, the rate of children with a Slovak background who do not want to learn Slovak or don't have the opportunity to do so has reached 95%. Lack of interest in Slovak cultural activities and the decline of use of the Slovak language has plagued the young generation. The elderly population used the Slovak language but the youth, without knowledge of their mother tongue, must identify with their minority background through their cultural heritage.

1.1.2 Political overview

Despite the change in the national identity of the national minorities in the region, which were accompanied by sharpened tensions, the Hungarian government renounced its territorial claim to its historical borders in the early 1990s. Moreover further progress was made in improving relations with her neighbours, particularly with Slovakia, in the 1990s. The aim of leaders in Hungary and Slovakia to re-integrate their countries into Europe helped to bring their domestic policies towards national minorities in line with international standards and encourage diplomacy between states. An example of the spread of international standards is Hungary's Law on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities of 1993, which was drawn up with help from experts from the Council of Europe's Venice Commission. The High Commissioner on national minori-

¹ Most of them paradoxically had to learn Hungarian in Slovakia since they were sent to replace Hungarians who were forced to leave for Hungary and found themselves in a Hungarian speaking community for the first time in their life.

² Such re-settlement campaign was organized in other Slovakian communities as well from Yugoslavia and Romania to France and Belgium.

³ Most of them paradoxically had to learn Hungarian in Slovakia since they were sent to replace Hungarians who were forced to leave for Hungary and found themselves in a Hungarian speaking community for the first time in their life.

⁴ At least according to Gyivicsány-Krupa (1997) because while Vékás's (2003) data on the basis of nationality shows stability with some oscillation and with the highest Slovak population in 2001, in the basis of mother tongue there is an increase between 1949 and 1961 and a constant decrease since then.

⁵ A recently (in 2009) died famous Hungarian opera singer (György Melis) was born in such a community and did not speak Hungarian at all before reaching school age.

ties proposed that a team of 3-4 neutral minority rights experts make four two-week visits to Hungary and Slovakia in the mid 1990ies to improve bilateral relations between the states and the position of their respective Slovak and Hungarian minorities. This yielded results. In February 1995 Hungary and Slovakia signed the Council of Europe's Framework Convention on Minorities. This treaty was a starting point for a further bilateral agreement to calm tensions over Hungary's policies towards Hungarians in neighboring countries, including Slovakia, in the Treaty on Good Neighbourhood and Friendly Co-operation. According to the terms of this treaty, the Hungarian-Slovak Minority Joint Commission was set up to support cooperation between the two countries.

Hungarian-Slovak bilateral relations became strained following the introduction of the Hungarian Status Law in 2001, which was passed in 2001 without prior consultation with Hungary's neighbours and contravened the 1995 Treaty on Good Neighbourhood. The OSCE office of High Commissioner on National Minorities helped to mediate the passing of amendments to the law. These amendments reiterated the provision of the 1995 treaty that the implementation of law in relation to national minorities is the responsibility of the state of the country in which they reside, and not their kin-state abroad. Recently the victory of the Fidesz party in elections in April 2010 was a further turning point in Slovak-Hungarian bilateral relations. The Fidesz government unilaterally offered Hungarian citizenship to Hungarians living abroad. This quickly became a dominant question in Slovakia's own elections. However, the participation of the Hungarian party Most-Hid in the new Slovakian ruling coalition has cooled the debate and improved relations between Hungary and Slovakia.

The centre-piece of the Hungarian state's policy towards the Slovakian minority is provided by the national minority self-government law of 1993. The national minority rights watchdog minorityrights.org noted that: "Despite its deficiencies, the 1993 law is generally regarded as a model of good practice and Hungary is considered a path-setter in Central and Eastern Europe in the field of minority protection." However this report highlighted two qualifications, which have acquired greater significance in the light of the victory of Fidesz and the growth in support of the extreme nationalist party Jobbik. The first is that the policies of the Hungarian government are taken with a view first and foremost to developing their relations with Hungarians abroad, a point which, as the watchdog further noted, was "illustrated by a referendum in 2004 on extending Hungarian citizenship to ethnic Hungarians abroad – an idea that still holds political currency in some quarters of Hungary – but the referendum failed due to low voter turnout." However, it is not in the interests of the Hungarian government to set a bad precedent for neighbouring governments such as Slovakia to follow. The new government has promised to unilaterally offer Hungarian citizenship to Hungarians in neighbouring countries, but it has not stated any intention to rewrite this legislation in relation to national minorities at home.

Despite the economic crisis, the Hungarian state provides resources to educate Slovakian minority children in schools run by Slovakian minority self-governments. The state also educates the public on minorities through the media as well as through higher education and conferences and research projects. Scholarships are awarded by the Ministry of Education to train minorities as journalists in their mother countries. The NSMSG was given financial support with 90 million Forint from the national budget in 2007. Hungary supports these institutions by giving access to communication through the media. The Hungarian government also allows members of the Slovak minority in Hungary to receive scholarships from Slovakia to study at a higher education institute in the "home country." Hungary and Slovakia accept the teaching certificates and diplomas given out by each country which was agreed upon in the bilateral treaty in 1995.

1.2 Demographic overview

1.2.1 The 2001 census

According to the 2001 census there were 17,692 Slovaks in Hungary. Similarly to other ethnic groups the census very likely underreports the volume of the population⁶. In 1985 on the basis of a survey (which used culture as the basis of self-identification) the number of Slovaks was estimated around 70.000⁷.

1.2.2 The Hungarian-Slovak family

The composition of the wives and husbands by their ethnic identity among the Slovaks is as follows:

Table 1 The identity of the wives and husbands of the Slovak families (%)

	Slovak	Slovak-Hungarian	Hungarian	Other	Total
Wives	14	33	50	2	100?
Husbands	14	32	51	3	100

Source: Tóth-Vékás, 2006.

Compared to other minorities these figures show a low rate of homogeneity, only the Polish, the Ukrainians, and the Rusins have lower level of homogeneity. However, it is not the proportion of partners with majority identity but those with mix identities are overrepresented compared to the other minorities: the partners with hybrid identity is the highest among the Slovaks, the closest to them are the Gipsy (Roma) and the German families (25 and 22% respectively).

The homogeneity of the Slovaks is reinforced by the lack of migration further, i.e. 63% of the ethnically homogeneous households have both the husband and the wife born in the same village. This proportion is far the highest compared to any other minorities⁸.

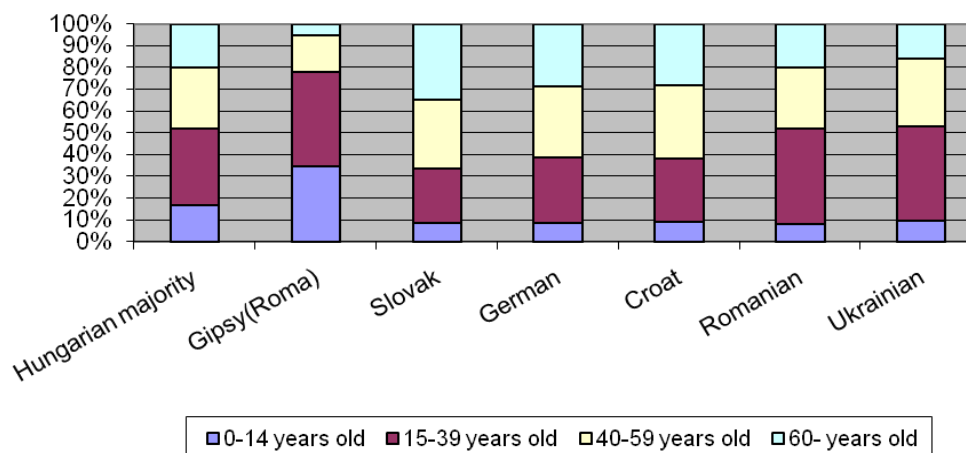
1.2.3 Age Structure

The Slovak minority is older than the Hungarian majority and older even than the other five largest minorities (Figure 2). The most similar are the German and Croat minorities but even in their case the 60- years old age cohort contains “only” 28% of the population while 35% of the Slovaks falls into this age group.

⁶ According to the most recent estimation (on the basis of declaring oneself as the member of a minority group to become eligible to vote in the coming (October 2010) local election) Etelka Riba, the deputy Chairperson of the Slovak Minority Self-governance said that the number of Slovaks has decreased from 15 000 (in 2005) to 12 280. (Népszabadság, 2010)

⁷ In the 2001 four components of ethnic identity was asked (see later). This figure contains those who claimed to belong to the Slovak nationality. The number of Slovaks on the basis of the cumulated number of all four components was 39.266 (Tóth-Vékás, 2005).

⁸ The proportion of non-migrant households among the homogenous marriages is 52% among the Croats and the Slovenians, and 45% among the Germans.

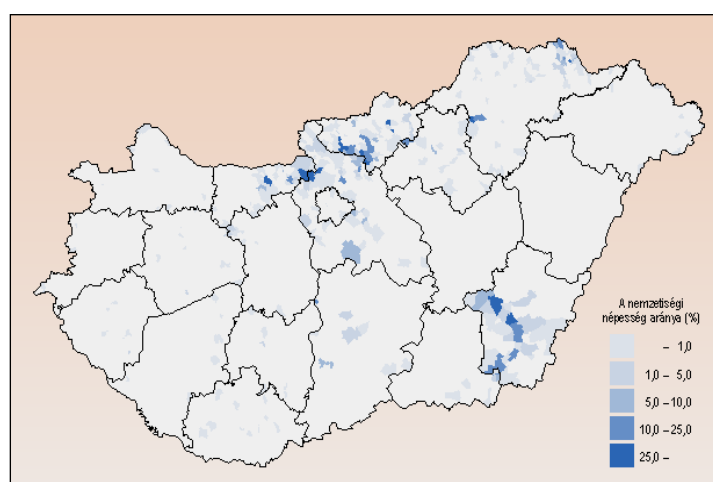
Figure 2 The composition of age cohorts of the six largest minorities and the majority (%)

Source: Census 2001

We come to the same conclusion if we compare the average age of the ethnic minorities by their four identity components (Annex 1 Table 3). The average age of the Slovak minority (with one exception, i.e. German minority identified by their mother tongue) is the highest, and the difference between the Slovaks and the second oldest ethnic minority is significant (especially in case of the language spoken in the family and among friends).

1.2.4 Geographic Distribution

The following map shows the location and the rate of the Slovak minority as percent of the minority population. Compared to other minorities the Slovaks are very concentrated: the weighted proportion of the Slovaks by settlement⁹ is close to 15% with only two minorities higher than this value (the Croats (24%) and the Slovenians (22%), (Tóth-Vékás, 2006). The Slovak minority is most heavily concentrated in Pest (22%), Nógrád (21%), Komárom (21%), Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén (17%), and Békés (12%) counties (Tóth-Vékás, 2006).

Map 1: The location and rate of the Slovak national minority (% of the total population) in 2001¹⁰

⁹ The number of a minority living in the settlement multiplied with its share of the total population of the settlement and divided by the total number of the minority.

¹⁰ HCSO Census 2001 (<http://www.nepszamlalas.hu/hun/kotetek/04/kartogram.html>).

The most characteristic types of Slovak settlements in Hungary are as follows (Gyivicsán – Krupa, 1997):

- country towns on the Great Hungarian Plain (like Békéscsaba, Mezőberény, Nyíregyháza, Szarvas, Tótkomlós)
- settlements which developed as geographically contiguous territories on church lands (mostly on the Great Hungarian Plain)
- settlements in the Pilis Mountains (North of Budapest) (which are culturally the most homogenous)
- small foundry settlements in the Northern Hungarian mountainous region.

As the following table show, the concentration of the Slovak minority has decreased between 1980 and 1990 and has not changed much in the following ten years. The spatial distribution shows two distinct tendencies:

- in case of nationality there is a constant decrease of the traditional peasant communities on the Hungarian Great Plain (Békés county),
- in case of mother tongue the decrease of the Slovak population goes hand in hand with an increase in Budapest and its vicinity.

Table 2 The proportion of Slovaks by county 1980-2001 (%)¹¹

By nationality			
	1980	1990	2001
Békés	41	32	28
Komárom-Esztergom	11	11	16
Nógrád	7	8	10
Pest	19	19	20
All other counties	22	30	26
Total	100	100	100
By mother tongue			
Békés	49	40	30
Komárom-Esztergom	10	11	12
Budapest	7	7	13
Pest	16	17	22
All other counties	18	25	23
Total	100	100	100

Source: Vékás (2003)

1.2.5 Religious affiliation

In the case of the Slovaks, there is a correlation between religion and geographical location. Roughly two-thirds of the Slovak minority belongs to the Lutheran and almost one-third to the Roman-Catholic denominations. There are also some Greek-Catholics, Baptists and Adventists. The Lutherans live mainly in the south-east part of the Great Plain, Nyíregyháza, Nógrád and Pest County, and in some villages in Transdanubia. The majority of the Roman-Catholics live in

¹¹ The table contains individually those counties where the at least 10% of the Slovak minority population lives or used to live between 1980 and 2001.

the Pilis, Vértes, Gerecse, Bakony, Mátra, Bükk and Zemplén mountains, while the Greek-Catholics are to be found in Zemplén and Borsod counties (Gyivicsán – Krupa, 1997).

1.2.6 Education

After the fall of communism the Slovak educational system took on a program of transformation to try and prevent its demise, with extra materials and a focus on monolingual Slovak teaching. However, these changes did not gain the momentum since the parents choose assimilation for the sake of their children's career in preference to preserving their culture through Slovak-language education.

In the 2005/2006 school year there were 52 kindergartens and 51 primary schools. There are two kinds of primary level Slovak schools. The first only teaches four subjects using the Slovak language which usually include the humanities, while maths and science oriented classes are taught in Hungarian. This model is classified as a bilingual school of education. The other type of school only teaches the Slovak language classes in Slovak, while the rest of the classes are in Hungarian, so in fact, this would be classified as a Hungarian primary school with the option of learning Slovak.

The Slovak character of these schools remains an issue. Apart from the fact that most subjects are taught in Hungarian, it has also been found that the preferred language outside the classroom for both students and teachers is Hungarian. The quality Slovak education is not helped by the fact that there are not many teachers who are able to speak Slovak. Even the students who do attend the Slovak schools do not have a sufficient command of the language. They lack fluency which affects their willingness to adopt the language as their own.

In the 2005/2006 school year there were two secondary schools, and one vocational school with Slovak classes, and further twenty-six secondary and fourteen vocational schools can the children take additional classes or after school classes.

The Hungarian churches help the minorities to maintain minority schools. The Hungarian Lutheran Church maintains Slovak schools in Békéscsaba and Tótkomlós, and the Roman-Catholic Church ensures the training for Slovak teachers in Esztergom.

The Department of Slavonic Studies at Eötvös Loránd University offers higher education in Slovak language and literature. Teachers are trained at vocational schools to teach Slovak minorities in their mother tongue.

1.3 Slovak minority self-organisation

The Slovak minority could set up 116 local and five regional minority self-governments in the elections of 2006. The National Slovak Minority Self-Government (NSMSG) was established in March 2007 with 39 members. Cultural institutions have helped the minorities to preserve their traditions, history and culture in Hungary. The museums, theaters, cultural centers and associations, clubs, and art societies are amongst those institutions including the Centre of Slovak Culture. The NSMSG maintains 9 institutions, including a theatre and two schools. It also maintains a research institute in Békéscsaba and a methodological centre on pedagogy. These institutions study the situation of the Slovak minority in Hungary concerning the past and the present.

The Slovak minority has many connections with different organisations of the kin-state and also with world organisations. Six Hungarian organisations are members of the World Organisation of Transborder Slovaks. The NSMSG fosters its connections with the minority communities in the

neighbouring countries through the Slavonic Section of the Federal Union of the European Minorities. Furthermore, the NSMSG organised negotiations with the Slovak establishments of Vojvodina, Romania, and the Czech Republic in order to carry out common projects with the support of the Slovak Republic and the European Union.

Every year a Slovaks' Day is being held (on 3 July). This is an official holiday in Slovakia to celebrate Cyrill and Method, who prepared the basis of the Slovak written language. The celebration in Hungary is always organized by the national self-government of the Hungarian Slovak community and gives an opportunity for the personal meeting of the two neighbouring countries' leading politicians and for the strengthening of the relations between Hungary and Slovakia. In 2008 the meeting was held at Pilisszántó where the former minister of the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office and Dušan Čaplovič, the former Slovak deputy of the prime minister participated and made an agreement on the common developments concerning the two countries that had been implemented by time. Amongst the developments the Ipoly bridges and the preparation of the motorway construction between Kassa-Miskolc were involved. In 2010 the meeting was held at Lucfalva where awards were given and cultural programmes were held. Is Slovaks' Day celebrated evenly throughout the Slovak community? It seems strange if a large part of the population is protestant/Lutheran.

In close cooperation with NSMSG there are research and culture-oriented institutions such as

- the Magyarországi Szlovákok Kutatóintézete (Research Institute of the Slovaks in Hungary, established in 1990 with headquarters of Békéscsaba) has remarkable activity in the fields researching folklore, philology, history, and sociology. The institution has also strong connections with the Slovak Academy of Sciences. The goal of the Research Institute of the Slovaks in Hungary is to carry out the scientific analysis of the sociological processes affecting the past and present situation of the Slovaks in Hungary in order to preserve the Slovak culture, language and traditions. In addition to the performing research work and publishing the research result, our scientific workshop serves the further education of the Slovak intellectuals, provides technical assistance to the Slovakian schools, and last but not least it presents and intermediates the results of its scientific research activities towards Slovak and Hungarian professional public, the students and the inquirers,
- the Szlovák Dokumentációs Központ (Slovak Documentation Centre) is also active in researching; it takes part in the digitalization process of the photo archive of the Ludové noviny weekly and the newly set up reading room, and
- the Szlovák Közművelődési Központ (Slovak Educational Centre) organizes various cultural events and coordinates the work of seven regional centres. The minority has a theatre as well named Vertigo.

1.3.1 Arts and culture

The NSMSG takes an active role in organizing cultural and traditional programmes, as well. On the first Saturday in July the Day of the Slovaks in Hungary is organized, as it is a national holiday in Slovakia remembering Cirill and Metod.

The Legatum Kht. (Legatum Public Company) supports folklore collections and outdoor museums in villages (e.g. in Sátorajáújhely-Rudabányácska, Ecsér, Szügy, Ósagárd, Dabas-Sári). A Nationality Museum for the Slovak minority is found in Békéscsaba, and is among 16 other regional museums and 12 local historical museums that have collections to display the ethnograph-

ic heritage of the Slovak minority. There are also five libraries that focus on the Slovak minority. Further civil organizations arrange cultural programmes. The Magyarországi Szlovákok Szövetsége (Hungarian Slovaks' Association) organizes a folklore meeting in Bánk every year where the Slovak folk dances and folk song traditions are displayed and preserved. The Magyarországi Szlovák Fiatalok Szervezete (Hungarian Slovak Youth Organisation) holds youth camps and football championships. One of the most acknowledged and well-known Hungarian writer¹² Pál Závada is part of the Slovak community. The topic of his first major hit (*Jadвига párnája*, 1997) was the story of a Slovak family at Tótkomlós (his birthplace (1954) and where he was given an honorary citizenship in 2000) and recently he published a book of Slovakian tales in Hungarian. In 2010 he won the Radnóti Miklós prize for anti-racist activity.

1.3.2 Religious organisation

Among the Catholics the folklore is very important in religion. They say apocryphal prayers and sing Maria-songs (e.g. in Sári). The several Catholic associations – like the rosary circles in the Pilis – help the Slovaks to preserve the language and the religious traditions. The symbols of the Lutherans are the Czech Bible and the *Funebrál* (it contains funeral songs) (Gyivicsán – Krupa, 1997). In a footnote in my letter to you I refer to this information – how much variation is there in the identity of Lutherans and other Slovaks? Are Lutheran Slovaks more like Czechs than Slovaks? While the religious traditions are still observed, there is not a wide availability of priests or clergymen who are fluent in Slovak. Hungarian-Slovaks, while still religious, attend mass in Hungarian. Only a few parishes offer services in Slovak. Three churches offer services in both Hungarian and Slovak in lower Hungary; however, less than 10% of the religious services that are held in Slovak communities are performed in Slovak. (Bakker, 1997) Hungarian is the more widely used language among the religious institutions in these Slovak minority communities. While this is true, there is still an effort by churches to do what they can to maintain the Slovak culture through language use and hold church services in the minorities' own language.

1.3.3 Publishing and the press

Twenty-one Slovak books were published in Hungary in 2001. Minority research journals began along with research projects and conferences to address the minority question in Hungary (National ..., 2007) Media within the Slovak minority consists of a weekly newspaper founded in 1957 called the *Ludové noviny* (<http://www.luno.hu/>). There are also regional monthlies and Slovak contributions within local newspapers. At least one nationally distributed newspaper per minority receives state support for publication purposes. Thus, the prime Minister Office gave supported the publication of the Slovak *Ludové noviny* weekly with 29 million Forint in 2006. The Slovak press has a larger number of newspapers: the Slovak MSG in the capital and an organization in Békéscsaba allowed monthly periodicals in the Slovak language. *Hírmondó* (News) appears in Tótkomlós and the *Dolnozemský Slovák* (an international newspaper of the Slovaks in the South Great Plain Region).

1.3.4 The media

Hungarian Radio broadcasts programs for the minority groups as does the Hungarian Television. The state supports at least one national newspaper for each minority, which translates to 20 na-

¹² He was awarded with all major prizes for literary achievement (Déry Tibor-díj – 1998, Krúdy Gyula-díj – 1999, Márai Sándor-díj – 2000, Prima Prémium Díj – 2004 as well as the highest Hungarian prize (Kossuth díj, 2005) for artists.

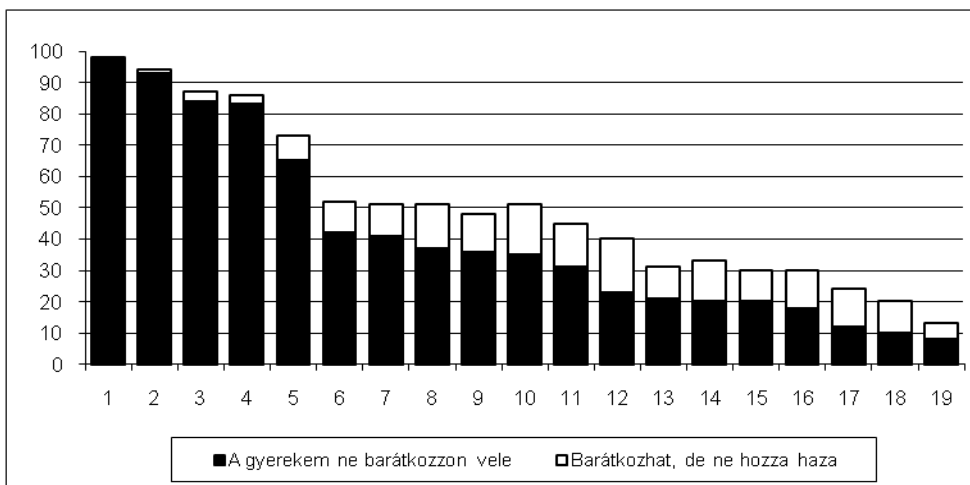
tionally distributed newspapers receiving the funds for the 13 minority groups within Hungary. Hungarian Radio broadcasts nationality programs on its nationality channel (MR4). The Slovaks get two hours every day in the evening and the Rádió Aktív (Radio Active) makes news reports and a magazine in the Slovak language. Slovakian programs are also featured on the national Hungarian public radio as well as regional programs. The 26-minute magazine Domovina in Slovak language is broadcasted two times per week. In addition, the Zemplén TV does news programs in Slovak language. Slovakian television programs are also broadcasted weekly including regularly broadcasted masses in Slovak (National ..., 2007).

1.4 Slovaks in Hungary in the 1990ies and early 2000ies

1.4.1 The attitudes of Hungarians against Slovaks

Historically the Hungarian majority saw the Slovaks (in Hungarian colloquial "tóth") as a nationality inferior to Hungarians. These attitudes were not hostile but more of a disdainful attitude with a hint of ethnocentric superiority (on basis of history, political strength, population size, human capital, etc. In those areas where the Slovak minority lived, however, the "tót" did not have any pejorative connotation, the Slovaks themselves used this term. A research (Sik,1995) on prejudice showed that compared to deviant and migrant groups as well as to the Roma and the Jews being a member of the Slovak community did not cause much prejudice.

Figure 3 Prejudice against various social groups in Hungary (in 1995, %)



Black column : Agree with the item: „My child should not befriend with a ...” White column (on the top of the black): Agree with the item: „Even if they are friend (s)he should not bring his(her) friend to our home. Social groups: 1 drug user, 2 homosexual, 3 skinhead, 4 released from the prison, 5 Gipsy, 6 Black, 7 Arab, 8 ethnic Romanian migrant, 9 Asian, 10 guest-worker, 11 refugee, 12 Ex-Yugoslavian, 13 Ex-soviet, 14 Serb/Croat, 15 Jew, 16 Orphan, 17 ethnic Hungarian from Romania, 18 Slovak minority, 19 German minority. Source: (Sik,1995)

1.4.2 On Slovak identity

There are several ethnographic and anthropological case studies to analyse the social construction of the Slovak identity (on Mezőberény Molnár, 1993, on Tótkomlós, 1996, on Pilisszántó Szabó, 2002, on Budapest and Piliscsév, Szabó, 2007, on cross-border migration related aspects of identity Vári, 2002, etc.).

Molnár (1993) compared the identity building processes of Slovaks and Germans in Mezőberény ((in German Maisbrünn, in Slovak Polny Berincok) a small town (11 000 inhabitants) in South

Hungary). This medieval town was completely destroyed by the Tatars and later by the Ottomans. The first settlers in 1720-1730 were Slovaks and Germans who built a protestant church. The two communities separated by the end of the century, i.e. built their own churches and houses at two separate ends of the village. The Hungarians appeared only later and built their catholic church separately as well. In 1880 the three communities were more or less of equal size (38% Slovaks, 34% Hungarians, and 23% German). By 1941 the share of Hungarians was 67%. Today the proportion of Slovaks and Germans is about 3%.

Analyzing the national/ethnic identities of Slovaks and Germans, she found that

- both ethnic group define themselves as Hungarian but – especially the elderly – have a nostalgic feeling towards the time when the two communities were intact and lively (i.e. all of them speaking their language (in church, on the streets, etc.)),
- both communities still have fears originated from post-WW II deportations and forced re-settlements but the elderly Slovaks fear shame as well for those who left the community for Slovakia between 1946 and 1948,
- the loss of language is almost complete but the cultural basis still exists and there are some of the youth who tries to find their roots and intentionally recreate local Slovak and German culture (which are helped by the state and self-governmental institutions)¹³,
- the two communities have very positive (post-peasant, i.e. work and family-oriented stereotypes) about each other (hard worker, diligent, family centred, thrifty, clean, honest) with minor negative (if these are negative at all!) ones (an autostereotype of the Slovak males is stubbornness, German females told about Slovak males that they are unimaginative, both German males and females told that the Slovak females are bossy¹⁴).

There have been sociological surveys we can still use to analyse certain aspects of the Slovak identity:

- the survey on the main characteristics of the identity structure of the 50-60 years old in the 1990ies (Garami-Szántó, 1992)¹⁵
- the “Carpathian project”, which – among other issues – described the auto- and hetero-stereotypes of the Hungarian Slovak minority in comparison with the Hungarian society (Csepeli et al, 2002)¹⁶
- and the 2001 census which used four proxies to identify ethnic identity (Vékás, 2004, Tóth-Vékás, 2005).

¹³ The town has partner settlements both in Slovakia (Kolarovo (Guta)) and two in Germany (Münsingen and Gronau) which serves as strong networks for the ethnic communities.

¹⁴ The Slovaks stereotypes concerning the Germans were basically positive as well but with clear dislike towards the wealth and higher status of the German community. As to the Hungarians, both Slovaks and Germans had mixed stereotypes, and considered them as inferior workers and farmers (lazy, rollicking, untidy as well as family-centered, friendly).

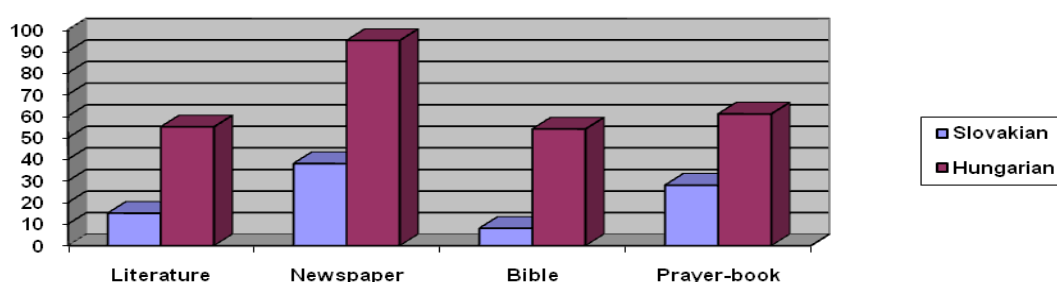
¹⁵ The survey in 1991 covered 50-60 years old respondents (N=605) in in eight settlements (Alsópetény, Bükkszentlászló, Csomád, Kardos, Örménykút, Ósagárd, Pilisszántó% és Pilisszentkereszt) with at least 80% of all inhabitants claiming Slovak identity in the 1980 census.

¹⁶ The survey was done in thirty one settlements (including five small towns). Those settlements were selected which had Slovak classes in the primary school.

Slovak identity in the 1990ies

Though 94% of the respondents claimed to have ethnic Slovak grandparents already in the 1990ies 99% of their parents spoke Hungarian, and only 52% of their parents spoke only Slovak at home. The middle aged respondents themselves were even less attached to the Slovak language only 34% considered it as mother tongue, 52% of them learnt Hungarian before the age 3, another 35% between 3-6 years old. 52% evaluated their Slovak and Hungarian language knowledge as equally good, 40% considered Hungarian, 12% Slovakian language as a first language. In a cultural and communication sense the domination of Hungarian language was even stronger (Figure 4). On the contrary, they were very much interested and able to follow Slovak mass communication channels in Slovak (Table 3)¹⁷.

Figure 4 The proportion of those who read ... (%)



Source: TÁRKI, 1991.

Table 3 Watching or listening to in Slovakian ... (%)

	Slovak TV	Slovak programme of the Hungarian TV	Slovak programme of the Hungarian radio
Yes	15	75	62
No, uninterested	6	18	19
No, does not understand	3	7	9
No, inaccessible	76	0	10
Total	100	100	100

Source: TÁRKI, 1991

Most of the respondents (72%) claimed Hungarian themselves as Hungarian nationals, 28% as Slovaks. Those declaring themselves as Hungarian or Slovak showed marked difference both in their language use and in the way they socialize their children. Compared to those with Hungarian identity those who considered themselves as Slovak were more likely to be raised in a Slovak speaking environment, consider Slovak as their mother tongue, and see themselves as bilingual. Slovak identity increases the probability to use Slovak in communication (Table 4) but in reading literature and the Bible the difference is small. On the other hand (Table 5), among those with Hungarian identity those watching TV and listening to radio in Slovakian is rather high which again show their cultural closeness to the Slovak community¹⁸.

¹⁷ This, however, did not occur as a substitute of the Hungarian language since practically all respondents watched and listened the Hungarian TV and radio in Hungarian continuously.

¹⁸ The higher than average proportion of watching Slovak TV among those with Hungarian identity is a byproduct of the fact that they are overrepresented in settlements where the Slovak TV is accessible.

Table 4 Language practice of those with Hungarian and Slovak identity (%)

	Hungarian	Slovak	Total
N	420	167	587
During childhood the language spoken at home was Slovak	38	90	52
Father spoken with him(her) only in Slovakian at home	32	85	46
Mother tongue	11	92	34
Speak Hungarian better than Slovakian	51	11	40
Speak Hungarian and Slovakian equally well	46	69	47
Speak Slovakian better than Hungarian	3	20	13

Source: TÁRKI, 1991, Chi-square is significant in all rows below $p=0.01$.

Table 5 Using Slovakian in communication among those with Slovak and Hungarian identity (%)

	Hungarian	Slovak	Total
N	420	167	587
Read literature in Slovakian	15	21	15
Read newspaper in Slovakian	26	70	38
Read the Bible in Slovakian	5	13	8
Read prayer-book in Slovakian	15	68	28
Watch Slovak television	18	10	16
Watch the Slovak program of the Hungarian television	68	93	75
Listen to the Slovak program of the Hungarian Radio	51	86	61

Source: TÁRKI, 1991, Chi-square is significant in all rows below $p=0.01$.

Identity strongly influences the socialization of the children but much less significantly the language use of the children (Table 6). The typical cases are that the children in families with

- Hungarian identity learn Hungarian or both Hungarian and Slovakian, and the children speak Hungarian and understand Slovakian,
- Slovak identity learn both Hungarian and Slovakian or Slovakian and understand Slovakian but not necessarily speak fluently it.

Table 6 Language use with and among the children among those with Hungarian and Slovak identity (%)

	Hungarian	Slovak	Total
N	420	167	587
Spoke to the children in their childhood	66	16	52
... only in Hungarian			
... both in Hungarian and Slovakian	30	53	36
... only in Slovakian	4	31	12
The child	15	3	12
... does not understand Slovakian			
... does not speak Slovakian	45	15	37
... does not speak fluent Slovakian	29	50	35
... speaks fluent Slovakian	11	32	16

Source: TÁRKI, 1991, Chi-square is significant in all rows below $p=0.01$.

1.4.3 Slovak identity of the Slovak minority in 2000

In the 2000ies the Slovak minority – though almost three-fourths of the Slovaks in Hungary had Slovak background – had limited chances of transferring their identity to the next generation (Csepeľi et al, 2002)¹⁹. Defining four categories (on the basis of the nationality of ancestors, the language spoken in the family when the respondent was a child, and the self-defined identity in the 1990 census) the following types emerged:

- *The identity-keepers:* (if all of their ancestors were Slovak, Slovakian was spoken at home when they were children, and identified themselves as Slovak in the 1990 census) About one fourth of the sample (24%) has belonged to this type.
- *The fading:* (only four of their six ancestors were Slovak, Slovakian was sometimes used at home when they were children, and did not identify themselves as Slovak in the 1990 census). This type was the largest of the four, almost every second respondent (43%).
- *The assimilated:* (although they had numerous Slovak ancestors, Slovak was not spoken at home at all and respondents did not identify themselves as Slovak in the 1990 census. 17% of the Slovaks were assimilated.
- *The identity-seekers:* (they had similar characteristics than the assimilated but they claim that their Slovak heritage is becoming more and more important for them, and they start to teach their children for Slovakian language). This group had about the same size as the assimilated (16%).

Data show that almost two-thirds of the sample has extensive Slovak roots. Almost one-fourth of respondents within this group can be considered Slovak on the basis of all criteria set for the survey. Although almost three-fourths of interviewees have adopted Slovak background, the transfer of this background seems to weaken. They are less likely to transfer minority identity to their children (Table 7). This is also implied by the result that the maintenance and use of Slovakian within the family can be found for 30% of respondents only. (86% of interviewees have children.) The transfer of Slovak traditions was expected to depend on the strength of Slovak background, which proved to be right. Although Slovakian use at home decreases proportionately to weakening ethnic background, minority language reappears in domestic language use among Slovak identity-seekers, which indicates that a new effort to find Slovak identity is emerging among Slovaks. This effort is more frequent among respondents with higher qualifications. It implies the existence of ethnic background that most (60%) of Slovaks in Hungary reported relatives living in Slovakia. Slovaks in Hungary have live relationship with these relatives and more than two-thirds meet relatives at least once a year. The aim of keeping contact is primarily to maintain and strengthen family ties. Support for children's learning Slovakian is rare (3%), financial support hardly occurs, and there is no trace of economic relations, for instance, participation in joint ventures.

¹⁹ The sample of the survey on Slovaks in Hungary was created through a multistage technique. Settlements included in the sample were selected from settlements in Békés and Nógrád counties where Slovak is taught at local primary schools. (The number of schools with bilingual education is too small to serve as a basis of sampling.) 5 of the selected 31 settlements were towns and 26 of them were villages. The sample included a high proportion of rural population (70%), which, according to data recorded by Local Authorities of the Slovak Minority, corresponds to the distribution of people who specified their nationality as Slovak by settlement type. Distribution by education (with 14% tertiary-level and 28% secondary-level qualifications) also well approximates distribution modified by settlement type in Hungary. (Csepeľi–Örkény–Székelyi, 2002).

Table 7 A Patterns of identity received from parents and transferred to children, percent, 2000 (%)

	What did your parents tell you when you were a child?	What did you tell to your child/children?
We're Slovaks.	16	3
We're of Slovak descent.	11	10
We're Hungarians of Slovak descent.	19	19
We're partly Slovak and partly Hungarian.	15	13
We're not Slovaks already.	8	11
They didn't say a word about it.	31	44
Total	100	100

Source: Carpathian-basin project, 2000.

Finally, it is worth to deal separately with that type where a renaissance of minority identity appears. We could see that the occurrence of Slovak identity decreases by each generation. However, it can be observed that there are respondents with ethnic and national identity awakening, although Slovak identity had no role in their childhood socialization and they do not mediated such identity to their children either. The sense of identity where affiliation to the Slovak nation plays the decisive role and membership in the Slovak minority in Hungary does not seem to be a constituent factor manifests most remarkably in this circle when compared to all other Slovaks groups in Hungary. There are more women than men among them, and the level of education exceeds the average. However, the mean of age is lower than it is in the whole sample. Currently, new Slovak minority identity in Hungary can be observed in the bud only, but there is no doubt that its carriers will be qualified intellectuals and its content will be ideological, as opposed to traditional Slovak identity, which penetrated the peasant and petty bourgeois medium in an unreflected and spontaneous way until it was able to resist Hungarian national homogenization tendencies.

1.4.4 The four components of the Slovak identity in the 2001 census

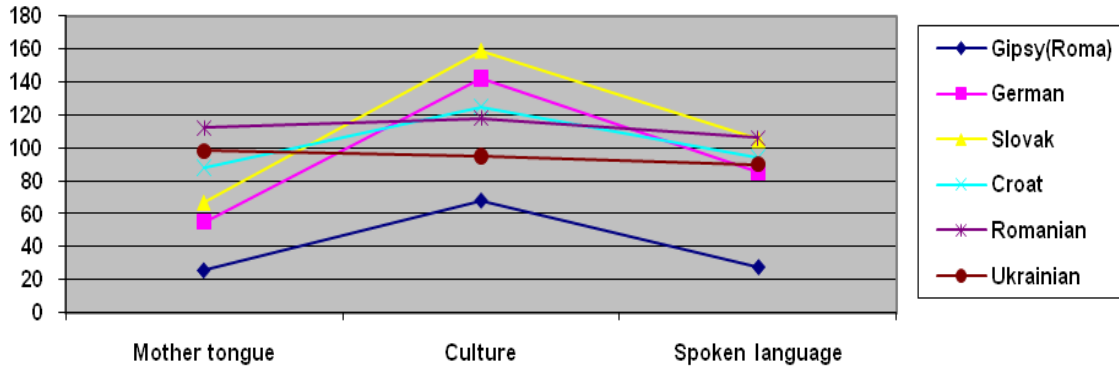
The 2001 census block of questions on ethnic identity (focusing of the thirteen ethnic minorities in contemporary Hungary) approaches identity as a hybrid. Every person is counted as belonging to the national group to which he/she declared to belong on the bases of four questions²⁰:

- Which of these nationalities do you think you belong to?
- Which of these nationalities' cultural values and traditions do you feel affinity with?
- What is your mother tongue?
- In which language do you speak with family members or friends?

If we compare the volume of the four elements of identity (Annex 1 Table 1) we can conclude that for the Slovak minority compared to the belongingness mother tongue is less, cultural heritage is more, spoken language is a little more important. Compared to the other national minorities the Slovak does not differ in regard with the limited importance of mother tongue.

²⁰ The list of ethnic minorities in Hungary is the following: Hungarian, German, Serb, Croat, Slovenian, Slovak, Romanian, Rusin, Ukrainian, Greek, Gypsy (Roma), Bulgarian, Polish, Armenian. Every interviewed person was allowed to give three answers to the questions at most.

Figure 5 The relative prevalence of three elements of identity among the six largest ethnic/national minorities in Hungary (reference: belonging to the nationality = 100%)



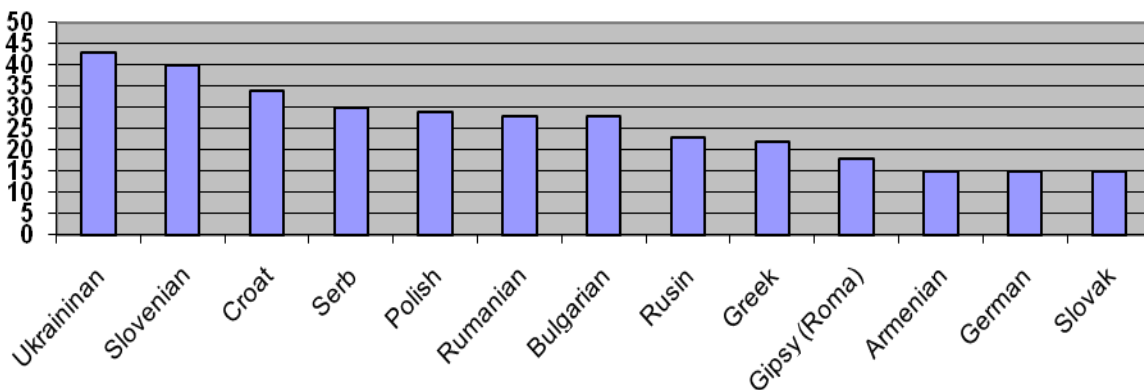
Source: The author's computation based on Vékás (2003)

There are three types of relations among the four identity components:

- compared to belongingness culture is important for more, mother tongue is important for less people (German and Slovak),
- all components are important for more or less the same volume of people (Rumanian and Ukrainian),
- compared to belongingness to the nationality the other three components are less important (while their relative importance is similar to the first type) (Gipsy/Roma).

The level of “full scale” ethnic identity (when the respondent claimed all four identity components as valid) is comparatively low among the Slovaks.

Figure 6 The proportion of “full scale” ethnic identity among the ethnic/national minorities in Hungary (%)



Source: The author's computation based on Tóth-Vékás (2004a)

1.5 Annex 1: Comparative census statistics of national minorities

TableA1 The volume of ethnic nationalities in Hungary by the four elements of the identity (Census 2001)

	Belonging to a nationality	Mother tongue	Belonging to a national culture	Spoken language in the family, with friends
Gipsy (Roma)	190.046	48.685	129.259	53.323
German	62.233	33.792	88.416	53.040
Slovak	17.692	11.816	26.631	18.056
Croat	15.620	14.345	19.715	14.788
Romanian	7.995	8.482	9.162	8.215
Ukrainian	5.070	4.885	4.779	4.519
Serb	3.816	3.388	5.279	4.186
Slovenian	3.040	3.187	3.442	3.119
Polish	2.962	2.580	3.983	2.659
Greek	2.509	1.921	6.140	1.974
Bulgarian	1.358	1.299	1.693	1.118
Rusin	1.098	1.113	1.292	1.068
Armenian	620	294	836	300

Source: Vékás (2003)

Table A2 The number of foreign born and the proportion of those who migrated from their “motherland” to Hungary among the ethnic minorities in Hungary (Census 2001)

	Number	Proportion
Romanian	7134	97,91
Bulgarian	897	91,81
Polish	1973	91,26
Ukrainian	3131	85,36
Serb	2492	88,75
Slovak	1801	76,32
Greek	985	76,31
German	6402	65,62
Croat	847	41,32
Armenian	141	38,52
Slovenien	89	28,99
Total	25892	73,76

Source: Tóth-Vékás (2004)

Table A3 The average age of the ethnic minorities in Hungary (Census 2001)

	Cumulated	Nationality	Culture	Mother tongue	Spoken language
Gipsy	25,98	25,47	26,01	28,51	28,14
Ukrainian	39,81	39,43	39,75	39,81	39,41
Greek	39,99	41,02	40,00	45,69	42,02
Polish	41,55	40,39	41,40	41,41	38,43
Romanian	41,90	40,83	41,74	42,37	41,47
Serb	42,51	42,35	42,56	43,78	40,58
Rusin	42,75	42,46	42,87	44,17	41,47
Armenian	43,11	41,28	43,19	38,78	36,35
Bulgarian	43,76	44,33	43,80	47,28	41,99
Croat	46,38	46,37	45,58	49,82	49,30
German	46,39	46,23	46,19	55,70	48,76
Slovenian	47,28	46,65	46,91	48,85	47,55
Slovak	49,07	49,21	48,51	54,17	53,59

Source: Tóth-Vékás (2004)

Table A4 The proportion of immobile and mobile population among the ethnic minorities in Hungary (Census 2001)

	Immobile	Regionally mobile	Mobile	Total
Gipsy (Roma)	69	19	12	100
Slovak	67	18	15	100
Romanian	64	22	14	100
Croat	63	25	12	100
Slovenian	56	28	16	100
German	55	26	19	100
Serb	49	24	27	100
Ukrainian	48	25	27	100
Bulgarian	46	29	25	100
Polish	43	27	30	100
Greek	36	33	31	100
Rusin	37	22	41	100
Armenian	34	33	33	100
Total	63	21	15	100

Source: Immobile: Born in the current place of living, Regionally mobile: Born in the same county, Mobile: Born elsewhere. Tóth-Vékás (2004)

2 MAIN FINDINGS OF THE ENRI-VIS SURVEY (ENRI-VIS)

Antal Örkény / Endre Sik

2.1 Slovak identity in 2009

Among the Slovaks in Hungary the dominant ethnic identity is Hungarian, followed by the “Slovak Hungarian” identity, only every tenth respondent claimed themselves close to a Slovak identity. Moreover, this composition of ethnic identity mix does not differ among the age groups except that the prevalence of all three forms of ethnic identification (the Hungarian the least) is lower in the youngest age group.

Table 8 “Which ethnic identity do you feel close to you” by age groups (%)

	80 – years old	70-79 years old	60-69 years old	50-59 years old	- 50 years old	Total
Slovak Hungarian	62	61	65	55	36	56
Slovak	11	12	10	12	5	10
Hungarian	80	79	87	81	74	81
N	45	105	104	78	75	402

* Chi-négyzet = 29.7 (p=0.003)

On the contrary to the previous dimension, it is not the Hungarian but the mixed Hungarian-Slovakian language dominates the language use at home, followed by the Hungarian language while only a very small minority (no one in the youngest cohort) speaks only Slovakian at home. Hungarian language, however, has an increasing prevalence as the “main language” at home at the expense of the mixed Hungarian-Slovak language.

Table 9 Language spoken at home by age groups (%)

	80 – years old	70-79 years old	60-69 years old	50-59 years old	- 50 years old	Total
Slovakian	11	7	3	4	0	4
Hungarian	27	36	39	42	57	41
Both	62	57	58	54	43	55
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	45	105	104	78	75	402

Chi-négyzet = 20.5 (p=0.008)

While all respondents read Hungarian newspapers, half of them read Slovak newspaper published in Hungary and about every fourth of them read Slovakian newspaper as well. In this respect there is no difference among the age groups²¹.

²¹ We get similar picture when analyzing the composition of those watching TV and listening to radio. Almost all respondents watch Hungarian TV (99%), and listen to Hungarian broadcast (84%). The proportion of those watching Slovak programs of the Hungarian TV is 66% and those listening Slovak programs in the Hungarian radio is 32%, both only slightly more frequent than those of watching Slovak TV (54%) and listening Slovak radio (31%). (Note that in case of Slovak TV and radio about fourth to third of the population do not have access to these programs).

Table 10 The proportion of those reading Hungarian, Slovakian and Slovakian in Hungary newspaper by age groups (%)

	80 – years old	70-79 years old	60-69 years old	50-59 years old	- 50 years old	Total
Hungarian*	78	87	94	98	99	92
Slovakian**	31	15	27	42	28	28
Slovakian in Hungary	38	40	55	55	49	48
N	45	105	104	78	75	402

* Chi-square = 43.3 (p=0.0002), ** Chi-square = 26.2 (p=0.01)

Using music taste as a proxy for ethnic identity we found that respondents like Hungarian music slightly more than Slovak music, and in this respect there is no difference among the age groups. In the youngest cohorts, however, there is a sharp shift from preferring “global music” at the expense of Slovak music – while the proportion of those liking Hungarian music remains unchanged.

Table 11 The composition of favorite music by origin and age groups (%)

	80 – years old	70-79 years old	60-69 years old	50-59 years old	- 50 years old	Total
Hungarian	67	63	63	64	63	63
Slovak*	51	56	61	51	29	51
Other**	9	5	11	24	37	17
All music	2	6	8	12	15	9
Does not like music	13	9	5	1	5	6

The question allowed multiple choice.* Chi-square = 19.0 (p=0.0008), ** Chi-square = 16.5 (p=0.0000)

As to self-identification, Hungarian Slovaks are characterized by an assimilative attitude of a dual feature: 66 percent of the respondents claim to be part of the Hungarian Slovak minority, 22% put more emphasis on his/her Hungarian background (“I am a Hungarian with Slovak descent”), and 12% characterized themselves as Hungarian.

There is strong association between self-identification and various other elements of ethnic identity. We created an index (using principal component analysis (PC)) containing variables such as the language use at home, the importance of fostering ethnic minority culture, and the width of ethnic friendship network. The high positive value of the factor among those with minority self-identity means strong association between minority identity and the everyday components of minority status, the high negative values of the PC among those without Slovak self-identification means the opposite, i.e. not having minority identity is associated strongly with assimilated behaviour and attitudes.

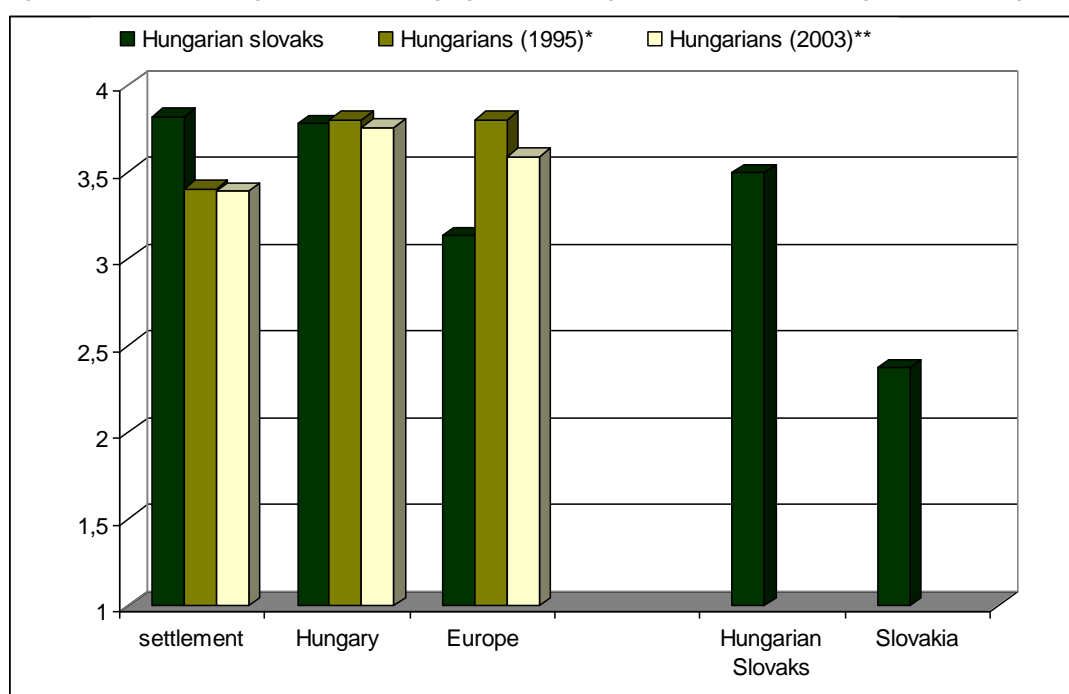
To sum up, Slovaks in Hungary are very assimilated in their identity preference and language use but keep their Slovak identity as a cultural component. The youngest cohort, however, shows clear signs that this cultural component is diminishing as well (smaller proportion of Slovak identity and using only Slovakian language at home, and having Slovakian music as favorite). On the other hand, using Slovak language mixed with Hungarian at home and as a means to read news (and we assume by this active interest in community matters remain part of the Hungarian Slovak) still present and does not diminish with age.

2.2 Some characteristics of the value system of Slovaks in Hungary

In this part of our paper based on number of cross-national comparative data we will analyse the value aspects of the Slovak ethnic identity in Hungary compared to the adult majority society.²² We analyse separately different social psychological mechanism, like the strength of emotional attachment to the different identification circles from locality to the nation, the thematic frame of the national categorization, the ideological legitimation of the majority-minority relations, and the level of trust in people and in social institutions in ethnic context.

The emotional attachment to the country and the feeling of closeness to the Hungarian national space is very strong among ethnic Slovaks, but this is still in conformity with the majority population. But in a minority position this emotional component could play a significant role in building ethnic Slovak identity in Hungary.

Figure 7 The broadening circles of belongingness of Hungarian Slovaks and Hungarians (average point)²³



* ISSP national identity module 1995 and 2003 (adjusted sample)²⁴.

²² In the analysis we approach the Hungarian population with the so-called "matched population sampling". This includes only those respondents (unweighted), who are in the same position with respect to our ethnic Slovak sample in Hungary (see Map 1): they represent the same five counties (BAZ, Békés, Komárom, Nógrád, Pest) and live in villages and smaller towns (but not in county centers). The surveys used in the comparative analysis were the following: International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) 1995 and 2003, World Values Survey (WVS), 2005 European Social Survey (ESS) 2006; ENRI-East Research, 2009.

²³ The circles of identity expand from the locality to Europe, i.e. from the locality where the respondent lives, the country, and finally Europe (and only among the Hungarian Slovaks the Slovak minority in Hungary and Slovakia). In each case, we asked whether the respondent feels the respondent close to these entities. A four point scale was available to respondents, to show the level of closeness one being low and four high level of closeness.

²⁴ For sake of better comparability from the nationally representative samples we selected only those five counties where there is a large Slovak population and furthermore excluded major cities which could not be part of the ENRI data due to its sampling criteria (density principle).

The attachment to locality among the Slovaks significantly stronger than in the general population, and since it is combined this with the fact the strong attachment to their minority group as well, this indicates that the Slovak minority identity is integrated very strongly into their locality and (small-scale) ethnic community, simultaneously. Previously explained historical process explain why ethnic Slovak identity is less connected to the mother nation, namely to Slovakia. On the other hand, the European identity space is also less important to them, as it is important to the Hungarian society in general (even if in the last few years there is a decline of emotional attachment to Europe among the general population of Hungary as well).

We identified four directions of pride: being Slovak, Hungarian, Hungarian Slovak, and European. By cluster analysis we identified for different types of feeling pride. Third of the Hungarian Slovaks are proud of being member of their minority group (34%), slightly less feel no pride at all (29%), fourth of them are proud of being Hungarian or a member of their minority group but not being Slovak (26%), and about every tenth (11%) is proud of being Hungarian.

Table 12 shows the association between the clusters of pride and minority self-identification. Among those who identify themselves as Hungarian Slovaks the most typical attitude is to show strong proud of their minority. In this group the lack of pride is relatively small. Among those respondents who do not identify themselves with their minority and who only emphasis their Hungarian origin, the lack of pride is quite high and the pride toward their minority group is low.

Table 12 Feeling of pride toward Hungary, Slovakia and the Slovak diaspora, percent

	Not proud	Proud of being Hungarian Slovak	Proud of being Hungarian, and Hungarian Slovak but not about Slovakia	Proud only of being Hungarian,	Total,
I'm Hungarian Slovak	22	44	4	30	100
I'm Hungarian with Slovak descent	42	15	22	21	100
I'm Hungarian	42	18	27	13	100
Total	29	34	26	11	100
N	117	137	105	44	403

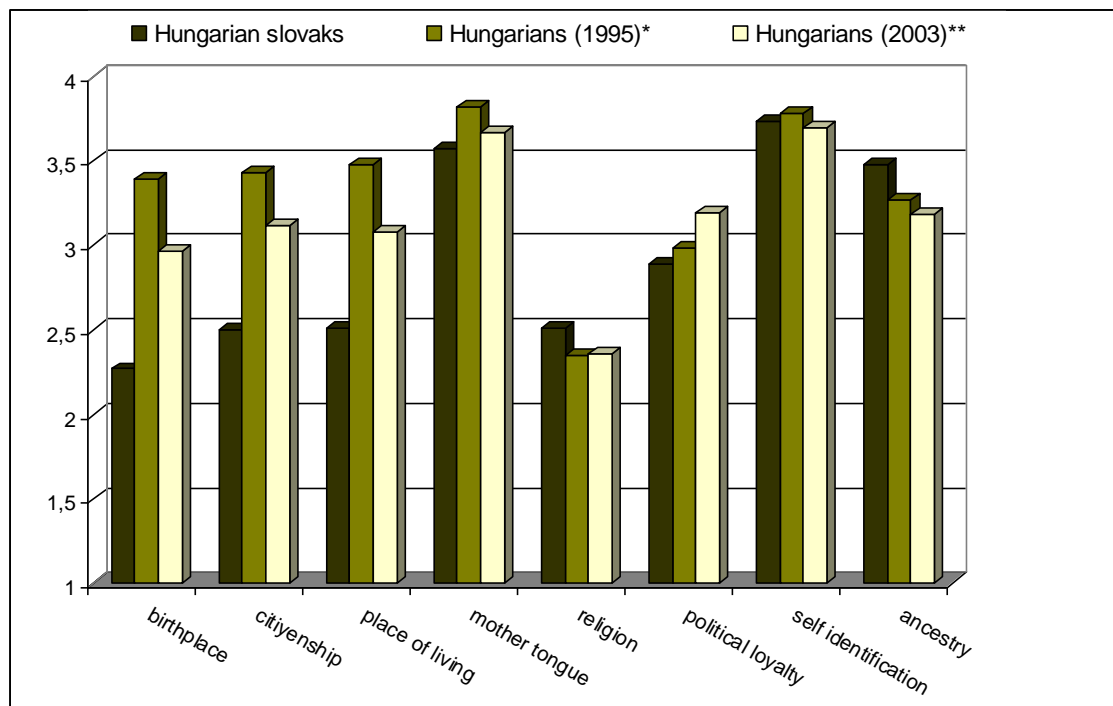
When the members of a Diaspora express the criteria they deem important for accepting or not people as members of their community they differentiate according to whether they are discussing membership in the host or mother country. Diasporas varies how they characterize what is the important to become politically and culturally the member of the host and the mother nations.

For the Hungarian Slovaks - the same way as for the majority - the most important aspects of the national categorization is mother tongue, self-identification, and ethnic ancestry, i.e. blood relationship. While in case of mother tongue and self-identification the difference between minority is small and decreasing (i.e. the difference between Hungarian Slovaks and the Hungarian majority in 1995 was more pronounced than in 2003), the difference in case of the latter is bigger and increasing.

When the nation is defined in cultural terms, probably it comes from two distinct factors in the case of the Hungarian Slovaks. The first arises from the necessity that they do not belong to the political community of their mother nation. Thereby if they want to bind themselves to the Slovak nation, this is only possible through cultural ties. This reflects to the strong cultural determination of the identity building mechanism (*ius sangvini*) and the deep attachment to the past and

the symbolic realm. On the other hand, the Slovak identity is strongly determined by local network of personal relationships, which is built by a common culture, language and identity.

Figure 8 The thematic frame of the national categorization among Hungarian Slovaks and Hungarians (average on a scale 1 to 4)²⁵



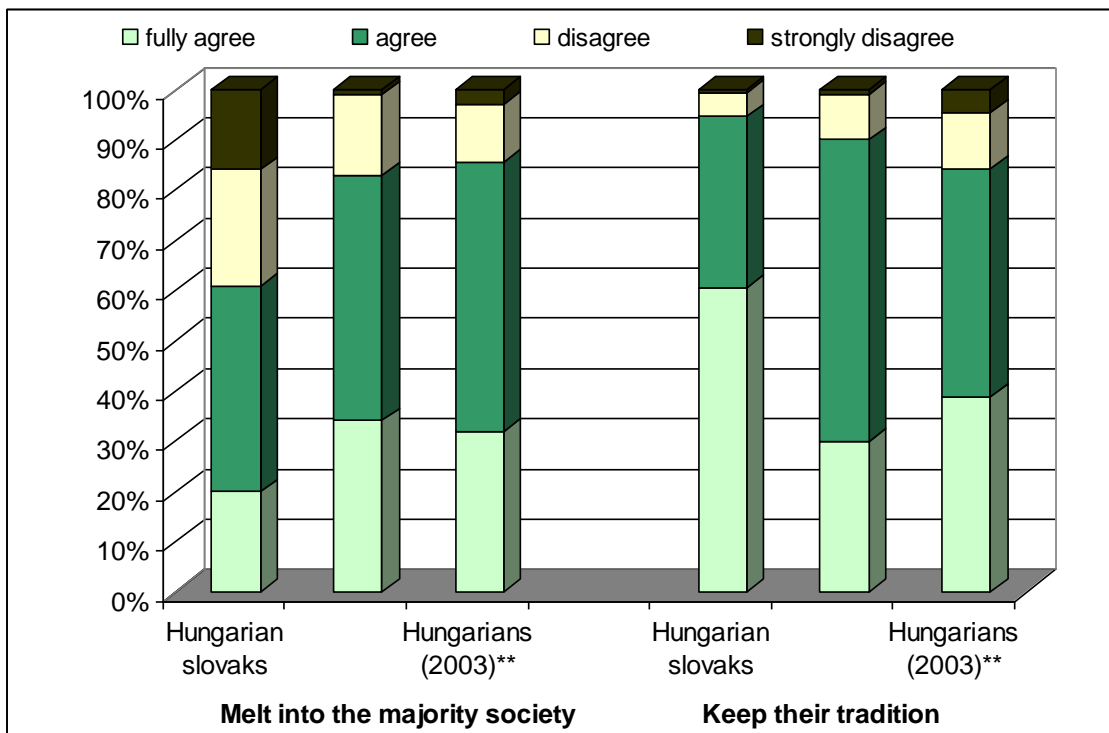
* ISSP national identity module 1995 and 2003 (adjusted majority sample)²⁶.

The somewhat stronger religious factor among the (rather elderly) ethnic Slovak respondents also implies local and rural attachments, i.e. the importance of the role of the church in building minority identity based on the common ethnic origin. The legal, political and instrumental factors, such as the birth of place, residence in Hungarian, nationality or the political loyalties play less importance in the process of national and ethnic categorization (*ius soli*) compared to the Hungarian majority population.

We assumed to have different attitudes of the minority and majority towards assimilation and integration. The former being more favored by the majority, the latter by the minority. We assumed that the Hungarian Slovaks – though they are well assimilated – still are more in favor to integration as a guarantee of the peaceful coexistence of minorities and majorities in maintaining their cultural heritage and special ethnic identity.

²⁵ We operationalized ethnic and national categorization using eight different categories. In each case the respondents had to decide how important these are to become a member of the minority community/nation. The scale had four values, from very important (4) to not important at all (1).

²⁶ For sake of better comparability from the nationally representative samples we selected only those five counties where there is a large Slovak population and furthermore excluded major cities which could not be part of the ENRI data due to its sampling criteria (density principle).

Figure 9 Attitude towards assimilation versus integration among Hungarian Slovaks and Hungarians (%)²⁷

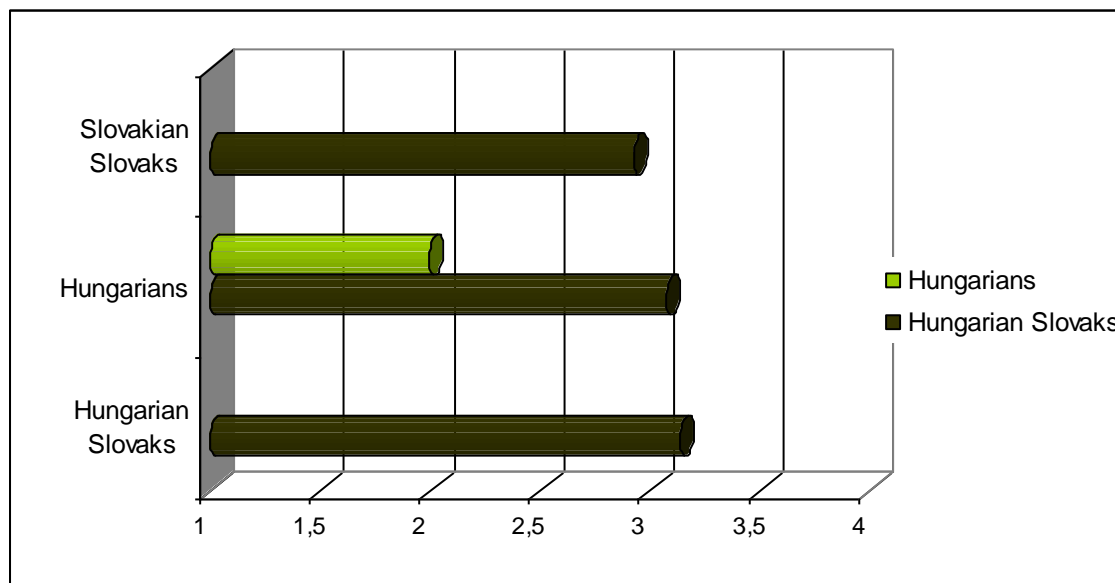
* ISSP national identity module 1995 and 2003 (adjusted majority sample)²⁸.

Finally, we analyze how trust a basic social psychological mechanism influences minority consciousness. We assume that for an ethnic group in a minority position general trust plays an important role, both as a driving force to strengthen ethnic solidarity (bonding social capital), and as a psychological tool to bridge between cultures (bridging social capital). We assumed that institutional trust, however, can be an important source for social inclusion, helping to build connection to majority (linking social capital). On the other hand the opposite (suspicion) - as it is mentioned in the literature - can frequently lead to ethnic isolation or sometimes to segregation.

The results of the ENRI-East survey seem to confirm the validity of first hypothesis. The level of general trust among Hungarian Slovaks is much greater than among the Hungarian population. This high level of generalized trust does not contradict to minority and ethnic trust, i.e. trust the within the minority group and in the “unrelated and remote” Slovakian Slovaks as well. This result suggests that the within- minority bonding social capital and the cross-minority/majority bridging social capital live in peaceful coexistence.

²⁷ In the questionnaire the following statements represented the assimilation and integration attitudes: „ It is better if ethnic groups adapt and blend into the larger society.” „ It is better if ethnic groups preserve their customs and traditions.” Respondents had to judge on a four-point scale to what extent they agree with them. The value of 4 meant that the respondent fully agreed with the item and value of 1 that he or she did not agree with that statement.

²⁸ For sake of better comparability from the nationally representative samples we selected only those five counties where there is a large Slovak population and furthermore excluded major cities which could not be part of the ENRI data due to its sampling criteria (density principle).

Figure 10 General trust among Hungarian Slovaks and Hungarians, (average on a scale 1 to 4)²⁹

* ESS 2006 (adjusted majority sample)³⁰.

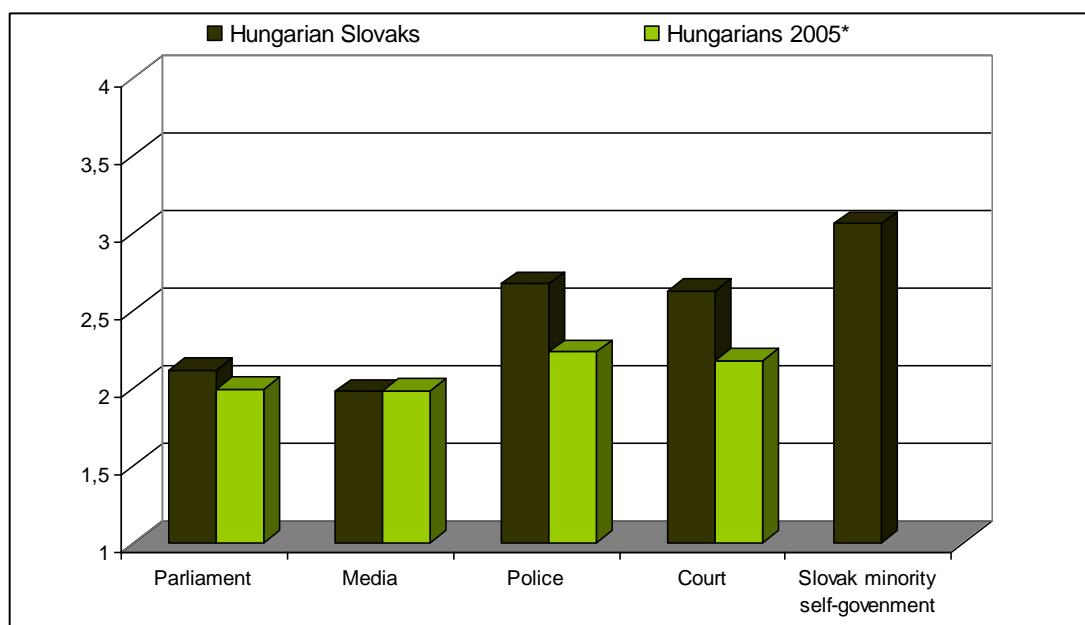
We get the same result, if we analyze institutional trust. There is no difference between minority and majority having low level of trust in politics and in the media. This indicates a common agreement of distrusting politics and modern communication. However, Hungarian Slovaks trust institutions (police, judiciary and minority self-government) which have direct effect on their security much more than the majority. This shows that linking social capital is more important for them than for the majority, which is reinforced by the age effect: in the Slovak sample elderly people are overrepresented, who particularly feel important the role of personal relationships in shaping the lives.

The higher level of trust toward these institutions among the Slovaks is probably embedded into a minority-specific social psychological mechanism: a minority group has to show higher confidence to institutions which can protect them against vulnerability and disadvantage. And the high level of trust toward the minority self-government reinforces our previous thoughts that the Slovak identity in Hungary culturally is still strong. On the contrary, since the collapse of state socialism during the last twenty years parallel with the revival of all other forms of identities which previously were suppressed (such as anti-Gipsy, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, patriotism, irredentism, etc.) the positive forms of minority consciousness of the Hungarian Slovaks (as well as Germans, Croats, etc.) reemerged. Hungarian Slovaks obviously are in an easy position to develop their minority identity and use it smoothly in the multi-ethnic space in Hungary.

²⁹ The question in the survey was the following: „How do you trust in the Hungarian Slovaks (also in the Hungarians, and in Slovaks)?”

³⁰ For sake of better comparability from the nationally representative samples we selected only those five counties where there is a large Slovak population and furthermore excluded major cities which could not be part of the ENRI data due to its sampling criteria (density principle).

Figure 11 Institutional trust (average point) among Hungarian Slovaks and Hungarians, (average point)³¹



* 2005 World Value Survey³².

The few examples taken out from the field of values shows that being an ethnic Slovak in Hungary is a possible representation of cultural otherness and diversity for the individuals. But it does not necessarily imply a strong and broad ethnic community. The possible future of the strong ethnic consciousness depends on other important factors. A lot depend on the majority society, whether the importance of adopting a sense of otherness could replace or not the existing efforts for cultural homogenization by the majority society. A lot depends, whether the history, the common memories, and the political involvement capable to create binding to the minority group members. And finally, dependent on the common aims and values, which will integrate the minority group together.

2.3 A case study on music and identity

A special qualitative survey (Nurse 2009) was conducted in Tótkomlós (or Slovensky Komlos in Slovakian), a small town (having city status only since 1993) in South-East Hungary with 6500 inhabitants. Situated about 200 km south of Budapest, the town was founded in 1746 by 80 Slovakian families, who came to this scarcely populated part of Hungary with permission of the Habsburg Emperor, Maria Therese. By the end of WWII, Tótkomlós had become a large settlement with 11000 inhabitants although it remained almost homogeneously Slovakian (approximately 90% of the population was Slovakian at that time). In 1946, 3000 Slovaks from Tótkomlós moved to Slovakia and were replaced by 1500 Hungarians who were forced to move

³¹ The question in the survey was the following: „How much do you trust the Parliament (... the media, the police, the court, the Slovak minority self-government)?”. The scale had four values, from very important (4) to not important at all (1).

³² For sake of better comparability from the nationally representative samples we selected only those five counties where there is a large Slovak population and furthermore excluded major cities which could not be part of the ENRI data due to its sampling criteria (density principle).

from Southern Slovakia to Tótkomlós. Between the 1950s and the 1980s, the proportion of Hungarians increased as more Hungarian settlers moved to the village and the Slovakian inhabitants became assimilated faster. At present, approximately two-thirds of the population has “some” Slovakian identity (e.g. they speak Slovakian), but the overwhelming majority of the non-Slovakian population also understands “some” Slovakian³³. Nevertheless, the main language in everyday life for the Slovaks is Hungarian and all Slovaks speak Hungarian. Most of the population has a dual identity, and Hungarian seems to be the first identity for the majority of Slovaks in Tótkomlós. However, they are very proud of their Slovakian heritage as well. Tótkomlós has an active arts and musical scene, centred around the music school and the Slovakian school. The music school offers regular courses on several instruments (piano, violin and wind instruments); The music school provides a venue for the Children’s Brass Band (two-thirds of members attend the Slovakian school and one-third attend the Hungarian school); The Cultural Centre has a Rozmaring Folk Song Ensemble; The Cultural Centre has a Komlós Folk Dance Group; There is a Páva Group (folk dance and music); The Slovakian School has two music groups: Mandolin Orchestra and a cultural group called Harmónia which combines Hungarian and Slovakian folk dance, folk music, traditions, literature and dramatics. 130 of the 164 Slovakian school pupils are members.

There were two socio-demographic dimensions in which all seventy children of the survey at Tótkomlós were similar³⁴. They were born in Hungary and lived at Tótkomlós. In other words, neither migration nor commuting to school existed, they context is an immobile and local small-town community. Moreover, most of them (81%) were born in Tótkomlós or in the vicinity (in the same county³⁵ (Békés).

The parents and grandparents of the Tótkomlós children are as local and immobile as their children: almost all of them spent his/her childhood and went to primary school in Hungary. More than half of them were born in Tótkomlós (61% of the parents and 56% of the grandparents) and only among the latter can we find Slovakian ascendancy (4% were born in Slovakia).

As the children’s nationality, the Hungarian nationality dominates the scene – the least their opinion their wider community (Table 13).

Table 13 The nationality of the children by the dimensions of nationality (%)

	Nationality	Mother tongue	Language spoken at home	Language spoken at Tótkomlós
Hungarian	84	86	86	56
Slovak	13	1	0	19
Hungarian /Slovak mixed	3	13	14	25
Total	100	100	100	100
N	70	70	70	70

³³ However, according to the 2001 Census about 20% of the inhabitants declared themselves as Slovak.

³⁴ Due to the selection procedure all seventy children were born between 1996 and 1999. Most of the parents were born between 1959 and 1977, the grandparents between 1930 and 1955. As to gender, 56% of the children were male. Most of parents and grandparents are female (74% and 91%).

³⁵ This usually means the closest hospital.

Comparing the three generations in regard with their nationality, all three selected proxy for nationality indicate that the overwhelming proportion of the musical survey participants considered themselves as Hungarians (Table 14). The exceptions are as follows:

- There is a decreasing amount of Slovakian and mixed language as mother tongue the grandparent toward the children generation. Among the grandparents Slovakian, among the parents mixed language³⁶ use is more frequent.
- There is a U-shape distribution of declaring Slovak ethnicity and language spoken at home, i.e. parents are the least likely to declare themselves as Slovaks.

Table 14 The nationality of the respondents by generation³⁷ (%)

	Nationality			Mother tongue			Language spoken at home		
	Grand-parents	Parents	Children	Grand-parents	Parents	Children	Grand-parents	Parents	Children
N	68	69	70	68	69	70	68	69	70
Hungarian	81	90	84	53	70	86	74	90	86
Hungarian/Slovak or Slovak/Hungarian	19	9	13	11	21	13	25	9	14
Slovak	0	1	3	34	9	1	1	1	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

The domination of the Hungarian language is less strong when the children evaluate the language use in the town/neighborhood, and even less in the parent and grandparent generations. Parents and grandparents experience the mix of the two languages especially strongly.

Table 15 The language use in the town/neighborhood by generation (%)

	Grandparents	Parents	Children
N	68	69	70
Hungarian	56	47	45
Hungarian/Slovak or Slovak/Hungarian	25	44	49
Slovak	19	9	6
Total	100	100	100

While playing on musical instruments is significantly lower among the parents and even more among the grandparent generation, there is hardly any difference in case of singing and no difference at all in case of dancing. Moreover, the proportion of those singing in their childhood was much larger among the parents and grandparents than contemporary children. The proportion of those possessing conserve music is lower among the grandparents than among parents.

³⁶ The Hungarian/Slovakian and Slovakian/Hungarian together. The proportion of former and latter is 15% and 7% in the parent, 7% and 4% in the grandparent generation.

³⁷ Since the selection of the original 70 children cases was not representative and since the parent and grandparent generation were attached to that of the children, the three columns are not independent and do not represent the three age cohorts of Tótkomlós.

Table 16 Music participation by generation (%)

	Grandparents	Parents	Children
Playing on music instrument	7	32	54
Singing	46	56	66
Singing in their childhood	85	84	X
Dancing	76	71	73
Collecting music tape/CD	47	82	X

X – No information

The musical taste of the children is very different picture when we compare their first musical memory and their favorite music.

Table 17 The composition of genre of the first and favorite music of the children (%)

	First musical memory	Favourite music		
		Listened to	Played/sang	taken to a desert island
Lullaby, children's song	47	0	7	1
Cartoon	21	0	0	2
Rock	14	50	9	36
Hungarian	4	7	2	7
Pop	10	35	36	50
Hungarian	2	9	16	16
Hungarian folk	4	7	17	2
Classic	0	1	7	1
Musical	0	2	6	2
Other	4	8	18	6
Total	100	100	100	100
N	70	70	70	70

The most characteristics differences are as follows:

- the first musical memories³⁸ are mostly traditional crèche/kindergarten and nursery rhymes³⁹ and a few modern themes⁴⁰,
- rock and pop music dominates the favourite music genre but
- while the children listen significantly more than play rock music, listened and played pop music is balanced,

³⁸ Most of the first music experience of the children (84%) come from home but only 37% of them from the parents or grandparents, another 27% from conserve music (tape or CD) or from the TV (17%) or radio (11%). Almost every second child recalls the first musical experience from the age 3-4 (41%), one fourth from the age 0-2 or 5-6 (23% and 27%, respectively) and a few (8%) from the 7-8.

³⁹ The most often mentioned ones were No 4, 5, 2, and 6 in Annex 2 – all very short, very simple songs have song by generations of children. As the selected You Tube pieces prove these songs exists in various formats in the virtual world, reflecting the wide variety of the forms they exist in the real world as well, i.e. as cartoons, home videos, classical versions, jazz formats, etc.

⁴⁰ The two most frequently mentioned “modern” music pieces are two cartoons: a Hungarian one about a fox (Vuk, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LlkoPpw22g&feature=related>), and the main theme of a global series (Smurfs, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Ao99RIKyd8&feature=related>).

- and while they listen more rock than pop music, the latter is more treasured (i.e. being selected as a single choice taken to a desert island),
- the influence of Hungarian culture is more tangible in pop than in rock music (i.e. in easier to play or sing genre more often with Hungarian lyrics),
- classical, musical and all different forms of music is the most present in the played/sang form, i.e. in the everyday musical practice of the children is more diverse than the consumed form of music
- folk music is the most frequent in the played or sang, i.e. the practiced form of musical experience⁴¹.

Gender differences among the children are significant only in a few aspects of musical taste and practice⁴²:

- while the first musical experience of males is more often rock music (25% versus 6% among females), cartoons and children's song dominate the female memory (33% versus 17% among males),
- the former difference is very likely related to the fact that the first musical experience originates from the earliest age (0-2 years) more often among the females than among the males (31% versus 13%), who recall their first musical memory above the age of 5 more often (42% versus 28% among females),
- in all aspects of musical participation females are more active than males (playing on instruments 63% versus 42%, singing 90% versus 68%, dancing 87% versus 55%).

The very small group of children with any Slovakian background⁴³ differs from the Hungarian majority significantly only in two respects:

- 56% of them recalls their first musical experience as cartoon or children's music,
- almost all of them learnt playing on instruments (83%) and dance (89%).

The first musical memory of the parents is dominated by lullabies⁴⁴ and some pop and folk music (both mostly Hungarian), and this structure (with one exception, i.e. (Hungarian) rock instead of folk music) holds as the favorite music the Ego listens to. The favorite music played or sang differs from this structure in two respects: lullabies are less frequent (this is the music passively enjoyed as a small child?) and Hungarian folk, national anthem and classical music is more frequent (which is likely a by-product of the music-oriented Hungarian school system).

The priority selection of favorite music (taken to a desert island as well as investing in the form of a collection) is, however, dominated by rock and pop (mostly Hungarian, especially the pop) in the latter case with a small amount of classic and light music.

⁴¹ Another form of activity where practice is the core of the musical experience is dancing. In this case our data confirms the previous conclusion since it is neither pop nor rock but folk music what dominates the dance genre: 22% of the children like folkdance the most, followed by disco (19%), funky (16%), and hip-hop (13%).

⁴² Due to small sample size and lack of a representative sample I only selected those differences which seemed to me exceptionally large.

⁴³ This group contains children who did not identify themselves as Hungarian at least in one of the three aspects of nationality (self-identification, mother tongue, and language spoken at home).

⁴⁴ Both for parents and grandparents the most often mentioned favorites were the same as the ones for the children (especially No 4. and 5 in Annex 2.) with one exception since it did not exist then Vuk is missing in the grandparent generation as first musical experience.

Table 18 The composition of genre of the first and favorite music of the parents (%)

	First musical memory	Favourite music			
		Listened to	Played/sang	taken to a desert island	Have on tape or CD
Lullaby, children's song	42	36	15	1	0
Cartoon	6	1	1	6	0
Rock	1	10	1	22	35
Hungarian		9		13	15
Pop	16	26	16	44	28
Hungarian	10	24	15	36	26
Hungarian folk	18	2	22	2	2
Classic	1	1	8	0	7
Musical	1	1	1	2	7
Religious	6	1	1	0	0
National anthem	0	0	8	0	0
Other	9	22	27	23	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	70	59	48	61	50

Just as was the case with parents, the grandparents' first memory is dominated by lullabies as well but in this age group pop and rock hardly existed only Hungarian folk is relevant in this respect. Folk music is the most important both in case of listened and played/sang favorites in the former case with pop, in the latter case with lullabies as secondary favorite. In case of priority selection of favorite music (Hungarian) pop music is in dominant position (rock is too loud for this generation?) followed by folk music (and in the latter case light music).

Table 19 The composition of genre of the first and favorite music of the grandparents (%)

	First musical memory	Favourite music			
		Listened to	Played/sang	taken to a desert island	Have on tape or CD
Lullaby, children's song	49	7	16	0	0
Cartoon	0	0	0	0	0
Rock	0	0	0	8	10
Hungarian				7	3
Pop	5	12	0	34	40
Hungarian	5	12		32	38
Hungarian folk	23	46	47	18	21
Slovakian folk	2	2	10	2	3
Classic	5	0	0	2	3
Musical	0	0	0	8	14
Religious	5	7	8	8	5
National anthem	0	0	0	8	0
Socialist music	0	2	6	0	0
Other	11	26	13	12	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	70	56	51	62	29

Comparing the ethnic origin of musical taste,

- Hungarian music dominates both the first music experiences and the favorite music except in case of passive (listened only) favorites and priority selection where globalised music dominates in the children's generation.
- Within Hungarian music traditional forms of music is dominant especially as first music experience. Modern music is more important at the expense of traditional Hungarian music as the favorite music listened and taken to a desert island for the parent and children generations.
- Slovak music is negligible except perhaps the favorite played/sang in the grandparent generation.

Table 20 The national origin of first musical experience and various forms of favorite music by generation (%)

	First music			Favourite listened to			Favourite played/sang			Taken to an island		
	GP	P	CH	GP	P	CH	GP	P	CH	GP	P	CH
N	64	65	69	56	59	68	50	48	69	59	61	69
Slovak	5	5	1	5	6	0	10	6	3	2	0	0
Hungarian	91	86	72	88	88	28	88	88	71	90	67	30
Modern	10	18	22	21	46	19	9	31	41	52	56	26
Global	4	9	27	7	6	72	2	6	26	8	33	70
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

The CD/tape collection of the parents and grandparents differs: parents (N=50) 52% Hungarian almost exclusively modern, grandparents (N=29) more (79%) Hungarian with 59% modern only.

As to first musical experience, there are only two major differences by national origin,

- Only in the grandparent and parent generations does Slovak music associate to national origin,
- In the children generation traditional Hungarian music dominates only those with Hungarian origin, the small Slovak subgroup's first musical experience is more global or modern Hungarian.

Table 21 The national origin of first musical experience by generation and by nationality (%)

	Grandparents			Parents			Children		
	S	H	Total	S	H	Total	S	H	Total
Slovak	11	0	5	14	0	5	6	2	3
Hungarian (traditional)	75	82	79	52	75	67	11	66	51
Hungarian (modern)	10	12	11	20	18	19	39	15	21
Global	4	6	5	14	7	9	44	17	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

S – Slovak, H - Hungarian

As to favorite music listened to,

- just as in case of first musical experience in the grandparent and parent generation Slovak origin meant liking Slovak music more than the average,

- and it is only the parent generation where Hungarian origin means more liking of Hungarian (mostly modern) music.

Table 22 The national origin of favorite music listened to by generation and by nationality (%)

	Grandparents			Parents			Children		
	S	H	Total	S	H	Total	S	H	Total
Slovak	10	0	5	21	0	7	0	0	0
Hungarian (traditional)	64	68	66	37	45	42	17	6	9
Hungarian (modern)	18	25	22	26	53	44	22	18	19
Global	8	7	7	16	2	7	61	76	72
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

S – Slovak, H - Hungarian

More active musical activity increases in all generations the probability that the minority favors its own musical heritage – in our case those with Slovak origin likes Slovak music more than the average in all three generations.

Table 23 The national origin of favorite music played/sang by generation and by nationality (%)

	Grandparents			Parents			Children		
	S	H	Total	S	H	Total	S	H	Total
Slovak	19	0	10	8	3	5	16	0	4
Hungarian (traditional)	69	86	78	57	54	55	33	28	29
Hungarian (modern)	12	4	6	27	33	30	22	32	29
Global	0	10	6	8	10	10	28	40	38
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

S – Slovak, H - Hungarian

As to the priority selection of favorite music, the general trend (shift from folk towards global music) characterizes all generations and both nationalities. The two minor deviations from this trend are the Hungarian grandparents liking of modern Hungarian music and more global feature of the Slovak parents.

Table 24 The national origin of favorite music taken to a desert island by generation and by nationality (%)

	Grandparents			Parents			Children		
	S	H	Total	S	H	Total	S	H	Total
Slovak	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hungarian (traditional)	40	34	37	10	15	13	5	4	4
Hungarian (modern)	40	63	51	47	58	55	28	26	27
Global	15	3	10	43	27	32	67	70	69
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

S – Slovak, H - Hungarian

Finally, the shift from Hungarian traditional toward global music is present in both nationalities between the grandparent and parent generations with only one slight difference, i.e. while in the grandparent generation there is some nationality specific difference between Slovak and traditional Hungarian music this disappears in the next generation.

Table 25 The national origin of favorite music taken to a desert island by generation and by nationality (%)

	Grandparents			Parents		
	S	H	Total	S	H	Total
Slovak	6	0	3	0	0	0
Hungarian (traditional)	11	36	21	6	4	5
Hungarian (modern)	61	54	59	44	50	48
Global	22	10	17	50	46	47
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

S – Slovak, H - Hungarian

Using the national origin approach I applied before (footnote 10) on individual level, I constructed a 3G typology differentiating families with

- all their members having “some” Slovak ethnic background (all Slovak families),
- having “some” Slovak background in the children generation but at least one previous generation with complete Hungarian identity (“new” Slovak families),
- children with complete Hungarian identity but with one or two generation with “some” Slovak identity component (first or second generation Hungarians), and
- families where all three generation have complete Hungarian identity.

Table 26 The ethnic composition of the seventy 3G families (number of cases)

	Grandparent	Parent	Child	Number of cases
All Slovak	0	0	0	8
“New” Slovak	0	1	0	4
	1	0	0	4
	1	1	0	2
First generation Hungarian	0	0	1	11
	1	0	1	1
Second generation Hungarian	0	1	1	12
All Hungarian	1	1	1	28

0 – Slovak, 1 - Hungarian

In the following tables I tested whether music and ethnic identity is associated on family level.

As to first musical experience, there is a positive association between having Hungarian traditional music as first experience and having stronger Hungarian ethnic component in the family. However, the opposite is not true (more Slovak music if there is less Hungarian component) but there is more global (modern Hungarian) music as first experience among those with less pronounced Hungarian background.

Table 27 The national origin of the first musical experience by the ethnic composition of the 3G families (%)

	All and "new" Slovaks	1 st generation Hungarian	2 nd generation Hungarian	All Hungarian	Total
N	18	11	13	28	70
Slovak	6	0	8	0	3
Hungarian (traditional)	11	45	62	72	51
Hungarian (modern)	39	37	8	14	21
Global	44	18	22	14	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Favorite music listened to does not associate strongly with family level national origin. Paradoxically, though the association is very weak, while the stronger the Slovak component, the more people like Hungarian traditional music, all Hungarian families like global music the most.

Table 28 The national origin of the favorite music listened to by the ethnic composition of the 3G families (%)

	All and "new" Slovaks	1 st generation Hungarian	2 nd generation Hungarian	All Hungarian	Total
N	18	11	13	28	70
Slovak	0	0	0	0	0
Hungarian (traditional)	16	9	0	7	9
Hungarian (modern)	22	27	23	11	19
Global	62	64	77	82	72
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Unlike in the previous case, Slovak origin increases the probability of liking Slovak music when active participation is associated with it (i.e. played or sang the music). Just as in the previous case first generation Hungarians prefer modern Hungarian, all Hungarians global music the most.

Table 29 The national origin of the favorite music played/sang by the ethnic composition of the 3G families (%)

	All and "new" Slovaks	1 st generation Hungarian	2 nd generation Hungarian	All Hungarian	Total
N	18	11	13	28	70
Slovak	17	0	0	0	4
Hungarian (traditional)	33	27	33	26	29
Hungarian (modern)	22	45	34	26	29
Global	28	28	33	48	38
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Finally, the priority selection of favourite music does not associate strongly with national origin except that again the first generation Hungarians like modern Hungarian music the most.

Table 30 The national origin of the favorite music taken to a desert island by the ethnic composition of the 3G families (%)

	All and "new" Slovaks	1 st generation Hungarian	2 nd generation Hungarian	All Hungarian	Total
N	18	11	13	28	70
Slovak	0	0	0	0	0
Hungarian (traditional)	5	0	8	4	4
Hungarian (modern)	28	46	15	22	26
Global	67	54	77	74	70
Total	100	100	100	100	100

2.4 Annex 2: The Hungarian text of the lullabies, children's songs and folk songs

Csip-csip csóka vak varjúcska

Komám asszony kéreti a szekerét

nem adhatom oda

tyúkok ülnek rajta! Hess-hess

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HYa28fF5pvM&NR=1>

Süss fel nap, fényes nap

kertek alatt a ludaim megfagynak.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JX9G12Qxg0U>

Csiga-biga told ki szarvadat

Ha nem tolod összetöröm házadat.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AS56kRHVa64&feature=related>

Boci-boci tarka, se füle se farka

oda megyünk lakni, ahol tejet kapni.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JX9G12Qxg0U>

Kis kacska fürdik, fekete tóban

anyjához készül Lengyelországba.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K3WLT35sIbM&feature=related>

Bújj, bújj zöld ág zöld levelecske

Nyitva van az aranykapu csak bújjatok rajta

rajta, rajta leszakadt a pajta

bent maradt a macska.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U1klGwQiOeg>

Tavaszi szél vizet áraszt, virágom, virágom

Minden madár társat választ, virágom, virágom.

Hát én immár kit válasszak, virágom, virágom.

Én tégedet, te engemet, virágom, virágom.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O60EPkbzVmM&feature=related>

Queens

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fuUnnrp_7qA

Guns and Roses

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_3tDXT-ToBc&feature=related

vietnamiese version

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1dumIncOc4c&feature=related>

choir

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UO5GIC5rsTs&feature=related>

church choir

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UO5GIC5rsTs&feature=related>

the same with the audience singing

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aoOHAJumZQ&feature=related>

dance-folk

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=smSxWPqzc3o&feature=related>

home-made

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XLpTX2a-JqM&feature=related>

organ in a synagogue and the audience singing

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mM6Z0Lu2z3o&feature=related>

folk and audience

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XVB1WC2QUHg&feature=related>

home made piano and synthy

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tZiq9T0t5fQ&feature=related>

Kis kece lányom, fehérbe vagyok

Fehér a rózsza kezébe vagyok

II: Mondom, mondom fordulj ide mátkámasszony :II

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YIJQEx-rkD0>

Egy boszorka van, három fia van

Iskolába jár az egy, másik lopni-csalni megy

A harmadik kint a padon, a dudáját fújja nagyon

Danadanadom, de szép hangja van.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nvNyVqE-Ffy&feature=related>

Csinom Palkó, csinom Jankó csontos karabélyom.

Dali pár pisztolyom

Nosza rajta jó katonák

Menyen táncba ki-ki köztünk

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=spLFql2QYEc>

Hull a szilva a fáról, most jöttem a tanyáról

Ejhaj ruca-ruca kukorica derce.

Érik a szőlő, hajlik a vésző

bodor a levele

Két szegény legény szántani menne

de nincsen kenyere.

Erdő, erdő de magas a teteje
Jaj, de régen lehullott a levele
Jaj, de régen lehullott a levele
Árva madár párját keresi benne.

Erdő szélén piros a szamóca.
Sej-haj tuli-ali piros a szamóca
Erdő szélén piros a szamóca
No szedjük is együtt éde.

A part alatt, a part alatt
három varjú kaszál, három varjú kaszál

Cifra palota zöld az ablaka,
Gyere ki te tuba rózsza vár a viola.
Kicsi vagyok én majd megnövök én,
Eszteendőre vagy kettőre nagylány leszek én.

Hej, Dunáról fúj a szél,
szegény embert mindig ér, Dunáról fúj a szél
Ha Dunáról nem fújna
Ilyen hideg nem volna, Dunáról fúj a szél.

Lánc, lánc Eszter lánc, Eszterlánci cérna
cérna volna selyem volna mégis kifordulna
Pénz volna karika, forduljon ki az aranyos
Marika, Marikának lánc.

Zsipp-zsupp kender zsupp ha megázik kidobjuk zsupp

Kiskarácsony, nagykarácsony kisült-e már a kalácsom
Ha kisült már, ide véle hadd egyem meg melegébe.

Mennyből az angyal, lejött hozzátok pásztorok, pásztorok
Hogy Bethlehembe sietve menvén lássátok, lássátok.

Hegyek-völgyek között zakatol a vonat
Én a legszebb lányok közül Téged választalak
Egy a jelszó tartós béke, állj közénk és harcolj érte.

Bóbita, bóbita táncol
körben az angyalok ülnek
béka hadak furulyáznak
sáska hadak hegedülnek

Piros alma mosolyog a dombtetőn.
Sárga kendős kislány sétál a mezőn
Szép a mező megszépül a virágtól,
Vagy attól a sárga kendős kislánytól.

Konope, konope...
Kender, kender zöld kender
Az én ajtómon senki sem kopog be. – aratási, szerelmes nóta

Prsí, prsí...
Esik, esik csak esik
Ne csukd be drágám az ajtót előttem. – szerelmes dal

3 MAIN FINDINGS OF BIOGRAPHICAL INTERVIEWS (ENRI-BIO)

Ráchel Surányi

3.1 Brief description of the people and their life stories interviewed and from which districts/settlements they came⁴⁵

A short summary: all the interviewees are from the country side (but don't necessarily live there) and within this from two bigger regions: either from Békés County or from the Pilis⁴⁶. It's because the Slovaks in Hungary live mainly in these two areas. So basically everybody comes from a significantly Slovak town. Those who are from Békés, Nógrád and Zemplén County are Lutherans and those who are from Pilis they are more likely to be Catholic. It varied whether they go to a Hungarian or to a Slovak mass. Mostly it depends on the possibilities. For example in Budapest the Slovak mass is only once a month and even that one is too early for some people. Not all of them are going to the church every Sunday, but they all mention that the religion is important for them and they are all baptized and go to the church at bigger holidays and events which are actually quite often. There are many events held in the churches and this time it doesn't matter in which church: Catholic or Lutheran, they go anyway. About the school: there are two schools in Tótkomlós: one Slovak and one Hungarian. The Slovak school is small and the Hungarian is bigger. The choice was always made according to the importance of identity, the quality and the Slovak language. There are debates about the quality. One says that the Slovak is not good enough because it's too small the others say that the Hungarian is not good enough because it's too big. There are only two Slovak high schools: one is in Budapest and the other one is in Szarvas.

Tamásné was born in a Slovak village in Békés county and she lives in Budapest now.

“So I was born in Pitvaros that was a Slovak village. I was born after the resettlement or relocation, so the following year, but the point is that then the composition of the town changed: until then only Slovaks were living there and when I was born in 1948 – the resettlement was in 1947, so in 1948 –, the population of the town was mixed. Around 25% of the town remained there, mostly those Slovaks who had lived there before and everybody else, so the ones who came from Felvidék⁴⁷ came to live there in the course of the population exchange. So that's why I thought it is very important that I am from a Slovak village, all of my relatives were Slovaks.”

She is 62 years old, the president of the Slovak Self Government of Budapest. She attended the Hungarian school in her village where she studied Slovak twice a week, then after the 8th grade she went to Budapest to the Slovak high school because of the language and also to the conservatoire, because she was and she is still obsessed with music. She graduated in Szeged majoring in pedagogy, in Slovak and in Russian. She went to a small town near Budapest to teach Slovak for ten years then she went to Budapest to be a teacher in the Slovak school. She wasn't only teaching, but she recruited children as well. After that she was the cultural presenter in the Slovak Association of Hungary then she got to be the chief of the Minority Department in the Hungarian

⁴⁵ The main characteristics of the interviewees can be found in Annex 3.

⁴⁶ Pilis is not a county, it's a bigger region.

⁴⁷ It's Southern Slovakia where the Hungarian minority lives too. Hungarians call it Upper Hungary, because it used to be part of Hungary, but not anymore. I'm going to use the Hungarian expression, because there is a difference in aspects

Educational Institute. For fifteen years she is the president of the Slovak Self Government of Budapest and of a district. Meanwhile she founded the Slovak chamber choir, dance ensemble, she is publishing a Slovak newspaper that she created and she founded also a Slovak Singing Choir that she is still the leader of. Generally she speaks Slovak and she is trying very hard to keep this tradition in the family. For example her ex husband was a Hungarian, but he learnt Slovak so they can pass it onto their children. Now she speaks Slovak with her grandchildren even though one of her son-in-laws is Croatian. She loves travelling and she cooks Slovak food which she also tries to pass onto her children. Altogether she lived a very active life in the Slovak community and she put many things on the table. “So we have to keep the traditions, because something that is nice and good should be part of the tradition.”

Szandra is a 29 years old woman who is from Tótkomlós⁴⁸ and she lives there. She was going to a Slovak school in her town then after the 8th grade she went to Kecskemét to the Kodály Zoltán Music Art of Technical College this is where she graduated. Then she was accepted in Szeged at a Training School as an oboe teacher and meanwhile she was already teaching in Tótkomlós at the Slovak school as a music teacher. Then her daughter was born and after 2 years of maternity leave she is a full-time music teacher in the Slovak school in Tótkomlós. She is also obsessed with music. Her identity is absolutely Hungarian although she has Slovak roots, but in her family it wasn't important to keep this tradition. Only her grandmother pushed the Slovak a bit:

“My grandmother sang Slovak songs. [...] I still know them. And my grandmother said even these... how do you call it? We talked about religion... prayers as well. She said these as well, but I wouldn't be able to tell you these. But I remember that she said these very often.”

Despite of this she wants to send her daughter to the Slovak school. She knows Slovak more or less and she uses the tót dialect of it. She cooks Slovak foods and she teaches her daughter some Slovak words so altogether she keeps a bit from the Slovak tradition.

Jánosné is a 41 years old woman who was born in Tótkomlós and still lives there. She attended the Slovak primary school in Tótkomlós and then after the 8th grade she went to Békéscsaba to the Slovak high school. After the final exam she went to the Comenius University in Bratislava and she finished the last year in Szeged. She got to be a teacher of Slovak grammar and literature. First she was teaching in the Lutheran primary school and then she also graduated the Theological University. During this period her children were born and for 8 years she had taught at the Slovak school. She also works for the Hungarian Television and she is a kind of organizer of these Slovak events so whenever there is a Slovak happening she is there with her children.

“Well, this [passing the tradition onto the children] starts from the language obviously. They [the children] know very well that they have to learn Slovak. It's very important that you learn it. I told them there is no graduation ceremony till they don't have a language exam. (laughing) So this is important as well. And I think that kvasienka and that cake is coming along with it. And that I take them to these happenings, these events.”

Her husband is Hungarian, but he assimilated to the Slovak family so they are trying to keep the Slovak identity and traditions although they speak Hungarian at home. She speaks Slovak only with her mother and this language is the tót dialect that they use, but when she teaches at the school she obviously uses the literary language. The religion is also important for her. They are Lutherans, but they go to the church only at bigger occasions.

⁴⁸ People from Tótkomlós weren't born in this town because there is no opportunity for this, mostly they were born in Orosháza, but I think it's only a small detail.

Péter was born in 1954 in Tótkomlós and lives in Budapest now, but his father still lives there. He attended the Hungarian primary school in Tótkomlós. Peter said about this:

“Well, we could choose, because there was a Slovak primary school in Tótkomlós as well, but only the minority went there, only those who were committed to keep the Slovak language or where they spoke only Slovak in the family. That time at the Hungarian school in the same year we were 160 of us, there were four big classes and at the Slovak school there were around ten children in the same year and now it's even less. I didn't go to the Slovak school, but everybody said that the level was lower there. And they put me in the Hungarian school because of that and because my parents knew that we will study further and we will study on a higher level there. The reason wasn't to study in Hungarian, because even at the Slovak school they teach most of the subjects in Hungarian, they teach the Slovak as a second language or I don't know how many subjects they are learning in Slovak, maybe the history apart from the literature and the grammar. But of course, we wanted to study further in Hungarian, this was the plan, so it was obvious that the children are gonna get a Hungarian education. For my parents it was obvious. And we didn't want to look for the possibilities of studying in Slovak in Slovakia.”

Then he attended the Hungarian high school in Szeged where he studied math and physics as a faculty which turned out to be a mistake according to him. After the final exam he did one year military service which was mandatory that time and then he was accepted at the university in Pécs and he majored in economy. After that he taught in Pécs at the university for four years. Then he was working at the Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for 12 years meanwhile his first sociography was published. Then he got to be a full time writer and also started editing a journal called *Holmi*. He used to speak Slovak at home only with his grandparents and his parents were teaching them the language for this purpose, but he doesn't know the literary language. He said:

“I understand the Slovak that they speak in Tótkomlós: it's archaic, very old from the 18th century, it contains Hungarian elements we can say that is mixed with the Hungarian. This is what I speak more or less.”

Both of his wives are Hungarian, the first one died. He has children and he doesn't really teach them Slovak. His Slovak identity is mostly manifesting in his writings. He even translates tales from Slovak into Hungarian with some modifications.

“I don't translate from Slovak, but I can understand the tales and I translate them and I rewrite them. My books are published in Slovak. By now two books of mine were already published in Slovak: *Jadviga's pillow* and *The Photographer's Posterity*.”

So we can say that he is inspired by his Slovak identity.

József is 54 years old and he is from a Slovak village from Komárom county. He lives in Szeged with his family, but he works in Budapest. He attended the Slovak primary school in Kesztlőc and after the 3rd grade he went to Budapest to the Slovak school. After the graduation he did one year military service then he went to Bratislava to the university where he majored in journalism. For two years he worked for a newspaper in Szeged then he was working for the TV for 16 years. From 1998 he is the president of the Slovak Self Government of Hungary. Meanwhile he is shooting documentaries connected to Slovak topics for example:

“There were some folklore documentary movies. I tried to imply the Slovak being as well. So there was a folklore example about the wire makers. About the wire maker Slovaks. It was a 40 minutes movie.” He used to speak with his parents “In Slovak. In Slovak. In our own dialect. They didn't know the literary language. In Pilis they speak a Western Slovak dialect, but Kesztlőc is very special, it's a very hard dialect, consequently hard dialect, it doesn't soften anything like others in Pilis,

I didn't even meet this kind of thing. We are already very proud of this. We're used to be ashamed of this, because it was so different from the literary language, but the vocabulary, the sentence structure is the closest to the literary language, the linguists say. So this is a particular dialect."

He is Roman Catholic because he is from the Pilis. The religion is important to him, but he is not going to the church regularly although he pays tax and so on. He goes there when he has to go because of his job. Altogether being a president of the Slovak Self Government of Hungary shows a very active life. Apart from this he is the member of many kinds of organizations and participating in the Slovak international life as well.

László was born in Tótkomlós and lives there as well. He is 14 years old. He attended the kindergarten where he had Slovak lessons on Thursdays. Then he started to attend the Slovak primary school according to his own wish:

„My grandmothers regularly speak in Slovak, and many years ago, they already taught me how to say this and that when I was a child. I was interested in this already at that time. Then, as I'd been growing and growing and the time came when I had to go to school... well, already in the kindergarten... it was regularly Thursday afternoons when we spoke in Slovak only in the kindergarten, and then it was time to go to school. And my parents... I told them that I want to go to the Slovak school, that I would not like to go to the Hungarian school, not there, and they said OK.”

He was enrolled in the local music school and started to play the flute. He changed this into trumpet and joined the orchestra. Apart from this he is dancing folkdance, playing football and taking part at the Slovak reciting competitions too. When he had to choose between the trumpet and football he chose the sport, but he still dances. Mostly they speak Hungarian at home, but sometimes they switch to Slovak. He says that he speaks the literary language which is because of the school. He uses the Slovak with his friends when they are in Slovakia.

“Well...with my friends, I speak Hungarian. However, if we're there [in Slovakia], we talk in Slovak only, naturally. Otherwise we're being watched if we talk in Hungarian there and also if we dance a folk dance in such a way... we're being watched then and people might be asking what we could have said. And we have to speak in Slovak then.”

Ferencné is a 68 years old woman. She was born in Tótkomlós and still lives there. She attended the Hungarian primary school, because they couldn't sort out for her to go to the Slovak one, but she had some language difficulties. After she finished the 8th grade she started to deal with agriculture, she is from a farmer family. Then she got married to a Slovak. Her daughters and then her grandchildren were born. Her husband died and she is still selling products in the market in the mornings. She had difficulties at school, because she used to speak only in Slovak with her parents. And she still speaks Slovak with her daughters, her son-in-law who is a Hungarian and doesn't really understand her and with her grandchildren though they don't understand her all the time. With her generation she also speaks Slovak. She speaks obviously the tót dialect. She has a totally Slovak identity and she has a cousin in Slovakia whom she keeps in touch with. Her cousin lives there because of the resettlements. She used to participate in the Slovak Pensioner's Club, but she doesn't anymore, because she doesn't have energy for it.

“I used to be involved in events like stealing melon and there used to be these barn dances in the period when we went to school to Szarvas. I went to steal melon with my husband, who was a schoolchild as well that time, and participated in such events because of the Slovak school he attended. We used to take part in the traditional Slovak wedding dances, when the bride wore black clothes. And we also used to dance in other villages in the surroundings. [...] There are a lot of acquaintances there is the clubs who keep telling me to go there, but for me, the marketplace is

enough entertainment. So, I don't attend these clubs anymore. Sometimes I go to events, when there is need for a helping hand, so that they're not left alone."

She is Lutheran and she used to go to the church every Sunday where the mass was held in Slovak, now she goes only when there is a bigger holiday or when her grandchildren have a performance. She is cooking traditional Slovak foods so she absolutely keeps the Slovak tradition and she is trying to pass it onto her children and grandchildren.

István is a 49 years old man who was born in the Pilis in the most Slovak populated village and still lives there, but works in Budapest. He attended the kindergarten and the primary school in his village for the first three years then he enrolled to the Slovak school in Budapest. After he finished the high school he went to Bratislava to study journalism at the university. He was there for 3 years then he finished the last year from his village through correspondence courses. Meanwhile he started to work as a main editor at the Slovak journal called *L'udové noviny* which is still his workplace. Apart from this he writes poems and books. He got married with a Polish woman and they have two children. About the use of the languages:

"Is a little bit long, because as a child I used to talk in Slovak, in *tót* – the local dialect – with my friends and with my parents, so among each other. And right at the time when... with my older sister – because I have three siblings, and I'm the youngest – and when the two younger started to learn in this Slovak school of Budapest, paradoxically then, we switched to Hungarian with my sister, because we got out of the familiar community. Before that we went to kindergarten so that we spoke *tót* and I remember the Slovak words we used with my friends while playing and with the same people, I speak in Hungarian only now. [...] Regarding the children, we've paid attention to that right from the beginning, we didn't want to teach them something different from what we know, meaning my wife talked to them in Polish right from the beginning, and I spoke in Slovak to them... and the community around them was mostly Hungarian-speaking, since by now in the Pilis Mountains, it's clear that the kindergarten and the school equals to Hungarian-speaking communities by now..."

He participates very actively in the Slovak community's civil and political life too: he participated in founding the Organization of Young Slovaks Living in Hungary and he is the member of the Slovak Self Government of his village and also of the Slovak Self Government of Hungary. They eat Slovak food and also local specialities, but he says it's not the only important thing in keeping the Slovak tradition:

"And it's more and more important...sometimes we are criticised for becoming an ethno-gastro minority, and there is.. I'm angry with those saying that it's enough to feel and eat Slovak at the cost of the language. If the goal is to reach to the language through our stomach, I think it's OK, but if it's to feel more Slovak through eating a little bit of "bryndzové halusky" from time to time, and that we drink some Slovak beer to it, this is already something I can't accept. I mean, it shouldn't be a goal, but a means in order to get things the right way. Otherwise, this is my biggest problem at the moment with our activists, among whom this way of thinking is spreading more and more, that we should understand that our people don't speak Slovak any more, we should not expect the language knowledge from them, and we should not make much efforts for having education in Slovak, but that we should act like the Slovaks of America as they come together on a Slovak garden party (affect pose added) and drink their Slovak beers, saying that they still have a belonging and know that used to be Slovaks once. Compared to this, I say we should try to revive Slovak language education – artificially if necessary – wherever it's possible to do so."

György is a 21 years old boy who was born in Szarvas which is in Békés County and lives in Budapest. His father's side is only Slovak, but he spoke Hungarian with his parents and he didn't know his grandparents from his father's side so at home he didn't use the language. His father

knows Slovak, but only the dialect one that was enough to speak with his grandmother about the rural issues who didn't speak Hungarian at all. He attended the Slovak bilingual primary school in Szarvas and the Hungarian high school as well in Szarvas. After the final exam he went to Budapest and studies at ELTE University majoring in Slovak with Slovene minor. He has a scholarship from the Slovak Self Government of the district. About his identity:

“Well..., Slovak..., of course. I had just registered myself as an ethnic minority voter, for example, with the elections coming up.”

And:

“This is hard to judge. The feeling of identity is on the way to extinction that may be said. I, though, do have it. So we may say that I am different in this respect. Culture and heritage are looked after by all of us, Szarvas being a rural city, with old tradition kept alive – language may have changed, but old customs have not.”

About his family's identity:

“They would rather say they were Hungarian. The family does understand though where we are from, and even my sister registered herself as a minority voter – even though she started learning Slovak only a few weeks ago. We have a sort of cultural identity, I mean.”

From all this we can see that for him is very important to keep the Slovak identity. He said that this is because of the ethnic school that he attended:

“With schools, it was only primary school that had any role in forming my identity, as it was an ethnic institution. Of myself I can tell that attending Hungarian ethnic minority school sort of re-slovakised me: if I had not been attending an ethnic school, there is no way I would have had any kind of Slovak identity. We did not use Slovak at home at all, so I would not speak a word of the language; the most I would have been aware of may have been that there were some Slovaks who settled down in the city a long time ago. I may also have been aware that with a name like Rajenske – unpronounceable for Hungarians – I was possibly a descendant of these Slovak settlers. That would have been all about my feeling of identity. The way it actually happened, it is much stronger.”

He is so impressed with his ethnic school that he thinks he will send his children to ethnic school as well. He is a Lutheran and he even goes to the church. He is active in the Slovak community's life.

Eszter is a 31 years old woman from Békés County. She was born in Békéscsaba and lives in Budapest now. She attended the ethnic primary school in Békéscsaba then she went to the Lutheran High School of Békéscsaba. There is no Slovak high school in Békéscsaba. They studied there some Slovak. After the final exam he got an ethnic scholarship and moved to Bratislava for one year. She went to a German and Slovak language preparation school, but instead of going to the Comenius University she decided to come back to Hungary. Another change of decisions was that she realized that:

“the language I wanted to learn was Czech, not Slovak. This is how I came back to the Pázmány University at Piliscsaba, where I graduated at the Czech-German faculty....since then... I had been teaching both German and Czech for a time, and now, using my language skills, I am working for a multi. I am using Slovak, Czech and Slovene now.”

She learnt Slovene at the university as a minor Slavic language. They speak Hungarian at home. Both of her parents' family have Slovak roots, but only her mother's family is speaking Slovak among each other. Her father's family left the Slovak origin they even changed their names into Hungarian. She also likes the ethnic school idea:

"I prefer them [my children] to learn Slovak, but I would not mind them learning other Slavic languages, in an Ethnic school. It is even conceivable for them to go to... I don't know... a Serb ethnic school. Interesting – in my mind I have settled already that authentic (to me, anyway) Slovak ethnicity is, alas, going extinct slowly in Békéscsaba. My older relatives the family, the little old locals... that world is going out slowly. What I received from them that stays within me. I may forward it in a different way though. For me the most important issue is to learn to understand a different culture while one is little – a culture different from my own, from what I see around me, or what I learn about regarding my wider neighborhood but which ties me to another nation. Thus it is more important for me to learn the language of a small people, and to get to know their culture this way, because that is a real relationship then. [...] I may not be able to transfer the Slovak language with its unique Hungarian Slovak heritage to my children the way I received it though. But if I were offered a chance to have them taught in an ethnic school, any ethnic school, I'd readily have my kids enrolled. Not to bilingual schools, teaching one of the Lingua Franca today – to an Ethnic school."

She is not only thinking actively about it, but she also attends an ethnic festival that is held in Békéscsaba and she goes to a Catholic community as well although she is Lutheran. The religion is also important to her so she goes to church every week which is in Hungarian.

Endre is in his thirties'. He is from Bakonycsérnye which is a Slovak village. He lives in Sósút with his family and he works in Budapest. He finished the elementary school in his village then after some recruitment he got attracted by the Slovak school in Budapest and this is where he finished what was left from the 8 grades and the high school as well.

"They came from the school recruiting, going around the country, recruiting from the Slovak settlements and then the whole thing attracted me, and I got put there in upper-form, into the college dorm and that's where I technically finished Elementary School and then the High School came naturally as this school had a High School also, so I stayed there [in Budapest]."

After the final exam he wanted to study law. He started in Hungary but it wasn't successful, so he went to Bratislava. He stayed there after graduation he worked for several multinational companies. In the meantime he got married and his children were also born there. His wife also attended the Slovak school and she was studying journalism in Bratislava, but because they couldn't settle down and he didn't have a job that time and he was offered a job in Budapest at the Slovak Self Government of Hungary they came to live to Hungary. This is where he is working for 4 years. The village where they live is also Slovak. He has Slovak origins from both sides. And apart from working at the Slovak Self Government of Hungary:

"I did these folk dances, with performances and things that attract kids. Now, recently I took part in the writing of a book with one of my renowned colleagues from Békéscsaba, who's a muzeologist; we collected country house types and edited them together, Slovak style country houses, and then we found out that there are around 60 country houses like this, or country house museums, or folk art collection, we can call it. So we photographed these, enthusiastically collected material about them, so we tried taking part in other such activities, technically whatever I could fit into my schedule next to my family."

So we can say that he is keeping the traditions in a way. He said that he is not allowed to be a member of any civil organization and anything like that because of his job. His wife is also active:

"my wife is the president of the Sósút Slovak Self Government and she works a lot in the field of upholding traditions. In Sósút there is also a women's choir and a folk dance group, so she tries

to support them financially on a municipal level, then there is also a Kapuśniak⁴⁹ gastronomical festival that we organized, every such event has a bit of a gastronomical side linked to it; people at least come to eat taste to some of the things there. There is already of course a Rétes⁵⁰ festival, a Csabai Kolbász⁵¹ festival, so we decided to make a Kapuśniak festival, which is a type of cabbage roll made of salted pastry...”

They even prepare these foods at home, but they don't speak Slovak at home. They also take part in the Slovak life through music:

“Zsuzsa [her wife] took part in these types of performances with the folk dance group, with ladies who are older now, they don't really have time for practice and performances, but very serious folk music we don't really listen to on a daily basis. But there are songs, sometimes we sing along to them, some bring them to be translated and Zsuzsa also had a colleague, now an acquaintance, in Sós-kút, a music teacher who collected the Slovak songs from Sós-kút and Tárnok, which we helped to listen to, write down, interpret so we do take part in this aspect of culture.”

He is Catholic and he is relatively religious: he goes to church very often to the Hungarian mass, because he doesn't know the Slovak liturgy.

Mária is a 63 years old woman. She is the director of the Slovak school in Budapest. She is from a Slovak town from the Pilis. Her family is originally Slovak from her father's side and Croatian from her mother's, but everybody was speaking tót at home. By today she knows both the literary and the dialect language as well because she learnt it at the school.

“Well, at home... we spoke the so-called Western-Slovak dialect, so we used to speak the tót dialect, and not the literary language, since my ancestors used to speak this dialect. We used this dialect for communication, and we didn't used to speak in Slovak with our parents, although we had already learnt the literary language by that time, but still we used to speak in tót. So, this was the best solution, because they, too... so, for me as I went back to that community, this was the easier way of expressing myself.”

She attended an ethnic elementary school in her village and she finished the rest of the primary school in Budapest in the Slovak school. This is where she attended the Slovak high school as well. After the final exam she went to Szeged and majored in Hungarian at the university. She stayed in Szeged for a couple of years she was working as an assistant lecturer and during these years she was a correspondent student of the ELTE. Meanwhile she also established a family and they went to Moscow for 6 years. And since then she is working in Budapest in the Slovak school. She grew up in a very religious family they used to go to church every Sunday. She is Catholic, but they go to the Lutheran church when there is a Slovak event. About the Catholic church:

“It was Latin that time. Generally, the course of the church service was in Latin. When it was a Hungarian mass, the prayers were in Hungarian, and on Sundays, at the great mass, the language was Slovak. The prayers used to be in Slovak, but the liturgy used to be in Latin, and only later it turned to Hungarian.”

She considers herself Slovak with Hungarian citizenship and it's important for her to keep the Slovak traditions.

⁴⁹ Cabbage, Kapuśniak is a Slovak word.

⁵⁰ Strudel, Hungarian Pastry

⁵¹ Hungarian hot sausage

3.2 European identity

Basically only a few interviewees mentioned the European identity by themselves. “Well, in the first place I have European identity. Of course, my language and my culture is Hungarian, so basically I am European through the Hungarian culture, but I am European by all means.” (Peter) And the other: “I think that this thing starts only now. Since we joined the EU, we belong to a bigger community and if the EUR will be introduced it’s going to be even stronger.” (József) And somebody who didn’t mention it by herself, but accepted it with openness: “Well, I’m open to the idea of being European.” (Mária) There were two young boys who thought totally opposite. One says that Europe is just one among other continents:

“I don’t think that Africans would be different in any sense, from Europeans, for example. Alright, they’re darker, but otherwise, there is not more difference than Asians. That their eyes are a little bit different, that doesn’t matter, and they’re not different from us. They belong to us in the same way, I mean, belonging to the human community.” (László)

And the other one says that:

“It is too big for me. Europe is, for me, right here, and here I am. That sort of standard of living they have over there I cannot hope to reach; their spiritual streams have always got here late. We are second-rate Europeans; this has always been like this, and is still like this.” (György)

There was a young girl who mentioned similarly that she has rather Central European identity than European:

“On a level that, when I meet an American, I feel to be European. But it does not give me an identity at all. Central European, maybe. I am Central European. Yes. But Europe? Well, I can’t say that. Too vague.” (Eszter)

And another one with Central European identity similar to this:

“I can completely fit myself into this picture; I can see, beyond being European and Hungarian, a sort of Central Europeanism, so technically through this knowledge, or life that I’ve been given, I can feel just as comfortable in Slovakia, the Czech Republic or Poland as I do in Hungary.” (Endre)

They were mainly satisfied with the European Union. Everybody mentioned that it made the travelling easier. For example:

“If I am going to Belgium for three months, then I am gonna be there for three months. So I think that this is very good and peaceful like this. And whoever doesn’t like this has a different problem. He doesn’t like many other things then.” (Tamásné)

But there was some skepticism as well:

„I’d say that I have provisos (laughing), I can’t judge it now, we will see, because I am not that professional, but I always said that I have provisos for them not to use us. Not to be the poor relatives. (laughing) I wasn’t as happy as the air balloons were flying around. I always say that I’m not sure that is so good for us or was good for us. (laughing)” (Jánosné)

And there were some who couldn’t decide whether is good or not:

„The difference is only that we had passports, they came, they put the stamps and there is no difference. I’m sure for those who travel a lot it’s easier like this but... I don’t know how much Hungary benefitted for joining the EU but I don’t... I’m not really sure about politics. (laughing) It doesn’t influence my life. If it’s better for us or not? [...] I don’t know. (laughing)” (Szandra)

3.3 National identity – relationship to country of residence

For all of them the national identity was very important. An opinion how the identity gets more important while getting older:

„As a child it doesn't matter whether you are Hungarian or Slovak, since this is what we hear every day, that a child wants a happy childhood, and lots of friends and whatever, but then eventually he starts becoming interested in these [identity] things which I think is important.” (Endre)

Most of them identified themselves as Slovaks living in Hungary or Slovak with Hungarian citizenship which is almost the same thing. Some examples:

“I define myself that I am a Slovak in Hungary. It's very important. Because in Slovakia the reporters always ask me »If my heart is beating when I cross the border? « And I say: »Look, I am telling you honestly that I am a Slovak of Hungary and my heart is beating when I hear the Hungarian anthem or when I see the Hungarian flag.« Because this is how they educated me that this is my motherland.” (Tamásné)

Or:

“I define myself as a Slovak who lives in Hungary. These are my roots. It wasn't so obvious unfortunately. The school that I told you about, the level of education was good, I liked it, but they didn't strengthen the identity, it wasn't explicitly said that we are Slovaks who live in Hungary.” (József)

Or a more complex one:

“Well, I am Hungarian for sure. European identity. I was growing up in the Hungarian culture, I mastered the literature in Hungarian language and I got to understand the world's things in Hungarian, so by all means a Hungarian culture. To take into account the origin: I am a Hungarian intellectual from a family with Slovak origin that turned into a Hungarian family.” (Péter)

And the last one:

“I consider myself a Slovak in Hungary, so this is my home, I am a Hungarian citizen and the Hungarian National Anthem is my Anthem, at school we learned this too, although it is true that we studied in Slovak, but perhaps I know more about this nation's history, perhaps I see some things differently in terms of what led to turning points in history. At the same time I have no problem with Slovaks, that's how I could summarize.” (Endre)

Interestingly, somebody even specified his identity: “We have a sort of cultural identity, I mean.” (György)

None of them want to live in another country and connecting to this they all think about Hungary as their home land. “My home is clearly Hungary. Living abroad I can consider temporarily – not for good.” (Eszter) They are all satisfied with their living of residence. For example: „I don't feel miserable because I am Slovak and that's why »oh, it's bad for me here«. It's very good for me here. Let's leave it at that.” (Tamásné)

Many of them mentioned that one cannot have two homes. For example:

“I'm already 60 or even 70, I always come back home to a secure place. So, you feel this only if you... you can't evaluate it if you don't have an experience abroad. There, you feel it for the first time, that you belong to your home country, and that you can't belong to two places at the same time.” (Mária)

Everybody mentioned that there are two languages within the Slovak: the literary and the tót which is a dialect of it mixed with the Hungarian language and most of them speak this one, the literary is needed more for the official sphere for example for teachers or for those who work in

the self governments. The use of the languages varies, but mostly they all use the Slovak. A man who has a Polish wife said:

“I can accept natural assimilation to a certain extent, considering such situations, however the outcome of a mixed marriage should be a bilingual child... and it should not be the way that one language dominates only. I've tried to get this through in my family as far as I could.” (István)

They all eat Slovak and Hungarian national foods as well which could characterize the dualism of their identity and as well they keep their identity stronger through the traditional food. Many of them said that through the knowledge of the Slovak language they can understand other Slavic languages and that is first of all an advantage living in Central Eastern Europe and second of all it implies and strengthens the Central European identity. “I rather see it as an advantage. Because of the language on one hand, and on the other, I am able to judge the status of things here more objectively.” (György) And a similar one: “All I feel of this is that I have been given something extra. On one hand it is easier to understand the people around, Slavic people.” (Eszter)

3.4 National identity – relationship to mother country

About Slovakia it wasn't as evident as it was about Hungary. One thing was very common though: they all go there quite often. For example Jánosné said:

“I have a totally positive relationship. I go there with pleasure. I've just bought my tickets, because I am going there for one week after 20th for a further training. And I go there with pleasure. I usually go there with my family. We've just been there to a camp for example. I told you, I don't like to... I don't discuss politics I try to keep myself far away from it. And I don't like to see what is going on between the two countries, because otherwise I like Slovak, I go there with pleasure, because finally I hear real Slovak. I'm sure it's the same with every language that everybody likes to hear the original language and that's why I like to go there as well. So I like the Slovak language very much and besides that it's a beautiful country, you have to admit that it has such natural resources where everybody likes to go and see. So I go to Slovakia any time with pleasure till today if I have a chance to.”

A similar one: “So for me it's my second home. I feel there also like home. Well, I studied in Bratislava, I know the city very well, but my working relationships are very close. I go there very often.” (József) But not everybody feels there like home: “I feel it as more special as any other Hungarian citizen because I understand more. But my heart is not beating harder like it does if I arrive home.” (Péter) Another one:

“I do not associate to anything. The contact is there. There is no named location in Slovakia that I could pinpoint saying: that is where my ancestors arrived from There is no place I can go back to and say that was where they lived. We only have a general knowledge about what counties it was where they resettled to Hungary from. It would be quite peculiar to feel a whole country as your home – if I travel to Slovakia, I rather feel as a guest there. I also am aware that they generally like Slovaks, er, Hungarian Slovaks, there.” (György)

And the last one: “I consider Slovakia as abroad, really not far off, but abroad. What I have learnt is that this is my home...” The same interviewee said it: “Motherland, well, taking that with a contemporary meaning, then it can be motherland indeed. Yes. But it is really not my home. A second home.” (Eszter) It's interesting that for somebody the second home means closeness and for somebody second home means “only the second”.

Many of them have friends or relatives there, relatives mostly because of the resettlements. Most of them did their studies there as well. Many of them mentioned that they had or heard about bad

experiences being a Hungarian in Slovakia and there was even somebody who didn't go there since:

"Well, it was a good feeling, because the surroundings and the language were at once so familiar to me. Later, there were such periods of time - and it is pitiful that minority issues are always determined by political events - and we have had some experiences with this, partly pleasant, and unpleasant as well. There was a period when we travelled there every year and we took the children skiing as well... so, such things took place, but it was all interrupted from a certain year... Our children used to go there to camps, but political events influenced it to a great extent, and...I didn't dare to go there anymore, because I was in fear for the family and for the car. I felt fear for everything, because no one likes to go to a community filled with political tension, where you just don't know what awaits you. Everyone likes security and calmness. Whenever the atmosphere around you is vibrating and there is unpredictability in people's reactions, you don't like travelling there. And, I say, I haven't been on a trip in Slovakia for about 15 years." (Mária)

3.5 Regional identity

It's difficult to separate this topic from the European identity or the national identity, because this regional identity is somewhere in between. If we talk about regional identity as the identity of their region then basically everybody mentioned some kind of regional identity, because all of them come from a highly Slovak populated region and they feel close to it. It can be manifested by cooking regional food for example those from Tótkomlós say that the Slovaks traditional foods that they are preparing don't even exist in Slovakia:

"What is the typically Slovak food, people usually try to look for it in the proper cook books, but in Tótkomlós where they were uprooted from the tradition 250 years ago these foods that I cook as Slovak foods, these are meals from Tótkomlós. I realized many times that in Slovakia they don't cook these dishes." (Péter)

Or it can be about travelling within Hungary:

"For one week to go somewhere. And mostly in Hungary, but sometimes to Slovakia. [...] We always try to go to different places: what they [the children] are studying about and anyway for them to be well-informed. And for them to have adventures." (Jánosné)

Or just to like the town or city where they live:

"I like that I know which old woman is going in which direction and they like it so much if I say hello to them in Slovak and I ask them how are they or what kind of fruits they picked up in the garden. So this directness... I think I am informal and I try to... We live in a modest, simple way. I like when we come home, it's very calm here and it's very important for me." (Jánosné)

A similar opinion:

"I like to live here very much. I wanted to go to live for a long time to Szeged or to Pest. But I got to Kecskemét, this is a quite big city, then I went to Szeged and I didn't like to be there. (laughing) I like being here very much because I am going on the street and almost every second person I know who (s)he is, who her/his mother, father is, I know her/his grandmother as well. I don't know everybody's name, for example the older generation, but we always greet each other and everybody knows who I am. For me this is lovely. I had rented a flat in Szeged for four years, three and a half and I lived in the same place for three and a half years and I didn't know who my neighbors were. For me this was awful." (Szandra)

It's interesting that many of them commute every day just to be able to live in a smaller town than Budapest. And I also noticed that those who are living in Budapest permanently don't really have a regional identity, they are more belonging to Central Europe and it's the same with some

of those who commute. Maybe because they don't really belong to any of the cities so they belong to a bigger region. Those who are still living in a Slovak town or village they have a stronger regional identity there.

If we take regional identity as Central European identity it was strong as well especially in those cases when somebody works for the Slovak Self Government or the Slovak school or participates in international ethnic organizations, because they keep in touch for example with other Slovaks from the region. Let's see it from closer.

"So I am participating in this organization [World Alliance of the Slovaks who live outside of Slovakia] as well, I am the secretary general. This includes Slovaks from Canada to Australia. So I am in Slovakia very often. We work together with the Slovaks, not only who live in Slovakia, but everywhere in the world. We have a very close relation, especially the South-Great Hungarian Plain region with the Slovaks in Romania and Serbia. We publish a newspaper together we have at least 20 projects parallel. But the connection is very close with Slovakia as well and emotionally as well. It's important for me, of course." (József)

Somebody else is in the same boat:

(More about the Central European identity, see the 2nd chapter.)

And last, but not least I would emphasize that nobody is actually willing to move to another city or country. When we asked them, and they had to point it out they had some idea, but this is not a migration potential, because they are not thinking about it at all. They are all happy to be a Slovak in Hungary they have no conflicts whatsoever, but it wasn't always like this:

"So if we meet people from other minorities we talk to each other in the language that they speak and we call each other with the nicknames. So I have no problem at all with the fact that I am Slovak. But it wasn't always so. Till we didn't have these minority self governments we couldn't use our language. Now it's normal that in the Slovak self government we speak Slovak. Everybody knows where they are going to when they come here and then po slovenski." (Tamásné)

3.6 Civic participation and ethnic organization

Many of the respondents are participating or member of some kind of organizations. Everybody takes some part from the Slovak cultural or political life in a fitting way. For example Tamásné:

"Because I felt that I am there for something. And if I am there I am not only lounging around but I have to do something for the cause. Thanks God I was surrounded with people like... So I had a German colleague, Koltai Vanda and Baross Zsófi from the gypsies, so... and Andi was there from the gypsies, so the point was that we all wanted to do something and we inspired each other." Another very active woman from Tótkomlós: "I participate very actively. So I am a free-lance member of the Slovak local government and I really participate very actively. Since I work for the TV and since there are holidays I am usually the narrator because in the town the holidays are in two languages and because I know Slovak as well, I am the narrator. But otherwise when there is a holiday, even if I'm not participating as an organizer or in the arrangements, mostly I go there, because I always say if a Slovak teacher is not going, who else should go then? From whom can we expect it to come? So I take it as a moral duty to go there. And we can bullshit to keep and to take care of the Slovak origin, but if I stay home while there is a holiday... I don't think this is harmonizing, so I try." (Jánosné)

Another active person from Budapest, but he says that the reason it's not only because he is Slovak:

"Well, not regularly only if they invite me sometimes. Mostly the Slovak Institute in Budapest, so I go to the Slovak Institute which is on the Rákóczi street, but not only because it's Slovak and be-

cause I have Slovak origins and because that is a Slovak cultural institute, but because that institute luckily participates in the Hungarian cultural life of Budapest, so they have very often Hungarian book presentations as well. [...] This time I go to the event when it's like this. But only because it's Slovak I don't really go there. There is a group of friends of people from Tótkomlós, they partly keep the Slovak traditions sometimes I go there as well. When they invite me or when they organize lecturing meeting. These things exist in Békéscsaba, in Szarvas. I've been many times to the Slovak house in Békéscsaba. But we only talk about the Slovak traditions the event itself is usually in Hungarian. In the Slovak Institute in Pest as well. The local host greets the public in Slovak and in Hungarian but mostly everybody speaks Hungarian." (Péter)

Mr. István answered like this to the question whether being a member of organizations brings him closer to the Slovak identity:

"I haven't ever got far from it. Because, besides this, I've been writing (poems) since my childhood, I've been writing in both languages and I've published books in Slovak, 3 books of verse and many other things. I've also been dealing with publishing, in the framework of the Rahl company, but otherwise as well. I also deal with editing... I've never been far from my Slovak identity, so it's a natural medium for me. And, in the meantime, I also had a Slovak-Hungarian rock band, so in my civil life I've tried to be, word for word, the same as it has always been said among us, that we should preserve the Slovak culture. It was obvious for us that, at the time when we made our rock band, we the words of some Slovak poems to music, also, if I start writing a poem, I'm writing it in both languages..." (István)

Apart from this he is the member of many organizations for example the Slovak Self Government of Pilisszentkereszt and of Hungary and the Organization of Young Slovaks Living in Hungary as well. The director of the Slovak school in Budapest is also active:

"Well, in civil organisations, I do, but not in political parties. Given, that I'm someone staying out of party politics. [...] Now, I am a member in the minority self-government, in the 3rd district. I used to be a member in the Slovak Self Government of Budapest I was invited there as an outer member of the Committee on Education. Furthermore, I work with the Slovak Self Government in the district and now, here in the school, we have just made an agreement with the dance group LIPA, so we work with them. Besides this, there is the association of Slovaks in Hungary who have turned into a civil organisation, with which we have very good relations, children go to competitions... We are in contact with the Slovak Self Government of Hungary, and with the Slovak Self Government of Budapest, so our children really take part in every event." (Mária)

Somebody representing the youngsters:

"There is a youth association, the MAFISZ, I am a member there. I am also a member of the local Slovak Club, although I am not really an active participant – this club is meant for people older than me. If there is a meeting I will go, so that my vote enables it to reach a quorum. In Budapest: I mentioned my scholarship of the district; I go to most events in Budapest that are held for Slovaks." (György)

From all this it's very clear that regardless to the age everybody is trying to take some part from the Slovak community's life in its own way.

3.7 Ethnic conflicts and discrimination experiences

As I mentioned before they are really having no trouble being a minority in Hungary, but unfortunately there are some interviewees who experienced or more likely heard bad stories, but it's very rare. Mostly when it comes to this topic they rather mentioned the discrimination in Slovakia being a Hungarian. The other version is that whenever some conflicts happen in Hungary is closely connected to the ones in Slovakia, so it's a kind of reaction to it. And usually they men-

tion the same tragedy that happened to Malina Hedvig. I picked one-one stories from different dimensions of the discrimination.

About those who experienced it - personally:

„I don't make a media case from it, I try to sort it out at that place where it has to be sorted out and then there is no need to make a big fuss from it, because I could write to the TV also and I could record it as well, etc. There were such eras, you are too young to remember that, that for example in Slovakia there was Meciar, the prime minister. They called me on the phone, because they know that I am in the Slovak self government, they called me and told me: „Stupid, boor Meciar agent!” Me. What do I have to do with Meciar? I don't even elect them, it's not my decision who is gonna be the prime minister. What could I do? I hang up the phone. And he said I am boor. But this kind of things, this kind of (she says it first in Slovak) radical cases are happening in other countries as well and I think that we have to get rid of them and I don't spoil my mood because of these (laughing).” (Tamásné)

And those who experienced it through work:

“Directly, I've felt such a thing rarely, although I've felt being negatively discriminated in an indirect way and as part of a collective. So, last time, just to mention the last case, our office was almost closed down in Pilisszentkereszt, to be more precise, it was planned to be moved to a very worse place, I mean, the office of the Slovak self-government. It was the so-called Pilis gate, and from one day to the other, 10 Slovak TV companies appeared in our village right after I placed my article about the issue on the internet. It was about three years ago. Well, it was only because of the present leadership of our village came up with the idea to do something against Slovaks and that we had to move from the Slovak house.” (István)

About the general discrimination that is connected to the discriminations and happening in Slovakia:

“And then there was something else: they hit a girl from Nyitra, a Hungarian girl and the next day they took off the board here, on the street of the Slovak Pensioners Club. It bothered them that there is a board from glass of the Slovak Pensioners Club and they had to break it. So that's why I am saying... I didn't make a fuss from this and from all the districts they are telling me which board was broken and when (laughing) after some incidents in Slovakia.” (Tamásné)

About discrimination that is happening to Hungarians in Slovakia:

“From Szeged, from the college they always came to Slovakia for half a year from the Slovak faculty they came there for language practice and they were coming to the university but not in Bratislava but in Nyitra and I heard it several times that how bad it was and how bad they were hurt. And it happened when I was in Bratislava, it was at that time, and they abandoned it, they didn't even finish the half a year, because they were hurt so bad. (ironically) But I don't know how it happened. That's all they always said that they were hurt very bad. I was always surprised because I never experienced it not even from the teacher. I told you, that note was the maximum, but they saw that they can't really quarrel with me about anything else, so I think they just couldn't make a difference between somebody from Hungary who speaks Hungarian obviously and the Hungarians from there. I think the problems and the conflicts are mostly there and in the beginning they wanted to make us one, but then they realized that „no, we are directly from Hungary and we live there” and after that they treated us differently. So I think that's why they had prejudice in the beginning, but I told you I had never problems.” (Jánosné) And somebody who actually experienced this: “Unfortunately there were such events, so we can't ignore that [...] there are people who think differently, and technically I went to university as a Slovak of Hungarian descent, so even among friends I was 'The Hungarian', so I had friends who were Hungarian from the Felvidék and also originally Slovak friends at university, but technically there weren't any open atrocities. There were cases at university when I took my family there from Hungary and they didn't speak Slovak and for

example while riding on the tram in those earlier years in the mid-90s, other people would hear them speaking Hungarian and would make snide comments such as “Well, well Hungarian, what, are you eating Slovak bread?” et cetera...” (Endre) And the last one who compares: “we used to speak in Slovak, but nobody has ever made a bad comment on that. On the other side, if someone starts speaking Hungarian in Slovakia now, they seize a bad record there. Also, my daughter, who was there on a part-time training from the university, she had a very unpleasant experience in Bratislava, too, and she also said thereafter, that she wouldn’t cross the border. There were personal problems and hostility, so I don’t think this can be advantageous for any nation. Tolerance, and respect towards others that they are different, that they speak a different language... we have to learn a lot to achieve this.” (Mária)

And those who didn’t experience it, but they see the connection between the worsening situation in Hungary concerning the Slovaks and the political relationship between Hungary and Slovakia:

“No, In Pest it doesn't. If somebody doesn't speak Slovak and nobody knows that (s)he is Slovak, of course not. It's not written on our forehead. It doesn't come together with any differentiation in the daily life. What we can feel or experience is if somebody starts to talk about being Slovak in any kind of company... Well, I don't have to because it's well known, but those who don't know me don't know this. So it's getting worse to be Slovak because of the Hungarian-Slovak relation that got to be in a catastrophic statement by people.” (Péter)

The president of the Slovak Self Government said:

“No. No, no. I don’t get hurt. There are small conflicts, not personal ones. We know that the society is radicalizing, and there are... but this is rather connected to my work. Sometimes we need some kind of enforcement of interest or law support or something, it happens, but not very often. The conflicts more likely to happen between the states, these are the problems. For example the FTC-Slovak matches, the conflict that happened in Dunaszerdahely, the flag burnings, and so on, the language law in Slovakia and these kinds of things have a real effect on us, Slovaks who live in Hungary.” (József)

Or the elderly who is still afraid because of the bad historical memories:

“Well, it is rather the older generations who have some raw spots still, from the time when they were forced to change family names. They did not like the Relocation either - which on their side was actually a voluntary act of resettlement. They do not readily identify themselves as Slovak, not even today, because they are afraid of being resettled; among the old ones one may find such people. In Kardos [...] there are some elderly women who dare not register themselves as Slovak (for the Municipality Minority Vote) because they say what if they get onto the list again and get resettled... Old habits die hard there.” (György)

A quite negative point of view about Slovaks in Hungary as a vivid community:

“Never in this country, neither in Slovakia. [...] I have never met this here at home, because the issue has no weight, there are no patriotic Slovaks anymore, or if there are, then they unpretentiously love and cultivate the Slovak language and family heritage at home. There can be no conflict here anymore. I do not see a real, powerful ethnic minority any more to create one.” (Eszter)

Those who don’t experience it at all are mostly from smaller villages:

“I do like living here. Well, I don’t feel this Hungarian-Slovak conflict. Compared to this, we count as anybody else here, in Hungary, we’re not being criticised neither in Békéscsaba nor anywhere in general, people don’t point at us saying “this is Slovak”, and we don’t hear remarks considering neither our nationality nor our religion, that we were different from anybody else.” (László)

3.8 Annex 3: The main characteristics of the interviewees

	Age	Sex	Educational level	Occupation	Languages
Tamásné	62	female	high	president of the Slovak Self Government	mostly Slovak
Szandra	29	female	high	oboe teacher	only Hungarian
Jánosné	40	female	high	Slovak teacher	home – Slovak and Hungarian work–Slovak
Péter	57	male	high	Writer	Hungarian
József	53	male	high	president of the Slovak Self Government of Hungary	home-Hungarian work–Slovak
László	14	male	low	student	home – Hungarian, sometimes Slovak
Ferencné	67	female	low	selling at the market	Slovak everywhere
István	49	male	high	editor	home – Hungarian work–Slovak
György	20	male	middle	student	home – Hungarian, school - Slovak
Eszter	32	female	high	multinational company	home – Slovak, now Hungarian work – Slovak and Slovene
Endre	31	male	high	Slovak Self Government	home – Hungarian, work - Slovak
Mária	63	female	high	director	Slovak

Respondent	Place of residence	National identity (r)	National identity (m.c)	Regional identity	European identity	Organizations
Tamásné	Budapest	Slovak living in Hungary	likes Slovakia very much	Central European	none	member of many
Szandra	Tótkomlós	Hungarian	likes Slovakia	Tótkomlós identity	none	member of the orchestra
Jánosné	Tótkomlós	Slovak living in Hungary	2 nd home	likes to travel within Hungary	none	not a member, but participating
Péter	Budapest	Hungarian with Slovak roots	no connection	Central European mostly	has a European identity	not a member, but participating
József	Szeged, commutes	Slovak living in Hungary	2 nd home	Central European	none	member of the self government
László	Tótkomlós	Slovak living in Hungary	likes to go there	Tótkomlós identity	none	member of the orchestra
Ferencné	Tótkomlós	Slovak living in Hungary	likes to go there	Tótkomlós identity	open to Europe	used to be a member of organizations
István	Pilisszentkereszt, commutes	Slovak living in Hungary	goes there often	Pilis identity	open to Europe	member of the Young Slovaks
György	Budapest	cultural Slovak identity	neutral	Central European	none	member of the Young Slovaks and the Slovak Club
Eszter	Budapest	Slovak living in Hungary	2 nd home	Central European	has European identity	not a member
Endre	Sóskút, commutes	Slovak living in Hungary	has friends there	Central European	open to it	can't be a member
Mária	Budapest	Slovak living in Hungary	doesn't go there anymore	Central European	open to it	works with organizations

4 MAIN FINDINGS OF EXPERT INTERVIEWS (ENRI-EXI)

Ráchel Surányi

4.1 Brief description of people interviewed and which districts/settlements they came from

The first expert [exi_sk(HU)_1] is 54 years old and he is from a Slovak village from Komárom County. He lives in Szeged with his family, but he works in Budapest. He attended the Slovak primary school in his village and the Slovak high school in Budapest. After the graduation he did one year military service then he went to Bratislava to the university where he was majored in journalism. For two years he worked for a newspaper in Szeged then he worked for the TV for 16 years. From 1998 he is the president of the Slovak Self Government of Hungary. Meanwhile he was shooting documentaries connected to Slovak topics. Altogether being a president of the Slovak Self Government of Hungary shows a very active life in the Slovak minority's life. Apart from this he is the member of many kinds of organizations and participating in the Slovak international life as well.

The second interviewee [exi_sk(HU)_2] is 48 years old. He was born in Békéscsaba and he also has Slovak roots. He graduated at the history faculty in Bratislava at the Comenius University. He participated in the economical training program of the European Union and also in the leadership training program of the Hungarian Economical Institute. He was the head of department at the Ministry of Education between 1996 and 1998. From 1998 till 2006 he was head of department at the Nationality and Ethnic Minority Office and from 2006 he is the president there. From 2010 he has been working at the Ministry of Public Administration and Justice and within this institution he is the vice head of the department of minorities till they find a permanent head of department.

4.2 Summary of the interview with following information

4.2.1 Organization they represent and how it is organized

The first expert is the president of the Slovak Self Government of Hungary for 12 years and he is also a delegate of the Slovak Self Government in his native village. Apart from this he is the secretary general of the World Alliance of the Slovaks who live outside Slovakia. The minority self government system was created after the Minority Law was implemented in 1993. The minority self government system is very similar to the Hungarian self government system: it has a lot of levels (from the districts toward the national one) and the election is similar although there are many problems with it (see below).

“What really matters in the self government's development is that we started to build the institutional system. In 1999 we took over the weekly newspaper (L'udove Noviny) because we thought it should be the newspaper of the Slovak self government of Hungary. Actually the Slovak Association of Hungary gave it to us, because they couldn't finance and maintain it. This was the first step. Then in 2001 we took over the Research Institution of Slovaks in Hungary which was created in 1990 by the Association. This was the first research institution created by a minority. Then in 2003 after 2 years negotiations the Hungarian government gave us a big amount of money (440 M HUF) for creating, taking over and maintaining institutions.” [Exi_sk(HU)_1]

And then they took over some more institutions for example the Slovak Theatre, they created the system of Cultural Houses in all the regions and there are 9 altogether. They created a Slovak

Documentary Centre, Centre of Pedagogical Methodology. “So we built institutions that didn’t exist before.” These are the tools. And the goals of the self government are: “to maintain the Slovak community, the language and to stop the assimilation in some way.” [Exi_sk(HU)_1]

The second expert is working for the Ministry of Public Administration and Justice and within this institution he is the vice head of the department of minorities and within the minorities he is in charge of the Polish, Slovak and German minorities. He deals with the problems related to the policy of these minorities but he also deals with other minorities – indirectly.

“This organization is a successor. It was called before the Nationality and Ethnic Minority Office which was taken place within the Prime Minister’s Office. It was created in 1990 according to a governmental decision. Its task was to coordinate the activity of the government related to minorities. The Office worked independently till the end of 2007. Since then it is part of the Prime Minister’s Office as a department and now it works within the Ministry of Public Administration and Justice as a main department.” [Exi_sk(HU)2]

The organization’s goal is:

“the coordination, it coordinates the government’s activity related to minorities. Before there were more ministries but with the new system we are more related to the Ministry of National Resources, because they are dealing with culture, education and we can play the coordinative role, we can have initiatives towards them. We are related also to the Ministry of National Economy, this relation is more connected to the financial part but because they are also dealing with the social allocations it concerns us because of the Roma population.” [Exi_sk(HU)2]

Basically they deal with many things there is no special topic or field.

4.2.2 Main issues associated with Slovaks in Hungary

According to the Head of Slovak Self-Government,

“the biggest disadvantage [...] is that they live in the countryside in very small villages. This is a disadvantage itself. And these regions where most of them live are the most disadvantaged regions apart from the Pilis which is a better region because there are some opportunities. But I’m not saying that the Hungarians who live in the same village have a better situation. And we feel that it’s a problem.” [Exi_sk(HU)1]

Another problem he mentioned: “I would like to improve further our educational system. There is no enough high school. We have only two high schools and in Budapest there are only a few Slovaks most of them are more likely to be Hungarians from Slovakia.” He says that everything starts from here. If they had enough schools which were effective then the students would more likely to go to study to Slovakia afterwards and apply for these programs that they have. “And if we will have students who come back from Slovakia, we need to give them a job after that. That’s why we need institutions where they could work temporarily at least.” To get back to the schools for one more thought: they are thinking about a kind of elite education. The other thing is that they don’t have enough supply in any field for example Slovak teachers or youngsters for the choir.

“There is going to be a cultural change. Now we have a group of singers but they are old. They are nice, they are singing but I don’t see their daughters singing. They say that people get back to their culture and their identities when they are old because then they don’t have to deal with their families as intense as before but this can’t save us.” [Exi_sk(HU)1]

Another important issue that he mentioned is the division of the Slovaks in Hungary which is not good, because there are not too many Slovaks and to have conflicts between them is making the

situation only worse. The split is between the regions: the South and the North and even Budapest is splitting, but it also implies political issues like the division is between the right and the left wing. The conflict is based on the amount of the support, because in the South they get more support, but it's only because there are more Slovaks there – he said. He also said that they can still cooperate when it's for the good cause, because “the causes are higher than politics, but the personal conflicts make it more difficult. And the conflict is not about the differences in programs about the Slovak's future because they don't even have their own program”. [Exi_sk(HU)_1]

From the second expert's point of view: as

“all the minorities have disadvantages so for example they all have demands of using the native language. I always have to find that one person in the self government who is dealing with the language problem because if there is a town where a lot of Slovaks are concentrated there is always somebody who can speak with them in their own language but it's not public where you can find this person though we tried to make it public somehow. Another problem is that in Hungary the Slovak TV channels are not available.” [Exi_sk(HU)2]

And even the Radio programs are in a bad time when everybody works. He mentioned the elections as well. In some towns the Slovaks are concentrated in one district and they have to go to vote to the other end of the town which could be some kilometers though for the normal elections they don't have to go so far. The other thing is about the location of the schools which can be also in the other part of the town. Which one they should choose? The one which is Hungarian but very close to them or the one which is far away but they give Slovak education to their children?

And the general problem is connected to the minority self government's elections. In Hungary the system has many deficiencies and they didn't find solutions for them. It's more based on subjective conditions which nobody can check whether it's true or not. For example the active voters have to register themselves to be able to vote, but there are no real regulation for that, it's based on confession whether you are a member of the minority or not, whether you speak the language of the minority or not and so on. For the passive voters is almost the same. That's why 1) the so called ethno-business is flourishing in Hungary, 2) there are many members of minorities who don't go to vote because they have to register, 3) the same time there are people from the majority who go to vote for the minority elections and 4) there are many minority self governments created in villages where there is no minority at all etc. From the governmental side:

“The effectiveness of the support of the self governmental system... The whole press is writing about it now because there are some self governments that were created in villages where there are no or not enough Slovaks living to give the right to fund a self government but it still works with 90% effectiveness.” [Exi_sk(HU)2]

And from the minority side:

“the policy of choosing the identity freely is doubtful, because it's possible to abuse it during the elections. So there are things to be changed. I think that not only the person should decide if she or he is part of the minority community but the community should have the right to say something about it as well. If somebody doesn't speak the language or is not part of the culture then we could say no.” [Exi_sk(HU)2]

And last, but not least another main issue is the assimilation of the Slovaks. This problem was mentioned in both interviews. From the governmental side:

“The Slovaks in Hungary have mostly double identity. I can say taking some risks that the Hungarian identity is stronger than the Slovak. On the level of the language identity is for sure because everybody got over the changing of the native language. There are only a few families where it didn't happen yet. There is a strong cultural attachment and they try to make their children learn the language in the school but they have a very weak identity because Slovakia was created as an independent country only in 1993 [...]. So I can say that the Slovaks are integrated in Hungary, too integrated actually.” [Exi_sk(HU)2]

From the minority side:

“Unfortunately the assimilation is very advanced as well. For example we have the most mixed marriages. The religion isn't different which could give a strong identity. And the Slovaks always lived with the Hungarians together through history. There was no other country where we could be attached to. It was within the same country. And it's like this since the conquest of Hungary. Slovaks never lived outside Hungary till the twentieth century. Even though the language is different we have almost the same culture. Nobody could make a difference between us and this is how it is because we were always so close to each other. And I think that the Slovak minority is the closest to the Hungarian nation. And it explains the assimilation.” [Exi_sk(HU)1]

Both sides are trying to fight against it, but obviously from the minority side is far stronger.

“To fight the assimilation is very important, because the Slovaks are the most assimilated minority in Eastern Europe. According to the census of 1990 there were only 10.500 Slovaks in Hungary, we estimate about 110.000 Slovaks according to the number of the local Slovak self governments (even though there are some which are not legitimate, but it's a peripheral problem).” After the changing system due to the civil sphere and to the self governmental system in 2001 there were 17.700 Slovaks who considered themselves as Slovaks according to the census. So the trend changed: it started to grow which is a good sign for them.” [Exi_sk(HU)1]

4.2.3 Relationship to mother country

Basically both described the relationship with Slovakia very nicely. On both levels the cooperation is working well which is mostly based on economical and cultural support. According to the second expert the support that is given by Slovakia to the Slovak minority is better than what the average minorities get in Hungary from their mother country (but not the best). Of course there are conflicts on the political level as well. Whenever the conflict between the two countries is getting stronger it reflects on the minority, of course.

From the Slovak minority's side:

“Our relation with Slovakia is very complex but is based on working relation. The closest is with the Educational Ministry. We have teachers in the primary schools and high schools from Slovakia and at the university level we have language consultants from Slovakia as well which is more the result of the cooperation between the universities but it also concerns us. They organize pedagogical trainings for us.” “We organize the camps for the students and Slovakia gives us the opportunities for it. And it works the same way with the culture. There are personal relations as well for example I go there to be a jury every second year when they organize the ethno movie festival. Now our institutions keep in touch and this is the whole point of it. So our Research Institute collaborates with the Scientist Academy in Slovakia and it means that we exchange researchers and so on. Our Documentary Centre works together with the National Library from Slovakia, our General Educational Centre works together with the National General Educational Centre from Slovakia. So we get a lot of help from them. Our ministries and the government work less together but the Prime Minister and the President still come here from Slovakia if there is a new institution to show or something like this. And there is another very important relation is the Office of the Slovak Minorities Abroad in Bratislava. It is an independent governmental office which supports us financially a lot. [...] And

we created a World Organization of Slovak Minorities Abroad. So we work together with other Slovaks from other countries as well. As I mentioned before we publish together the journal with the Slovaks from Romania and Serbia we organize trainings, student Olympics and so on. So the institutional cooperation is very important.” [Exi_sk(HU)1]

He mentioned the twin towns as well. 75% of our towns have twin towns in Slovakia and we are still looking for the rest of it. “And it’s very frequent that one town has two twin towns in Slovakia.” Sometimes these towns in Slovakia are mostly Hungarian populated and sometimes they are looking for Slovak towns. There is another factor which is the distance. It’s better if it’s closer because of the expenses of the travelling from one city to the other – he said. And he thinks that these twin town relations have consequences in the business sphere too.

And from the governmental side:

“I think the cooperation is good on the governmental level. We can’t even avoid it because there are so many structural systems (EU, V4) where we are equal members and we have to work together. There can be tensions because of the double citizenship but on the economical level there are no conflicts because we are the third biggest investors in Slovakia and Slovak companies appear in Hungary as well so this will lead to an equal cooperation between the two countries on the economical level.” [Exi_sk(HU)2]

The supports that are coming from Slovakia

“which are scholarships and helping our trainings, these obviously make it better. And most of it is like taking children to Slovakia for camps, language trainings or scholarship for the university. These are all helping the community. There is a financial Fund that helps the culture of those Slovaks who live abroad. Hungary gets this Fund as well and they spend it on events and things like this.” [Exi_sk(HU)2]

He also mentions this:

“There are 12 fields: domestic affairs, military affairs, health etc. And there is a minority mixed committee where they deal with the assurance of the minority education, rights, cultural rights etc. They discuss the problems and they look for solution together. Sometimes there are conflicts but they can deal with it.” [Exi_sk(HU)2]

4.2.4 Relationship to European events and organizations

None of them mentioned anything about it.

5 CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

Antal Örkény / Endre Sik

The contemporary Slovak minority in Hungary started settling in the northern parts of Hungary in the 17th and 18th century and developed strong mutual language contact with the Hungarians. This migration was forced by the fall of the reformation of the church when the catholic Habsburg administration defeated the protestant regime in the region, and it was encouraged by the demand for labor all over Eastern Hungary as a consequence of the depopulation during the reign of the Ottoman Empire (Gyivicsán – Krupa, 1997, Molnár, 1993). This migration process was not a single mass flight but consisted several smaller scale migration movements (including seasonal commuting during the harvest periods from the North to the South as well the gradual re-settlement first in middle-Hungary later on in the Southern regions) and took almost two centuries

Before WW II most of Slovaks living in the Great Hungarian Plain were (often rather well-to-do) peasants, day laborers or artisans, those living in Central- or Northern Hungary were miners, coal burners, or industrial workers. The post WW II forced repatriation and the collectivization of the agriculture, the urbanization and industrialization generated growth in commuting reshaped the Slovakian communities, nowadays their occupational structure is similar to that of the Hungarians living in the same region.

The Slovak minority is very concentrated, most heavily concentrated in Central-Northern Hungary (81% of them live in Pest, Nógrád, Komárom, and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén counties), and in a Southern Hungarian county Békés (12%) (Tóth-Vékás, 2006). According to the 2001 census there were 17,692 Slovaks in Hungary. Among them the proportion of those born abroad is low (6%)⁵², i.e. the migrant component within the minority is negligible⁵³. As to migration potential, compared to the other Eastern- Central European national minorities the Slovaks in Hungary have a very low level of migration potential. The Slovak minority is significantly older than the Hungarian majority and slightly older even than the all other minorities in Hungary.

Already in a survey two decades ago we show clear signs of the assimilation of Slovaks in Hungary. In a survey in the early 1990ies, while almost all of the respondents (55 years old or older) had Slovak grandparents, almost all of their parents spoke Hungarian (Garami-Szántó, 1992). The respondents themselves were much less attached to the Slovak language: only 34% considered it as mother tongue, and only 12% referred Slovakian as a first language. Most of the respondents (72%) claimed themselves as Hungarian, and even those who considered themselves as Slovak were bilingual.

In the 2000ies the Slovak minority – though almost three-fourths of the Slovaks in Hungary had Slovak background – had limited chances of transferring their identity to the next generation (Csepeli et al, 2002). Defining four categories (on the basis of the nationality of ancestors, the language spoken in the family when the respondent was a child, and the self-defined identity in the 1990 census) the following types emerged:

⁵² Unlike in case of the Bulgarian, Polish, Romanian, Rusin, Ukrainian minorities of which half, and the Serb and Armenian of which third of the population was born in abroad (Tóth-Vékás, 2005)

⁵³ Unsurprisingly most of the 2360 migrant Slovaks came from Slovakia, but 10% of them came from Romania, and 10-10% from Ukraine and the Czech Republic (Tóth-Vékás, 2005)

The identity-keepers: (if all of their ancestors were Slovak, Slovakian was spoken at home when they were children, and identified themselves as Slovak in the 1990 census) About one fourth of the sample (24%) has belonged to this type.

The fading: (only four of their six ancestors were Slovak, Slovakian was sometimes used at home when they were children, and did not identify themselves as Slovak in the 1990 census). This type was the largest of the four, almost every second respondent (43%).

The assimilated: (although they had numerous Slovak ancestors, Slovak was not spoken at home at all and respondents did not identify themselves as Slovak in the 1990 census. 17% of the Slovaks were assimilated.

The identity-seekers: (they had similar characteristics than the assimilated but they claim that their Slovak heritage is becoming more and more important for them, and they start to teach their children for Slovakian language). This group had about the same size as the assimilated (16%).

5.1 Slovak identity and value system in 2009

Starting with language as a basic element of the identity building process, most of the Slovaks in Hungary either speak both Hungarian and Slovak or only Hungarian. Only a very small minority (and no one in the youngest cohort) uses only Slovakian at home. The Hungarian language has an increasing prevalence as the single language at home at the expense of the mixed Hungarian-Slovak language. While all respondents read Hungarian newspapers, half of them read Slovak newspapers published in Hungary and about every fourth of them read Slovakian newspaper as well. In this respect there is no difference among the age groups.

As to self-identification, Hungarian Slovaks are characterized by an assimilative attitude of a dual feature: 66 percent of the respondents claim to be part of the Hungarian Slovak minority, 22% put more emphasis on his/her Hungarian background (“I am a Hungarian with Slovak descent”), and 12% characterized themselves as Hungarian.

To belong to a Diaspora or to develop ethnic identity, it is a necessary but insufficient condition that the individual have some kind of relationship with his/her ethnic group and with the home nation, i.e. to construct group belonging based on positive feelings and values. In the following we selected certain value which we assume to be relevant in the process of identity building such as the circles of belongingness, pride, national and ethnic characterization, attitude toward assimilation versus integration, general and institutional trust, political attitudes, and perception of social tensions. We compared these characteristics of the Slovak minority to the Hungarian majority⁵⁴

The feeling of belongingness to Hungary is as strong among the Slovaks as among the majority. The attachment to locality among the Slovaks is significantly stronger than in the general population, and since it is combined with the strong attachment to their minority group as well, it indi-

⁵⁴ In the course of analysis we matched the Hungarian population to the Slovak minority, i.e. only those respondents of the majority sample are covered who live in villages or small towns in the five counties Slovaks live in Hungary. By this restriction we excluded from the analysis the city dwellers of Hungary (in the following we call it the adjusted majority sample). The second step to increase the comparability between the adjusted majority sample and the minority sample was to re-weight the majority sample to match the age and gender structure of the minority (in the following we call it re-weighted adjusted majority sample. The computation was done by Ksenia Kizilova (Harkov University).

cates that the Slovak minority identity is integrated very strongly into their locality and ethnic community, simultaneously.

We identified four directions of pride: being Slovak, Hungarian, Hungarian Slovak, and European. One third of the Hungarian Slovaks are proud of being member of their minority group (34%), slightly less feel no pride at all (29%), fourth of them are proud of being Hungarian or a member of their minority group but not being Slovak (26%), and about every tenth (11%) is proud of being Hungarian.

For the Hungarian Slovaks - the same way as for the majority - the most important aspects of the national categorization is mother tongue, self-identification, and ethnic ancestry, i.e. blood relationship. While in case of mother tongue and self-identification the difference between the minority and the majority is small and decreasing (i.e. the difference between Hungarian Slovaks and the Hungarian majority in 1995 was more pronounced than in 2003), the difference in case of the latter is bigger and increasing. The stronger religious factor among the (rather elderly) ethnic Slovak respondents also implies local and rural attachments, i.e. the importance of the role of the church in building minority identity based on the common ethnic origin. The legal, political and instrumental factors, such as the birth of place, residence in Hungarian, nationality or the political loyalties play less importance in the process of national and ethnic categorization compared to the Hungarian majority population.

We assumed to have different attitudes of the minority and majority towards assimilation and integration. The former being more favored by the majority, the latter by the minority. Indeed the Hungarian Slovaks – though they are well assimilated – still are more in favor to integration as a guarantee of the peaceful coexistence of minorities and majorities in maintaining their cultural heritage and special ethnic identity.

Finally, we analyzed how trust influences minority consciousness. We assume that for an ethnic group in a minority position general trust plays an important role, both as a driving force to strengthen ethnic solidarity (bonding social capital), and as a psychological tool to bridge between cultures (bridging social capital). We assumed that institutional trust, however, can be an important source for social inclusion, helping to build connection to majority (linking social capital). On the other hand the opposite (suspicion) - as it is mentioned in the literature – can frequently lead to ethnic isolation or sometimes to segregation.

The results of the survey seem to confirm the validity of first hypothesis. The level of general trust among Hungarian Slovaks is much greater than among the Hungarian population. This high level of generalized trust does not contradict to minority and ethnic trust, i.e. trust the within the minority group and in the “unrelated and remote” Slovakian Slovaks as well. This result suggests that the within- minority bonding social capital and and the cross-minority/majority bridging social capital live in peaceful coexistence.

We get the same result, if we analyze institutional trust. There is no difference between minority and majority having low level of trust in politics and in the media. This indicates a common agreement of distrusting politics and modern communication. However, Hungarian Slovaks trust institutions (police, judiciary and minority self-government) which have direct effect on their security much more than the majority. This shows that linking social capital is more important for them than for the majority, which is reinforced by the age effect: in the Slovak sample elderly people are overrepresented, who particularly feel important the role of personal relationships in shaping the lives.

The higher level of trust toward these institutions among the Slovaks is probably embedded into a minority-specific social psychological mechanism: a minority group has to show higher confidence to institutions which can protect them against vulnerability and disadvantage. And the high level of trust toward the minority self-government reinforces our previous thoughts that the Slovak identity in Hungary culturally is still strong. On the contrary, since the collapse of state socialism during the last twenty years parallel with the revival of all other forms of identities which previously were suppressed (such as anti-Gypsy, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, patriotism, irredentism, etc.) the positive forms of minority consciousness of the Hungarian Slovaks (as well as Germans, Croats, etc.) reemerged. Hungarian Slovaks obviously are in an easy position to develop their minority identity and use it smoothly in the multi-ethnic space in Hungary.

Finally, we measured the perception of tension between various social groups, including inter-ethnic tension between the majority and the minorities⁵⁵. Hungarian Slovaks perceive their situation quite peaceful in Hungary today. They perceive conflicts mainly between the Roma and the majority and between rich and poor.

5.2 The Slovak minority in Hungary in a comparative perspective

Slovaks in Hungary are deeply assimilated as far as their self-identification and language use concerned but they still keep a strong cultural Slovak identity. The youngest cohort, however, shows clear signs that this cultural component is diminishing as well. On the other hand, using Slovak language mixed with Hungarian at home and as a means to read news (and we assume by this active interest in community matters remain part of the Hungarian Slovak) still present and does not diminish with age.

On the basis of the historical, political, geographical, and demographic analysis the main sociological characteristics of the Slovak minority in Hungary is as follows:

- It is not a (quasi-) Diaspora since at the time of creation they did not cross any border (it was gradual internal migration) consequently they did not develop a “Lost Motherland” attitude, i.e. nowadays Slovakia is not a relevant identity component for them.
- It is not a migrant community either since within the current Slovak minority in Hungary there is only a very small migrant segment. There are, though, in certain border regions where cross-border labor migration and transnational entrepreneurship is more important but these migrant groups do not influence the identity processes of the Slovak minority in Hungary.

The Slovaks in Hungary constitute a set of geographically concentrated, rural communities with an aging population characterized by an advanced stage of assimilation (without suffering any significant prejudice on behalf of the majority (Örkény-Sik, 2010)) and with strong cultural attachment to their Slovak identity as well as high level of local patriotism.

Combining the main elements of some of those typologies which are the most feasible to analyze European national minorities (Fearon, 2002, Kolossov-Treivish, 1998, Szarka, 1999) Slovaks in Hungary form a

- small and geographically concentrated (versus large and dispersed),
- created without force (versus asylum seeking or forced migration),

⁵⁵ The same is the case with discrimination, the prevalence of discrimination experience among Slovaks in Hungary is very low compared to all other national minorities in Eastern and Central Europe.

- linguistically fully assimilated (versus native language dominated),
- inclusive (versus closed and exclusive) minority group,
- with emphasis on culturally defined (versus descent or language based) identity as well as regional identity,
- undistinguishable from the majority population (versus strongly (even visibly) differing racially and culturally),
- without relevant Diasporic characteristics,
- not being target of xenophobia,
- politically neutral and immobile (versus being politically active (let alone being involved in violent political movements)).

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