CONTENTS

INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY
OF SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

Editorial

The Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences celebrated its 70th anniversary last year. In this order we organized *Laudation Day* in June 2016 connected with a unique exhibition[1] and introduction of a scientific monography interpreting seven decades of the life of our institution and ethnology in Slovakia (Kiliánová, Zajonc, 2016)[2]. In October 2016, as the last act to celebrate our anniversary, we organized a scientific event, an international conference *Ethnology in the 3rd millennium*, devoted to current development of our discipline in Europe[3].

OUR PORTFOLIO

Our Institute was established in 1946 as the Ethnographic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and Arts. In 1994, it was renamed to the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (IE SAS). From the expert point of view, the Institute concentrates on the analysis of social relationships from the local and global perspective with a focus on the Slovak and Central European context. The fields of scientific interest include research on cultural traditions and ways of life, as well as social, cultural and material aspects of the economic and political transition after 1989 in rural and urban environments.

The Institute of Ethnology SAS implements new innovative knowledge in society about people's reactions to social processes, which are related to issues concerning national minorities, relationships between minority groups and the general population, human rights, gender equality, social exclusion and inclusion, genocide, racial prejudice, migration and religious diversity.

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1 Review of its event written by Katarína Popelková was published in Slovak in Slovenský národopis/Slovak Ethnology vol. 64, no. 3, pp. 396-400 as *Slávnostný Laudačný deň k 70. výročiu založenia Ústavu etnológie SAV v Bratislave (17. jún 2016, Bratislava)* /Laudation Day on the 70th Anniversary of the Foundation of the Institute of Ethnology SAS in Bratislava (17 June 2016, Bratislava)/.

2 See review of this book by Margita Jágerová in English in current issue: *70 Years of the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences: Continuities and Discontinuities of Research and of One Institution*, Slovak Ethnology, 65(2), p. 235.

3 Article informing of this special anniversary conference was written by a collective of authors and it was published in English in Slovenský národopis/Slovak Ethnology vol. 64, no. 4, pp. 541–547 as *International Conference Ethnology in the Third Millenium: Topics, Methods, Challenges (19-21 October 2016, Smolenice)*.

Our research projects apply current global theoretical and methodological trends and approaches. At present, it is a top-level scientific institute of basic and applied research in the field of ethnology, cultural and social anthropology and religious studies. The principal mission of the Institute is to study man and his social relations, ways of life, as well as cultural traditions from a comparative and historical perspective. Our international co-operation involves projects on socio-economic transition and structural social changes: current challenges and problems of families at different stages of the life-cycle of their members, population ageing, poverty, inclusion of minorities, conspiracy theories, the Holocaust, religions in Slovakia in the late modern period, etc.

The work of the Institute of Ethnology achieved international recognition, and we received several international prizes, from all to mention only the *International Award of Giuseppe Pitré-Salvatore Salome Marino of Ethnological and Anthropological Studies*. We have received it two times, the second time it was for the *Encyclopaedia of Folk Culture in Slovakia* in 1996. The second very important opus to mention is the *Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia*, published in 1990. It is the basic ethno-cartographic work and output of 20 years of work of consequent generations of ethnographers from our Institute.

From the 90s of the previous century we have been the main coordinator or research partner in 64 scientific projects, 8 of them have been financed from the funding scheme of the European Union. At national level we have carried out more than 100 projects with 2 interdisciplinary centres of excellence. We have produced more than 300 monographs in acknowledged domestic and foreign publishing houses.

In the course of the last decade there was a considerable shift in paradigm in our Institute towards the modern ethnology and modern anthropology too. From historically based or phenomenological studies of traditional culture in our country we have broadened the scope of research both in the terms of topics, methods and territory too. We are carrying out our field work not only in Slovakia, but also in Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, UK, Mexico and Guatemala. We are cooperating with universities and academic institutions across Europe and the globe too. Currently our research has three pillars: basic research, applied research and we also devote remarkable input of our energy to what is called development, it means project proposal preparation and popularization and dissemination of research data. In order to disseminate the data as broadly and as soon as possible we try to publish our studies and publications instantly also on our web page which has become the communication backbone of our Institute.

PROJECT STRUCTURE OF IE SAS IN THE 3ᴿᴰ MILLENNIUM

In 2002–2009, the Institute of Ethnology SAS was the research partner of two interconnected projects under the 5ᵗʰ Framework Programme of the European Union and the EU's FP6 *Marie Curie Training Programme–European Doctorate in Social History of Europe and Mediterranean* (chief coordinator: Universita Ca'Foscari di Venezia, Italy), which set up a European network for the exchange of doctoral students. In 2002–2005, the IE SAS participated in the EU's FP5 *Mobilising Reurbanisation on Condition of Demographic Change;* Key Action City of Tomorrow and Cultural Heritage (REURBAN MOBIL), and in 2007–2009 at the EU's FP6 project *Religion and Values: Central and Eastern European Research Network* (REVACERN). In 2006–2010, the

Institute was involved in the FP6 project *Sustainability in a Glocalising World, Task Group 2.2 Cultural Distance, Organisations and Governance in a Glocal Context*; SUS.DIV Network of Excellence (SUS.DIV). The Institute participated in 2009–2012 in the FP7 project *Models and Their Effects on Development Paths: An Ethnographic and Comparative Approach to Knowledge Transmission and Livelihood Strategies* (MEDEA). In 2011–2014, the IE SAS acted as a research partner to the cultural heritage project *Protection and Development of Heritage in Folk Culture in Central Europe* (ETNOFOLK), supported by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).

The IE SAS is also involved in many multilateral and bilateral research and education projects. One of the recent ones was the project *Crimes against Civilian Populations during WW2: Victims, Witnesses, Collaborators and Perpetrators*, coordinated by the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington (2011–2015). In 2015–2017, the Institute of Ethnology is one of the partners to the project InovEduc – *Innovative Education Methods in Slovakia and Ukraine Using Augmented Reality.* In 2009–2015, the IE SAS participated in the international project for preservation of the world cultural heritage monuments of the Maya culture in Uaxactún, Guatemala, and in the ethnographic and socio-graphic mapping of the location since 2012.

The Institute also participates in European programmes to support networks and mobility, specifically in COST actions (European Cooperation in Science and Technology): the COST action *Ageism – a Multi-National Interdisciplinary Perspective* (2014–2018), and the action *Comparative Analysis of Conspiracy Theories* (2016–2020). In 2015, the IE SAS became the founding member of the European *Network of Academic Institutions in Roma Studies (NAIRS)* with 27 European collaborating institutions at present. In 2016, the IE SAS organised the 1st NAIRS Summer School with the participation of 16 students and 5 invited lecturers. Since 2015, the IE SAS has been organising the Academy of Roma Studies in the framework of the Science and Technology Week in Slovakia. This academy has the form of 3-day open lectures by invited experts combined with a course of Roma language for the general and the expert public.

The Institute of Ethnology SAS develops active co-operation with various external public administration and third-sector institutions and organisations. It is involved in applied projects focusing on the evaluation of local and state policies and the seeking of new creative solutions, civil society development and the integration of excluded social groups.

The most recent ones include the project of evaluation of field social work among Roma communities for the European Social Fund (2009–2010); innovative research of religious missions in Roma communities and their impacts on social change (SIRONA, 2010–2011); and the scholarship programme for secondary education of Roma through the Roma Education Fund (2012–2013). Other recent projects include co-operation with *Milan Šimečka Foundation* and the *Holocaust Documentation Centre* (e.g. project of education on racial hatred and the Holocaust for teachers), co-operation with the *Public Affairs Institute* (research projects on migration and migrants' integration in Slovakia), and co-operation with the *TransFúzia* civic association (research of transgender children at elementary and secondary schools). Our researchers are members of various advisory bodies of the Slovak government, UNESCO international committees for tangible and intangible heritage, and advisory committees of the European Commission.

The researchers of the IE SAS are also involved in a wide range of popularisation projects and events (exhibitions, museum exhibitions, production of documentary

films and videos, radio programmes, etc.). In collaboration with the *Centre for Traditional Folk Culture at the Slovak Folk Art Ensemble,* we prepared the electronic encyclopaedia of folk culture in 2010–2012 in the framework of the project *Traditional Folk Culture of Slovakia in Words and Pictures.* The encyclopaedia is available at http://www.ludovakultura.sk/.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF IE SAS IN THE 3ᴿᴰ MILLENNIUM

The Institute of Ethnology SAS has a valid accreditation as a training institute for the internal and external forms of PhD studies for study programme 3.1.3 ethnology, with two university units – Comenius University in Bratislava and Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra. In 2015, the Institute became a member of the network of European institutions training students in SSH – the Copernicus Graduate School.

It is specific for our Institute that apart from basic and applied research we also ensure the collection, processing, protection and practical use of archive materials. The Institute's scientific archive began to be built in 1953. The text archive contains 1,480 research reports and texts, and the digital archive comprises over 125,000 digitised picture documents (105,300 negatives, 18,990 slides, and 7,560 drawings) from Slovakia and from some foreign research trips of Slovak ethnologists. We started to build our electronic archive in the 90s and we almost finished it in the frame of European project ETNOFOLK *(Preservation and Enhancement of Folk Culture Heritage in Central Europe)* which was focused on creating the website on traditional culture phenomena in Central Europe. The specific goal of IE SAS was the creation of a digital picture database, with more than 118,000 records, which is now available also to the wide public at www.uetetnofolk.eu.

The Institute also has an expert library with 12,556 books and 53 periodical titles (including 42 foreign ones), all of them available to the expert and general public.

The Institute of Ethnology houses the editorial office of the scientific journal *Slovenský národopis/Slovak Ethnology*, which is an academic peer-reviewed journal published mostly four times a year since 1953. As the only scientific journal of this type in Slovakia, it has been published for 65 years without interruption. The first and the third issue of each year are published in Slovak, and the second and the fourth ones in English – this practice started from 2014. In the last four years we digitalized all volumes of our journal, our journal is indexed and abstracted in international databases, we open access and we almost doubled our impact and number of citations per year.

SPECIAL ISSUE OF SLOVAK ETHNOLOGY AS LAUDATION
TO THE 70ᵗʰ ANNIVERSARY

Seventy years in the life of an individual as well as institution is a long time. In the field of our discipline we have witnessed a basic paradigm shift. But one thing has not changed: man is still at the centre of our research and work. This is expressed in the logo of the Institute of Ethnology: a network of people linked together in which the individual can only be understood in connection with the other person and group.

Let me conclude this Editorial with the quotation of our dear colleague prof. Gábor Barna from Hungary. In his Laudation letter to the 70ᵗʰ anniversary of our Institute he

quoted the words of professor of ethnology at the University of Szeged Sándor Bálint: "the soul of society is not compromise but harmony". With professor Bálint and Barna, I also believe that the results of our work must serve harmony between man and man in local, European and world society, harmony between man and nature, harmony between man and the transcendent world.

To celebrate this harmony and at the occasion of our anniversary we have prepared for you this special issue as a contribution of ethnology and social and cultural anthropology to ensure the balance in the current modern world. Last year we also devoted the international conference *Ethnology in the 3rd Millennium* to the 70th anniversary. It is our honour to welcome in this special issue of our journal key-note contributions as well as some topical and inspirational contributions originally given at the mentioned conference. These contributions were written by the leading European experts from our field, such as Haldis Haukanes from the Department of Health Promotion and Development, University of Bergen, Norway, Valentina Gulin Zrnić from the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb, Croatia, Gábor Barna from the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Szeged, Hungary, Zdeněk Uherek from Ethnological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague, Katarína Popelková and Tatiana Podolinská from IE SAS and Julien Giry from Institute of Public Law and Political Sciences, University of Rennes 1, France. They discuss a broad scope of current topical issues.

The article by Haldis Haukanes called *Futures full of promise, futures of despair. Contrasting temporalities in the life narrative of young Czechs* compares the results of various fieldwork of the author in rural regions of the Czech Republic, trying to find what are the opinions of the young generation on their role in the contemporary world and their future through their narratives. This approach relies on anthropological debates about time, agency and social change and on recent scholarship on nostalgia. The author argues for the necessity of a diversified understanding of temporality, because linear and reproductive temporalities appear to co-exist with concepts of time as accelerated, incoherent and unpredictable. Tatiana Podolinská from the Institute of Ethnology SAS in Bratislava in her article *Roma in Slovakia – silent and invisible minority (Social Networking and Pastoral Pentecostal Discourse as a case of giving voice and positive visibility)* paid attention to the analysis of trans-social and trans-ethnic discourse and the concept of New Roma offered to Roma people by some pastors of various Pentecostal movements in Slovakia.

Two articles are dedicated to holidays and feasts and their place in modern societies. Gábor Barna from University of Szeged, Hungary, entitled his key paper *Rites, Feasts, Identity. Possible Questions and Answers on the Present-day Functions of Rites and Feasts*. In this paper he compared the main church holidays in Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Austria (countries which used to be part of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire) and revealed similarities and differences among them. In the second part of his contribution the author reflects changing functions of holidays nowadays with their desacralisation, leading "from feasts to festivals". Katarína Popelková from the Institute of Ethnology SAS in Bratislava, author of the study entitled *Holidays – the Mirror of Society. The Social and Cultural Contexts of Present-Day Holidays in the Slovak Republic*, show us various changes and motifs connected with holidays in the beginning of 21st century in Slovakia. Her work also tries to understand how state holidays are becoming a platform for public debates of citizens and also for regular political fights before elections.

Julien Giry, research fellow from the Institute of Public Law and Political Sciences, University of Rennes 1, France, has written a paper entitled *A Specific Social Function of Rumours and Conspiracy Theories: Strengthening Community's Ties in Troubled Times. A Multilevel Analysis*, which is based on the hypothesis that conspiracy theories and rumours are an act of social conformism. Julien demonstrates this assumption though a multilevel analysis with a wide range of social situations from the French Revolution and post-colonial India to nowadays' neighbourhood conflicts and violent conflicts of Jonestown and Waco.

Valentina Gulin Zrnić in the research study called *Ethnological and cultural anthropological approaches to the city: framework of the Zagreb city-making project* described experiences of her scientific team trying to intervene in the urban environment of city of Zagreb with the help of some artists and their works. This fruitful cooperation positively influenced citizens' attitudes to their renewed city spaces. The paper also offers a glimpse on urban research in (Croatian) ethnology and cultural anthropology and research methods of walking ethnography and sensory ethnography are also discussed.

Zdeněk Uherek from Prague offers the readers his essay called *Not only moving bodies: contested and transforming concepts in migration studies*. He focuses on the concept of transnationalism and its meanings in the past and present, the role of contemporary diasporas, multiple identities and many other problems connected with migration.

We are sure that all these published articles are important and valid contributions to the current debates concerning the role of ethnology in modern society and provide the readers with the vivid spectrum of methodology and new theoretical approaches leading this branch of social sciences to the third millennium.

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FUTURES FULL OF PROMISE, FUTURES OF DESPAIR. CONTRASTING TEMPORALITIES IN THE LIFE NARRATIVES OF YOUNG CZECHS

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On the backdrop of increasing anxieties about the state of the world and its future found among by scholars and grassroots alike, this article explores young people's narratives of the future, paying particular attention to dominant temporal structures through which the young people frame their expectations and imagine their lives to come. The article builds on research with young Czechs in three different regions of the country, carried out in the years 2007–2009 and 2014–2016. In addition it incorporates elements from my former work on post-socialist transformations in rural Czech Republic. Drawing on anthropological debates about time, agency and social change, and on recent scholarship on nostalgia, I argue for the necessity of a diversified understanding of temporality when analysing narrations of both lived lives and future visions; linear and reproductive temporalities appear to co-exist with conceptions of time as accelerated, incoherent and unpredictable. Further, I argue that time or temporality is not just something which people are subject to; it also involves agency. This implies that well-established temporal frameworks can be used to narrate expectations for the future, or that different temporal frameworks can be strategically combined to manage both the present and the future.

Key words: youth, the Czech Republic, temporalities, narratives, future, nostalgia

INTRODUCTION

In today's world, among scholars and grassroots alike, there is an increasing sense of anxiety about the future, about social reproduction and human life itself, leading many to the conclusion that the temporal order is changing. From high modernity's future optimism and linear conception of time, via notions of 'risk society' and 'biographical uncertainty', scholars currently discuss what is seen as a breakdown of the past-present-future continuum in societies worldwide, commonly linked to the spread of neoliberalism and its 'flexible' forms of consumption and labour, but also to climate change and environmental degradation. In the words of Jane Guyer, from her much cited paper on *Prophecy and the near future* 'time has gone from being represented as

a lineal past-present-future continuum to being seen as punctuated and fragmented, oscillating between "fantasy futurism" and "enforced presentism"' (Guyer, 2007: 410). Thomas H. Eriksen, in a similar vein, argues that fragmentation and acceleration are key characteristics of today's temporal order. Intensified processes of globalisation generate contradictory and sometimes violent processes of change 'being complex in such a way as to be ungovernable, volatile and replete with unintended consequences' (Eriksen, 2016: 471). Eriksen proposes the metaphor of *overheating* to coin these changes 'the kind of speed that will eventually lead a car engine to grind to a halt' (ibid: 470). The optimism of post war high modernity has disappeared. So too have the promises of linear progress inherent in socialist visions of the world, and the enthusiasm following state socialism's demise in the East and East Central Europe. Again in the words of Eriksen: 'The old recipes for societal improvements, whether socialist, liberal or conservative have lost their lustre' (ibid: 470).

Drawing mainly on my current research with young Czechs, but also incorporating some insights from my former work on post-socialist transformations in rural South Bohemia and South Moravia (Haukanes, 1999, 2004), this article explores issues of temporality, biography and social change, with particular focus on young people's narrative strategies for imagining the future. The question is: To what extent does the above outlined temporal order of fragmentation and acceleration, and the anxiety over the future that it entails, resonate with main structures and themes through which young people frame their experiences and present their visions of the future?

Exploring dominant modes of narration as well as sentiments communicated, the article shows that highly differing temporalities are exposed in the narratives of the young, ranging from anxiety-ridden accounts of situations out of control to optimistic and straight forward stories evoking a notion of the future as both plannable and comfortable. Following Moroșanu and Ringle in their discussion of *time tricking* (Moroșanu and Ringle, 2016: 18, see also Ringle, 2016), I argue that time or temporality is not just something which people are subject to; it also involves agency. When reflecting on the future people may use well-established temporal frameworks to narrate their expectations, or they may invoke more idosyncratic frameworks to bring hopes alive and keep fears at bay. Moreover, through what Laura Bear has called 'acts of time labour' – i.e. the work people do to mediate 'conflictual social rythms, representations, and non-human time' (Bear, 2014: 20), several temporal frameworks may be strategically combined to manage both the present and the future.

Before I move on to the analysis of the narratives themselves, I will present some brief reflections on post-socialist anthropology of memory, biography and historical transformation, focusing in particular on the concept of nostalgia and its application to analyses of processes of social change.

MEMORY, NOSTALGIA AND THE FUTURE

A rich body of knowledge on memory and history has come out of post-socialist anthropology of East and East Central Europe, developed in dialogue with and as part of the wider 'memory boom' (Berliner, 2005) in anthropology from the 1990's onwards. Contributions have been made to anthropological debates on memory, biography and totalitarianism (Niethammer, 1992; Passerini, 1992; Watson, 1994; Yurchak, 2006), personal biography and the state (Borneman, 1992), and the role of narratives in

reconstructing life after terror (Skultans, 1998), to mention some key areas which have been under scrutiny. The reasons for this blossoming are manifold; very importantly, as David Berliner has argued, the demise of the socialist regimes coincided with a post-modernist turn in social history where 'totalizing aspects' of historical discourse were strongly criticised releasing an enormous interest in the field of memory and lived history (Berliner, 2005: 199; see also Haukanes and Trnka, 2013).

Topics explored during the first 10–15 years after 1989 included memory under totalitarianism (Niethammer, 1992; Passerini, 1992; Skultans, 1998), the challenges of self-narration in the face of rapidly transforming social orders and metanarratives (Lass, 1994; Haukanes, 2006); possible disconnections between new post-socialist 'official truths' and personal experiences (Haukanes, 2006; Pine, 2002); and ways that local accounts resisted being absorbed into a dominant narrative framework (Pine et al., 2004; Richardson, 2004; Watson, 1994).

A more recent trend in post-socialist memory studies is manifested in debates around the concept of nostalgia (Berdahl, 2010; Boym, 2001; Todorova and Gille, 2010). As Angé and Berliner note in their recent volume *Anthropology and Nostalgia*, nostalgia has become a hot topic for social anthropology in general and for the anthropology of post-socialism in particular. 'As much as the Holocaust has become a paradigm for research in memory studies, works on nostalgia are paradigmatically "Eastern European"' (Angé and Berliner, 2015: 1). The phenomenon has been analysed as people's mourning of the more predictable and stable conditions of life under communism; mourning for something lost which cannot be returned (Creed, 2010; Haukanes and Trnka, 2013). Anthropologists of nostalgia, both in Eastern Europa and beyond, have attempted to distinguish between different kinds of nostalgia, one of the most cited ones being Svetlana Boym's distinction between *restorative nostalgia* – reconstructions of a lost home – and *reflective nostalgia* – a longing for the longing itself (Boym, 2001). Another useful distinction is one coined by David Berliner (2015), who separates between *endo-nostalgia* – 'nostalgia of the past one has lived personally' – and *exo-nostalgia* – nostalgia which is not attached to personal experiences, but which still triggers strong emotions (ibid.: 25). Many scholars have also pointed to the political dimension of nostalgia. As much as reflecting a yearning for the past, nostalgia can be read as a socio-political and moral critique of the present (Berdahl, 2009; Boyer, 2010), a critique which also often suggests roads to alternative futures (Boyer, 2010; Creed, 2010; Horáková, 2015; Rabikowska, 2013). As this literature has shown, expressions of nostalgia in biographical narratives, or more broadly, in memories of things forever gone, may be crucial junctures where the past and the future meet, and thus a key source to understand temporality and social change.

Proceeding to my research on young Czechs and the future, I will examine the temporal strategies young people employ to narrate and anticipate what is to come, and the agency they display in dealing with complex realties and disparate 'social rythms and representations' (Bear, 2014: 20). I will pay particular attention to the structuring and sequencing of the accounts, and thereby try to develop an understanding of their overarching temporal orientation or logic. I will further explore emerging cultural themes around which the narratives are organised, and the embedded sense of the future they entail, be it optimism, fear or indifference. Inspired by current anthropological debates on nostalgia and social transformation, I will also examine ways that references to the past are incorporated in the narratives, and what these references to the past can tell us about young people's concerns for the future.

My research with young people in the Czech Republic started out as part of a larger comparative project on gendered identities, belonging and future imaginations,[1] carried out in the Czech Republic, Norway and Tunisia (see Heggli et al., 2013). The Czech part of this research took place among young people aged 14–15 in two villages in South Moravia, and in the small town Jablonec nad Nisou in North Bohemia.[2] Fieldwork was carried out in 2007 and 2008, with a revisit to the localities in 2013. In 2014 a follow-up study was prepared for the Czech Republic only, where the main intention was to further explore issues researched in the first project, but among older youth and in a different region of the country. Fieldwork was carried out among young people aged 17–18 living in and around a small town in Orlicko district in North Bohemia. The fieldwork in Orlicko took place in the autumn 2014 and spring 2015, with a brief follow up visit in March 2016. With the exception of the revisits to South Moravia and Jablonec in 2013, all encounters with the youth took place in a school setting; the youngest I met as 8th and 9th graders in elementary school, while the Orlicko youth were students of a vocational school and a gymnasium. The research followed approximately the same strategy in all settings; during an initial visit to the schools the students wrote me essays on the topic of *My future*.[3] My second visit took place approximately six months later, when I did interviews groups of youth and/or with individuals.

The main bulk of the empirical material presented in this article stems from the Orlicko research with students in upper secondary schools, but parallels will be drawn and references made to my research with younger students in South Moravia and Jablonec. The localities in which I have worked are of course quite different in terms of geographical location, size, urban vs. rural features etc., all of which impact the daily life of young people. On one end of the scale is Jablonec nad Nisou, with its 45000 inhabitants, which offers a number of alternatives for young people both when it comes to secondary education and leisure activities to participate in. On the other end of the scale we find the two South Moravian villages, rural in nature where no secondary education is offered on site, and where local traditions and religion still play a role in social life. However, in terms of generating conditions of choice for young people, all localities, including the Orlicko small town,[4] still share some features which make them appear as rather average, 'non-exceptional' places when it comes to opportunities for young people. All of them find themselves around the national average when it comes to unemployment rates. Employment opportunities for young people exist although commuting on a daily basis is often deemed necessary and sometimes it may be difficult

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1   *Growing up Global? A comparative study of belonging, gendered identities and imagined futures in the Czech Republic, Norway and Tunisia.*

2   My research experience in the Czech Republic goes back to 1990, when I embarked on a study of post-communist transformation processes in the South Bohemian countryside, a project which was later expanded to include also rural South Moravia (see Haukanes, 1999 and 2004).

3   The students were given a list of keywords over topics which we suggested they include in the essays (education, work, family, travel and place of living; in Orlicko also future of humanity/the world).

4   The Orlicko region was originally chosen because it was, in regional studies' literature, considered to be more marginal than the others (Vajdova et al., 2011). However, the particular locality that I came to work in was not really marginal, at least not as concerns and unemployment rates, local facilities etc. What was lacking and recognized as a problem, was good employment opportunities for people with higher education.

to find permanent/stable jobs (see also Haukanes, 2013a and 2013b). None of the sites appear as the most 'central' locality in their region, but they are not peripheral either, and a bigger city is within 30-60 minutes of reach to all of them. None of them have institutions of tertiary education but such institutions are within relatively easy reach, and distance to learning site does not emerge as a significant problem for those who wish to continue their education without moving too far away. These similarities may be part of the reason why the narratives of my study participants appear to share many features across the localities, which again make them highly comparable.

NARRATIVES OF PROGRESS AND ACHIEVEMENT

The first and very striking temporal orientation emerging in the youth's narratives is one of linearity; of orderly and gradual progress. Among some this orientation is expressed as a belief in the betterment of society in general, i.e. for the future of the world, where modernization and ever more sophisticated technologies are pointed to as likely developments.

> In general I believe that the world in 20 years will be more modern, a number of new inventions and discoveries will appear. So due to that we will be able to explore much wider areas of the universe and discover planets on which there may be life. (Girl, gymnasium)

Gradual progress through rational inventions is not predominant when the young people discuss the future of humanity or society in general; as will be discussed below their visions for our globe are rather bleak. However, when they present their visions for their own lives, linearity and progress are major devices structuring their accounts. Many envision their future lives as a straight forward line where education is followed by entry into a stable job, and after this job is obtained a spouse can be sought and a family established. These straight forward trajectories, held in an optimistic tone, are totally predominant among the youngest cohorts, i.e. the 14–15 years old ones (see Haukanes, 2013a), but are also abundantly present among the older youth, in particular those who are in vocational school.

> After my final exams I would like to go to another school so that I would get a better paid job. I would like to become a teacher at a vocational school. My further studies would be directed towards the pedagogical school in Litomyšl...... I like working with people and I am a social kind of person, therefore I believe that I would not at all like to be locked up somewhere in a factory. When I have completed all the schools I would like to live for a while with my parents. But after some time I would like to move to a flat before I find a boyfriend. After that I would move with my husband to a one family house. I would like to have a beautiful, big house in which I will live with my husband and my two children and of course also some kind of pet. (Girl, vocational school).

> After I complete my current studies and graduate I would like to find a job. Like I guess every human being I would like to find a job which I will enjoy and which will make me happy... ...I have spent 14 years at school [......] and would not like any further studies; I believe that I would not be able to continue [studying]. For a year I have this amazing

girlfriend, I'm so happy with her and I love her very much. Even if there are sometimes problems between us they are always sorted out and everything is fine again. We spend time together every day. I believe that we will stick together and that it will last. It is likely that we first will move into a flat, where we will pay rent. It is a small, municipal flat. Later on, when we will have more money, we would like to move to a family house or to an older farm. Both of us would like to live in a village, close to nature. (Boy, vocational school)

This optimistic and straight forward way of narrating the future of course stands in great contrast to the punctuated and fragmented temporality appearing in the earlier mentioned anthropological diagnosis of our time. It also contrasts other research on youth and biography in Europe which describes discourses of uncertainty and unpredictability among the young, and narratives of blurred rather than linear status passages (Du-Boise Raymond, 1998; Leccardi, 1999; Leccardi and Rupusini, 2006). As I have shown elsewhere, based on my research with the youngest cohort, the structuring and periodization of the young people's accounts show similarities with autobiographical narratives I collected during my research in rural South Bohemia and South Moravia in the early 1990's with people who grew up under the First Republic (Haukanes, 2013a). Both groups – the young of today and the elderly of the 1990's – to a large degree adhere to the linear model of the *normal biography* of industrial modernity when narrating their lives. This means that they describe their life course as unfolding along a line, clearly periodized, where youth is seen as a the (relatively short) period demarcated for education and learning, adulthood as the time when permanent and stable employment is found and when own family is established, and old age as the period of retirement. Status passages in life are seen as steps along this line (Haukanes, 2013b).

The *normal biography* does thus not seem to have disappeared as a life script for young people of today in spite of the huge transformations that have taken place in Czech society the last 25–30 years; rather it seems to have been transmitted across generations. Explanations for the persistent viability of the normal biography and its concomitant optimism are manifold. Firstly, it is not completely detached from what young people *experience* as normal; it is still quite common for Czech youth to seek short vocational training rather than pursuing tertiary education, or, as in the first of the above mentioned cases, to pass through vocational training before entering higher education (see also Heggli et al., 2013). The idea of starting adult working life early appears as a clear and desirable option for many, although quite a few of the older youth from Orlicko mention that they will work for some years before establishing a family, both to build up material resources and to enjoy 'young adult life' life without too many obligations. Secondly, the Czech Republic in general, and the localities of my study in particular, have not experienced mass unemployment and great economic decline the last two decades. In contrast to the situation in many countries in Southern and Eastern Europe, where young people experience extreme levels of unemployment and/or job precarity (see for example Abbot et al., 2010; Glytsos, 2009; Horvath, 2008; Leccardi and Rusupini, 2006), unemployment numbers in the Czech Republic have been kept relatively low while real wages have been increasing since the late 1990's.[5] This of course contributes to the fact that it is possible for Czech youth to envision the

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5   See http://www.tradingeconomics.com/czech-republic/wage-growth and https://data.oecd.org/ unemp/unemployment-rate.htm#indicator-chart.

future as plannable. Finally, the normal biography, with its linearity and predictable status passages is a cultural model which is good to think with. It provides a *technology of the imagination* (Sneath and Holdbrad, 2009) which is simple and easy to employ; particularly so when the future it speaks to is still some distance away, as is the case of the participants of my study, especially the youngest ones.

NARRATIVES OF HOME AND BELONGING

Turning the attention from the structure of the narratives to the more specific wishes and dreams they encompass, we find certain themes which are articulated with particular strength. One of them is the dream of family house, often emerging as the 'end station' in the narrative – the arrival point of the journey towards adulthood. Connected to this are preferences with regard to place to live. Here the patterns show some variation; there are some who express a wish to leave their home town for better opportunities, for more fun and adventure. This attitude is particularly evident among the gymnasium students in Orlicko, many of whom plan to leave town for further studies. However, quite a few of the young people in all localities express a wish to remain local or at least to live in a small town or village (see also Haukanes, 2013b). In all groups of participants the wish to live in a small place is very often articulated through romantic spatial representations, describing the beauty of nature and simultaneously idealizing small town or village life.

> *In the future I would like to have a family house, not a big one but of smaller size, close to nature somewhere in the countryside with a big garden. If this is not possible, living in a block of flats would also be possible, close to nature, in a small town. In that case I would like to have a cottage in the mountains, where I would spend sunny summers. For sure I would not want, and I hope that I will not, live in a big town. I am more fond of the countryside, nature, fresh air and quiet environments. I like small towns, where people are closer to one another, the small town is cosy, and has family friendly environment and mainly it is close to nature.* (Boy, gymnasium)

Good relations with family or friends are also mentioned as core motives for staying; for the South Moravian village youth local socializing more broadly, and the ability to enjoy local community life is also appreciated. As mentioned above I did my first research among the young South Moravians in 2007/2008, but returned 5 years later to meet again with some of the participants in one of the two villages where I initially worked. This particular village, the biggest of the two and within commuting distance of Brno, is a municipality which has been quite successful in obtaining resources for community development, and which offers a number of activities for young people to get involved in. This includes sports activities, local organisations, and old traditions and feasts connected to the cycle of the year, such as the raising of (one of) the tallest May poles in the whole country. Meeting the youth again, now aged 19–20, I was surprised to find that very few of them had moved out and apparently did not have any plans to do so. Discussing the matter with them they repeated their preference for nature, fresh air and calmness of the rural area as reasons for staying in their home village. In addition they also strongly stressed the value of local traditions in which many of them participate, and which make them feel at home and also proud of their home place.

Another important theme articulated in the narratives is that of partnership and family life. Having a nuclear family of one's own is almost universally desired among the youth of both cohorts. As indicated above, the family is often envisioned inside the house which is spacious and placed in nature:

I would like to get married and have two children. For sure I would not like to stay without a wife. I would prefer that the oldest child to be a girl and the youngest a boy. They should both be doing sports – the son should play football and the girl do gymnastics or athletics. Further I would like to have a dog, a cat and live in a not-too-big house, but also not too small. It should be surrounded by a garden. In the garden I would like to have a mini-playground for football with artificial grass, a swimming-pool of at least 10 meters long and pergola with a grill where we could spend summer evenings [.......] Each child should have their own bedroom. Have at least two bathrooms, one on every floor. (Boy, vocational school)

Gender family arrangements are mostly imagined through a traditional lens. The majority of students, both male and female, imagine their future family to be a two-income one where both wife and husband will have paid jobs. However, girls are clearly more ready than boys to adjust their career to the needs of the future family. The gendered division of roles and tasks in the family is often also described as one where the wife will have the main responsibility for the domestic sphere. Talking about his ideal partner, a male gymnasium student for example spoke about the qualities that he is looking for in a future wife:

Well, tolerant, mainly very tolerant. Beautiful. Kind. Hmmm, communicative, very communicative. What else? Who would respect me, who would support me in all my doings and who would be a good cook. Who would do the cleaning and tidying up, all these household chores. As my roommate said once when I was in a hospital: "The way to a man's heart is through his stomach" meaning that what a women cooks has to be tasty. And also that she should be a good mother as far as children are concerned. And that she is not moody, annoying. This is the only important thing, the ideal thing.

Not all boys are as 'traditionalistic' as this one; many boys in both cohorts express a willingness to help their partners with domestic work, particularly with the cooking. Girls on their side clearly wish to have a partner who actively takes part in family life and does his part of the housework. An underlying norm of the female as the main responsible for the house and the male as the main – although not only – provider, nevertheless manifests itself in various ways. Particularly when it comes to care for small children, the division of labour is envisioned to be organised strictly along gender lines with the mother as the main and most competent carer.[6]

Contained within the narratives of 'a natural successful life course' we thus not only find a linear temporality of gradual progress and achievement, but also a temporality where *reproduction* lies at the core; of community life and social relations, and of gendered patterns of work and family roles.

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6   For further elaborations of gender relations and imaginations of future family life, see Haukanes and Heggli, 2016 and Haukanes and Hašková, in preparation.

As discussed above, hope and optimism are clearly present in young people's narratives of their personal futures. Some anxieties are expressed in relation to finishing school and finding a job, but they are in no sense dominating the narratives. Quite the contrary; when asked directly many say that they do not fear unemployment and show confidence that they will be able to make a living in the future.

A very different picture emerges in response to the question of how they imagine the future in general, i.e. that of humanity and the globe (an issue discussed first and foremost with the older cohort, i.e. the Orlicko youth). We find that their visions for the world are manifested in an anxious and problem-ridden language, pointing to a co-existing but very different temporal orientation from the ones sketched above. Looking more in detail into the themes elaborated in their narratives, we find a number of different worries articulated.

One of the most frequently occurring issues of concern in the essays, which is also repeated in strong words during interviews, is the fear of war. A couple of the boys connect this fear directly to their own possible participation in warfare, or, as in the case below, their resistance to fight:

> *Well, I in general am afraid of war, I am strongly anti-war,......I would not participate in warfare, I would not go there, not even if I had to pay the price of imprisonment would I go to fight.* (Boy, gymnasium)

Quite a few point at specific ongoing conflicts that generate fear in them:

> *I fear [that there will be] a third world war, I fear this a lot, because I don't know, when I see how it is there in the East … in Russia, Ukraine, over there, it does not look good.* (Girl, gymnasium).

> *Well, for the time being I fear that a war will break out, you know the way things are, with Russia and Ukraine, I'm rather scared that something will break out somewhere.* (Girl, gymnasium)

Others evoke geopolitics from the era of the cold war, while simultaneously reflecting on what they see as problems at home.

> *I believe that there will be a third World War between America and Russia, perhaps they will use nuclear weapons and the whole of Europe will be contaminated with radiation. I also believe that the Czech government is worthless and the president even worse. They should remove him from the government. I also believe that there will be a civil war between Czech and Roma people. And in the end will we have dictatorship in the Czech Republic.* (Girl, vocational school)

It is evident that many of the young people's worries are related to ongoing political debates and current urgent issues, hence the comments made on the Russian-Ukrainian armed conflict which started in 2014 and which was highly present in Czech national news throughout 2014 and 2015. In 2014 there were few who connected their fears of war and violence to Islamism. Meeting the students again during a brief visit in

spring of 2016 this issue had become a hot one; and in many cases connected to immigration.

> *With regard to the last point – the future of the world, I'm becoming more and more of a pessimist. I believe that our children are awaiting first and foremost fear of terrorism, radical Islamists and things like that.* (Girl, gymnasium)

> *In today's world there is a huge problem with Islam, there is a war going on in those countries which forces the inhabitants to emigrate to Europe and which leads to risks of terrorist attacks, if it doesn't stop, this will become a big problem for Europe.* (Boy, gymnasium)

> *In 2014 I wrote that I am afraid of war. Today I am afraid of war with Islam, as it is spreading quickly and there are different attacks across Europe. In my view it is difficult to solve the situation and precautions should have been taken earlier.* (Girl, gymnasium)

Many criticise the political leadership of the country, indirectly, as in the latter case, or directly, as in the comments above on made abou the president.[7] Another recurrent topic in the young people's narratives is a concern about deteriorating relations between human beings. This concern was something that I also encountered in the Czech villages in the early 1990's. 'Times are bad; people don't believe that changes will come'. 'It will perhaps get better, but not in my time', were phrases I heard again and again (Haukanes, 1999). Connected to these complaints, I also found a lot of what we could call nostalgia present, in particular with regards to how relations between people were developing. A few took pre-socialist times as their main point of reference, and argued that it was socialism which had destroyed relations between people. Others made comparisons between different places and argued that 'elsewhere' (for example their native village) relations between people were much better than 'here'. Many of those who talked about deteriorating relations had the fall of communism as their main reference point, and argued that the new situation had led to increased envy and hatred among people. *The relations between people are bad*, a young female employee at the cooperative farm said for example. *After November (i.e. after the velvet revolution) they all said that now people will become so nice to one another but that is not true. They all just envy each other...* In 1995, when I interviewed the mayor and deputy major in the South Bohemian village they immediately started to complain about deteriorating social relations. *People are more jealous and envy one another; they lie more and talk more behind each other's backs* one of them said, explaining the increased tensions with increasing socio-economic differences among people (see Haukanes, 1999).

25 years later in my work with the Orlicko youth, I encountered very similar statements about bad relationships and negative qualities of people. Here expressed by a girl from the vocational school:

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7   Negative comments on politicians are abundant, but those directed towards the president emerged in particular in many of the essays I collected in late November 2014, right after the 25th anniversary of the velvet revolution. This was probably related to the fact that the president at that time had had some unfortunate appearances in the media in support of Russia's actions in Ukraine, for which he was strongly criticised and which made people show him "red cards" during the celebration of the anniversary.

The future of the world, I don't see it as very bright. .... People behave more and more horribly towards one another. Everyone envies something in somebody, and people are mean towards each other, totally disgusting!!! It is only getting worse and will not become better again. Which is really sad but this is how it is. I'm not very optimistic so I don't see a good future for the world.

In my analysis of the statements about deteriorating human relations in the 1990's, I came to see them first and foremost as people's ways of reflecting on unpleasant changes experienced in the first years after communism, *endo-nostalgia* in Berliner's terms, i.e. related to specific changes occurring in one's own life. I also found that they contained a rather standardized critique of modernity as such, expressing nostalgia for a simpler and more "communal" kind of life. The latter could also be seen to apply to the young people of my current study. Many of them stress the negative impact of technology on human relations, focusing on recent technological inventions:

When I see how everything moves quickly forward! Electronics, science... I cannot at all imagine how it will be in ten years! For sure we will live in a really modern world, with a lot of contrivances. I am a bit afraid that due to those possibilities human relations will be completely destroyed. I believe that the generation following us will have plenty of modern things and will not be concerned with other people. They will only know them from the screen of computers. And that is a sad thought. (Girl, gymnasium)

Already our time is mad – all over you find electronics, small children play on the computer instead of being outside, at the age of five they have smart phones, people don't talk to each other anymore but sit next to one another and write to somebody else on their phones. In practice we lose contact with people. We don't know how to talk together. ....The worst thing is that I myself know that I am addicted to the electronics and I cannot imagine that I should limit the use of it, or not use it at all. I believe that the world will end like this, people will sit at home, play games on all kinds of machines, they will not do the shopping, they will not even clean or do housework, because machines will do everything for us. I do hope that neither I nor my children or grandchildren will live to see that. (Girl, gymnasium)

As discussed introductory-wise, global warming and climate change form an important basis for the arguments about fundamental temporal change and breakdown of the past-present-future continuum. Among my young study participants environmental concerns are mentioned by some when describing the future of the world:

Concerning the world's future I don't have many ideas, but I hope that we pull ourselves together and start doing something with our way of living, which destroys the environment and strains our country a lot. We should start thinking about our children and the coming generations, who will have to live here when we are not here anymore. I fear that it will not move towards the better, because technology is moving rapidly ahead and at some point in time this development needs to stop and what will follow after that I cannot even imagine (Girl, vocational school)

Probing this issue during interviews, I found that few expressed worries related to global warming and climate change. When asked directly many dismissed the issue as unimportant or not falling within their interests or concerns. In their essays a few describe the "end of the world" in rather apocalyptic terms, though, echoing popular culture and films such as "The day after tomorrow "and "The survivalist". The following extract, written by one of the male gymnasium students, presents a rather grim vision for the world:

Humanity has been heading towards its end already for a long time …..Battles over the last drop of oil, attempts to appropriate pieces of land on an overpopulated planet, increasing racial hate; all of this will, together with other causes, lead to a total collapse. There will be nothing left but wilderness……Intellect will become a word not needed anymore, a memory buried in dust. Everything will be left at the mercy of brute force, thanks to which it will be possible to survive. States as we know them will disappear. They will dissolve into dust.

Introductory-wise I posed the question of whether a temporality of acceleration and fragmentation could be found in young Czechs narratives about the future. These latter accounts show that it clearly does. Incorporating a notion of the future as both dangerous, scattered and unpredictable, they show a clear resonance with the 'overheating paradigm' although differing in their specific concerns. While climate change, neoliberal economic developments and accelerated growth are at the forefront of scientists' worried predictions, warfare close to home, bad politics, and loss of community appear as the most urgent issues among the youth.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

From these bleak and sad prospects, let me now return to my initial questions about temporal strategies, senses of the future and (nostalgic) references to the past in the narratives of the young, and indicate some implications of my findings for the understanding of temporal complexity and the 'labour of time' (Bear, 2014: 6) that the young people are involved in when imagining their personal future and that of humanity. Looking firstly at the rhythm and periodization of young people's narratives of their personal futures, we find that they to a large extent are dominated by a *linear temporality*, which can be seen to echo former generations' life scripts describing a standard trajectory towards adulthood where the end station is the nuclear family in a nice house. The enormous distance notwithstanding – economically, politically and education-wise – between today's society and the society in which their grandparents lived, the young people are still able to evoke the normal biography of industrial modernity as a script for narrating their future lives. I also find that the linear and optimistic narratives encompass a *temporality of reproduction*, relating to notions of belonging and home, and to gendered roles and identities. This illustrates Moroşanu and Ringel's point that old and well-established temporal frameworks can well be used to narrate new situations (ibid.: 18), and, I would argue, be used actively to create order and some kind of control over what lies ahead. Although replicative both in form and content, these personal narratives are not backward-looking or nostalgic in the sense that they mourn the past, or show a desire to make things *more like what they used to b*e. Rather they reflect a wish to remain 'normal', work-wise, gender-wise and

other, while continuing along the track of gradual increase in living standard that a majority of people in the Czech Republic have experienced during the last 20 years.

When it comes to the rather pessimistic visions the young people have for humanity and the world, the situation is different. It is evident that the images of destroyed landscapes, countries torn by war, bad politics and deteriorating human relations are mirrored against the bygone; an idealized past where peaceful relations predominated, where technology was simple and community among people was maintained by face-to-face interaction rather than through 'screens of computers'. In contrast to the nostalgia I met in Czech villages in the 1990's, the young people's mourning of the past is less *endo*-nostalgic in the sense that is refers to a specific past which they themselves have lived and lost. Rather, it represents 'discourses about loss which is detached from the direct experience of losing something personal' (Berliner, 2015: 21), but which still causes pain and worry. Following Berdahl (2009), Creed (2010) and other theorists of nostalgia I also see contours of a critique of the politics of the present in the young people's nostalgic claims; 'why is nothing done to change the way we are heading'?

As argued above these narratives of destruction and decay resonate well with the more *dystopian temporality* emerging in current social science debates on time and the future. What is very striking is the lack of connection between this dystopian temporality and the linear and optimistic temporality through which the young imagine their own personal futures. This brings me back to the question of temporality and agency, and the claim the people are not only subject to time but are also able to invoke different temporal frameworks for different purposes. The 'labour of time' that the young people of my study are involved in is not so much about reconciling 'disparate rhythms and representations of time', but rather about keeping different temporalities apart. This act of separation enables them to protect their imagined personal futures from fear and chaos; recognizing humanity's challenges as immense and horrible but still keeping them at bay.

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ROMA IN SLOVAKIA– SILENT AND INVISIBLE MINORITY
(Social Networking and Pastoral Pentecostal Discourse as a case of giving voice and positive visibility)

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The contribution is meant to be a micro-case study to the issue of institutional production and reproduction of security of a selected minority group in Slovakia, through tracing the process of social networking and re-construction of the (ethnic) identity on a religious basis. Principal attention is paid to the analysis of the trans-social and trans-ethnic discourse and the concept of *New Roma* as a de-ethnicised and ahistorically constructed label with positive and non-ascriptive connotations. The Pentecostal concept of the *Family of God* is studied in connection with the perception of the increased feeling of security not only within *primary* (family) networks, but also within *hybrid* (religion-based) networks. The *New Roma* concept offered to Roma by pastors would increase the potential of Roma to enter also *secondary* (professional) and other kinds of networks within the mainstream society and allow them *positive visibility* at the mezzo-level of society. The new forms of social networking hand in hand with the new concept of de-ethnicised and de-essentialised identity would allow Roma to change the management techniques from making security through invisibility to a more emancipative and assertive technique employing the paradigm "more visible = more secure".

The author points out the forced *ethnicisation* of the categories of Rom and Roma nation at the level of the practical discourse. From this point of view, the *traditional* type of *ethnicity* (based on traditional definitions of the nation)is often intentionally over-communicated. Both *ethnicisation* (excessive accentuation of the ethnic perspective) and *de-ethnicisation* (itsintentional suppression) usually serve as practical (political) tools for an objective fixing of the unfavourable position of Roma ethnic minority.This may produce a strong feeling of cultural hostility and insecurity on "both sides". The author picks up the cases from practice and turns attention to the analysis of the *de*construction a consequent *re*construction of the label Roma in the Pentecostal pastoral discourse among the Roma in Slovakia. She shows how it works with a positive concept of Romahood in an *ahistoric* manner, i.e. using the concept of "Family of God". The comparative analysis of construction of (new) Romahood in pastoral discourse has shown that it is constructed as a *category of practice,* which is intentionally ethnically *emptied* to a large extentand creatively filledwith specific content in line with the creed of good, moral, useful and decent life. This approach enables the "new Roma" to adopt new, socially and personally more favourable and secure positions in the new late-modern world.

Key words: ethnicity, social networks, cultural security, Roma identity, Pentecostal pastoral discourse, Slovakia

In their recently published paper on *security* and *insecurity* in the present-day global world, Ieva Jusionyte and Daniel Goldstein state that security is (pan)optical (Jusionyte, Goldstein, 2016: 3–13). According to them, it is necessary to identify threats and manage risks, states and other actors to whom security has been outsourced (Buur, 2005; Comaroff, Comaroff 2006; Jaffe, 2013) and to visualize insecurity through a set of shifting categorical lenses, marking and punishing those who fall through the gaps of a normative-legal grid (Jusionyte, Goldstein, 2016: 3). As a contribution to the development of the critical anthropology of security, Jusionyte and Goldstein explored the uncertain yet complementary relationships between *security* and *visibility*, coming to the conclusion, that for some sectors of the population of modern secure societies, *invisibility* has become their only mode of making everyday *security*. These invisible "sectors of the population" mean in their study mostly people with an illegal status (illegal immigrants in USA and Europe, but also in Brazil, South Africa, and China etc.). But this paradigm can also be extended to people with an official status and with a legally equal position as enjoyed by the mainstream population the members of which, however, face unprivileged or less privileged status in their practical life based on their race, ethnic, linguistic, religious affiliation or gender, age and socio-economic status.

All these *non-privileged* or *less-privileged* people learnt and developed certain management techniques (Stuesse, Coleman, 2014) of cooperation and non-cooperation with the mainstream society and the State through the selective deployment of invisibility (Jusionyte, Goldstein, 2016: 7). However, especially in ethnically segregated areas and "ghettos" with strict unwritten rules and invisible authorities, this security is often achieved at the cost of personal safety and health: since they have become wary of reporting crimes to the police, and as much as possible, they avoid other contacts with public service providers, including doctors (Gordon, 2007; Pallares, Flores-Gonzalez, 2010). The invisible and insecure are suspended in the state of exception, where they can be objects but not subjects of the law. They are also contained in spaces where they are invisible to citizen oversight (Jusionyte, Goldstein, 2016: 10).

The dimensions of cultural security are highly diverse and complex, since they are not broken down only into individual and collective actors' levels, but they are connected with institutions and institutional support (Breton, 1964). Processes of collective identity formation (Niethammer, 2000) and their influence on the feeling of security of individuals belonging to minorities (Baumann, 2009) are the base for the defence of collective identity through external protections against the decisions of the mainstream society (Kymlicka, 1995), through a substantial level of institutional completeness (or other institutional mechanisms).

The contribution is meant to be a micro-case study to the issue of institutional production and reproduction of security of selected minority group in Slovakia, through tracing the process of social networking and re-construction of the (ethnic) identity on a religious basis. Several ethnographic and anthropologic studies on ethnicity have emphasised that religion and denomination play an important role in creating, maintaining and representing individual, communitarian and ethnic identities (Anderson, 1983; Barth, 1969; Bourdieu, 1986). I will focus on the analysis of the pastoral (institutional) discourse on Roma identity ("Romahood") and Roma nation, searching the ways in which it forms individual and collective identity and the degree of employment of religious and ethnic vocabulary. I will rely here on recent discourse on Roma Pentecostalism in Europe (Cantón-Delgado, 2010, 2017; Gay y Blasco, 1999;

Ries, 2014; Slavkova, 2014; Thurfjell and Marsh /Eds./, 2014; Williams, 1993 and others). I will base my assumptions on my field work research, which has for more than 14 years centred on Pentecostal and Charismatic movements, their pastoral discourse and activities among Roma in Slovakia (see Podolinská, 2011, 2014, 2015; Podolinská, Hrustič, 2011). Principal attention is paid to the analysis of the trans-social and trans-ethnic discourse and the concept of *New Roma* as a de-ethnicised, de-essentialised and ahistorically constructed label with positive and non-ascriptive connotations and the introduction of new *modus operandi* in the frame of social networks within Pentecostal congregations as a place for achieving new forms of positive visibility and cultural security.

1. INVISIBLE AND SECURE
1.1 Contextualisation

The cultural security of ethnic/linguistic minorities covers the social conditions and institutional context that allow their members to develop a sense of belonging to their country and simultaneously strengthen their autonomy in cultural spheres. Cultural security would thus guarantee social stability and sustainable development for both the ethnic/linguistic minority and the majority. Cultural security therefore has a significant impact on conflict management between ethnic/linguistic groups in a multi-national state.

The Norwegian ethnographer Thomas Hylland Eriksen pointed out in his famous work *Ethnicity versus Nationalism* (1991) that ethnicity refers to the social reproduction of basic classificatory differences between categories of people and to aspects of gain and loss in social interaction (Eriksen, 1991: 264). Despite the existence of multi-ethnic societies and communities within modern states, we can identify the idea of "state nationalism", which is symbolically linked to the collective identity of only one of the populations. Eriksen distinguishes between *nationalistic ideologies* (tendency to promote cultural similarities and wide-ranging integration of all inhabitants of the nation-state, regardless of their ethnic membership) and *ethnic ideologies* (tendency to promote cultural diversity and autonomy within the home state) (Eriksen: 263–4). According to Eriksen, the necessary conditions for peaceful coexistence of multi-ethnic populations within a nation, must also entail the right to be different, *the right not to participate in national society* in certain respects, not sanctioned by the State); furthermore, national identity should be available to all citizens regardless of their cultural differences and state policies should take account of possible ethnic differences in their definitions of situations. Naturally, these "ideal conditions" of peaceful co-existence are taken into account in different European countries differently, while the level of legislation and the lived practice can be completely different.[1]

The Slovak Republic is a multi-national state. Besides the Slovak majority nationality,

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[1] Nationalism entails the ideological justification of the state, actual or potential. Judged on this criterion, *ethnicity* can sometimes be interpreted as a form of *stagnant nationalism* which may eventually, or periodically, become manifest as nationalism (Eriksen, 1991: 265). Moreover, Eriksen states that: "the nation is an invention; (...) to paraphrase Anderson (Anderson, 1983), it is an *imagined community;* it is *not* a natural phenomenon, despite the fact that the object of all nationalism isto present a particular image of society as natural" (Eriksen, 1991: 266). Towards the extensive discussion on primordialism in ethnicity and identity studies see article of Viera Bačová (Bačová, 1998: 29–43).

Billboard of Maranata from Spišská Nová Ves, 2014 (author of photo: T. Podolinská)

several national minorities and ethnic groups live in the country. According to the *Census of 2011,* Hungarian nationality was claimed by 458,467 (8.5%) citizens, Roma by 105,738 (2%), Ruthenian by 33,482 (0.6%), Czech by 30,367 (0.6%), Ukrainian by 7,430 (0.1%), German by 4,690 (0.1%), Moravian by 3,286 (0.1%), and Polish nationality by 3,084 (0.1%) citizens; less than 1% of citizens claimed Russian (1,997 persons), Bulgarian (1,051), Croatian (1,022), Serbian (698) and Jewish nationality (other: 9,825, i.e. 0.2%, Statistical Office, *Census of People, Houses and Inhabitants 2011*).

According to the latest statistical survey and the extensive research that mapped the Roma group on the ethnical principle using the ascribed ethnicity method (see *Atlas of Roma Communities in Slovakia 2013,* Mušinka et al., 2014), in 2013, there were 402,810 persons in Slovakia who were regarded by the majority as Roma. In the context of the total population of Slovakia as of 31st December 2012 (according to the data of the Statistical Office SR, Slovakia's population was 5,410,836), the estimated share of Roma is 7.44% (Mušinka, Matlovičová, 2015: 232). Approximately 3.54% of this number is constituted by the sub-ethnic group of Wallachian Roma (Mušinka, Matlovičová, 2015: 246). What is noteworthy about this number is the fact that only a quarter of the estimated number of Roma claimed Roma nationality in the last census.

1.1.1 Macro-Level – Legislation

The legislative basis establishing the status of national minorities and ethnic groups in Slovakia is formed primarily by the *Constitution of the Slovak Republic* of 1992 and Constitutional Act of 23 February 2001 on changes and amendments to the Constitution of the Slovak Republic No. 460/1992 Coll. as amended. Slovakia ratified the most relevant international documents on human rights and freedoms, including on the

Ecumenic open air Greek-Catholic mass at Romfest, Čičava, 2015 (autor of photo: T. Podolinská)

rights of national minorities and ethnic groups. The concept of the constitutional protection of minorities in Slovakia is based on two principles. The first one is the principle of equality and non-discrimination. It is a general principle that guarantees "fundamental rights and freedoms to everyone regardless of ... race, colour of skin, language, nationality or ethnic origin..." (Article 12).[2]

The second principle guarantees special rights to members of national minorities and ethnic groups. Citizens belonging to national minorities or ethnic groups in the Slovak Republic are guaranteed their "universal development, particularly the rights to promote their culture together with other members of the minority or group, to disseminate and receive information in their mother tongues, to associate in national minority associations, to establish and maintain educational and cultural institutions". Furthermore, the Constitution of the Slovak Republic guarantees citizens who are members of national minorities or ethnic groups, under the conditions laid down by law and in addition to the right to learn the official language, the right to be educated in their language, the right to use their language in official communications, and the right to participate in the decision-making in matters affecting the national minorities and ethnic groups.[3]

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2 It should be mentioned in this regard that no legal norm in Slovakia defines the criteria for the identification of a person with a minority, and there is no formal procedure for the recognition of a minority by the State. According to the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, everyone has the right to decide freely which national group he or she is a member of. No one shall be aggrieved, discriminated against or favoured on any of these grounds (Article 12).

3 It should be noted in this context that the exercise of the right of citizens belonging to national minorities and ethnic groups, as guaranteed by the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, must not lead to threat to

In connection with the Roma nationality, the Government of the Slovak Republic declared in its Resolution No. 153 of 1991 on the recognition of Roma as a national minority, adopted the designation 'Roma' in line with their demand,[4] and guaranteed their universal cultural and ethnic development. From 1991, Roma could for the first time freely claim their nationality. The Roma language is explicitly mentioned among regional and minority languages recognised by Slovakia for the purposes of the application of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. This suggests that there is a Roma national minority in Slovakia in legal terms, as well, and is therefore able to exercise all the rights granted to national minorities by the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. In line with relevant regulations, in municipalities in which the Roma community constitutes over 20% of the population, Roma have the right to use their language in official communications, as well the right to bilingual signs. In 2000, there were 53 municipalities in which the number of citizens claiming Roma nationality reached 20% and around eight municipalities in which Roma constituted 50% of the population. The respective right was not exercised in any of them (Koptová, 2000).

1.1.2 Mezzo-Level – Institutions and Political Representations – Silent Minority
Even though Slovakia's state policies declare the right to self-determination and equal opportunities regardless of the origin and affiliation to an ethnic group (minority) at the legislative level, for various practical and historical reasons it is disadvantageous for most Roma to claim the ethnic label "Rom". Among the general population, the ethnic label "Rom" is generally associated with many negative prejudices and stereotypes ascribed to the group as a whole. In this regard, the intentional substitution of the previous ethnonym "Cigani", used in Slovakia and the Habsburg monarchy for centuries in connection with various Roma subethnic groups (both as endo- as exonym) connected with pejorative context in the mainstream population discourse, with the "neutral" label Rom/Roma in order to prevent and cut off the negative contents and prejudices failed. The new ethnic label "Rom", in Slovakia started to be used from the 90s of the 20th centuries on, rapidly acquired the meaning of the old term "Cigani" (Gypsy). The most common ethnical stereotypes include images of *a priori* negative attitudes to work, which result in accusations of the misuse of the social system and (voluntary) life strategy of living from social benefits, high fertility rate, inappropriate sexual behaviour, including family incest, poor hygiene and education, reduced intelligence skills, and high crime (for more details see Mann, 2015: 438–479).
    The media in Slovakia commonly contribute to the production and reproduction of

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the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Slovak Republic and to discrimination of other population (Article 34). In Articles 12, 33 and 34, the Constitution establishes the rights of members of national minorities and ethnic groups in compliance with the international standards applied in European countries. The Constitution contains no definition of minority and makes no difference between the terms national minority and ethnic group, and the content and the scope of their rights are identical.

4   The label *Rom/Roma* in official and politically correct documents from this time is used as a contextually neutral ethnic label, a sort of umbrella term for all subethnic groups of Roma living in Slovakia, relying thus implicitly on their unity (at least at the territory of Slovakia). The former ethnic label "Cigani" used both in political and common language till the late half of the last century is considered to be politically incorrect now, contaminated with negative ethnic stereotypes and prejudices, and thus abandoned in politically correct discourse. Nevertheless, the term "Cigani" is still in use in official language, in pejorative context of discourse of a few radical and extreme right wings parties or as endonym, used by Roma themselves in internal local context, both with positive as negative content, depending on context, locality and the situation.

negative images about the Roma community as such, bringing "black chronicle" type of news from mainly segregated, socially excluded Roma communities. In connection with the faster increasing demographic growth index of the Roma population, constantly accentuated by the media,[5] and the image of their (alleged) inability and unwillingness to adapt to the standards of the majority society, the over-ethnicised and essentialised label "Rom" is becoming not only unattractive, but also extremely stigmatising. Even though, according to the last mapping results, most Roma live an inclusive way of life within urban or municipal environments and just a smaller portion of them live under socially excluded conditions in segregated settlements,[6] the media image is nurtured exclusively with information about "settlement Roma" living in urban or rural segregated areas with limited or no infrastructure. In spite of the fact that the estimated share of the Roma in the total population is 7 to 8% (mapping based on "ascribed ethnicity"; Mušinka, Matlovičová, 2015: 232–233), thus representing the second most numerous ethnic minority in Slovakia, these figures – since it is only an unofficial estimate – have no actual impacts on the creation of more pro-active and more inclusive systemic measures in the form of state policies or implementation plans detailing the strategic development plan of work with segregated Roma communities.

In this way, we could paradoxically consider Roma a *silent minority*. We face Roma almost exclusively as "subjects of government policies"; the Roma elites in Slovakia are reduced to a few artistic families of mainly violin virtuosos and music bands playing traditional or modern music, who managed to reach social recognition thanks to their commercial success. These Roma, however, represent a positive exception or "white crows", but are unable to refute the stereotypical negative image. The Roma "middle class" is completely invisible. The relationship of the very Roma to such stigmatising ethnicity is therefore, for obvious reasons, extremely complicated – not only at the individual level.

There is still an absence of efforts to create a single political platform in Slovakia that would advocate the interests of the Roma minority in the creation of legislation and local policies, both in the top-down (on the side of the non-Roma majority population) and bottom-up (on the side of the Roma minority) direction. The efforts to integrate Roma, as declared by the majority externally, rather tend to continue with the assimilation of Roma. Most policies view the Roma "otherness" as a threat. Under the influence of the Central European environment with a strong and historically conditioned tendency to the "nationalisation of ethnicity" (Brubaker, 2010: 8), the general population assumes that Roma will organise themselves mainly in Roma political parties and will have single representation (Hrustič, 2015: 107).

Besides historical reasons, another significant factor is the insufficient ability of the Roma elites in Slovakia to conceptualise the Roma identity at a more global – national level (Hrustič, 2015: 104–142). As Vermeersch (Vermeersch, 2003: 881) suggests, many see the reasons for these attitudes in the fact that Roma form an extremely heterogeneous group and do not have a strong ethnic identity at higher levels (Barány, 2002: 203). The cause of failed ethnic mobilisation lies also in the lack of previous

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5   The recent demographic trends in Slovakia suggest that while the non-Roma population has 1.51 children per family, it is 4.2 children per family among the Roma population (Vašečka, 1999).

6   We do not dispose of exact data; the estimated proportion according to experts was 25% in 2001 (Radičová, 2001; Mušinka, 2002: 648–650). The majority of Roma live in rural areas; according to expert estimations, it was 62.53% in 2013 (for comparison, the ratio of the rural mainstream population in Slovakia is 45.64% (Mušinka, Matlovičová, 2015: 214).

Roma violinist at a gospel music festival Rom-fest, Čičava 2015 (author of photo: T. Podolin-ská)

Young Maranata member showing his personal Bible, Spišská Nová Ves 2015 (author of photo: T. Podolinská)

experience with political culture and insufficient network of political organisations. Another cause is not only low ethnic awareness, but also the poor factor of political organisation and discourse by Roma elites on ethnicity and the conceptualisation of Roma identity. Most Roma leaders who have played a key role in the shaping of the development of Roma policy have viewed Roma as a group that should act unanimously as a whole and should therefore naturally vote for a Roma party as a party defending its ethnic interests. In this sense, Roma as a group with ontological content was regarded as an entity which can be ascribed interest and agenda[7]. In the seeking of such "single interests and agendas", however, the efforts to create a "Roma identity" by both non-Roma experts and Roma leaders and representatives of the elites have failed. As Rogers Brubaker notes, not all ethnic groups automatically have the ambition to nurture such level of social meanings and agendas; Roma, just like any other (ethnic) group, just have the *potential* to became a group as real actors, as a network of organisations and functioning agendas leading to a unifying platform covered by terms like "Roma nation", "Romanihood", Rom, Roma (Brubaker, 2002: 173).

The lack of visible actors, organisations and political representants that would mobilise, conceptualise and protect the Roma "groupness" on the ethnic, cultural, historical and linguistic basis means that most Roma in Slovakia have to deal with the essentialised concept of Roma as a homogeneous group full of negative ethnic stereotypes and prejudices, thus facing systematic discrimination, non-protection and

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7   For the concept of *groupism* as the approach to treat the groups as given "things-in-the-world" see Brubaker, 2002: 164.

Gospel music festival Romfest organized by Martin Mekel, Čičava 2015 (author of photo: T. Podolinská)

insecurity when interacting and operating in the world of the majority population. Hence, *invisibility* at the mezzo-level is directly connected with immanent exclusion and non-participation in the distribution of not only power and potential benefits, but also protection and security. The *invisibility* and *non-potency* directly cause and strengthen *insecurity* for all silent and invisible minority groups which could thus be the target of any other *visible-noisy-group* (e.g. extremist parties) or *visible-group-with-voice* (mainstream political parties with strong influence on the media discourse). This is especially true in the case of minorities with a historically rooted "negative" track record in the eyes of the mainstream population.

1.1.3 Micro-Level – Individual and Personal Strategy: More Visible, Less Secure

Due to the negative stereotypes related to the ethnically perceived label of Rom/Roma, the sub-ethnic and status diversity of Roma groups living in Slovakia, as well as the early stages of the ethnogenesis of the Roma nation as such, three quarters of Roma in Slovakia choose the position of *silent* identification of an *invisible* ethnic group, which in their eyes, gives them more security. From the emic[8] perspective of a member

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8   The study applies the emic and *etic* approaches (for definitions see Headland, Pike, Harris, Eds., 1990). In principle, the *emic approach* refers to the lived, native, insider perspective, works in bottom-up direction and uses mental schemes and the vocabulary of the studied ethnic groups/individuals. On the other hand, the *etic approach* provides a perspective from the outside, and often works in top-down direction, while seeking to formulate and verify the validity of concepts across groups, ethnic groups and cultures.

of the "silent minority", most safety at the individual level can be achieved within internally and locally defined communities based on unwritten rules, blood ties and unclearly (soft) articulated identity of a Rom or Gypsy. In this context, the crucial factor is affiliation and status within family (primary) networks. The knowledge of the language is still an emic criterion of Romahood in some communities, even though the Roma language has completely disappeared from many locations and the young generation speaks it only passively or knows just a few basic words. In the interaction with the mainstream world, they prefer civil identification ("I am a Slovak"), followed by family identification ("I am the son of that and that person") and local identification ("I am from that and that place").

In the world of the majority, most Roma face discrimination on the basis of the colour of skin.[9] It should be noted in this regard that Slovakia is a conservative and *de-facto* mono-cultural country where most inhabitants are able to ascribe Roma ethnicity to concrete people on the basis of their external anthropological signs or behaviour patterns without the need to ask a self-identification question. *Invisibility* by not claiming the Roma origin or ethnicity is then just a partially successful strategy which does not work as "situational mimicry" in direct contact with the members of the majority. While multi-cultural diversity in other European countries does not make it possible to clearly identify Roma, as they can disappear at first sight within communities of Indians, Pakistanis, Arabs and other ethnic groups with a "browner skin tone", it is almost impossible in Slovakia and the sensitivity of the majority population to other skin colour is high. Besides isolated islands of internal safety within their own local Roma communities or more broadly defined local environments in which they move on a daily basis and where they can rely on their individual histories on the basis of direct experience and interactions with non-Roma neighbours, they can seek safety in the majority society solely by redefining the negative contents related to the ethnic categories of Rom and Roma and making this positive concept visible at all societal platforms through organizations, political parties and representants or other *image-makers-with-voice*.

2. MORE VISIBLE, MORE SECURE? SOCIAL NETWORKING AND NEW ROMA

Only visibility brings legitimacy that can translate into security. The equation between visible and secure can be attained only by applying the principles established in the legislation at the macro-level and their projection onto the broad spectrum of institutions at the mezzo-level (political parties, education, healthcare, media discourse), accompanied by the creation of *secondary*[10] networks of interlinked nature with the possibility of real entry for Roma, as well. The text below is an exploration of such attempt in practice. In the following part, I will search the restructuring of social networking within the Roma community after entering Pentecostal denominations and their proactive work with the production of a new Roma label filled with flexible and positive contents.

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9   According to the surveys of Fundamental Right Agency (FRA) 41% of Slovak Roma respondents declared to be discriminated during the last 5 years, and 82% out of them do not know any institution to rely on in emergency cases or asking for protection. (http://fra.europa.eu/sk)17.2.2017]

10   For the definition of *primary* and *secondary* networks see part 2.1 of this paper.

2.1 Pentecostal Network as a Source of New Forms of Security

Pentecostalism has long been understood as faith that is relevant to the needs of ethnic minorities.[11] As a vibrant form of Christianity, it helps deal with problems of deprivation and marginalisation. Pentecostalism is part of the post-communist period in Slovakia, when not only the "political revolution" but also the "religious revolution" started. Pentecostals began their activities as a minority group, evangelising among the population in Slovakia of which most Roma (as well as non-Roma) were already adherents of the Roman Catholic Church.[12] Even though Pentecostal movements in the country do not declare officially in most cases that marginalised groups (such as Roma) are the main focus of their evangelisation, the most active and stable Pentecostal congregations are to be found within Roma communities. Most of them are also found in the eastern region of the country, where the concentration of Roma people is the highest.[13] The number of adherents in these congregations is rapidly growing and Pentecostal missionaries have been successful in educating Roma religious leaders and in establishing Pentecostal congregations that are specifically directed towards Roma.

The extensive research in Slovakia demonstrated[14] that one of the reasons why, in general, religious missions are highly effective in bringing a social change to excluded Roma communities is the fact that they come with a special *modus operandi* within their social networks.

In general, people dispose of two packages of social networks which they can enter and in which they can be active. The package of so-called *primary* social networks is

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11 For instance: Brodwin, 2003 (for Pentecostal communities of immigrants in Haiti); Dow, Sandstrom, 2001 (for Maya/Indian Pentecostalism in Central America); Toyansk, 2013 (for Gypsy Pentecostalism in Brazil). For general insight see Anderson, Bergunder, Droogers, Laan, Eds., 2010. In European context see works of Manuela Cantón-Delgado (2010, 2017), Paloma Gay y Blasco (1999) (for Pentecostalism among Roma in Spain), Magdalena Slavkova, 2014 (for Roma Pentecostalism in Spain and in Bulgaria), Štěpán Řipka, 2015 (in Czech Republic), László Fosztó, 2009 (in Romania). For the scientific overview of the Roma Pentecostlaism see edited volume of David Thurfjell and Adrian Marsh (2014).

12 Four Pentecostal movements have recently been active in Slovakia: two of them (*Maranata* and *Devleskero kher*) directly focus on Romani population and are led by foreign Romani leaders (one is Czech and another is German by origin). Two other movements did not originally focus on Roma. They were established by separation from their maternal ethnically mixed congregations: *Romani Archa* (separated from 'Dom viery – Poprad') and *Slovo života – Modra* (separated from the Word of Life International). The last two focus on Romani evangelisation and are led by non-Romani leaders of Slovak origin.

13 Pentecostal missions in Slovakia have been quite diverse and dynamic. Until recently, a variety of Pentecostal denominations have been active among the Roma in Rudňany, Letanovce, Košice, Turňa nad Bodvou, Sabinov, Spišská Nová Ves, Sobrance, Blatné Remety, Michalovce, Humenné, Plavecký Štvrtok, Galanta and Sládkovičovo (Podolinská, Hrustič, 2011).

14 In 2010, the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences conducted a research project focused on mapping the impacts of religious missions on the social inclusion of the Roma in Slovakia – Social Inclusion of Roma through Religion. We contacted 30 churches and organisations with potential religious activities in the Roma communities in Slovakia, and we found that 19 of them are active among the Roma. At that time, 14 registered churches and five non-registered religious movements were actively involved among the Roma in Slovakia, conducting missions in about 130 localities in total and reaching out to about 10,000 Roma people (actively participating members). For further research purposes, we selected 15 localities in which we subsequently conducted field research. For an English summary see Podolinská, Hrustič, 2011. The summary of the research findings is also available at the webpage of the Institute of Ethnology at Slovak Academy of Sciences (http://www.uet.sav.sk/download/Religion_as_a_path_to_change.pdf). For a full version of the research findings see the Slovak publication Podolinská, Hrustič, 2010.

The personal Bible of Roma woman from Rudňany, member of Maranata group. Rudňany, 2014 (author of photo: T. Podolinská)

a system of relations into which an individual is born – their family and wider kinsfolk. The second package of *secondary* networks produces a society in which an individual lives – these are not based on blood bonds, but are built on a professional or interest basis. Another interesting feature of social networks from the point of view of social theories is openness or closeness.[15] A network is considered *open* if the entry into the network is more-or-less free (little determined by factors set in advance). On the other hand, a network is *closed* when the entry into the network is strictly controlled and determined by hard-to-influence factors defined in advance (sex, age, property, origin, education, relatives, ethnicity, etc.). Some social theories further divide social networks according to the type of prevailing ties. They differentiate between *weak* and *strong* ties, where *strong ties* (Keller, 2009: 21, 27–28, 123, 159) prevail in families and among people who have intensive blood or emotional bonds (they share common intensive experience); while *weak ties* can be formal and very superficial, and represent ties to more distant persons that we know little (casual, situational or professional acquaintances, etc.).[16] Socially strong ties (family ties or strong friendships) are extremely important for us at present; and their importance is even bigger if we live socially endangered. Such ties represent a kind of "confidential personal insurance" in critical situations because they do not allow an individual to hit the existential bottom.[17]

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15 The expedience of *closed* networks was emphasised by Pierre Bourdieu (strengthening the dominant position of the group) and James Coleman (strengthening norms and authority). On the other hand, the expedience of open networks was advocated by Mark Granovetter (playing the role of bridges towards the outside, towards other groups) and by Ronald S. Burt (towards the general theory of networks see Lin, Cook, Burt, 2001).

16 In the mid-1950s, Elizabeth Bott examined the character of marital roles in a sample of 20 London families depending on the density of networks maintained by the individual families. Bott formulated the opinion that weak ties are characteristic for families with higher education, while blue-collar workers usually (but not always) limit themselves to strong ties (Bott, 1971: 105, 112; quoted according to Keller, 2009: 21).

17 In seeking a job, casual or more distant acquaintances (colleagues from former work, classmates, etc.) provide numerous, more valuable information than our close relatives and good friends are able to

Flag of Biblical School of Word of Life, Plavecký Štvrtok, 2003 (author of photo: T. Podolinská)

If this criterion is tied to primary and secondary networks, it is evident that strong ties prevail in primary networks, and weak ties are rather typical for secondary networks. Within the present mainstream population, the offer of a package with secondary networks is much bigger than that of a package with primary networks. On the contrary, the majority of functional social networks in socially excluded Roma communities have the character of closed primary networks with prevailing strong ties. Such social networks are an ideal space for acquiring an important feeling of personal security. In this space, however, an individual has minimum possibilities to obtain new resources, which significantly determines their social mobility and flexibility from the point of view of social inclusion of the socially excluded.

At present, religious (Pentecostal in our case) groups are often the only institutions in Slovakia which provide the inhabitants of Roma communities with an actual possibility of active engagement in a functional social network. They enter the socially excluded communities with a very specific package of social networks, which is a kind of intersection of the above-mentioned types of social networks.

With regard to the theoretical concepts, it is a kind of a *hybrid* of primary and secondary networks. A religious group could also be described as an artificially, i.e.

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provide us. They can connect us with a more distant and more diverse environment than the one we share with our closest ones (Granovetter, 1992). According to some social scientists, weak social ties are equally important to us thanks to them we can access better or different sources than through strong ties (Lin, 2006: 26). Moreover, through weak ties we try to get closer to people higher in the social hierarchy with whom we usually do not have strong blood or friend relations (Keller, 2009: 27). From this point of view strong ties represent the key factor for the stabilisation of our social status, while the development of weak ties integrates us into a wider societal context, opens new opportunities, and can compensate for our (initial) lack of resources.

secondarily built "family".[18] The "openness" or "closeness" of the discourse can oscillate depending on the particular religious organisation or situation. A religious group with an exclusive pastoral discourse and type of membership can actually be an extremely closed social network, while a religious group with an inclusive pastoral discourse and type of membership can be a completely open social network.[19] As the religious network newly defines the types of relations that work within it (family-type of relations, but outside the primary/ natural family), the scope of contacts and acquaintances of its members extends considerably. Often, the activities of religious groups do not only have a local character (limited to the locality). For many members of these religious communities, it is a unique opportunity to establish weak social ties, i.e. new relations beyond the scope of their family and other members within the socially excluded community.

The establishment of such "bridging relations"[20] is considered to be one of the key factors of inclusion of socially excluded individuals/ groups. For many Roma, it is an opportunity not only to know their potential life partners, but also to share useful information and obtain contacts and new possibilities in seeking a job, for example. In connection with our case, we could state that religious groups are a *hybrid* type of social network; they can be open or closed, and are dominated by weak types of ties, but with a high potential to substitute strong ones. Hence, religious groups offer to their members *insurance in crisis situation*, while largely expanding their possibilities to obtain new sources or helping them compensate for their initial lack of resources.

Based on the successful introduction of what could be labelled a *narrative of coherence,* Pentecostals have created a feeling of community cohesion that has significantly changed its adherents' sense of belonging to a metastructure, not based on family and blood ties. Membership in a new kind of "hybrid" social network thus definitely represents a new source of multi-layered security for excluded Roma. They can rely not only on extended family kin, but also on their "Brothers and Sisters in Christ". These might be not only Roma from other communities and other ethnic subgroups, but also "White People", representatives of the mainstream population. According to the interviews from qualitative research (SIRONA 2010), the belonging to and operating in these religious networks not only extend and expand their networking vertically, but also deepen their feeling of security within the existing families and communities. In many localities, the religious group with its local leaders is the only institution for many Roma to trust and rely on in difficult life situations (health problems, indebtedness etc.), which represents the only link they have to an institution mediating security at the vertical level.

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18 Religious groups are very specific even if we try to apply the concept of open and closed networks. In the recruitment of new members, many of them behave as open social networks; but after obtaining and stabilising the membership, the tendency to close may prevail.

19 A highly exclusive discourse can be the reason for the 'closing' of a religious network. If the imaginary dividing line member/non-member is identical with the dividing line Roma/non-Roma, then a religious group can contribute to an even bigger exclusion (segregation) of its members, it can deepen social polarization, and cause conflict. Thus it can increase the perception of security within the new faith based community; nevertheless, it can increase the feeling of threats and insecurity from the outer world (more in Podolinská, Hrustič, 2011: 33).

20 Robert Putnam speaks about a *bridging capital* (Putnam, 2000) that we build with the individuals of a group other than the group we come from.

2.2 Trans-Social and Trans-Ethnic Discourse

What is new in the discourse of most Pentecostal denominations arriving in Slovakia is the fact that they bring a Christian universalistic concept, which is not burdened by the ethnic or social status discourse. People are primarily seen as religious beings and all secular ascriptions are therefore of less importance. Hence, the idea of "People of God" or a "Family of God" without any ethnic, racial and social status identity is expressed through the transcendent discourse of baptism.[21]

Everyone, as claimed by the adherents, has the right to be not only happy and healthy, but also rich. Through this so-called "Prosperity Gospel", Pentecostals introduce a theology based on the "faith economy", reciprocity, calculative strategy and promotion of self-interest. Pastoral narratives often stress that there is a direct connection between conversion and material prosperity. Now, both the trans-ethnical and the trans-social discourses are highly attractive to the Roma, since they may be perceived as "easy" tools for the improvement of their human and social status. Stressing that all people, even those without knowledge and education, are important and valuable and by emphasizing that everyone, with the help of God, can manage whatever tasks they face, human dignity may be restored.

In addition to the trans-social discourse, Pentecostals also introduce the trans-ethnical discourse. Pentecostal churches do not seek to act as mediators between different ethnic groups, but offer a solution *beyond* any ethnic ascriptions; ethnic groups are ascribed diversity (i.e. they are not equal), though all are equal before God.[22]

2.3. New Roma – De-ethnicised and Ahistoric Label

2.3.1. Individual Level
The trans-social and trans-ethnic pastoral discourse is oriented towards negotiating a better positioning of Roma in interactions with the outer world. Yet, Pentecostal pastors are going even further. They try to articulate the inner part of their adherents' identity, they touch the corner stone of it by articulating and permanently answering the question: What does it mean to be a [good] Rom? or better said, "a Rom enjoying respect?"[23] If we look at the emic – internal – level inside the group, to be a "Rom" within a Roma community/group is then the matter of becoming a Rom each day, the

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21   The traditional Roma family unit functions within "extended patriarchal families" (Podolinská, 2011: 162) (so called *fajta,* nom. sing. or *partija*) consisted of several married brothers, their married sons and children (Horváthová, 1954: 285). The contemporary family unit (so called *famelija/ familia*, nom. sing.) is smaller and more independent than the traditional one. It would include, in many cases, a husband and wife, their parents and grandparents, with their married sons and their wives, and unmarried sons and daughters plus the grandchildren (Ibidem: 285), in many cases all living under one roof or in direct vicinity (as neighbours) in one yard. Towards the structure, typology and gradual change of traditional Roma family see Mann, 1990, 1992; Davidová, 1995.

22   Pentecostal conversion has had a fundamental impact on the attitudes of Roma towards all spheres of their former way of life. Qualitative research *Social Inclusion of Roma via Religious Path* (SIRONA 2010) carried by the Institute of Ethnology SAS in 2010 revealed that religious change amongst Roma in Slovakia is intertwined with significant social change (more than 14 indicators of social change were present in at least 80% of interviews).

23   I deliberately do not use in this text the simplified view Romanihood = "Roma identity" or "Roma identification" because these levels do not have to be important at all for the daily life of "Roma", i.e. they are not necessarily "daily practice" categories. In my opinion, the use of "identification" (Brubaker, 2002, 2003) sometimes leads to a simplified views of the given group/ community/ society.

matter of daily decisions about how to negotiate and direct one's own life at many levels, in relation to other persons, institutions and circumstances (favourable and unfavourable ones), while they can define or identify themselves or be freely inspired by a common set of rules and norms of behaviour of their family, community or the majority society. In this case, "ethnicity" or the belonging to a nation or national minority does not have to play any role.[24] [25]

Through a comparative analysis of the practical ways of construction of various "identity" forms within the Pentecostal pastoral discourses[26] of three selected denominations, I came to the finding that the *Romanihood* category is programmatically deconstructed and consequently constructed again on new principles as a *category of practice*,[27] or more precisely as a label, that is largely ethnically "vacant" and creatively filled with particular content according to the life goals and trajectories of specific users, either at the individual level or at the group and community levels in line with the creed of good, moral, useful and decent life [of a Christian = man = Rom]. In addition to the pastoral discourse concerning the personal, lived category of Rom (from the private perspective), I also observe the way of construction of the collective/group label, of the "Roma nation" at the national and supra-national levels within the Pentecostal pastoral discourse in Slovakia.

Despite of the trans-ethnic discourse, *ethnic sensitivity* is also present in the discourse of Pentecostal pastors who seek to cope with the social reality and ethnic or even racist categorisation practice in Slovakia. The members of their congregations face multiple collective stigmatisation by the general population and non-converted parts of Roma communities (Gypsy, sectarian, etc.), as well as a number of stereotypes motivated by ethnic, religious or social background that accompany the label "Rom/Roma" in the mainstream discourse.

In what way have Pentecostal pastors coped with this problem in line with theology and the discourse of their congregations? In what ways do they programmatically deconstruct and consequently construct on new principles the label Rom, Roma among their members, and with what new content do they fill this label?

Based on my interviews with three leading representatives of the Pentecostal congregations that I studied and a comparative analysis of the quotations from sermons, as well as an analysis of their official websites or printed and visual self-presentations, I came to the conclusion that, in general, they act almost in an identical

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24 For more information, see Belton, 2005.

25 At this level, Romanihood could be defined as the proper, good, decent, "proud" Roma way of life or the practice of behaviour in social time and space. In Bourdie's terminology, we could speak about research within the *social field* and inspiration by the concept of the cultural *habitus* of a group/community, creatively performed and embodied by individuals and members of the group on a daily basis in their daily personal individual lives. The *social field* is defined as the space of objective relationships between positions with symbolic or open fights. The social field is a power field, and the actors entering it are influenced by the power of its structure (Bourdieu, 1993: 181, 183). Bourdieu defined *habitus* as an internalised social position, as a set of individual and individualised dispositions (1994).

26 For more information, see Podolinská, 2009 a, b (in Slovak); Podolinská, 2011, 2014 (in English) and Podolinská, Hrustič, 2014 (in English).

27 Rogers Brubaker claims, that besides "traditionally" highlighting the fact that we cannot approach groups as real entities and expect from them a real agenda, he also points out that national identity should be approached as an institutionalised form. According to him, national awareness is the result of the events principle, and nation should therefore be viewed as a *category of practice* (Brubaker, 2002, 2003).

manner.[28] Their pastoral discourse consistently contains the terms "Roma" ("Rom") and related derived adjectives. First they deconstruct the ethnic category Rom/Roma both in the negative and positive manner (i.e. by defining themselves against other and by identifying themselves with others). Specifically, we can speak about the following four steps: (1) *emptying* the original (negative) content of ethnic category Rom/Roma as the category to which one is born and is predestined to die in, claiming that it is just a label to be filled by individual and personal life (2) *releasing* the convert from original ties and networks (mainly of primary nature), (3) *tying* the convert through new bonds and secondary or hybrid networks *to a new institution* (congregation/church), (4) creative *filling of* the label Rom/Roma *with free content* according to *new rules* (authority and the Bible's moral code).

The first two steps (*emptying* and *releasing*) seek to negate the convert's previous way of life and behaviour, and break him/her away from the "old world" discourse/narrative. The world of the traditional Roma community in Slovakia is viewed in the pastoral discourse as an environment which reproduces the cycle of poverty and low social self-confidence; literally, as an environment which passes poverty and social complexes down from the grandparents' and parents' generation to the children's generation. This "traditional" discourse/narrative then objectively fixes and reproduces the unfavourable or dependent social position. We could talk about an "incarcerating discourse" and "incarcerating story". Pastors seek to programmatically break this traditional narrative cycle through negation, emptying and untying.

The other two steps (*tying* and *filling*) focus rather on a positive projection of the new content of *Romanipen* by offering positive narrations, a positive self-image and a discourse motivating the emancipation of social self-confidence and the searching of new positions within the social field. Pastors do not get satisfied with a vision within the emic field of the Roma community, but encourage converts to take positions within a wider social space predominantly occupied by the majority.

2.3.2 "Liquid Romanihood" and Roma nation

Programmatic de-ethnicisation and liberation of the category Rom/Roma,[29] its systematic construction in a manner of label to be creatively filled with positive and moral content is in compliance with late modernity or *liquid modernity* which introduces *liquid* forms of *identity* and *ethnicity* (Bauman, 2009). This concept enables "New Roma" to leave the old, historically disadvantageous and stigmatised positions and adapt new, socially and personally more favourable positions in the new late-modern world. The normative framework of the reconstructed label Rom/Roma correlates both with the unwritten

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28 Differences, naturally, do exist. Each pastor is special and has a special pastoral discourse. Under this point of the analysis, I sought to capture the common framework in diverse pastoral discourses in the deconstruction of the ethnic category Rom/Roma. Here, again, we can observe differences, mainly when it comes to accents. Based on the data I worked with, I would claim that we can observe a link here between the accents of the pastoral discourse and the pastor's ethnicity. Roma pastors have the tendency to "de-traditionalise" the *ethnic* category to a larger extent, i.e. they negate more strongly its original content and preach more strongly not only against the old hetero-image of a Rom, but also against the traditional self-image of the Rom, while radically deconstructing the traditional authorities in family and among relatives (parents and grandparents, etc.), as well as the unwritten habits and rules (the same pattern has been observed by Řipka, 2015 in the Czech Republic).

29 Manuela Cantón-Delgado speaks about ethnic and religious innovation in this concern (2017).

moral rules and with the written legal standards of the general population, which should be the prerequisite for their positive acceptance by the majority.

This positive, individual concept of construction of individually internalised personal "Romanihood" without predefined content could be suitably designated by Bauman's term *liquid* as "liquid Romanihood". Pentecostal pastors approach the definition of the collective ethnic category "Roma nation" in a similar, very up-to-date manner and in the spirit of late modernity, while using again the terminology of "rebirth" and "awakening" of the Roma nation at the national and global levels.

They only marginally raise topics with "nationalist rhetoric" and a historising context: Roma as a persecuted nation, Roma as God's chosen nation, Roma as a nation with Indian roots. Prevailing is the topic of *change*, change of the role of the Roma nation under God's influence, unification of Roma groups as God's nation, and change at the leading social positions (in line with the Biblical principle "the last will be the first").

The way Pentecostal pastors' positive reconstruction of the labels Rom/Roma and Roma nation in their pastoral discourses at the individual, group, collective and national levels is going largely beyond the traditional (modern) perception of the construction of ethnic identities on the basis of constitutive historical elements of origin, country, language, culture, etc. Pentecostal Roma movements have "untied" themselves from the definition of Roma nation, the practical application of which brings mainly disadvantaged social positions and pre-stigmatised labels to the members of the group designated in this way.

The new, *liquid Romanihood* breaks away with the past in terms of its programme, and talks about a new, historically unburdened present and equal future. Given the absence of support and systematic creation of a positive picture of Roma at the macro-level in Slovakia, it is more appropriate to view this phenomenon as internal dynamism of Roma and their active endeavours to find a decent human status. Whether the idea of the "Roma nation" is constituted from the inside (by Roma as such) or from the outside (by non-Roma), in a traditional or non-traditional (late-modern) manner, it is necessary to create at the practical level of application a sufficiently large as well as legally and financially secured space for its decent and equal self-determination.[30]

CONCLUSIONS

Even though Slovakia's state policies declare the right to self-determination and equal opportunities regardless of the origin and affiliation to an ethnic group (minority) at the legislative level, we can identify the idea of "state nationalism" here which is symbolically linked to the collective identity of only the mainstream population.

As a non-privileged or less-privileged minority within their homeland, Roma learnt and developed techniques of cooperation and non-cooperation with the mainstream society and the State through the selective deployment of *bottom-up invisibility*, which has become their prevailing mode of making everyday *security*. For various practical

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30 Forced *ethnicisation* of the categories of Rom/Roma and Roma nation not only at the level of the practical discourse, but also at the level of the scientific discourse. From this point of view, the *traditional* type of *ethnicity* (based on traditional definitions of the nation) is often intentionally over-communicated. Likewise, we can encounter intentional under-communication of this topic. Both *ethnicisation* (excessive accentuation of the ethnic perspective) and *de-ethnicisation* (its intentional suppression) usually serve as practical (political) tools for an objective fixing of the unfavourable or unequal position of this ethnic minority not only within particular ethno-national European countries, but also at the supra-national-European level.

and historical reasons, it is disadvantageous for most Roma to claim the ethnic label "Rom". Among the general population, the ethnic label "Rom" is generally associated with many negative prejudices and stereotypes ascribed to the group as a whole. National and local institutions selectively deploy the tactics of Roma *top-down-invisibility,* as well. In spite of the fact that the estimated share of the Roma ethnic group in the total population is 7 to 8%, representing thus the second most numerous ethnic minority in Slovakia, these figures – since it is only an unofficial estimate – have no actual impacts on the creation of more pro-active and more inclusive systemic measures in the form of state policies or implementation plans detailing the strategic development plan of work with Roma communities.

In this way, we could consider Roma a *silent minority*. Due to the negative stereotypes related to the ethnically perceived label of Rom/Roma, the sub-ethnic and status diversity of Roma groups living in Slovakia, as well as the early stages of the ethnogenesis of the Roma nation as such, the vast majority of Roma living in Slovakia choose the position of non-identification on the ethnic principle. To be *invisible,* in their eyes, is often the only successful personal strategy of reaching a certain degree of security.

Due to the lack of visible actors, organisations and political representatives that mobilise, conceptualise and protect the Roma "groupness" on the ethnic, cultural, historical and linguistic basis, most Roma in Slovakia have to deal with the essentialised concept of Roma as a homogenous group full of negative ethnic stereotypes and prejudices, thus facing systematic discrimination, non-protection and insecurity when interacting and operating in the world of the mainstream population. Hence, *invisibility* at the mezzo-level is directly connected with immanent exclusion and non-participation in the distribution of not only power and potential benefits, but also protection and security. Besides isolated islands of internal safety within their own local Roma communities or more broadly defined local environments in which they move on a daily basis and where they can rely on their individual histories on the basis of direct experience and interactions with non-Roma neighbours, they can seek safety in the majority society solely by redefining the negative contents related to the ethnic categories of Rom and Roma and by making this positive concept as visible as possible at all societal platforms through organisations, political parties and representatives or other image-makers-with-voice.

The activities of some Pentecostal churches among Roma in Slovakia were offered as a case study on how institutions introducing new networks and a new de-ethnicised label with positive contents can increase both visibility and security of a minority group at the micro- and mezzo-levels.

Religious networks are presented as highly efficient means to deal with (serious social and moral) problems as a guideline to multiply the strength of disadvantaged and non-privileged people by interconnecting individuals, or to renew the moral values of society (group) as a whole through new forms of social activity. In an insecure society, the relevance of those sources increases, which can be mobilised through variously patulous networks of informal ties and inter-personal contacts. In connection with our case, we could state that religious groups are a hybrid type of social network; they can be open or closed, and are dominated by weak types of ties, but with a high potential to substitute strong ties. Hence, religious groups offer to their members "insurance in crisis situation", while largely expanding their possibilities to obtain new sources or helping them to compensate for their initial lack of resources. Membership in the new kind of "hybrid" social networks thus definitively represents a new source of multi-levelled security for excluded Roma not only horizontally, but

also vertically. In many localities, the religious group with its local leaders is the only institution for many Roma to trust and rely on in difficult life situations (health problems, indebtedness etc.), representing the only link they have to the institution mediating security at the vertical level.

The paper paid principal attention to the analysis of the trans-social and trans-ethnic discourse and the concept of *New Roma* as a de-ethnicised and ahistorically constructed label with positive and non-ascriptive connotations. The comparative analysis of the practical ways of construction of the labels Rom, Roma and Roma nation within the Pentecostal pastoral discourses of selected denominations has shown that it is constructed as a *category of practice,* which is intentionally largely ethnically *emptied* and creatively filled with specific content according to the life goals and paths of particular users either at the individual level or at the community level in line with the creed of good, moral, useful and decent life [of a Christian= Human= Rom]. Those *Re-borns* create a group of individuals grouped around an integral intermediary – God, thus forming a specific category – (global) *God's people, God's nation.*

The Pentecostal case is just one case of many possible of how to get rid of a negative track record, how to redefine stereotyped and essentialised ethnic label Rom/ Roma and how to let it work within media and political discourse and social practice of institutions and organizations. It is just one of many cases how to give Roma in Slovakia a "voice", how to make them visible and culturally secure. At this point, it is extremely important to point out that only *positive visibility* brings legitimacy, which can translate into security. The equation between visible and secure can be attained only by applying the principles established in the legislation at the macro-level and their projection onto the broad spectrum of institutions at the mezzo-level (political parties, education, healthcare, media discourse), accompanied by the creation of secondary networks of interlinked nature with the possibility of real entry for Roma, as well. The *New Roma* concept offered to Roma by pastors is likely to increase the potential of Roma to enter also *secondary* (professional) and other kinds of networks within the mainstream society and allow them *positive visibility* at the mezzo-level of society. Hence, the new forms of social networking hand in hand with the new concept of de-ethnicised and de-essentialised identity would allow Roma to change the management technics from making security through invisibility to a more emancipative and assertive technique employing the paradigm "more (positive) visibility = more (cultural) security".

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SIRONA 2010 = Archive of Institute of Ethnology SAS of qualitative and mapping part of research titled Social inclusion of Roma in Slovakia via religious way (Sociálna inklúzia Rómov náboženskou cestou, acronym SIRONA 2010)

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RITES, FEASTS, IDENTITY.
POSSIBLE QUESTIONS
AND ANSWERS ON THE PRESENT-DAY FUNCTIONS
OF RITES AND FEASTS

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What is it that makes rites important in our individual and community lives? What can this role be? Is it to make occasions more festive? What makes an occasion festive? Does celebrating mean to live with rites and use rites? How does the use of rites or rituals make an occasion more festive? What is the role of the feast and celebration at the level and in the life of the individual and the group (family, settlement, state, nation)? Why is it that we can feel our times to be an age of festivals (=special feasts)? What does this increase mean?

These questions already point to the possible direction for answers, namely that rites can be the vehicles of important elements of content that make them necessary in all ages and all social systems: this content characteristic at the same time also emphasises the social role and function of rites. At this point the world of rites and feasts is connected to the levels of public life, power and politics. Rites and feasts are in constant movement and change.

Rites have become a subject attracting multidisciplinary interest with many new approaches. Among the functions of rites it is mainly their expressive, social and renewal role that enables the creation of individual and community identities. Here the rite may be connected with the feast that breaks away from the routine and frame of everyday life and offers the possibility of practising it.

The English expressions 'holiday' and 'feast' reflect the dual nature of the concept: a 'holy day', a time of freedom, time that is not controlled, as well as the excesses that accompany such events. It lifts the person celebrating it out of the everyday, weekday routine, and makes them part of this special time.

Today we are witnessing the desacralisation, fragmentation and individualisation of rites and feasts. Their religious/Christian nature is pushed into the background and new desacralised feasts have appeared and are taking shape. Since the turn of the 19th to 20th century national and state days have come to increasingly predominate in the order of feasts and the dominance of civil and ideological celebration can be observed.

The religious, state and national days have been shaping and dividing communities since the 19th century. The mobility appearing at all levels of society also opens up a new possibility for integration along which new feasts can appear creating what

are now a whole series of local festivals. The social acceptance of the new order of feasts reflects the acceptance of the social order. Science has also become a force shaping identity, celebrating itself and its institutions with the rites of scientific conferences. In this way the feast with its rites can shape religious, national, political, regional and local, group and individual identities.

CONCEPT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FEAST

The interpretation of the feast appeared as an important question in philosophy, the possible interpretations inspired the answers given by ethnology and anthropology.

Man is a two-dimensional being; he lives in the time of weekdays and feast days. The feast raises the person holding it above everyday routine, making it part of special time (Assmann, 1991, 1999). According to the German philosopher of culture Josef Pieper, the feast is "harmony with the world", the acceptance of life (Zustimmung der Welt, In Tune with the World). From the viewpoint of cultural history, he sees the origin of the feast in the cult. He regards cults praising God to be its purest form (Pieper, 1999). According to another view (Roger Caillois and Michael Bahtyin) the feast is characterised primarily by contradiction and excess. However, while Caillois emphasised the dominance of the "sacred" (Callois, 2001), Bahtyin stressed the overstepping of bans, the freedom and exemption from rules and restrictions – including also the rules of religion (Bahtyin, s. d., cited in Nyíri, 1975). Others see the freedom of the feast in the licentiousness of the fools' feast, in the confrontation on the one side of ideals and reality, that is, the expected and desired life, and on the other the reality of everyday life (Cox, 1969).

The feast is certainly an extraordinary time lifted out of time as a whole (Van der Leeuw, 2001: 338). Feasts may be repeated, forming cycles, thereby showing that they are a continuation of something and lead somewhere (Van der Leeuw, 2001: 338), that they may be related to each other, and their structure may also express symbolic contents. Although most of those who have studied the feast find it related to the *sacral*, the *sacred*, in a wider context they also mention its *extraordinariness*, its *quasi-sacral* nature.

FEAST AND POWER

Our feast structure is complex, many-layered, grouping together into a whole commemorations and occasions of diverse origin. Feasts bring the feeling of order and stability to our world (Bálint, 1943). The most important social and cultural function of the feast is its role of *ordering time* (Leach, 2000: 101).

Obviously a feast structure is effective if its components are organised into a whole on the basis of a largely uniform world view, if there is the least possible discrepancy among them, and if the society as a whole or its broadest possible strata accept it and identify with it. The aims held up for the community can be read from a state's feast culture, and the given system's culture of political activity can also be read from the feasts. (The way it calls on people to celebrate, and what feasts the state makes

compulsory.) We can also observe whether the political administration is capable through its feast culture of creating an emotional and intellectual community with the thinking of its citizens. Changes of feasts that occur after changes of political system clearly illustrate this discrepancy, followed by the establishment of a new "harmony" through transformation of the feast structure.

The interests and aspirations of the forces in power, at any given time, and the nature of that power are reflected in the order of its feasts. The state feast is a forum and means for creating a connection between the citizen (individual) and the existing political power (community organisation). The state, and earlier the churches, wanted and want to bring under their control some of our feasts, even the major milestones in the life of the individual (birth, marriage, death).[1] This is one way not only of keeping a record of society but also of controlling it.

Thus the relationship between the state and the church can be measured through the state and national days of the given state, and the holidays recognised by the state (church feasts).

Table No. 1

Austria	Czech Republic	Hungary	Slovakia
Jan. 1. New Year	Jan. 1. New Year	Jan. 1. Day of Peace	Day of the Establishment of the Slovak Republic
Jan. 6. Three Kings			Epiphany
		March 15. National feast	
	Good Friday		Good Friday
Easter Monday	Easter Monday	Easter Monday	Easter Monday
May 1. Labour Day	Labour Day	Labour Day	Labour Day
	May 8. Liberation Day Czech Republic		Day of Victory over Fascism
May, Ascension			
May, Pentecost Monday		Pentecost Monday	
May, Corpus Christi			
	July 5. Cyril and Methodius Day		July 5. Cyril and Methodius Day
	July 6. Jan Hus Day		
Aug. 15. Assumption			
		Aug. 20. St. Stephen's Day	
			Aug. 29. Slovak Uprising Day Sept. 1. Day of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic
			Sept. 15. Our Lady of Sorrows, patron of Slovakia

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1   It is instructive from this point of view that the Hungarian government has just recently proposed that Good Friday be declared a public holiday. The state itself declares which days from among the days of religious type it wants to accept.

Austria	Czech Republic	Hungary	Slovakia
	Sept. 28. St. Wenceslas Day		
		Oct. 23. 1956 Revolution Day	
Oct. 26. National Feast of Austria			
	Oct. 28. Independence Day of Czechoslovakia 1918		
Nov. 1. All Saints' Day		Nov. 1. All Saints' Day	Nov. 1. All Saints' Day
	Nov. 17. Struggle for Freedom and Democracy Day		Nov. 17. Struggle for Freedom and Democracy Day
Dec. 8. Immaculate Conception			
	Dec. 24. Christmas Eve		Dec. 24. Christmas Eve
Dec. 25. Christmas	Christmas	Christmas	Christmas
December 26. St. Stephen's Day (Protomartyr)	St. Stephen's Day (Protomartyr)	Second Day of Christmas	Second Day of Christmas

What does this table show? Above all that the basic stratum consists of Christian feasts, events in the history of salvation: Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. In addition to these, in dominantly Catholic Austria several other specifically Catholic feasts are also public holidays. The other three countries are denominationally more divided, so the feast order of Catholicism is not dominant there. It should be noted that in the Czech Republic the national saint, Saint Wenceslas, is interpreted not primarily as a Christian saint but rather as a Czech ruler. In Hungary the feast of King Saint Stephen on August 20 is of a similar character: the day commemorates the foundation of the state linked to his person (during the socialist period, the socialist constitution), and the new bread. Already in the early 20th century the day had become the day of public servants (Barna, 2011: 111, 113). Among the feasts in Slovakia, a country with a Catholic majority we find September 15, the feast day of Šaštín Pieta, Patrona Slovaciae – Our Lady of Sorrows, in memory of a patron of Slovakia, since 1927. The day of the "missionaries to the Slavs, Cyril and Methodius" (July 5) in the Czech Republic and Slovakia refers to the "Apostles to the Slavs". This can also be a memory of the former Czechoslovakia. It indicates that the "Apostles to the Slavs" are important not only in religious life, but politics also attributes significance to them in a Slavic (pan-Slavic) context. The secular content is even more marked in "the anniversary of the execution of Jan Hus" (July 6), that emphasises the courage and moral steadfastness of Jan Hus, "his struggle for justice and the Czech people", his resistance to the Catholic Church (Rückl, Štika, 2012: 171–172). In other words, even the content of feasts with a Christian church basis has become secularised (Rückl, Štika, 2012: 171–172). Among the feasts with a secular basis, occasions of victories, independence and freedom dominate.

The consolidated equilibrium of state and church can be observed in the (Central) European societies, with a greater state predominance that is also reflected in the world of feasts in which church feasts are recognised by the state as public holidays.

Let us consider an example from Western Europe too!

In strongly secularised France today's feast order has developed as the coefficient of four components: the universal church legal system (Codex Iuris Canonici = CIC), the local church with its own customs, the state with its own feasts and finally the citizens with their own religious beliefs and interests (Join-Lambert, 2012: 51).

Table No. 2

Catholic holy days of obligation	State feasts and public holidays	Catholic feasts prescribed by the Codex Iuris Canonici
Sundays, including Easter Sunday and Pentecost Sunday	Sundays, including Easter Sunday and Pentecost Sunday	Sundays, including Easter Sunday and Pentecost Sunday
Christmas	Christmas New Year	Immaculate Conception (December 8) Christmas Solemnity of Mary (January 1) Epiphany, (January 6) Saint Joseph (March 3)
Ascension Day	Easter Monday Ascension Day Pentecost Monday Labour day (May 1) Victory Day (May 8)	Ascension Day
		Corpus Christi Apostles Saints Peter and Paul (June 29)
Assumption Day (August 15)	National Day (July 14) Assumption Day (August 15)	Assumption Day (August 15)
All Saints' Day	All Saints' Day	All Saints' Day (November 1)
	Armistice Day commemorating the end of WWI (November 11)	

What does the example of strongly secularised France show? The same as that of the previous countries: Christian feasts form the basic stratum, and the major Marian feast is also a public holiday. Among the secular feasts are "victory days" in commemoration of past French glory. The state itself encourages commemoration. People celebrate on a particular occasion. That is, they remember something, or hope for something (Nyíri, 1975: 140–141). The feasts serve to bring the past into the present.

Thus the system of public holidays/feasts is largely the same in the different countries of Europe, an indication that this system is based on an identical/similar spiritual/mental/ideological foundation. That foundation is Christianity – regardless of whether the European Union recognises that in its "constitution" or not, whether we like it or not. This system of feasts is supplemented in the various groups of countries with common or differing local church and national feasts based on the particular

history and situation of the given country. But if this is so, it could be thought that the basic stratum of Christian feasts has remained important right up to the present. A European identity could be built on this Christian tradition largely common to the whole of Europe, but that is rejected by the present official European Union policy that does not recognise the Christian roots of European mentality. But the situation is far from being so simple. There is no longer a ritual centre ensuring unity as Christianity did, and that would embrace the whole of society, bringing uniformity to people over their different roles (Stollberg-Rilinger, 2013: 241).

FEASTS IN LATE MODERNITY

What is the situation regarding the Christian feasts in Europe today, what is the relationship between Christian and state feasts and the society in the period of Late Modernity?

Christianity is a religion of memory, every aspect of it recalls some event in the past, in the history of salvation. However, parallel with the process of secularisation and individualisation religion has lost some of its strength as a central organising force and is no longer among the forces holding the society together or is limited only to smaller groups. Parallel with that, there has also been a decline in knowledge of the "history of salvation" pointing to the future that it represents and tells. There is therefore less and less need of the Christian feasts as places and occasions of remembrance. At the turn of the 19th to 20th century the national ideal occupied the place of religion bringing with it a corresponding feast structure, but with the disintegration of communities in the course of the 20th century this too has lost much of its central, organising force. This can be observed in the diminishing attraction of state/national feasts in most countries. But together with this the humanist content of the feasts has also been lost, and the national days have become emptied (Bieritz, 2012: 13). In Late Modernity feasts are losing their dimension of interpretation, remembrance and reminding in both the public and the private sphere. Despite this there is no reduction in the demand for rituals, in which the demand for transcendence above everyday life is expressed. And some people are in fact devising new rituals (Stollberg-Rilinger, 2013: 242).

We are now witnessing the individualisation and fragmentation of rites and feasts. Here, it is not the feast itself, but the celebration that is important. In this way the Late Modern feast as an event refers only to itself (Bieritz, 2012: 5–6). People celebrate a state in which they are at the given time, while remembrance or looking to the future play an ever smaller role. Their religious/Christian character is pushed into the background, new desacralised feasts emerge. This can provide a frame for preserving many rites and rituals. Typical places and forms of such celebration today are fairs, leisure parks and shopping centres (Bieritz, 2012: 10–11).

Christmas has not only lost the thought of the birth of the Saviour, but is increasingly also losing its character as a "feast of love". Nowadays Christmas tends to mean shopping occasions in the weeks before the feast, the *celebration of consumption*. Likewise, we do not know what to do with the story of the resurrection of Christ, and so in the past decades Easter has become a kind of spring feast (Barna, 2014; Join-Lambert, 2012: 62). Pentecost has entirely lost its content. In short, the feasts that are in danger are those that have no relevance or meaning in profane life (Join-Lambert,

2012: 59). Maria Liljas Stålhandske speaks directly about an *existential and ritual void* in the late modernity, which makes people *ritually homeless* (Stålhandske, 2005: 129).

However, the mobility and differentiation appearing at all levels of society also offers a new opportunity for integration that can give rise to new feasts or festivals. There can also be a role for the economy and commerce in this at the global level. It is to this (and the cut flower trade) that we owe the spread throughout Europe of Mothers day, Advent markets and the Advent wreath from earlier times. This is also the driving force behind the rapidly spreading festive rites of Valentine's Day and Halloween, together with a well organised communication strategy that is spreading these feasts that are somewhat foreign to European culture, together with elements of their rites, principally through the network of kindergartens, schools and cultural centres. Here the simultaneous impact of novelty and amazement can be readily observed.

Use of the schools and the mass media is not new. Totalitarian regimes (such as the French Revolution, socialism and communism that came to power in 1917 in Russia, at the end of the 1940s in the countries of Central Europe, or the Nazi German state) introduced their own new and irreligious feasts (Lane, 1980; Stollberg-Rilinger, 2013: 74). They all used the communication means of modern society (school, media) to create a new order of feasts, the so-called proletarian feast culture or Soviet feast culture and help it put down roots in society and so legitimise it (Lane, 1980). After 1990 the feasts of socialism were replaced everywhere. However, feasts such as *Women's Day* (March 8), *Labour Day* (May 1), and Children's day were able to survive the change of political system because they had less ideological content.

Interestingly, certain local traditions, even some thought to be long forgotten, have now acquired new value. Recently, beside the church year, calendar feasts, national/ state days and individual celebrations, local feasts have also appeared as special occasions for smaller or larger communities (settlements, urban districts, or strata, occupation groups – these also existed earlier). They draw their symbolic tools from the local culture, to which they attribute expected and assumed authenticity. But these are not related to the occasions of remembrance; they are based on peasant culture, on the gastronomic traditions of the particular time, drawing elements from them linked to ecological, touristic or economic interests. Examples from Hungary include the fish soup cooking competitions and feasts held in Baja and Szeged, the Csabai sausage feast in Békéscsaba or the cooking of mutton stew in Karcag. These events can, of course, also be interpreted as signs of democratisation, but it must also be seen that these are not groups formed on the basis of shared memory, they are merely communities of experience drawn together for a single event. Similarly communities solely of experience are formed nowadays on the religious tours organised by travel offices.

The new awareness of the relationship between man and nature created and keeps alive the day of birds and trees which was included among the feasts in the early 20th century, and more recently the day of water has appeared and no doubt other examples could probably be cited. However, here the ideals and the ideological background are not responsibility felt towards the created world and the Creator, but a health-conscious, ecological type of purely humanist attitude. Small minorities, such as the often very aggressive LGBT groups or groups of handicapped people have their own day in the European feast calendar (e.g. World Sight Day 13th October).

Science has also appeared among the forces shaping the feast, celebrating itself and

its institutions with the rites of scientific conferences, just as it is doing now in the frame of an international conference. There are fine examples of graduation ceremonies, conferment of doctoral degrees and inauguration of professors. We could also mention the Nobel Prize award ceremony, or the congresses of national and international scientific organisations and societies. All of these occasions are surrounded by a multitude of rites.

Similar examples can be found in the area of the arts and sport. It is sufficient to think of the Oscar Awards ceremony, the Oscar Galas, or the Olympics. Rites and various systems of symbols play a big part in all of these.

RITES

Rites generally appear at festive occasions. Their presence shows that they fulfil an important function that makes them necessary in all periods and all social systems.

In the view of Paul Post rites "are a more or less repeatable sequence of action units which take on a symbolic dimension through formalization, stylization, and their situation in place and time. On the one hand, individuals and groups express their ideas and ideals, their mentalities and identities through these rituals, on the other hand the ritual actions shape, foster, and transform these ideas, mentalities and identities" (Post, 2012). This concept of rites focuses mainly on the social function and dimension of rites and rituals, rather than on analysis of their quality and forms. This firmly ties rites to the world of feasts. In my opinion "acting ritually means evoking fine differences, contradictions and strategies in the course of everyday action and distinguishing between them in a value-laden way. In this view ritualisation is actually choosing between modes of action. [...] ritualisation is a mode of action that creates striking, distinctive oppositions, regarding itself as more important, better and more effective" (Barna, 2000: 30). It forms a contrast to everyday life, that is, it is linked to exceptional, even festive occasions.

Rites and rituals are first of all actions, people's conscious and purposeful intervention in their environment. Secondly, rituals are consciously performed actions, in which a distinction must be made between ritualisation and customary behaviour (Brosius, Michaels, Schrode, 2013: 13–14). The third defining characteristic of rites is their framing: in space and time. Fourthly, their formality is in the form of repeated and repeatable actions. The concept of the rite or ritual is value-laden and is linked to the cultural and historical discourses of a given historical period (Brosius, Michaels, Schrode, 2013: 10).

And like feasts, the areas of meaning of rites are also complex: they can be linked to the culture of remembrance, when certain forms refer to an event in the past, but they can also be associated with leisure culture, that is, the consciously structured actions for leisure time that can be repeated: think of the ways of experiencing sport, tourism and festivals (Post, 2012).

There has been a vast upswing in rites research in recent decades. It is sufficient to refer to the research project of the last decade "Ritualdynamik – Soziokulturelle Prozesse in historischer und kulturvergleichenden Perspektive" in Heidelberg, and the preceding two-volume "Theorizing Rituals", that broadened the research of rites and made it multidisciplinary.

People remember something by celebrating it (Nyíri, 1975: 140–141). The feast serves to make the past present. And the relationship to the past shapes the identity of the group remembering. As it remembers its own history, representing it in the rites of the feast, it shapes its own identity image. Collective identity is often expressed precisely in this ceremonial communication (Barna, 2006: 259).

The feast thus connects the past, present and future, and in doing so it can give meaning to human life. The feast necessarily forms a connection with the past and the future. In this way the feast suspends the time structure of everyday life, it has its own time scale. Anyone who celebrates embraces the past and the future, accepts also the dimensions of time that are hidden to man. Time appears as history (Eliade, 1996: 103–105; Várnagy, 1993: 356). It frees people from the burden of everyday obligations, lifting them out of the limitations of the here and now (Nyíri, 1975: 143). Many individual interpretations can be made of the past, the strong differentiation of society results in many different "individual histories". Accordingly, ritual behaviour may also assume a variety of forms (Stollberg-Rilinger, 2013: 242), or it may lose its diversity.

The practical aim of a community clinging to its past is to organise and orient itself within a particular temporal frame, and to preserve its identity in the face of threatening disintegration, something to which all communities feel they are exposed. In this way it keeps the past alive in traditions, legends, monuments, public buildings, folk music and folk dance (Carr, 1999: 78). It draws its rites from its own local and/or national traditions. This however can empty the world of feasts and make the whole or a special part of the group's culture the vehicle of additional meaning. This strategy is followed also in our times by linguistic, religious or cultural minorities threatened by the majority. They do not observe the majority/state feasts, but make their own feasts points of orientation with their traditions as occasions and spaces for anchoring memory.

In our times *state/national feasts* are of great importance, as states strive to make national feasts vehicles and symbolic expressions of group identities, and to ensure that there are suitable ways of consolidating this memory. Placing the events of the past in remembrance spaces (feasts) was and remains the interest and means of consolidating, legitimising and confirming the relations of the existing system, of conciliation, and of change (Rüsen, 1999: 42). The aim of states is to root their present into the past (Stollberg-Rilinger, 2013: 78) and in this way to create a foundation for group identity. It strives to replace the cohesive force of religion/denomination with linguistic and cultural nationalism (Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1983; Cavelti Kee, 2014). Nevertheless we see everywhere in Europe that the mobilising force of state/national celebrations (its acceptance, the number of participants) is low, it is only in schools under the predominant influence of official public administration and the state that it is high. In contrast with this are the festivals of the event and consumption culture of our times that are very popular, they lead to the organisation of smaller groups or attract large masses. It is an indication of the strength of the popular and consumption culture in our days that the Nobel Prize in literature was given to the singer-songwriter, Bob Dylan.

What is this phenomenon that researchers call festivalisation?

Throughout Europe many state and local celebrations show characteristic features of festivalisation. Klaus Roth speaks of the festivalisation of culture in both the eastern and western parts of Europe, although they differ in certain details (Roth, 2008: 22–23). There can be no doubt that the majority of both national and religious celebrations have become festivalised (Barna, 2011). Part of the essence of festivalisation is a fast-paced, varied series of events that always holds attention and keeps interest alive, in contrast with the often backward-looking, meditative character and atmosphere of the feast that also uses silence. The event is principally important for its own sake.

Festival studies are emerging as a distinct sub-field within event studies (Getz: 2010). Recently scholars within and outside the traditional disciplines have been examining festivals with regard to an increasing variety of issues: their roles in establishing place and group identity (Cohen, 1995: 50); the social and cultural impacts of festivals and festival tourism; creation of social and cultural capital through festival production; fostering the arts and preserving traditions; and a variety of personal outcomes from participation in festivals, including learning, acquired social and cultural capital, and healthfulness. The value and worth of festivals to society and culture has been addressed, as well as the imputed need for festivity (Getz, 2010: 4–5). The festival is also spectacle. It is a place, time and occasion for the representation of local cultures. Each festival, whether religious or non-religious, is a well structured cultural performance with associated marketing and consumption features.

Festivals, religious or profane, may integrate people and establish inner-communities; they induce commonly shared experiences and encourage an atmosphere of fun, pleasure and excitement. In this way festivals facilitate the processes of transferring pleasant experiences onto other subjects, places or phenomena related to them. Festivals act as an urban image device (Karpińska-Krakowiak, online), but they also appear in rural environments, especially in festivals of a religious nature (pilgrimages) and more recently in the growing number of profane festivals based on local gastronomic specialties (for example the already mentioned fish soup festivals, sausage festival, etc. in Hungary) (Hesz, 2008).

Festivals are celebrations, so by definition they have a theme. They also have a variety of meanings, from different perspectives, that make them complex planned phenomena. Meanings exist at personal, social, cultural and economic levels. The experience itself is at once personal and social, with each form of festival (e.g. music, arts, sport, heritage, religious) embodying different experience potential. This requires knowledge of culture, the arts, and environmental psychology (Getz, 2010).

Festivals, in particular gastronomic ones, are connected to cultures and to places, giving each an identity and helping bind people to their communities. Similarly, festivals and other planned events can foster and reinforce group cohesion and through it the group identity. Festivals may lead to positive self-identification for local communities. This has happened in the case of Saint Patrick's Day which with its street festivals and corned beef and cabbage became an important expression of Irishness everywhere in the world. Or the mutton stew cooking events strengthen the local/regional consciousness in the Nagykunság region (Great Hungarian Plain).

And what is/was happening now, here in Smolenice? Does this festive occasion have anything to do with building identity?

I believe it does. We have come together in Smolenice for these few days to remember an event that took place 70 years ago, when the Institute of Ethnography of the Slovak Academy of Sciences was established. We are celebrating a past event and remembering persons and happenings of the past 70 years. This could be the answer to the question of: *what are we doing*? *How are we doing it?* Within the frame of a conference structured according to the traditional ritual of international scholarly conferences, where not only the scholarly but also political sphere is represented, in a beautiful historic place that also evokes the arts. In other words, we are holding our remembrance, our celebration within a closed series of actions using symbolic tools, in short, we are ritualising. *And why are we doing all this?* First of all, in order to confirm retrospectively the past aspirations of our predecessors and the institution built on them, secondly to strengthen this institution in its present position and to legitimate its activity for the future. We are doing the together with participants in Slovak and international scholarly life, with representatives of different generations; to *strengthen its identity*.

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HOLIDAYS – THE MIRROR OF SOCIETY.
THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS
OF PRESENT-DAY HOLIDAYS
IN THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

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After 2010, the study of present-day holidays established itself as an original tool for the study of society in Slovak ethnology. In the first stage, the research team of the Institute of Ethnology SAS focused on the empirical research of the specific contexts of the term holiday in Slovakia and mapped the range of situations which are designated by people as holidays today. The term holiday means the interruption of the daily routine, a moment commemorated on a cyclical basis or a period accompanied by normative or ritual acts and with an ascribed symbolic meaning. Our research showed that apart from identification, ritual and spiritual functions which are important for individuals or communities, as commonly studied by ethnology, holidays also fulfil a number of practical functions at present. After the discovery of the manifold overlaps of this phenomenon with the on-going social processes, the focus of ethnology has shifted to society as such and on its reflection in the mirror of holidays. Through an analysis of empirical materials from the observation and ethnographic description of the events in the public space during holidays, the study of the holiday legislation, the activities of various institutions, the production of printed and electronic media, business and advertising, which create the current content and the ways of celebrating holidays, it was possible to obtain a basis for a specific testimony about the present-day social processes in the Slovak Republic. In this context, this study is dedicated to the following relations: holidays and politics, holidays and economy, and holidays and citizens.

Key words: public holiday, commemorative day, holiday, present-day holidays, celebration of holidays, festivity, ritualisation, ritual practice, ritualised behaviour, social functions of holidays, national holiday, laws on holidays/holiday legislation, Slovakia

INTRODUCTION

The study of present-day holidays has proven to be an original tool for the study of society in Slovak ethnology at the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century. There were two motives for elaborating on this research direction. The first one arose directly from the internal cognitional needs of the discipline, which has dynamically

developed over the past decades towards anthropology and has focused on the present social phenomena. The second motive was the growing recurrent calls by journalists on ethnologists to make the public familiar, via the mass media, with the traditional, yet no longer known, picture of present-day holidays or reconstruct archaic elements in their current forms. They also asked for an explanation of the links between various imported and new holidays as well as domestic cultural tradition.

The need to understand these processes raised a challenge for ethnologists to study present-day holidays which were previously insufficiently reflected, and obtain an authentic, realistic view of the content, functions and development trends of this broad and dynamic phenomenon. After discovering the manifold overlaps of the holidays' phenomenon with current social processes, the focus has shifted to society as such and on its reflection in the mirror of holidays.

In the first stage of their work, they intensively mapped the range of situations which people commemorate on a cyclical basis today, on which occasions they choose non-daily – ritual or ritualised – behaviour, and designate them as holidays. They subsequently concentrated on their formal and organisational framework and on the study of each holiday, an analysis of their contents, the ways of celebrating them and the factors of their acceptance.[1]

This paper describes the context and the working methods, and also presents some of the results achieved throughout a six-year period that has lapsed since the launch of this research project.

THE TERM HOLIDAY

During the mapping of the range of cyclically recurring festivities, feasts and important moments each year, most commonly designated as holidays [*sviatky* in Slovak], their list turned out to be relatively broad. It ranges from those which are created, preserved, sanctioned and distributed by institutions, such as the State and the Church, through holidays which are considered by territorial, social and professional communities, subcultures and groups as an important part of their way of lives, up to the level of family. The life-cycle of holidays and the ways of celebrating them has been maintained for decades or even hundreds of years, with either preserved or updated elements. At the same time, new opportunities considered as holidays have been created and experienced. For people, they still represent an opportunity to recurrently break with their daily routine and live a certain period of time in an exceptional atmosphere. This guarantees relative immutability of holidays and their stable place in culture.

Through the empirical study of the specific daily contexts of the term *holiday* in the 21st century, ethnology takes advantage of the opportunity of obtaining an insight into society, and seeks to describe and get familiar with it. Based on the results of public discourse analysis in Slovakia today, the term holiday is used to designate an opportunity or a cyclically recurrent period of time of various duration, during which something important or exceptional happens or is remembered, specific and to

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a certain extent normative ways of behaviour are assumed or invoked, and which are ascribed symbolic meanings in various intensity. The practice of designating certain moments as holidays, which presumes the same active categorisation function of this term in certain social spaces, can be observed as culturally conditioned, and therefore worthy of ethnological reflection. Nevertheless, holidays are not the subject of exact definition and terminological analysis, nor are they treated as a precisely defined analytical term. What is studied is their specific content and context as social phenomena (Popelková, 2012). Holiday means an interruption of the daily routine, a moment or period accompanied by normative or ritual acts along with an ascribed symbolic meaning. In the analysis of ethnographic data, it is used to designate the framework for carrying out rituals and a communication tool for the dissemination of messages with socially relevant content. It could also be said that the ethnological perspective is not directed through society "towards" holiday and does not end there, but vice versa, it is the study of society "through" holidays. It is not the intention to explain holidays by society, but society by holidays.

HOLIDAY AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON

Ethnology in Slovakia began to reflect the unusual increase in the number and penetration of holidays, festivities and feasts in the public space, social events, culture and politics, accompanied by media, advertising and business attention, shortly after the political upheaval in 1989. In line with its research orientation based on ethnographic roots, ethnology had studied for decades the ways of behaviour of people during important moments with an emphasis on long-preserved rituals and habits with historic roots. It was almost until the 1980s that it focused mainly on holidays within the territorial communities of rural settlements which were linked with natural and agricultural cycles, and on their symbolic level. At the turn of the century, its field of interest dynamically expanded towards anthropological and social science disciplines and its attention focused on the study of present-day societal challenges. Hence, the process of discovery of the remains of archaic elements in holiday rituals and habits ceased to be effective. On the other hand, there was an increasing need to perceive holidays not as residues of the past, but as an element of the current way of life, post-modern mass culture, and the object and product of globally spread electronic communication.

The research probes confirmed the general assumptions according to which the development of the holiday phenomenon and the way of celebrating them at the end of the 20th century was largely affected by the social and economic transition processes that began with the fall of the Communist regime in 1989, including the spread of communication channels and technical means. The interpretation attempts to explain the transformations of the past forms of holidays, and the observation of their course in real time undermined the stereotypical picture of them as an invariable complex with primarily spiritual functions. They also revealed their organic links to several spheres of society – politics, advertising, business, etc.

The idea of conceptualising holidays as a scientific tool for the research of society also built on the assumption that they serve different social groups for the instrumentalisation of their plans, the achievement of their objectives, the presentation of their opinions and dissemination of ideologies, etc. The ways of experiencing holidays are individual or group-binding on one hand, and flexible and upgradable in

terms of content and form on the other. Thanks to this fact, holidays, due to their essence, can fulfil a wide range of social roles and social functions and be used as a practical tool by the most diverse social actors. The research showed that apart from the identification, ritual and spiritual functions which are important to an individual or communities, as commonly observed by ethnology, holidays also fulfil a number of practical roles today. The symbolic content and ritual practice successfully disguise the actual plan of their actors, whether it is the communication of an important message about the social order, the distribution of power, or the pursuit of ideological and economic objectives. These can be revealed and the functioning of small or larger social organisms can be understood by observing specific circumstances, the social environment or the context of events related to holidays, their content and course.

The broadly perceived public discourse on holidays became accepted as a space for the research of the holiday phenomenon, understood here as a framework, sum and way of using the terms, evaluations and opinions on holidays, i.e. what and how people talk about in connection with holidays.

This opened a number of opportunities for their study and analysis. One of them was the observation of the range of meanings and ways of experiencing occasions which are considered exceptional and important in Slovakia at present. At the level of each holiday, we observed the actual functions of holidays in society, what symbolic and practical roles they play, what activities are related to preserving them, why there are differences in their popularity, who produces the forms of experiencing them, or who guarantees their preservation. The opportunity arose to obtain knowledge about the ways of communicating factual or symbolic information in culture, about the mechanisms of collective and individual identifications and distributions of power, and about the existence and forms of manifestations of affiliations and hierarchies within society. By means of the research on holidays, we sought to get familiar with the mechanisms of the effects of economic, political and other factors that influence the social processes in the present-day society in Slovakia.

EMPIRICAL DATA

The research team of ethnologists resolved to empirically study holidays, conceived as a social phenomenon, by describing their authentic manifestations and by analysing the space and conditions in which holidays develop at present. During holidays, they observed the course of events in the public space and systematically mapped the content of articles in printed media, texts and speeches disseminated via advertising, TV, radio and internet communication. The research resulted in the gathering and processing of authentic data in the form of concise ethnographic descriptions of the field observation and research photo documentation of various events through extensive bodies of data from website research, thematic media desk research, records of parliamentary sessions, internet discussions and blogs, and findings from quantitative representative research.[2] Once the range was mapped, we tried to define

2   The quantitative data was obtained by means of a representative questionnaire survey which, in addition to Halloween, also included All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day. The respondents answered questions about what they do during All Saints' Day and what their associations are with All Souls' Day and Halloween by choosing one or more answers from the options given. The survey was conducted by the FOCUS agency on 03–08 November 2011 based on a statistically representative sample of 1,041 inhabitants of the Slovak Republic aged 18 years and more.

the different categories of holidays (state, religious, national, political, etc.) as a tool to study society directly within the spheres in which they primarily work or which are considered to be such (e.g. religious holidays in relation to church or national holidays in relation to the State's policy). When talking about the ways of celebrating them, however, some assumed levels (for example, the attendance of religious rituals during the Easter holiday) did not show to be dominant, or links to many other social fields emerged (e.g. relaxation activities, tourism). It was found, that whatever approach we apply, the result is always groups with unclear and permeable limits, and shows that the attempt to strictly divide holidays into categories and study them in this manner is impractical and significantly narrows the perspective. It would be more effective to respect this apparent opacity, adapt the data collection and the asking of questions to the specific selected theoretical framework, and analyse the gathered specific material at all levels of the socially relevant context revealed by the research.

The analysis, therefore, included representatives of certain groups of holidays with the predominance of common features, e.g. Christmas as one of the holidays in Slovakia which is deeply rooted in the Christian tradition, or Halloween as a representative of new holidays introduced in Slovakia at the end of the 20th century. The observation of the attributes and content of holidays as ways of celebrating them resulted in their analysis as occasions during which people choose ritualised behaviour. We mapped the processes which stand "behind" the empirically captured and ethnographically described phenomenon, as well as the causes and practical reasons that influence the actors and their motivation and behaviour. As the nature of the studied phenomenon suggests, the case studies of the different holidays, while being connected to the most diverse elements of the social reality, revealed a large variety of new relationships on the basis of the analysis of empirical data, gradually leading to a more thorough elaboration on the multitude of levels of this phenomenon. Even though issues related to the specific empirical material often overlapped, the studied holidays can be presented as a part of several basic research segments.

The first group is formed by holidays sanctioned by law. In the Slovak Republic, this refers to dates enacted by law in one of the following three categories: national holidays, public holidays (both of them are non-working days) and commemorative days (working days). By studying this group of holidays, we sought to discover the mechanisms used by the State for the production and distribution of information about the symbolic meaning of enacted dates which are important from the State's perspective. We focused on the process of creation and functioning of the legislation, on holidays as the subject of politics, and the functions of economic arguments in the political debate on their enactment or cancellation. We also tried to find out the degree of effectiveness of the State's efforts to spread the specific ideas about the enacted holidays among Slovak citizens. The studied topics included the following issues: political interpretation of the symbolic content of holidays, the ritual practice of state representatives and the different political camps, the ways of commemorating historic events embedded in holidays, as well as parallel or antagonistic pictures of the past. In this segment, the case studies focused on the national holiday *Anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising* (29 August) and on one from the group of commemorative days – the *Holocaust and Racial Violence Remembrance Day* (9 September). *International Women's Day*, which is not enacted by law in Slovakia, was subject to a detailed analysis in a similar context. Another national holiday – *Labour Day* (1 May) – was analysed as part of the study on the acceptance of various

types of holidays (Popelková, 2014a; Vrzgulová, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2014a, 2017; Zajonc, 2016).

The other group – holidays rooted in Christian religion – was represented in the research sample by *Christmas*. This term designates almost a month-long period before and after the Christian holiday celebrating the birth of Jesus Christ. Some days of this period are legislated as public holidays. The research studied the main form and content elements of the present-day Christmas holiday by mapping the activities of the municipal sphere and civic associations, churches, advertising, business and many other institutions, seeking to learn about their social-integration, spiritual or economic functions, the ambivalence of traditional and new ways of experiencing the different stages of the Christmas holiday by people, and what meaning they attribute to Christmas (Beňušková, 2014).

The differentiated category, represented within the research corpus by urban holidays, Marian pilgrimages and student feasts, was the subject of the research on the processes of creation and preservation of group affiliation of professional (miners, wine-growers), territorial (municipality, town, neighbourhood), confessional (Catholic believers) and age (teenagers) groups. The analysis of the observations and descriptions of holidays and feasts as part of local development and integration strategies of urban and rural settlements focused on the relationship between the different forms of celebrating holidays and their social functions. Holidays were studied within this particular category (Bahna, 2016; Beňušková, 2013, 2016; Popelková, 2013, 2014a, 2016; Popelková, Zajonc, 2013).

St. Valentine's Day and *Halloween* represent in the research sample a group of holidays which are not formally embedded in Slovakia and, as a stereotype, are usually designated as new or foreign. However, they are generally well-known, and each year result in a wide range of various ritual activities on one hand, and marketing and advertising activities on the other. The confrontation of their elements with various domestic holidays and the analysis of the attributes, ideas, artefacts, the ways of celebrating them and related activities aim to explain their social functions and the degree of their acceptance or rejection (Zajonc, 2014, 2016).

ANALYTICAL CONCEPTS

The data analysis and interpretation applied several theoretical models and concepts. We mainly used the theory of the epidemiology of representations by anthropologist Dan Sperber (1996) and his concept of cultural representations as ideas, expressions, versions, images or explanations of some cultural phenomena which are common to the members of a certain group. The degree of effectiveness of state instruments manifested in the dissemination of certain representations of holidays by the State can be put in relation with the fact that its citizens face the same sources of their distribution and communication networks (in this case, for example, in the form of mass media in Slovakia) (Sperber, 1996: 26, 32 ff.; Ferencová, 2009: 336; Ferencová, Nosková, 2009: 23).

Another methodological inspiration was the possibility of dealing with holidays using the concept of ritual, which is one of the ways of looking at the organisation of the world in social sciences. Given the intention of studying contemporary society through various contents of the holiday phenomenon, i.e. the context in which holidays exist today, our attention did not focus on ritual as such. The interest was also in

phenomena which are studied in social sciences as rituals and acts commonly designated as rituals. The opinions of the religious studies scholar Catherine Bell (2009) served as a basis in this case. She elaborated on the criticism of the reflections on ritual as a universal category or a sign of human behaviour. With her proposal to define ritual practices as a situational strategic activity, which can only be understood in relation to other activities, she turned her attention to the surroundings of ritual, i.e. on its specific social context and the wider relationships between activities and social life. Instead of an attempt to discover a special logic and symbolic structure from the ethnographic descriptions of familiar genres of ritual practices, regarded as traditional rituals (transition, calendar, initiation, etc.), she proposed the study of those activities in modern societies which are not ritual in the traditional sense of the word, but are undoubtedly considered to have qualities similar to rituals. When we talk about rituals as a form of acting, Catherine Bell suggests using the term ritualisation. She defines it as a process, a flexible and strategic way of acting, typical for a number of diverse routine activities (Bell, 2009: 138 ff.). The concept of ritualisation became attractive for the interpretation of the discourse related to present-day holidays because of its flexibility when used in the analysis of human acts in experiencing moments designated as holidays.

The analysis of the present-day holiday discourse in Slovakia was also based on the elements of the approaches to the study of rituals in European ethnology. Some of them were further elaborated by Klaus Roth in 2008. Roth decided to use the vague and ambiguous social science concept of daily life, in line with Norbert Elias's criticism of 1978, in the ideologically least-burdened opposition of daily vs. festive. Roth managed to grasp the study of the process of adaptation of holidays and rituals by the population of European countries under the Communist regime in a very specific way and with ethnographically graspable economic and social characteristics of life (Roth, 2008: 14–18, 23 ff.).

The traditional theoretical concepts of transition rituals ("rite de passage") by Arnold van Gennep (1997) and Victor Turner (2004) were used in the analysis of the festivities related to important stages of students' lives and to the period of reaching adulthood.

Relevant to the study of the segment of the social discourse related to national holidays are the points presented by Pierre Bourdieu in his essay State Nobility (1998: 87–89), in particular the analysis of the symbolic effectiveness of the state power embedded in the cognitive and evaluation structures of its citizens. On the other hand, the degree of their effectiveness or normativeness can be verified by an analysis of the ways citizens spend their national holidays. The sociological reflections by Jan Keller (2003: 77 ff.) also offered a tool in this regard, interpreting the symbolical logic of people's holiday behaviour in modern societies as an expression of collective ignorance of national holidays.

The specific type of depiction of the changing, highly complex and hard to define reality used by politics can be observed and analysed from the perspective of the concept of the political representation of reality. Politics place at the forefront some elements of the non-transparent complex of social relationships, while shifting others to the margin or leaving them unnoticed. It is able not only to confer the assumed contours on the changing subject, but to form it, as well. This type of representation aims to trace the essence of an object. Its quality is measured by the degree it convinces others, whether it reaches a social effect or brings social recognition to its producers (Schwarz, 1994).

In order to grasp such an important element of the holiday phenomenon as references to the past and its celebration, we applied the concept of invented traditions by Eric Hobsbawm (1983) as one of the tools in the analysis. He elaborated on it in the framework of his study of the phenomenon of nationalism in the history of modern European societies on the basis of his finding that many "traditions" which are present in the history of Europe's nations and which are recurrently emphasised and commemorated are not as old as they seem to be on the outside. Many of them are more recent, though they often refer to the remote past. His invented tradition is the reaction of society to new situations and current challenges by referring to old situations, adapting ancient habits to the new conditions and by using old models for rather up-to-date aims.

SOCIETY IN THE MIRROR OF HOLIDAYS

In the final part of this paper, I will seek to present the potential and cognitive possibilities of the described ethnological approach to holidays as an instrument for the study of society. The results of the analysis of holidays from the perspective of legislation and politics in the Slovak Republic in the 21st century[3] can be modelled as an intersection of three imaginary sets: the sphere of politics represented by state institutions, political parties and churches; the sphere of the economy; and the sphere of citizens or the community of Slovak inhabitants. Holidays are what connects these spheres in this working model and through what they communicate. Therefore, I will outline the mechanisms of this communication, as well as the picture of present-day Slovakia as it appears in the mirror of holidays.

a) Holidays and politics

Several years after the political upheaval in November 1989, which was followed by a complicated process of post-socialist transition in Czecho-Slovakia, the building of the liberal economy and a multi-party political system, the Czecho-Slovak federation broke up and two new independent states were established in Central Europe in January of 1993. One of them was the Slovak Republic.

The need to formally define the symbolic interpretation of certain dates by law – from the position of the State – continues to be on the social agenda in the 21st century as well. This is highlighted by the fact that the Slovak Republic proceeded to the interpretation of a group of selected dates and to their legislation immediately the first year of its existence. The process of amending Act No. 241/1993 Coll. on National Holidays, Public Holidays and Commemorative Days resulted in the Slovak Republic now having more than thirty legally sanctioned dates in its calendar: five national holidays, ten public holidays, and eighteen commemorative days. During fifteen of them, citizens are not required to work, since they are defined as non-working days.[4]

Even though citizens spend the non-working days identified by the State more-or-less freely and as they please, the State does not let them interpret all holidays legislated

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3   The reference period for this segment were the years 1993–2013; the analysed data come from the monitoring of the legislative process in the Parliament and publicly available documents about the government activities from the mass media, internet news and blogs (Popelková, 2014a).

4   Includes the following national holidays: *Day of the Establishment of the Slovak Republic* (1 January); *St. Cyril and Methodius Day* (5 July); *Anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising* (29 August), *Day of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic* (1 September), *Struggle for Freedom and Democracy Day* (17

by law autonomously. It is a fact, though, that the State does not seek to openly interpret the meaning of those which are conceived as Christian (Christmas days, Easter holiday, All Saints' Day). For the dissemination of the interpretation of enacted dates falling into the category of national holidays and commemorative days, which were declared as important moments in the history of the Slovak Republic, the State constantly uses the public press agency and distributes it via the ritual practice of its representatives at public celebrations. The meanings of national holidays are communicated via the mass media towards citizens much less frequently than in the case of most commemorative days. It is the national holidays as such that create the space for state representatives to interpret their contents and present them to the public directly by organising celebrations or by accepting sponsorship, through their own holiday activity or by means of speeches from stages at symbolic places.

Paradoxically, even though we speak about legislated holidays, the interpretation of the content of national holidays is not stable. It depends on the political orientation and views of the government in power or on the dynamics expressed by repeated alternation of left-wing and right-wing governments and on the degree of their national orientation. The members of the parties which lead the State during a particular election term, as well as the members of other political camps, constantly strive to present their opinions on the nature of the State also through holidays. During periods when the spectrum of political parties is differentiated and when it becomes more antagonistic, the dynamics of the holiday discourse is also enhanced, and the efforts to change their list are intensified – their value as a political agenda within domestic political fights grows.

The content of the historic events is interpreted according to the current intentions and needs of politicians who use the massive symbolic potential of holidays as an effective tool. The different political groups disseminate their largely competing interpretations of historic events by means of holidays. As a result, we cannot speak about a comprehensive and stable political discourse on holidays in Slovakia that would prove the existence of a more general nationwide consensus with regard to the symbolic expression of the relationship to the past and to spiritual values and ideas. It rather seems that, even in the 21st century, there are several political holiday discourses that exist in Slovak society which are parallel or in temporary conflict. Such examples include the *Freedom and Democracy Fight Day* (17 November), the *Day of Victory over Fascism* (8 May) and the *Anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising* (29 August). The images of the past, as presented by politicians through holidays today, show the differentiation of the opinions on present-day Slovak society and the existence of symbolic borders between *different* population groups with different political convictions.[5]

November); and the following public holidays: *Epiphany (The Three Magi and Christmas Day of Orthodox Christians)* (6 January), *Good Friday, Easter Monday, Labour Day* (1 May), *Day of Victory over Fascism* (8 May), *Day of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows* (15 September), *All Saints' Day* (1 November), *Christmas Eve* (24 December), *Christmas Day* (25 December), *St. Stephen's Day* (26 December). Refer to: Act No. 241/1993 Coll. on National Holidays, Public Holidays and Commemorative Days.

5   These holidays remind us of concrete historic events, but due to their different interpretation they have a polarising effect on society. This is caused by the different interpretation of the country's modern history in the key points – the orientation of the regime of the wartime Slovak Republic in 1939, the relationship between Czechs and Slovaks during their co-existence in the common state in 1918–1989 and the causes and circumstances of its split in 1989 within the different political groups. The analysis of the ritual practice and the speeches of politicians during the celebrations of the *Anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising* revealed that an irreconcilable political struggle is fought for the content and interpretation of the anniversary of this historic event (Vrzgulová, 2014a, 2017).

The monitoring of the legislative creation of and changes to the Holidays Act resulted in the finding that even though holidays are the subject of this process, it is not the main objective to find a consensus in the number of dates or in the meaning of the occasions to be recognised by the State as important and worth of commemorating. The turbulent parliamentary debates and the intentions presented publicly by politicians to reduce the number of holidays to the benefit of public finance savings do not pursue citizens' interest. In this case, politicians and their parties pursue mainly their own group objectives – the promotion of their own discourse on historic events, a broad political reaction to the creation of their own symbolic structures, or the cancellation of those holidays which are supported by their political opponents. Being aware of the effectiveness and universal character of holidays as an agenda that can be used in politics and by conducting discussions with a dead end, they seek to ensure that this agenda does not lose its topicality. They instrumentalise the general popularity of holidays among citizens as a means to accomplish their objectives irrespective of their actual economic impacts.

A special category in the political debates on holidays is the issue of legislated church holidays. Even though this term cannot be found in legislation, it is commonly used in political discussions. Eight out of ten public holidays and one national holiday *(St. Cyril and Methodius Day)* are thematised in this way in Slovakia. They prevail in political discussions on occasions when the number of holidays is compared to other European countries or when the influence of the Catholic Church on the political power in the Slovak Republic is judged. We could also observe in these discussions an informal assignment of Good Friday to the sphere of interests of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession and the designation of January 6th – the *Three Magi* – as the holiday of the Orthodox Church. The research also showed that, with the exception of the September holiday of *Our Lady of Seven Sorrows* which – due to the ban on its public celebration during the Communist regime – is perceived as Catholic, but partly has a political connotation – the holidays in this category have a certain common feature, which raises the problem of manipulation with them in the political fight.[6] A certain protective field above them is created by a combination of several factors. One of them can be the fact stated back during the presentation of the Holiday Act by the government in 1993, according to which these holidays "have a long tradition" in Slovakia as the effect of the centuries long, continuous work of both dominant Christian churches (Catholic and Protestant). This conditions the historic embeddedness of Christian holidays in Slovakia's culture and also relates to the current number of the members of these confessions. Another one is the form and degree of the legal position and symbolic or real influence of Christian churches and their representatives not only among believers, but also in the State's policy. Another influential factor with fundamental importance for the ethnological perspective of the study of these holidays seems to be the fact that they are perceived today not as strictly religious, but in a certain sense as more secular, broader and more general, rather as family holidays. During the Communist dictatorship in Slovakia in 1948–1989, the ruling ideology suppressed the public celebration of Christian holidays. Although many of them preserved their status

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6   Besides the *St. Cyril and Methodius Day* in July, there are several non-working days during the Easter and Christmas holidays and *All Saints' Day*, which remain untouched by the current political struggle. According to our findings from printed media, electronic media and advertising, their inviolability is primarily due not to the fact that politics would not respect and recognise without objections and with consensus their religious content or the need for religious spirituality experienced by the population (Popelková, 2014a: 42).

of state recognised holidays or public holidays from the pre-war period, the totalitarian rule sought to eliminate their Christian content and the ways of experiencing them and replace them with profane holidays. The common ways of celebrating and experiencing them have been therefore preserved and handed over to the next generation in the intimacy of families, among relatives and friends. Paradoxically, it was the very ideology of the Communist period that contributed to the Christian holidays having acquired a unique position in the awareness of the post-war generations and among non-believers by mass dissemination of their profane interpretations (e.g. Christmas as a holiday of peace and tranquillity). The interpretations of the contents of holidays in connection with natural cycles (e.g. Easter as a spring holiday, which formed the basis of pre-Christian annual rituals) were disseminated among the public during this period as well. Their mass communication was suitably enhanced by the reconstructed or paraphrased forms of traditional culture and folklore. The information about the extinct peasant and shepherd customs, traditional symbolism or food pertaining to specific holidays based on ethnographic research, which were supposed to make holiday moments more special, contributed to the efforts to preserve or renew traditions. They gradually found a reflection in the generally spread ideas about the holiday atmosphere of these public holidays and became an integral part of people's lives.

Since the political change in 1989, these holidays have faced a certain renewal of their continuity and increased popularity in liberal society. It is not only about the return of groups of believers to a free celebration of these holidays with support from the church, but also about the dissemination of information about their religious meanings, contents, and about older or current ways of celebration by the mass media. Parallel to the efforts of the church, which are aimed at promoting their religious content, all population groups also receive information in forms supported by advertising and business within the public space. This is one more reason why religious holidays, legislated as public (non-working) holidays, have not only a spiritual, but also a profane dimension today. The profane dimension is represented not only by the idea of spending the time jointly within the intimacy of the closest ones, accompanied by visits to relatives and friends, strengthened feelings of family unity or affiliation to diverse social groups, but also rest and relaxation, shopping, entertainment and consumption. These and other factors jointly create the feeling that these holidays are something obvious, the awareness of their unique role in the kind of a natural phasing of the calendar year, in the interruption of the daily routine and the establishment of an exceptional, holiday atmosphere.

Holidays as a tool for the promotion of the interests of the different groups of Slovak society serve not only political parties and the State, but also Church institutions. On one hand, Churches are the authors and keepers of several historically rooted dates, interpreted by means of Christian symbolism, and the distributors of related ritual practices which form the fundamental element of celebrating these holidays by the members of the particular Church. On the other hand, the Catholic Church is an actor in the State's holiday legislation. In 2000, the Basic Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Holy See[7] created a specific legal framework for the dates legislated by the State. In this treaty, the Slovak Republic formalised ten dates from its own legislated holiday calendar as de facto Catholic religious holidays or festivities, having defined some of them differently compared

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7   Regulation No. 326/2001 Coll. Notice of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic on the conclusion of the Basic Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Holy See.

to the act from 1993 (for example, January 1st as the *Day of the Foundation of the Slovak Republic* as the Solemnity of Mary, the Holy Mother of God). This specifically suggests that the State as such does not fully respect its own Holiday Act as a legal norm binding for all its citizens. It also proves the presence of mechanisms by which a part of holidays which are proper to the Slovak Republic, including their symbolic and economic aspects, is controlled by another state. The fact that the Church plays a fundamental role in the legislative sanctioning of holidays in the 21st century is a demonstration of the close link between the State and Church institutions. In this context, it can be considered direct involvement of the Church in the State's political decisions.

For the dissemination of their opinions, Christian churches also use holidays which are not embedded in the cultural traditions of Slovakia's population, or have existed in the Slovak holiday calendar just for a short period of time, and are not sanctioned officially by any institution. This category of holidays includes St. Valentine's Day and Halloween. Given the fact that Valentine's Day is based on a Christian legend, its celebration, which is characterised by widespread profane forms, is tolerated by the Catholic Church. Around February 14th, St. Valentine's Day also appears in Christian media and, for almost a decade, a Valentine's Lovers' Pilgrimage has been regularly organised at an important place of pilgrimage in Slovakia – in the Basilica of the Virgin Mary of the Seven Sorrows in Šaštín. This event, dedicated to partners before or after engagement including married couples, has religious elements (holy mass, common prayers), and a cultural and an educational part (performances of music bands, lectures). One of its basic ideas is to encourage unmarried couples towards sexual abstinence (Zajonc, 2016). In this context, *Halloween*, which is added to other holidays mainly as a profane, fearful-entertaining holiday, is celebrated, tolerated or completely rejected with various explanations. The representatives of Christian Churches and their believers consider it a religious holiday – the celebration of Satan, the Antichrist or Devil, and of fear and death – and it is therefore rejected. In spite of this rejection, Halloween is a part of the activities of the Catholic Church which aim to eliminate it and promote its own ideology and world view. From the historical perspective, it is the continuation of the efforts to push aside the complex of pre-Christian rituals which returned to Europe in a new form. In the confrontation of the opinions about the content, origin or meaning of the Halloween, Churches as actors play the role of the institution involved in the polarisation of the community of the Slovak population. This is many times manifested already at the level of family (Zajonc, 2014).

b) Holidays and the economy

The links between the economy and holidays are specifically manifested in Slovakia's labour legislation. The fifteen dates legislated in the non-working days category have many economic consequences given the specific labour regime sanctioned by the Labour Code.[8] It is a considerable item for the State in terms of public finance, and it

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8   The functioning of the term holiday in colloquial speech differs from its use at the official website of the Government of the Slovak Republic. The part on the basic description of the country displays under the common entry *national holidays* a list of all three groups of enacted dates in hypertext form under the title. Contrary to the law provisions, the Government presents under this collective term not only the dates designated as national holidays, but also public holidays and commemorative days. In the popular terminology related to this issue, the term holiday in Slovakia in the 21st century designates the dates declared by the law in the category of national holidays and public holidays, which are guaranteed as non-working days. Empirically, this finding is based on the results of the analysis of internet discussions (Popelková, 2014a: 27).

means interruption of production for employers and entrepreneurs, the closing of operation facilities, costs of extra pay for work during holidays, or additional costs for employees related to non-working days, relaxation activities, planning of holidays, etc. This fact is a platform for using the economic impacts of holidays in political fights and parliamentary argumentation in debates on labour and holiday legislation. It also influences the perception of the meaning of holidays by citizens or actors in different social groups (entrepreneurs, employees working in non-stop facilities, employers, and trade unions).

The interactions and links between the symbolic and practical aspects of holidays influence the perception of their meaning and the ways of experiencing them in society. The impacts of these aspects are mutual: people incorporate economic activities into their ritual practice and, vice versa, the symbolic meanings of holidays are used in the economic sphere for achieving marketing objectives. Some of the examples include Christmas, Halloween or the St. Valentine's Day, visits to Christmas markets, shopping of thematic goods, travelling or parties. At first sight, commercial phenomena fulfil a wide range of social functions and also acquire a symbolic meaning just by becoming a traditional part of holiday celebrations. The commercial dimension of these elements, as perceived by people, can be reduced by the need to meet, give gifts, be attentive, and express sympathies. At the same time, business and services consider holidays as a period when people are willing to spend more money than ever. They therefore intensify their marketing campaigns and adapt them to the nature of the particular holiday. On one hand, they contribute to the atmosphere of holidays; on the other hand, they enter into their structure and modify it in a targeted way to a certain degree. Potential customers are offered goods or services on the basis of the particular holiday – either on the ground that they form part of celebrating that holiday, or through a targeted choice of the representations of the holiday as a means to promote the store or product which does not necessarily have anything in common with the holiday. In this regard, holidays represent an effective marketing tool (Beňušková, 2014; Zajonc, 2014, 2016).

c) Holidays and citizens

If we present holidays as a tool for the promotion of the interests of the State, Churches and the economic sphere citizens or the community of Slovak inhabitants can be perceived as the target group of the contents spread via holidays.

An analysis of the opinions of the readers of Slovak internet magazines, who presented their views on the possibility of cancellation and shifting of holidays, showed that the representations linked to certain holidays and the ways of celebrating them are not determined exclusively by the process of institutional formalisation. While from the legislator's perspective the different status of the dates was and is still determined by the ascribed symbolic value. From the perspective of the citizens the acceptance of the symbolic values can include their regime in the context of labour regulations, i.e. the fact whether it is a working or non-working day. For one group (entrepreneurs and employers), this relates to the organisation of work, including costs (e.g. compensation for work during holidays) and the planning of working holidays, for others (individuals or families) to the preparation of the ways of spending their spare time. Regardless of the ideological – political or spiritual – meanings, the number and information about the specific dates of legally defined non-working days in a given year are important for the citizens of the State. They form the basis for the

planning of trips, stays of several days, long weekends accompanied by relaxation, visiting relatives living in more distant places, household work (gardening, renovation of flats or houses), or for the coordination of taking holidays by different family members in regards to the school vacations of children, etc.

Individuals and groups build on various sources of the contents and forms of celebrating holidays and use them on the basis of their own needs and experience. In addition to the different degree of acceptance, there can therefore be many parallel representations of the same holiday. For example, Halloween as a holiday already established in Slovakia is either tolerated or rejected. It also has a wide range of representations as a fearful, funny, new, foreign (more specifically, Western or American), forced, commercial or pagan holiday (Zajonc, 2014). At the same time, citizens sort the holiday elements (for example, in terms of the ethical categories of sacral and profane) on the basis of their own classification principles. The example of the Christmas holiday showed that even though this holiday has long been institutionalised by the Church, its representation as a secular holiday is also widespread. The ways of celebrating it are related mainly to the reiteration of the unity of families, communities, partnerships and friendships, the manifestation of the meaning of solidary interpersonal relationships, accentuation of their positive aspects and the effort to bring joy to people. The rather profane elements can act as a sacred part of Christmas for some people or groups and, conversely, some religious elements, though not an ideological taboo in Slovakia anymore, are put aside or modified by commercial elements (Beňušková, 2014). The diversity of the representations that the different groups of Slovak inhabitants link to specific holidays forms the basis for the diverse manifestations or ways of celebrating them. Hence, the changed form of celebrating holidays also relates to the development of the social functions of holidays.

Holidays also represent a framework for expressing often ambivalent opinions on an almost unlimited number of topics. The alternative solutions related to holidays and offered by people in internet discussions prove citizens' awareness about the current political situation and the ability to justify these solutions. They also prove their readiness to openly admit their subjective interests as a motive for taking a specific view and unmask the politically presented reality. People are thus aware of the holiday discourse in Slovakia in the 21st century as an independent, developed and highly differentiated system of opinions. As an example, it proves the existence of a practical assessment of social events by people on the basis of their own experiences and knowledge without being submitted to political discourse on holidays and the ability to take their own – civil – perspective in this discussion.

For individuals as part of society, holidays represent a social tool that is proven by tradition and can be modernised in a flexible manner for the communication of opinions on the organisation of society and the world. At the same time, but from a different perspective, they are an opportunity for experiencing unique feelings, an irrational moment used rationally for achieving a realistic, quite practical objective. The answer to the question why holidays are not always equally effective in promoting certain opinions is the fact that it is individuals – citizens – who are the actors of the process of their acceptance. It is them who decide what content and what meaning of a holiday they would accept, with what content and function they would identify themselves, what form of celebration or commemoration they choose and whether they would actually use it. One of the tasks of ethnology can be to find out why and how this happens.

CONCLUSION

Holidays fulfil a unique function of regularly appearing, relatively stable points in the dynamic course of the life of society, its communities, family and each individual, also in Slovakia in the second decade of the 21st century. I have attempted to show that they can be considered a clearly defined research field, by the recurrent observation of which a perceptive observer can learn not only about holidays as such, but – through this prism – about society as a whole.

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A SPECIFIC SOCIAL FUNCTION OF RUMORS
AND CONSPIRACY THEORIES: STRENGTHENING
COMMUNITY'S TIES IN TROUBLED TIMES.
A MULTILEVEL ANALYSIS

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This paper hypothesizes that conspiracy theories and rumors are an act of social conformism. The evaluation of their plausibility, and their success, is collectively determinate regarding the established values of an in-group and the social context. In periods of troubles they flourish to reaffirm themselves and strengthen community's ties, structures and leaderships. After a theoretical introduction, I will demonstrate this assumption through a multilevel analysis (macro, meso, micro) which considers a wide range of social situations from the French Revolution to neighborhood conflicts and from open riots to latent crises.

Key words: rumors, conspiracy theories, social functions, social ties, multilevel analysis

At the end of the 1940's, the American Administration was very preoccupied by rumors that circulated throughout World War II. To understand this phenomenon, several social psychologists were committed to conduct studies (Knapp, 1944; Allport, Postman 1947). They assumed that rumors were harmful (Rosnow, Fine, 1976: 26–17) because they deliver false information; that is why they must be fought to preserve the social order (Neubauer, 1999: 6–7). Knapp is particularly representative of this tendency[1]. To enhance peoples' confidence in mainstream media and the Administration, he recommended: 1°) issue /broadcast/spread news as quickly as possible through modern media like TV networks and radios; 2°) issue/broadcast/spread news as widely and accessibly as possible; 3°) prevent idleness, monotony and personal disorganization. Nonetheless, history and empirical studies have shown that those prescriptions do not work[2]. Quite the opposite, the more information that circulates in the public sphere[3]; the more rumors arise to bypass official statements particularly

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1   See also: Allport, Lepkin, 1945.
2   For a general state-of-the-art review on the study of rumors in social sciences, see: Donovan 2007.
3   For discussion: Al-Kandari, 2010: 61–62.

when governments and mainstream media suffer from a huge lack of confidence. Rumors reveal trust in the people while they express, as counter power, defiance against official institutions (Fine, 2007: 7). They suggest that narratives circulating in the social body must be taken for real or acceptable when official statements are necessarily incomplete, false or manipulated. It brings me to formulate a handful definitions, hypothesis and goals I can summarize in three points.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS AND DEFINITIONS

First, *rumors* considered as "unverified and instrumentally relevant information statements in circulation that arise in contexts of ambiguity, danger or potential threat, and that function to help people make sense and manage risk" (DiFonzo, Bordia, 2007: 19–20)[4] and *conspiracy theories* (CTs) simply defined as "the conviction that a secret, omnipotent individual or group covertly controls the political and social order or some part thereof, circulates solely on the margins of society" (Fenster, 2008: 1)[5], develop in already cohesive communities because being involved in the spreading is an act of social conformism (Kapferer, 1990: 64). They flourish to reaffirm dominant and established values of an in-group at the same time they exclude the outsiders usually negatively portrayed. Rumors and CTs circulate in a group which already has a clear idea of the dichotomies "the Self/the Others" or "Us/Them" (Aldrin, 2005: 225–248). And, this stereotypic and prejudicial evaluation of the others intensifies when the members of the group feel a threat to their positions or self-esteem (Brown, Gallagher, 1992). For people who disseminate them, it enhances – symbolically at least – the feeling of belonging to a superior group. In this way, rumors and CTs fulfill an "ego-defensive function" (Katz, 1960) which serves to defend and promote what is accepted against different social behaviors. People using this function are more likely to share strong biases and negative stereotypes against others. It conversely offers comfort to individuals who want to retreat from world complexity and diversity. This ego-defensive function develops a positive self-image in social gathering. So that, rumors and CTs must be seen as a social process, an acceptable collective deliberation or narrative for the group in which they circulate because they can develop only if they seem plausible regarding the deep-rooted values of the group and the social context. It is to say that the evaluation of the plausibility of the very same narrative differs from one group to another because they do not share the same collective imagination, collective memory, biases and symbolical stereotypes. Rouquette called this phenomenon *implication* (1990: 119–120).

For instance, among African Americans, AIDS is mostly viewed as a human-made or government-made disease not only because they represent half of the infected people, but also because AIDS is seen as an instrument of "Black genocide". As shown in a 1999 survey, "compared with Whites, roughly three times as many Blacks and Hispanics reported that it was 'very or somewhat likely' that AIDS is 'the result of a government plan to intentionally kill a certain group of people by genocide' (27.8%

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4   Peterson and Gist define rumors as "an unverified account or explanation of events, circulating from person to person and pertaining to an object, event, or issue of public concern" (1951: 159).

5   See also: Hall (2006) argues that CTs are the belief that a group of people ("them") secretly plot to harm another social group ("us") in order to pursue, archive or maintain their own interest.

of Blacks, 23.6% Hispanics, 8% of Whites). In the 2003 survey, roughly four times as many Blacks and almost 3 times as many Hispanics compared with Whites (34.1% of Blacks, 21.9% of Hispanics, 8.4% Whites) reported that it was 'very or somewhat likely' that AIDS is 'the result of a government plan to intentionally kill a certain group of people by genocide'" (Russel, Katz, alia., 2011: 40–41). Put another way, evaluating plausibility of hearsay is not only assessed by individuals, but is linked to interaction contexts and social systems. Plausibility, and its evaluation, is already tied to communities and collective judgments (Fine, 2007: 9). In other words, I challenge the idea that rumors and CTs create ties amongst the people who share and repeat them; those ties *preexist* and this is the reason why they can circulate within a group (*hypothesis 1*)[6].

Secondly, even though it is well-known that rumors and CTs flourish in periods of war and political destabilization to mobilize a community in danger, whether this danger is real or not, I will stress that they also appear in more latent struggles. Rumors and CTs do not need wars, riots or revolutions to emerge; a mere situation a social change or insecurity, a challenge to the in-group's status security (Pettigrew, 1998) is enough to start them: the rise of new leaders in a stable community (Festinger, Cartwright, alia., 1948), the arrival of outsiders in a neighborhood (Elias, Scotson, 1994) or the development of trendy clothes stores (Morin, alia., 1969). This is why I have chosen for the title of this article "troubled times" instead of crisis, struggle, conflict or war. It looks more appropriated to cover all the situations I examine. From riots to latent opposition in suburbs, I am willing to prove that rumors and conspiracy theories fulfil the social function of strengthening communities' ties at all levels (*hypothesis 2*). To demonstrate this assumption, I will consider three classical levels of social interactions. First, at the macro level, I will remind how rumors and CTs play a significant part in periods of open and violent conflicts regarding the entire society like the French Revolution or ethno-confessional riots in the post-colonial India(1). Secondly, at the meso or intermediary level, I will dwell on limited but dramatic cases of violent confrontation with the authorities of dissident groups such as the events in Jonestown, Guyana, in 1978 and Waco, Texas, in 1993 (2). In this section I will particularly emphasis the Jonestown case because there is a lot of very relevant first hand material about how the dynamics of rumors and conspiracy theories play a significant part in the mass-murder/suicide that happened on November 18th 1978. Thirdly, at the micro level of a neighborhood, I will argue that even though there is no violent conflict, rumors arise to reaffirm – symbolically at least – the dominant values and habits of established groups. Then, they contribute to strengthen social conformism and secured old-line leaderships as well. Two cases will be taken into account: an established and cohesive

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6   Of course this function of rumors and CTs is not the only one. In a yet unpublished research report (Giry, 2017) I argue that CTs fulfil at least seven social functions. Most of them (4 out of 7) are intentionally and consciously developed by social actors who support CTs. Robert K. Merton called them *manifest* functions (1968: 73–138). Quite the opposite, *latent* functions, 3 out of 7, are unconscious, unintended but beneficial. Put another way, manifest functions are the consequences that people observe or expect. They are explicitly stated and understood by the participants in the relevant action whereas latent functions are unexpected in their developments, goals and results. Manifest functions are: *1°)* a function of explanation and simplification of the historical process; *2°)* a function of reification of the social process; *3°)* a function of mobilization; *4°)* a function of politicization and legitimization. Latent functions are: *1°)* a function of paradoxical rationalization; *2°)* a *tribunitienne* function (Lavau 1981: 342); *3°)* a symbolic function.

group challenged by *outsiders*; an established social leadership challenged by an insider trying to improve his own social position (3).

Finally, this article will highlight the articulation between conspiracy theories and rumors as previously defined. It is to show how rumors as infra-political narratives[7] and conspiracy theories as theories of power (Viltard, 2003: 92), global and political narratives echo into one another. How the big picture of a largescale conspiracy led by government officials, communist agents or nobles to take over the power interacts with a small picture of local rumors of betrayal, subversion or communism. It will be interesting to illustrate how they fuel and supply each other (*hypothesis 3*).

To sum up, from the most obvious situations of violent conflicts to the less evident circumstances of latent oppositions, I will show through many examples from different geographical areas that rumors and CTs circulate in already cohesive groups to strengthen their social structures. They also help to reaffirm dominant values and secure established leaderships.

1. RUMORS AND CTS IN VIOLENT CONFLICTS INVOLVING THE ENTIRE SOCIETY: THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE ETHNO-CONFESSIONAL RIOTS IN POST-COLONIAL INDIA

In periods of wars, riots, revolutions or violent conflicts, rumors and CTs often flourish to explain the origin of deep social change as an intentional and secret agency. When established stratus and society collapse, it is easy to believe in evil plots (Gorth, 1987; Campion-Vincent, 2005: 105).

1.1. The French Revolution and the Great Fear of 1789

It is no question here to deal with theories that emerge after the French Revolution to explain its events in terms of conspiracy (Barruel, 1797). On the contrary, I will study the dynamics of rumors and CTs during the very revolutionary process to show how they fuel each other and how they reaffirm the established values and status, notably the leadership of the king in the beginning of the Revolution.

Since the 18th century, rumors of famine plots were part of the French collective imagination. As well-described by Kaplan (1982), bread scarcities and its consequent starvations were usually explained in terms of a conspiracy led by stupid ministers, obnoxious – Protestant – bankers, stingy storekeepers and shady bakers. Only the king was said not to be part of the plot. Hearsay of speculation on wheat or flour, of overflowing secret barns, of crops thrown out in the Seine regularly circulated among the French people in the cities to explain scandalous prices of bread and basic foods.

On the eve of the Revolution and during its beginning in early summer of 1789, right before the harvest, this vision of a famine plot was anchored in the French collective imagination and "many people came to suspect the existence of a series of threats to themselves and their communities" (Tackett, 2003: 151). Combined with this famine plot theory, numerous rumors came from neighboring villages to announce that, one the one hand, foreign soldiers were invading the country and, on the other hand,

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7   This does not deny the insight that rumors can deal with politics or political actors (e.g.: Melania Trump does not share her husband's bed, Emmanuel Macron is actually gay, etc.) but they are not or rarely political themselves.

thousands of gangs of beggars, wanders and villains called *brigands* were looting the country. The strength and persistence of those rumors mixed with the collapse of the established feudal order started the Great Fear of 1789. The panic was particularly intensive in areas dominated by an oral culture or affected by the highest rises in wheat prices during the preceding months. The Great Fear thus initiates a new wave of rumors about a foreign invasion and CTs dealing with an imminent political subversion. Even the Deputies in Paris were affected by the panic. In their letters dated July 1789, the idea of local conspiracies or plot famines is largely exhibited whereas it was totally absent a month before and almost forgotten in August (Tackett, 2000: 703).

Analyzing the Great Fear, Lefebvre formulated the thesis that panics and violence were due to the belief in an "aristocratic plot", a conspiracy led by the nobles against the people and the King (1932: 49). The brigands were also believed to be part of this aristocratic plot. Their mission was to steal and destroy crops to starve the people. If this thesis was dominant in the 20th century, recent research have shown that the link he established between the brigands and the nobles as the origin of the Great Fear is highly questionable. On the contrary, it appears that in the beginning of the Great Fear, rumors of gangs of brigands genuinely strengthened ties and vertical solidarity among communities (Sutherland, 2003: 68). In the zones touched by the panic, there are many examples of nobles and clergymen recruited to lead militias to defend their communities (Tackett, 2003: 158). This situation was observed in Montoire, Brive, Cahors or Limoges. Faced with those brigands' rumors, peasants and townsmen reaffirm their confidence in the established seigneurial system and feudal rules. *Unions sacrées* between nobles and commoners were declared to face the forthcoming danger and national guards were formed in many villages of Artois, Soissonnais, Maine, Gévaudan or Aquitaine. Furthermore, it is important to notice that during the Great Fear very few acts of physical violence or material destruction were directed toward the nobles. By this time, the nobles and the King of France appeared to be on the people's side whereas the brigands were portrayed as agents of foreign countries or unknown enemies.

But afterwards, when the panic was over and the people realized that there were actually no gangs of brigands, the idea emerged that those rumors were forged by the nobles including the *prince de Condé* or *the Comte d'Arthois* to secure their positions and leaderships (Jolivet, 1930: 134; Tackett, 2004). And, when in some places brigands had really existed, rumors came out to explain they were noble-manipulated or noble-operated. CTs about an "aristocratic plot" are rather a consequence of the Great Fear than its cause. Indeed, when two years later a new cycle of rumors of famine plot appeared, it accused the nobles of leading a vast conspiracy against the people. Whereas in 1789 the nobles where seen as protectors of their communities, in 1791 it was generally admitted they were the enemies of the nation. By this time, many letters addressed to the Constituent's Committee enhanced the thesis of a large scale conspiracy ruled by refectory nobles and clergymen against the Constitution, the citizens and the King. It was only after his flight in June 1791 and the discovery of his personal letters that it became clear that the monarch had been part of the conspiracy for months.

1.2. Ethno-confessional Riots in Post-kolonial India: Rumors and CTs as Self-fulfilling Prophecies

Since its independence, India regularly faces ethnic violence and confessional riots that alternatively opposed Hindus and Muslims, and Hindus and Sikhs. Through those

periods rumors arise in each ethnic group to reaffirm its cohesiveness, its – righteousness – values and remind how evil and rotten the other one is. As noted by Allport and Postman (1947: 182), rumors "firm pre-exiting attitudes rather than forming new ones." Reinforcing and justifying (pre)existing biases and stereotypes seem to be very powerful in rumors and CTs that lead to ethno-confessional violence (Kakar, 1996, 2005; Horowitz, 2001). All the more so, rumors of violence are enforcing the dynamics of violence. Everything happens as if "rumor-generated violence has the perfect effect of confirming" (Bhavnani, Findley, Kuklinski, 2009: 877–878) the rumors' veracity or at least plausibility. Rumors of violence and subsequent violence are then engaged in a vicious circle which must be seen as a self-fulfilling prophecy as defined by Merton (1948: 195)[8]. And, this process and dynamics of circulation of social and ethnic hate leading to extreme violence are particularly clear in the Indian post-colonial era.

Since 1947 at least, animosity and violence tend to be part of the relationships between Hindus and Indian Muslim minorities accused of being agents of Pakistan. In both communities, rumors and CTs feed animosity, mutual fears and social hate that sometimes end up in violence. In Hindus areas, rumors disseminate negative appraisals of Muslims. They are accused of killing or burning Hindus alive, raping their women, kidnapping their children, poisoning the food and the milk or castrating non-Muslims. They are also portrayed as coward terrorists heavily armed acting secretly by night against Hindus' interests. Put together, all those rumors reflect the Hindu's deep-rooted bias of Muslim disloyalty. In other words, Muslims are accused of running grand conspiracy against India and Hinduism. Reciprocally, in Muslim areas, hearsay reports that Hindus are threating Islam by forcing Muslims to convert to Hinduism, they kill, kidnap or rape children and women, they poison the food and the milk, they destroy mosques and they are heavily armed as well. All combined, those rumors enhance the long-standing fear of Muslims being swamped by Hindus and then wiped out. And, as observed by Kakar (2005: 54–55), this set of rumors was particularly strong and highly spread in the ethno-confessional riots of 1947 during the partition of India and Pakistan. They were used as self-justification for extreme violence in both communities which felt in mortal danger. In the riots of 1969 in Ahmedabad, 1990 in Hyderabad and 2002 in Ahmedabad again, the same rumors circulated again within both ethnic groups. In this mirrors and scales game, perpetrators of the ones are the victims of the others and, mastering anxiety and fears, rumors and CTs play their social function. In strengthening individual identities with his/her group, they contribute to reactive ethno-confessional solidarities. In subsuming individuals to the group, rumors reinforce its cohesiveness and sense of superiority by exalting its collective values, memory, imagination and "identity".

The same process of circulation of social hate through rumors and CTs leading to violence characterizes the relationships between Hindus and Sikhs. In the everyday life, Sikhs' narratives usually represent Hindus as liars, snakes, weak and effeminate whereas Hindus' hearsay portrays Sikhs as heavily armed violent and fanatic snakes too. Crystallized in rumors, those stereotypes and biases fueled hostility and violence between the communities as self-fulfilling prophecies. In 1984, the tensions were brought to

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8   "The self-fulfilling prophecy is, in the beginning, a *false* definition of the situation evoking a new behavior which makes the original false conception come *true*. This specious validity of the self-fulfilling prophecy perpetuates a reign of error. For the prophet will cite the actual course of events as proof that he was right from the very beginning."

a climax after the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (Das, 1998) when hostility and animosity spread by rumors turned into violence against the Sikhs. They were accused of separatism, disloyalty to India and made responsible for the original violence against Hindus in Punjab. Rumors also circulated that Sikhs were celebrating Mrs. Gandhi's death, had poisoned water and bread or killed hundreds of Hindus in a Delhi Station (Tambiah, 1996: 237). Sometimes Mrs. Gandhi's assassination was even claimed as the first step of a grand conspiracy mastered by the Sikhs. On the Sikhs' side, rumors echoed that there was a conspiracy going on to transform their community into a "weak race" (Das, 1998).

Such narratives were indeed endorsed by Sikh and Hindu leaders in a systematic dualism separating the self from the other, and not only the peasants or working men did so. "Contrary to the notion that certain classes of people are protected from the mesmerizing effect of rumors (e.g., the educated), I found that many professionals – bureaucrats, teachers, and medical doctors – inhabited for a time that twilight zone in which it was difficult to know whether it was wiser to believe in rumors or in the official versions of events." (Das, 1998) Hence, those educated people and communities' leaders – like Bhindranwale for the Sikhs or Akali Dal for the Hindus – who had espoused some extreme beliefs deep-rooted in the collective imagination of their communities played a decisive role in the dissemination of violence-promoting rumors, the mobilization of crowds and the reaffirmation of ethnic solidarity that led to violence, riots and murders. And the more communities' leaders and educated people interacted with the rest of their community, the more powerful this process was (Bhavnani, Findley, Kuklinski, 2009: 890). Dealing with negative stereotypes on Sikhs and rumors of mass murder committed or about to be committed, Hindu leaders organized their communities. They formed militias to lead punitive expeditions that turned into massacre and reciprocal violence from the Sikhs that justified further acts of cruelty. The self-fulfilling prophecy was tragically realized.

To summarize, rumors and CTs based on ethno-cultural or ethno-confessional prejudices and stereotypes powerfully contribute to the production and circulation of social hate and the exaltation of in-group values, status and "identities". Particularly fluid in periods of riots, violence or political destabilization, their movements create the conditions under which in-groups "become pitted against each other in fear and mutual hatred, constructing images of self and other" (Das, 1998: 109). Rumors of violence fueled the fire of violence which justify, legitimate and reinforce preexisting stereotypes or prejudices as a self-fulfilling prophecy.

2. RUMORS AND CTs CIRCULATING IN DISSIDENT GROUPS IN VIOLENT CONFRONTATION WITH THE AUTHORITIES: THE DISASTERS OF JONESTOWN AND WACO

If the first situation involved the entire society in a violent conflict, the second section considers how the dynamics of rumors and CTs lead dissident groups to mass-suicide/murder. Through many letters or testimonies, I mainly focus on the events of Jonestown to show how rumors were decisive to strengthen Jim Jones' leadership on his followers. As a new religious movement, not to say a cult organization, the Peoples Temple saw itself and its leader as the targets of a big government conspiracy. Starting from that, rumors and CTs played a preponderant part in the life of the community. It was also a way to reinforce solidarity and ties among Jones' followers.

The second case is investigated in shorter terms and from a different point of view for two main reasons. First, despite less first-hand material, it seems clear that the dynamics that led to the disaster of Waco in 1993 was very similar to what happened in Jonestown. Consequently, I will study how the reminding of Jonestown and its aftermath was omnipresent during the siege of Waco. On the one hand, the Branch Davidians and their leader David Koresh declared that the government wanted to destroy them because of its anti-religiousness just like it did in Jonestown. Then several rumors of imminent attacks flourished in the compound before and during the siege. On the other hand, the authorities were influenced by the portrait of Koresh they had themselves drawn: a heavily armed Jim Jones-like failed personality and guru leading his community to mass-suicide.

2.1. The Mass-suicide/Murder of Jonestown, Guyana: 18th november 1978

"Victims of Conspiracy: *This is an organized, orchestrated, premeditated government campaign to destroy a politically progressive church*". Here are the headlines of a booklet edited by the Peoples Temple in 1978 which synthetized the church conspiratorial state of mind.

Born in Indiana in 1931, Jones always wanted to be a preacher. He founded his first church in 1953 which welcomed Black and White people from poor origins. Left to Brazil in 1962 because he feared a nuclear apocalypse, Jones came back in the United-States in 1964 to establish his Peoples Temple in California. Self-proclaimed reincarnation of Jesus, Jones was at the head of more than 20 000 followers, mostly African Americans from lower social classes. They had to leave all their goods to the Temple and live in a community. Accused of sexual abuses on children, frauds, physical punishments on adults or phony miracles by former-members (Kilduff, Tracy, 1977), Jones spread among his followers the idea that those accusations were part of a government conspiracy to destroy the Temple. According to Jones, racist and conservative politicians wanted to nip his plan of a socialist mixed-race society in the bud. In 1977, Jones and some 800 of his most devoted followers left to Guyana to create their heaven on earth: Jonestown.

If the settlement in Jonestown was highly enthusiastic (Traver, 1977a, 1977b; Chaikin-Alexander, 1977)[9], the atmosphere quickly turned into fear and state of siege mentality. Jones was more and more violent and paranoid. He multiplied physical punishment and transformed his followers into slaves. Jones, as ex-members testified, created "a conspiratorial atmosphere and the impression among the people that (they) were under attack almost continually in order to (…) maintain some organizational cohesiveness" (Chaikin, 1977). For instance, Jones spread rumors that the United States government had marshaled Black people into concentration camps (Barkun, 2013: 72–76), was conducting a "Black genocide" (Goldberg, 2001: 159–188), was responsible for Dr. King and President Kennedy' assassinations, the KKK was patrolling at the borders and a nuclear war was about to start (Berthillier, Wolochatiuk, 2006). A first climax was reached when Jones convinced himself that the American army was about to invade Jonestown to kill him. A six day siege started. People were confined in a hysterical atmosphere of apocalypse and forced to go through "White Nights",

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9   All the letters mentioned are retrieved from: http://jonestown.sdsu.edu/?page_id=18985. Accessed: September October 2016.

kinds of mass-suicide training sessions (Chaikin, 1977). Resulting from this paranoid and fear atmosphere, Jones managed to strengthen the community around him. He convinced his followers that to face this obsequious conspiracy it was necessary to commit suicide and it was better to die than living in the forthcoming American dictatorship. In 1978, rumors of fascist invasions or imminent murders were the daily narratives that circulated in Jonestown. In the middle of the jungle, rumors were the main source of information for isolated residents who had almost no contact with people from outside and very little access to media. In their last letters, people of Jonestown described a situation of extreme tension and the omnipresence of a conspiratorial atmosphere (Grunnet, 1978a, 1978b; Johnston, 1978) that led them to accept mass-suicide as a revolutionary act of resistance[10] (Alexander, 1978; Moore, 1978).

Finally, the tragic end happened on 18th November 1978, Jim Jones persuaded his followers to give a cyanide-laced Kool-Aid drink to their children and inject themselves with cyanide (Bratich, 2003: 377–378). During this final "White Night", "residents proclaimed their willingness to take the lives of their own children rather than leave them for the fascists find" (Moore, 2013). The visit of Congressman Ryan who investigated allegation of abuses in Jonestown and the defection of a few members led to the disaster. After Ryan and defectors' assassinations, Jones told his followers that there was no way to get back in the life they used to live: thousands of fascist soldiers were about to invade Jonestown to jail, torture or kill them. They had to commit mass-suicide/murder to save them, especially the children.

Afterward, the Jonestown episode and its mass-suicide/murder started many CTs which play a very decisive part in the dynamics of the Waco disaster in 1993.

2.2. The Tragic Ending of the Siege of Waco, Texas: 28th February – 19th April 1993

19th April 1993, after a 51 day siege, the FBI launched an attack against the Branch Davidians' complex in Waco in order to "flush them out" according to President Clinton's words. Broadcast live on TV networks, flames quickly appeared over the compound and at least seventy-four men, women and children died. Immediately, the main question became who started the fire. Did the Davidians start the blaze themselves as part of a suicide pact? Or, was the arson started by the FBI? According to a *Time Magazine* poll on August 1999, 61% of the Americans agreed the second option (Mulloy, 2003: 718). Even if the official report stated that it was the Davidians who actually started the fire (1993) – it was confirmed in the final report in November 2000 (Danforth, 2000), many CTs flourished to explain what really happened in Waco[11].

During the siege Koresh and his followers were persuaded that the American government wanted to kill them as part of a conspiracy against religious liberties. For

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10 Jones and his followers re-appropriated the concept of "revolutionary suicide" from the Black Panthers Party for Self-Defense. In the 1960's radical groups from the left developed the idea that the American government had planned a grand conspiracy to destroy progressive movements. They considered that die-fighting was a political act of resistance and it was better to die that living in a "fascist" or racist country.

11 Two years later to the day, far right activist Timothy McVeigh bombed a federal building in Oklahoma City to protest against the government cover-up for the "massacre". He was convinced that the government ruled a conspiracy against the American people.

him, it became clear that the government was allied with Babylon(Bitter, 2003: 171) and the siege they underwent was the 5th seal of Apocalypse. Many rumors of imminent attacks, of tanks and "black helicopters" (Barkun, 2013: 70–72) roaming around their complex reinforced their conviction that the End would come soon and at the same time strengthened the community. Koresh and his followers viewed themselves as martyrs. What's more, Koresh was fully aware that he was portrayed as a Jim Jones-kind guru in the media and for that reason he would be killed by the government. He also believed that if he surrendered, he would have to face an iniquitous trial. On the other side, the FBI considered Koresh as a heavily armed half-guru half-crook who sexually abused children and wanted to lead his community in mass-suicide. In their understanding of the standoff, the parallel with Jonestown was omnipresent (Luca, 2006: 115). For the authorities, Koresh's Bible babble was not understandable. It was clear that he was using delaying tactics to destroy the proof against him and preparing a mass-suicide. When Koresh broke is words to release the children after he had spoken on TV networks, the FBI mind was definitively made-up. "Tension was at climax […] because of the competition engaged on the perception of the moral order of the world, on the values, on differences of rationality and on concurrent authorities which should prime: state or god" (Luca, 2006: 118). Finally, interactions between the religious-based conspiratorial vision of Koresh and his followers and the FBI Jonestown-like scenario led to disaster. As rumors of an ineluctable assault spread, Koresh and his groups were more and more bound and ready to die while the authorities were more and more convinced that they collectively planned to commit suicide since the beginning. Like in the ethno-confessional riots, the dynamics of rumors and CTs revealed a self-fulfilling prophecy and the siege of Waco ended up in a pool of blood.

3. RUMORS AND CTs IN NON-VIOLENT OPPOSITIONS: CHALLENGING THE ESTABLISHED AND SECURED LEADERSHIPS

If hitherto I have taken into account several social situations characterized by violence to support my thesis of rumors and CTs as means to strengthen community's ties, I will go now through two different situations where there is no physical violence at all. I will consider situations of latent oppositions to emphasis the role played by rumors and CTs to secure old-line leaderships, established values and deep-rooted collective representations. In a context of social change, when established leaderships are challenged by rising ones, rumors and CTs arise as an act of social conformism that remind and strengthen in-group structures as well as exclude outsiders or challengers.

3.1. Old Residents and Newcomers: Established vs. Outsiders

To shed light on the function of rumors in a situation of latent opposition between established and outsiders, it is necessary to consider the classical enquiry conducted by Elias and Scotson in an industrial neighborhood in the outskirts of Leicester given the pseudonym of Winston Prava in the 1960's. Winston Prava was divided in three sections: the first zone was a middle class area and zones 2 and 3 were blue collar. The zone 2, nicknamed "*the Village*", was the first area built in 1860 by the founder of Winston Prava, Charles Winston. Residents of zone 2 developed since then a sense of community and collective history. "They went through a collective process – from the

past to the future *via* the present – which gave them a stock of common memories, ties and dislikes" noted Wieviorka in his preface to the French edition (1997: 55). When the estate located in the zone 3 was built in the late 1940's, an "us versus them" (ego-defensive function) relationship was immediately elaborated between established people from zones 1 and 2 and the newcomers.

The criterion which fuels this socio-dynamics was the long-time residency in the neighborhood. We are assisting at the "resourcization" of duration as a strong agent of discrimination particularly powerful when there is no objective criterion of differentiation. "In Winston Prava, newcomers are victims of segregation, stigmatization and rejection although there is no difference of "race", language, national culture or class. Among the ones who are rejected, most of them are most of the time blue collars or from working class origin" (Wieviorka, 1997: 13), just like people from the zone 2. Put another way, even though there are no sociological differences between people living in zones 2 and 3, there is racism without race and class struggle without class antagonism in Winston Prava. Generation after generation, old families had monopolized the sources of power and prestige and developed a collective charisma which gave them a unique social position and superiority. This "capital of duration" (Heinich, 1997: 80), or I better say *capital of establishment*, is visible through three patterns used to strengthen the socially established structures: 1°) endogamy and social reproduction among the "old mother centered family"; 2°) pubs, local clubs and family networks as institutions of socialization and segregation; 3°) dissemination of rumors, gossips and negative cliché-based stereotypes. In hearsay circulating in the zones 1 and 2, people from the third one were portrayed as a dirty, drunkard and violent colony of cockneys living in wetland or haunts of rats. The zone 3 was in addition known as an area full of criminals and prostitutes.

Hence, gossip and rumors are not a peripheral or independent phenomenon. They are constitutive of the social life of the community living in the second zone for they constantly testify of its superiority and the positive image of itself (Elias, Scotson, 1994: 89). The ego-defensive function of those tales is at once to integrate and exclude people (Elias, Scotson, 1994: 100–101) of the righteous community entwined in a cohesive network of families who share common interests, biases and sense of their own superiority (Elias, Scotson, 1994: 5). Despite this, it is important to state that those rumors and gossip are never directed toward a single person but against people of the third zone as a global entity (Heinich, 1997: 81–85). Most of the time, people from the zones 2 and 3 know each other, they work in the same factories and are personally in good terms (Elias, Scotson, 1994: xvi–xvii). But, people from the second zone collectively testified how they felt disappointed and upset when some outsiders settled in their neighborhood and how they perceived the newcomers as a threat to their way of life. Here was the origin of supporting rumors and gossips about the superiority of the "Village" and its residents and negative ones on the collective indignity of the newcomers/outsiders (Elias, Scotson, 1994: xvi–xvii).

Vilifications setting in motion the socially inferior group's own sense of shame or guilt feelings with regard to some inferiority symbols, some signs of the worthlessness attributed to them and the paralysis of their power to strike back which goes hand in hand with it, from thus part of the social apparatus with which socially dominant and superior groups maintain their domination and superiority over socially inferior groups. Individual members of the inferior group are always supposed to be tarred by the same brush. They cannot escape from the group stigmatization individually, just as they

cannot escape individually from the lower status of their group (Elias, Scotson, 1994: 102–103).

In this way, rumors and gossip which circulate in the second zone enhance the cohesiveness of the "Village" and underline their self-constructed image of superiority and righteousness. They in addition play a significant part in the perpetuation of social control and conformism and they contribute to strengthen family's ties and collective charisma as well. At the same time, they disseminate negative cliché-based prejudices and stereotypes in the collective imagination of people who live in the second zone. Rumors and gossip finally turn the newcomers into definitive outsiders that must be feared and kept apart.

3.2. The Rise of New Leaders: Established vs. Ascending Insiders

In February of 1947, Festinger and his team were conducting a research program on the problem of social organization and communication when they had the privilege to observe from its origin the spread of a rumor. In a poor shipyard workers' neighborhood, the inactive local tenants' committee was challenged in its leadership. With the help of a community organizer, people in the neighborhood started several social programs such as the development of a nursery school. Consequently, the local leadership "was now mainly in the hands of people who had previously not been active" (Festinger, Cartwright, alia., 1948: 468) while the leadership of the tenants' committee and its secretaries was waning. Among those new leaders, Mrs. C. was particularly involved and considered in the nursery school activities. A couple of weeks later, all this well-advanced project was definitively stopped. Rumors had arisen: the new leaders were communists; no one could trust them. The program was communist-based and Un-American. Surprisingly, only residents were pointed out by rumors. Mrs. C. was the main target of the rumors whereas the community organizers who started the programs were spared despite being outsiders.

Let's study carefully the dynamics of those rumors which must be seen as a piece of resistance to change. How did they flourish and disseminate to secure established leaderships and enhance social conformism. "The increased number of people who were participating threatened the status position of old leaders. If these activities proceeded, new leaders would almost certainly become dominant" (Festinger, Cartwright, alia., 1948: 470) noticed Festinger. Particularly threatened was the position of the secretary of the tenants' committee. A close friend and next-door neighbor of Mrs. C., she became exceptionally active in the spreading of communism rumors. Along with Mr. M. who was the notorious long-time anticommunist leader of boy's activities in the local church, they started the rumor that Mrs. C. was an "avowed communist" (Festinger, Cartwright, alia., 1948: 471) who read communist newspapers and had radical opinions. Their positions of "experts" (Kapferer, 1990: 80) or better-informed people played a strategic part in dissemination of the rumor[12]. Through a process of *fides implicita*[13] – implicit trust (Aldrin, 2005: 200), the secretary and Mr.

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12 Rouquette (1990: 120) similarly argues that personal implication of elites or socialites plays a significant part in the dissemination of rumors.

13 *Fides implicita* is a social process of symbolic violence in which dominated people (young, less-educated, less-informed people, etc.) entrust – supposedly – more qualified people (the dominants) to judge or evaluate a social situation or phenomenon. See: Bourdieu, 1984: 245.

M. appeared as the most qualified people to evaluate the rumor's credibility and give it a chance to spread in the neighborhood. Consequently, the premise that Mrs. C. was a communist agent was quickly accepted by the residents.

But, "rumor rarely appears as itself: it goes with its share of proof which confirms its undeniable credibility. In some way, its strength resides in its structuring effect on our perception: it gives sense to numerous facts that either we have never paid attention to, or the sense never looked clear. It gives us a coherent system to explain a large number of scattered facts: in this, it satisfies our need for order in the understanding of surrounding phenomena" (Kapferer, 1990: 93). So that, a cognitive process of reorganization took place and several events of the past involving Mr. C. were double-checked in the light of the rumor. Regarding the premise of "avowed communism", it was clear that Mrs. C., a long-time communist agent, settled in the neighborhood to spy or subvert it and the movie shown in a meeting was communist propaganda and its music composed by Aaron Copland[14] "sounded Russian". Everything was added up to support the premise of communism and discredit Mrs. C. and the new leaders.

Rumors conversely became supporting narratives for the old leaders. Not only did they put an end to the social activities of the ascending leaders but also preserved and reaffirmed the old leadership structures. The tenants' committee concurrently strengthened its prestige in the community because it seemed not soft on communism. When rumors arose, the committee contacted the regional management office which sent a community organizer to the neighborhood. It was told to be careful because communist agents may have infiltrated some social program. As a result, Mrs. C. and a few other new leaders were totally ostracized by the rest of the community. The situation became even worse when the "avowed communist" had to face vicious anti-Semitic slanders from the overwhelming WASP majority.

Finally, with the distance of history it is interesting to obverse that a local rumor of communist-supported activities interacts with the big picture of a so-called communist conspiracy to take over the United States during the "Witches Hunt". Like in the neighborhood studied by Festinger, it appears that "the issue of communism in the United States was of much greater concern to the elite" (Gibson, 1988: 519) to secure its leadership. This dynamic concerns both local and national elites[15] throughout the United States (Stouffer, 1955: 40–44). Quite the opposite, if obviously the American citizens were strongly anti-communist, only 1% of them spontaneously pointed out in polls communism as the number one danger that the United States had to face (Toinet, 1984: 76).

CONCLUSION

To sum-up, rumors and CTs develop in already cohesive communities as an act of social conformism (ego-defensive function). Collectively accepted as plausible, they reaffirm and strengthen through a process of *fides implicita* the dominant values, established structure and secured leadership of an *in-group* at the same time they exclude the outsiders and challengers usually negatively portrayed. Rumors circulate

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14 During the McCarthyism's era, Copland was accused of being a communist agent and was blacklisted.
15 See how Richard Nixon used in 1948 the Alger Hiss case as a political springboard (Huret, 2009: 73–74).

then in a group which already has a clear idea of its own superiority and of the dichotomies "the self/the others" or "us/them". They are particularly pro-active and powerful when the members and all the more so the leaders of the in-group feel a threat to their positions. Sometimes, no matter if they are right or wrong, prejudices and stereotypes contained in rumors turn into self-fulfilling prophecies which feed rumors in a vicious circle. Rumors and CTs design scapegoats who are responsible of all the evil things from wars to a mere change in the social structure of a neighborhood.

This dynamic of rumors and CTs is particularly obvious in the migrant crisis of the middle of the 2010's. Portrayed in European media and radical political discourses as outsiders or possible terrorists, refugees are accused of being agents of destabilization and subversion. Their religion, their habits or their "culture" are presented as a threat to our Christian civilization. Many more prejudices and negative stereotypes circulate in rumors and CTs. For instance, Renaud Camus (2011), a French far right activist, prophesizes that in the fifty coming years, Europe will be an Islamic area thanks to the complicity of governments and European institutions. He called this phenomenon "*le grand replacement*" – the great substitution. Muslim people from Arabic areas will flood Europe – through hidden agency – to reduce European Christian people into *dhimmis* or barely tolerated minorities (Bat Ye'Or, 2005).

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ETHNOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE CITY: FRAMEWORK OF THE ZAGREB CITY-MAKING PROJECT

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The author presents the research project "City-making: space, culture and identity" which is focused on contemporary urban transformations of Zagreb. The article is a research report on particular project activities and on several theoretical and methodological challenges that unfold from the research. The paper starts with a glimpse of urban research in (Croatian) ethnology and cultural anthropology in which the current project is embedded. Research segments into city-making by art and city-making by public events are briefly described in two parts of the article. The focus is however, on indications of certain topics and approaches that stem from particular research (time, motion, affect) which could be considered as potent for further theorizing the city and urban space. Correspondingly, research methods of walking ethnography and sensory ethnography are also discussed as valuable tools in this work in progress research.

Key words: urban anthropology, Zagreb, city-making, public spaces, public events

URBAN RESEARCH IN (CROATIAN) ETHNOLOGY AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Ethnology and cultural anthropology have been involved in urban research for decades. At least from the 1970s the city became the locus for ethnological research. Primarily, it was tracing rural migrants into the city that actually brought ethnologists and cultural anthropologists to urban milieu. A glimpse at the history and themes of urban research in the 1970s and 1980s shows that European and American ethnologists and cultural anthropologists turned to the research of adaptation of rural migrants, social networking in urban settings, urban poor, to folklore as "culture of resistance" against alienating urban life, to working class suburbs and urban working class culture in general (Foster and Kemper, 1977; Eames and Goode, 1977; Bott, 1957; Simić, 1973; Lombardi Satriani, 1974; Kremenšek, 1970; Kohlmann and Bausinger, 1985).[1]

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1   The mentioned topics are only a glimpse of the field urban research, and does not aim at exhaustive review. It is interesting to note that British social anthropology was focused on African cities for most

This shift towards urban research meant not only the changes from rural to urban locations of research (mostly in continental European ethnologies) but in cultural and social anthropological traditions in some countries (USA, UK) it coincided with the general shift from doing research on distant cultures and in remote places towards the research of domestic society. These shifts were gradually also indicated in the naming of the discipline's research stream as *urban ethnology*, *urban anthropology*, *anthropology of the modern world*, *l'ethnologie du proche*, *anthropology at home*. In Croatian ethnology, which is the standpoint from which this text is written, the paradigmatic shift was named *ethnology of our everyday life* after a prominent Croatian ethnologist Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin and her seminal book in 1988. The first line in the book states that ethnology "started to lose its subject of research" – that is national folk culture – due to processes of urbanization and that "the city, naturally, emerged as a challenge to ethnological research" (Rihtman-Auguštin, 1988: 3–4). In the articles compiled in the book the author deals with classical ethnological themes (customs and festivities, family relations, food, music, clothes etc.) in an urban context with the underlying interest in the transformation of (rural) traditions in the urban context.

There were a few more cornerstones built in this significant paradigmatic change in Croatia. Previously, the nation was seen exclusively as rural, folk and peasant but it is replaced with the notion of nation as comprised of various social strata. Moreover, the previous view of culture as an inventory of cultural elements was criticized, and notions of culture as dynamic, processual and changeable were set at the forefront of the research. Finally, the highlight was put on the present everyday life, thus seeing past (traditions) as part of *our* contemporaneousness. It was not only that urban context alone influenced the change of tradition, but there were several more overlapping contexts: the context of industrialization, the context of modernity, the context of growing new media technology; and, in East-Central Europe particularly, the context of socialism/communism.[2]

Another significant upsurge in urban research in ethnology and cultural anthropology was evident in the 1990s after the collapse of communism. The post-socialist city became a significant topic due to radical political, economic and social changes which influenced the way of life, social relations, cultural values, everyday habits, annual festivities etc. During the last two decades a comprehensive body of literature on post-socialist cities has been produced dealing with spatial, economic and social restructurings that significantly left their mark on urban landscape and the way of life (Andrusz et al., 1996; Hamilton et al., 2005; Stanilov, 2007; Kliems and Dimitrieva, 2010; Hirt, 2012). These vibrant and constantly changing urban contexts have been a fruitful ground for ethnological research into urban ethnic and migrant encounters, social networking, neighbourhood life, appropriation of space, social differentiation, culture of leisure, urban identity processes, festivals and public events, new life-styles, civic engagements, etc. (Bodnar, 2001; Ethnologia Balkanica, 2005; Roth and Brunnbauer, 2006; Lisiak, 2010; Hirt, 2012; Grubbauer and Kusiak, 2012; Bitušíková and Luther, 2013; Zlatkova, 2015).[3]

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of the 20th century while American cultural anthropology did a significant part of research in Latin American cities (Hannerz, 1980: 119–161; Foster and Kemper, 1974); European continental ethnologies mostly oriented towards cities in their national countries.

2   This shift resulted in various new topics in Croatian ethnology being researched in the city in the following years like youth popular culture, contemporary urban ritual traditions, subcultures etc. (see for example: Vodopija, 1976; Prica, 1990; Kalapoš, 1996; see also Gulin Zrnić, 2009: 20–26; on the more detailed history of Croatian ethnology see Čapo and Gulin Zrnić, 2014).

3   Again, this is not a comprehensive literature list.

Apart from research and analyses of practices and imaginations of post-socialist cities from the ethnological viewpoint, there are various critiques that stress the predominance of "transition" grand-narrative which implicitly inoculated the post-socialist (and socialist city before being 'post') with the notion of being "overly 'orientalised' as radically different" and the "difference is interpreted as mere 'backwardness' within the Western paradigm of urban modernization" (Grubbauer and Kusiak, 2012: 14). It might not come as a surprise then that postcolonial theory is also harnessed to the understanding of post-socialist cities (Lisiak, 2010). Other comments point at the post-socialist city studies as an undertheorized field, although there is potential of more theoretical discussion and contribution to general urban studies on at least two issues that stem from ethnological research of post-socialist city case-studies: the issue of "convergences versus particularities, and changes versus continuities" (Grubbauer, 2012: 54).

The quest for more profound theorizing the city does not pertain only to post-socialist city studies; it is a recurrent comment on research of cities from an ethnological and cultural-anthropological perspective (Low, 1999). One of the rare authors that developed a coherent structure of ideas on which urban anthropology could rely is Ulf Hannerz. In his "Exploring the City" (1980) he grounds the discussion on key anthropological concepts (person, networks, relational perspective, diversity) developed in general anthropology as well as in particular research on urbanization (mostly African cities) combined with congruent sociological urban approaches (the Chicago school, Goffman), and stresses the value of the "ethnographic panorama" and the adaptability of anthropological methodology. The discussion leads to theorizing the city in terms of indeterminacy, variability, fluidity and incompleteness as well as dynamic interaction between the city and individuals.

In the ethnological sense, a congruous metaphor, recognized by Hannerz, would be the "soft city" (Raban, 1998). Compared to "hard city" – the city defined in geographical maps, sociological statistics or architectural reviews – the "soft city" is the city that emerges from the inscription of individual biographies and identities on its tissue and the city which invites inhabitants to "remake" it (ibid.: 3–4). It is the city that individuals appropriate and transform, "humanize", "invest" with culture, and "shape the city through their everyday resourcefulness" (Cohen, 1993: 5, 17). The core of such an ethnological approach to city is in the *everyday lived urban experiences*, as the most prominent prism of living, understanding and sensing various macro-processes that direct the life of individuals in the city.[4]

Such notions of city and urban life are built in the current project "City-making: space, culture and identity" which focuses on contemporary transformations in/of the Croatian capital, Zagreb.[5] The project proposes to develop an encompassing platform for studying city-making or contemporary restructuring of the city, its identity and identities of its inhabitants. The premise that city-making is a result of a set of entangled variables (political, economic, social and cultural) intersecting at different levels (local, national, regional, European, global) and engaging various actors (citizens, civil society associations, city municipality) informs the project's approach and

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4   Some comments on the history of urban research and theorizing the city are taken from the author's book (Gulin Zrnić, 2009) which made significant ground for the development of the project "City-making".

5   The project is conducted by Dr. Jasna Čapo; the author is a member of the research team. Web site of the project: www.citymaking.eu.

methodologies. Special attention is paid to contemporary processes of commodification, public governance (privatisation of public space, festivalisation, touristification) and mobility (as a vector of city transformations and pluralisation) as they impact on city structures and representations and at the same time impact local urban images, histories, ways of life, interests and identifications. Specifically, in the vibrant and changing city-scape of Zagreb the project aims to understand some of the following issues:

How do the images of the city held by various actors of city-making relate to one another? Does their meeting result in a collision or synergy?

What symbolic means do city residents use to inscribe themselves in the city tissue, and specifically into public spaces?

How are the proclaimed political and social values (pertaining e.g. to diversity, multi-culturalism, unity and coexistence of diversity, etc.) enacted in everyday practices – and eventually changed by these enactments?

How do policy makers engage with marginality, be it social, economic or cultural?

Can the city be described as "parallel worlds" (a mosaic) or as a hybrid whole?

Does the city governance envisage and project the values of a sustainable and liveable space for its residents?[6]

Further discussion in the article is organized around two segments of research which are still work in progress. The focus is on the recognition of themes and approaches (and their fruitful juncture) which could indicate potent components for future more profound theorizing the city and urban space from an ethnological and cultural-anthropological perspective. The first part presents the research of artistic interventions in public spaces in Zagreb in 2016. The particularity of these interventions is that they arise from the synergy of artistic work and the project research since the researchers were involved in artistic creations from the very beginning, even influencing the artistic concepts. Discussed from the perspectives of production and construction of the city, the particular art interventions open up issues of understanding the city in terms of multiple temporalities, affective atmospheres, various paces of traversing the city and provoking active engagement with the urban space. The second research segment describes city-making by public event but again, the focus is particularly oriented towards discussing research methods that would grasp affective and performative aspects of the city and urban space.

CITY-MAKING THROUGH ART

Art is conspicuously present in the city. Public monuments, sculptures, fountains, buildings and other constructions of artistic value (bridges, parks) are key points of urban sightseeing. How does art make the city? What can ethnological research say about the relationship between art and the city? Historical and artistic evaluation of particular piece of art lies in the domain of other sciences like the history of art. An ethnological perspective on art and the city starts with the thesis that art is one of the niches through which the city is created, challenged and changed. The two perspectives set out by Setha Low on space (1999a) could be well adopted and adapted in researching the city-making through art (as well as through public events, which will be presented

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6   See project website for the summary of the research proposal and questions, as well as for continuous activities and results of the project (www.citymaking.eu).

in the continuation of the text).[7] *Production of the city through art* includes those dimensions of art in the city that are realized from above, and which are part of municipal authorities' decision-making with regard to governing space and creating the city's identity. This dimension is mostly realized with larger artistic projects in terms of extent and financial investment. *Construction of the city through art* refers to interaction of citizens and the piece of art in a public space which is realized by practices (incorporating the art work into daily habits of using space), pheno-menological dimensions (perception and embodied experience) and by symbolic dimensions (meaning-making, connecting the piece of art with one's own understanding and uses of city).

One example of *production of the city through art* in Zagreb is the monument of a world known scientists and innovator, Nikola Tesla (1856–1943), on the occasion of commemorating the 150th year of his birth in 2006. One monument of Tesla was created by an eminent sculptor, Ivan Meštrović, in 1956 (marking 100 years) to be placed in the park of a newly-founded research institute in Zagreb. Fifty years later (2006), the city and state authorities decided to remove the monument from the Institute's park and to relocate it into the very centre of the city. State and the city representatives were all present at the day of opening in 2006. The event bore national importance as a promotion of an internationally known scientist from Croatia, but also it was important on the level of the city since it was aimed at making a strong new visual marker of the city. The monument located in the street that is named after the scientist (Tesla Street). It is on the very street level were the horizon of *construction of city* begins. The monument is located in the very dense street matrix of Zagreb Down Town; its proportions are too large for the existing street's space; and its orientation (looking toward Tesla Street but at the same time turning its monumental back and shoulders toward another street at the crossroad) closes the street space both visually and spatially. All these observations of the monument in the space were also part of the critique made by urban specialists, like art historians, at the time of relocation of the monument. On the other hand, at the level of everyday life rhythms and practices of this particular part of the city, the monument was soon incorporated in the life of the city. Standing at the crossroad of a pedestrian area which is full of cafes serving at tables on the street, the monument figures as a border towards the traffic street; during hot seasons when people stand in groups and drink, the monument is used for leaning on or leaving glasses; children climb on the monument in their play; some people lean their bikes on the monument; others leave rubbish bags there. Many people, still, remember that the monument was taken away from some other location, and that it does not really belong to Tesla Street. Such practices, memories and habits are part of the *construction of city* from below. Moreover, this example reveals another dimension of potential ethnological interest, that of contestation – of monuments in space, of locations and decision-making with regard to monuments, and art in the city in general – that is of various actors in the processes of city-making.

Notions of production, construction and contestation of spaces by art were the framework for a collaboration of ethnologists in the "City-making" project with artists in the "CreArt"[8] project in 2016. Five artists were selected by the Croatian Association

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7   I am referring here to two perspectives for researching space – production and construction of space – set out by S. Low (1999a).

8   "CreArt" is a network of cities for artistic creation, http://www.creart-eu.org/.

Photo 1: Artistic intervention (artist: Duje Medić) in the contested space (European Square) (photo by Juraj Vuglač, March 2016, courtesy of HDLU)

Photo 2: Temporary site-specific intervention (artist: Duje Medić) (photo by Ena Grabar, March 2016) (courtesy of the author)

of Fine Artists (HDLU) who made art interventions in the city. The locations for their work were proposed by ethnologists who made the research on historical, social, cultural, transit, contested or other characteristics of particular city spaces. The idea was to see how artists implement particular characteristics of space into the very artistic concepts and how the particular urban space becomes a constitutive part of the art piece and /or art performance. The five artists worked in various artistic media – sculpture, site-specific intervention, sound installation, body art and mural. Interviews with artists about their life in the city, how they understand urban life and how they use specific spaces as well as about creating particular interventions were part of the research methodology. Another methodological perspective was that researchers were not only observers of the genesis of the artwork, but also participants of the artistic process – which in this particular case means that some researchers were immersed in the very artist's creating concept or realization of the artwork. From the methodological perspective it was more than only a participation (in already existing lived-in world): it was methodological immersion in the creative process with the research subject. Finally, the researchers were interested in how the space with the artwork is changed, how the meanings of space are affirmed, redefined or questioned; what are the reactions of people and passers-by, do the interventions change their perception and use of space; what are the affects that the artwork generates in a moment of interaction; what kind of changes happen between artistic work and everyday life. In the continuation of the article, several examples of art interventions in Zagreb[9] are presented and discussed for their relevance for the urban research ("City-making" project in particular) in terms of indicating research topics, approaches and contexts.

Contested space and artistic chronotope

Artist Duje Medić made his site-specific intervention on European Square. His intervention was polystyrene toy-car in vivid colours put on top of another monument in the Square. The specificity of this site-specific intervention is in subverting of and questioning the *produced* character of the Square. It subverts the ceremonial and formal style of the recently re-built Square, which was a parking site for decades, and today it occasionally hosts trendy auto-shows. Both of these facts, past and present connection with cars, inspired the basic concept of the intervention – the toy car (Photo 1). Part of the site is occupied by a huge newly-built glass building which hosts European Union administrative offices in Croatia, business offices and apartments. The site consists of 4 streets broadened at the crossroad which was recently turned to a pedestrian area. A monument was also erected there on the occasion of the Croatian accession into the European Union (2013) – connecting flag emblems of cube (Croatia) and star (European Union) – and it is the very monument on top of which the new artistic intervention was placed. In the official city nomenclature the site bears four street names, it is not a Square. However, both formal authorities as well as citizens adopted the name European square which reflects the "European" character of the space inscribed by EU offices and EU monument. But not all meanings are so overtly present.

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9   The research is presented in the volume "The Place of Performance and the City-making" (Gulin Zrnić and Škrbić Alempijević /Eds./, 2016). Part of the volume comprises of articles that focus on each particular artwork; they are written by students from the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb who were incorporated into the research project and wrote their papers under the supervision of the two professors and editors of the book.

There are many contested issues which emerged during the research mostly connected to non-transparent procedures in planning and building the space during the revitalization project. They are part of the complex meanings of this site which the artist also implicitly wanted to refer to. The most explicit contestation could be recognized from the name of this site-specific intervention: *Toy Car with Special Needs for the Square with Special Needs*. The reactions of citizens (passers-by, internet comments) show that this reference to contested issues was not recognized. The artwork caught the citizens' attention mostly because of its vivid colours and attractiveness: it became the spot for taking pictures, and children's play (Photo 2).[10]

From the ethnological point of view one might ask if such a site-specific intervention is actually a production or construction of the city with art? It is part of the production process since the intervention was given licence to be performed officially from the city authorities. On the other side the artistic subversion of the meanings inscribed into the square from above (like representativeness, European-ness, pedestrian character) as well as the author's references on non-transparent urban governing, clearly situates the artwork in the domain of construction of the city. This indicates the issue of blurred boundaries of urban processes of production and construction of the city. The two should be seen as complementary aspects of city-making.

The other insight that is illuminated by this example is the *temporariness of the city*. Many current artistic interventions and performances last only for a limited time. Although the city as a whole is generally perceived as a fixed, stable, and durable structure in time, a blow-up of street scenes discloses its temporary and immediate character. This brings us to the issue of *time* as constitutive for understanding the city. Temporariness is time that stands separate from longue durée processes as well as from routines. Temporariness has the power to spark the difference. In an artistic performance, like the one that is described in the text, time and space are intrinsically connected and expressed, forming a particular *artistic chronotope*.[11] With five artistic interventions/performances in the city of Zagreb performed in March 2016, there were five different temporary chronotopes simultaneously present in the city. This explicitly calls for "the need to refigure the idea of the urban not as a singular abstract temporality but as the site where multiple temporalities collide" (Crang, 2001: 189).

Routine spaces and aesthetic interruption

Another example is sculptural intervention in the Oktogon passage in the centre of the city. Built in the beginning of the 20th century it is known for its central glass dome. Today it has mainly a transit character connecting the main street and nearby square. It is also a place where street musicians like to play music and sing due to its acoustics. Moreover, the floor of the passage covered with ceramic tiles brings a particular group of youth to the passage who occasionally perform (and practice) breakdance in the passage. The passage hosts some luxurious shops, but there are also some derelict shop windows; it is used mostly as a transit route in one's own routine use of the city. The glamour and vibrancy of this historic passage has been lost.

The sculptor Ida Blažičko reacted to these characteristics of the passage and her artwork was primarily oriented towards the aesthetics of this urban space. Her idea was to make people aware of the beauty of the passage, to make them a break in their

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10   Interviews with the artist and reaction of citizens are presented in the student paper by Grabar, 2016.
11   The term and notion of chronotope (TimeSpace) is borrowed from M. Bakhtin.

Photo 3, 4: Airy sculpture (artist Ida Blažičko) - aesthetic interruption into a routine passing-by, March 2016 (photos by Juraj Vuglač (left), courtesy of HDLU; and by Ida Blažičko (right), courtesy of the author)

walk through the passage, to add one more artistic dimension (sculptural) to those which already existed in the space – the architectural and musical. Blažičko made an airy sculpture of bamboo and silk, which was hung under the central glass dome. The light made the silk even more ethereal and constant flow of air in the passage made the sculpture to be in slight motion all the time. The name *Aithérios* for the intervention captured its essence.

The intervention was exhibited for several weeks and it could be seen from both openings of the passage. Even pedestrians and people in the tram on the main street could see the sculpture if only they had a glimpse at the passage in their passing by. People going through the passage could not pass without noticing it. It was something that made people slow down their pace of walking and to raise their head and to see the space anew no matter how many times they routinely pass through (Photo 3, 4). This particular piece of art asked for an *active engagement with the space*. This is precisely what is meant by the idea of the *construction* of space in the ethnological sense. After the sculpture was exhibited, many people spent some time under the dome, going around and catching play of the light reflected on the sculpture; some people took pictures; others would comment the artwork and asked for some additional information.[12] Dynamics and the relation to the space were visibly changed.

From the research perspective it could be noted that passers-by were affected by this artwork. People were surprised, thrilled and curious. The intervention *Aithérios*

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12   The reaction of the public is recounted in student work by Crnčević, 2016.

Photo 5: Swan by graffiti artist OKO (photo by Juraj Vuglač, March 2016, courtesy of HDLU)

brought to the space a new atmosphere which "interrupts, perturbs and haunts" the fixed place (Anderson, 2009: 78). It provoked a new sensory experience. It provoked an affect. It is an instant and embodied reaction which is theoretically defined with characteristics of intensity, contingency and potentiality (Frykman and Povrzanović Frykman, 2016). The recent "affect turn" in humanities carries strong potential for new perspectives on understanding cities, particularly the interaction of people and the material (built, fixed, temporary) urban environment.

Heterogeneity of rhythms and lived-in city worlds

The third artistic case study is about the artistic intervention of the graffiti artist OKO. She did not choose any of the locations that the researchers proposed for the interventions but decided to make the mural on the wall of a building in the Student Center – a complex of facilities for students. It was also an interesting site with many layers of history as shown by the research: a site with an economic importance (fairs) for the development of the city, a site with some controversial political meanings (WWII camp), and of artistic meaning due to the novel views on art and performances which were initiated in Student center in the 1970s etc.

From the ethnological point of view it is a site inscribed with many significant political and social meanings that could be reflected upon in an art piece. Still, the artist decided to ignore all these layers and to refer to her personal relations to the city, more precisely to this particular site, and even more precisely, to the particular building on which her previous mural was made. The new mural, the *Swan*, (Photo 5) was

drawn over the artist's old mural. While the interviews with the artist gave the insights in her individual view of the city as well as her understanding of art and her own artistic development, the choice of the mural site still puzzled the researchers.[13] It was the wall on the remote building within the site, presumably with not a lot of people that would figure as the audience. A laconic sentence by the artist – "It could be seen from the train" – gave an explanation (Photo 6). Indeed, the building stands nearest to the railway. Thinking about riding the train from the main railways station to the outskirts of the city of Zagreb, there will be plenty of murals and graffiti drawings that could be seen from the train along the way.

The artist's view pointed out yet another question as to relationship between the city and art: the means and *pace of traversing the city* and its relevance for understanding the city. For an urban anthropologist, the dominant pace for encountering the city is mainly the one of pedestrian usually depicted in the figure of the *flâneur* (Baudlaire,

Photo 6: Graffiti artist (OKO) creating art near the railway (photo by Juraj Vuglač, March 2016, courtesy of HDLU)

Benjamin) in a stroller's pace, or "rapid passage through varied ambiances", a *dérive* (Debord). Understanding the city through another type of motion and speed (bicycle, car, tram, metro, train) might be illuminating for some (spatial, social, artistic etc.) niches of the city that go unnoticed. Provoked by the location of the mural *Swan* the researcher notes yet another aspect of the heterogeneity of the city – that offered by the graffiti scene and its particular artistic sensibility and social grouping, for example skateboard groups that gather and practice on the ground of the Student center, just around the corner of the mural. The city is a complex whole containing many parallel worlds and this urban heterogeneity is in focus of the ethnological and cultural-anthropological perspective on the city.

CITY-MAKING THROUGH PUBLIC EVENTS

It is not more than 15 years that Zagreb started to organize public events in public spaces on an almost monthly basis, and in the last 5 years the speed of governing the city by public events on open spaces accelerated rapidly. "Advent in Zagreb" started modestly in one park a few years ago; in 2016 it was a huge manifestation in more than

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13 Interviews with the artists and interpretation of the personal history in public space in student paper by Ćurković, 2016.

Photo 7: "Advent in Zagreb", park Zrinjevac by day (photo by Valentina Gulin Zrnić, December 2016)

20 locations in the city.[14] Another manifestation – *Cest is d'Best*[15] – that celebrates the culture on/of the streets (performers, music) – started initially with only a few days of programme, and in the last year it grew to a ten day festival.

Within the project "City-making", researchers undertook a detailed description of annual events on selected open spaces – representative parks in the central part of the city. The idea was to capture the changing facets of the city through events. Some of these spaces the interlocutors described as "dead spaces" referring to previous times (1980s). In some parks there were only a few benches, and the use of green spaces (meadows) was not allowed – green patches were bordered by low fences thus indicating that crossing is forbidden and even could be fined. A first visible sign of the change towards the space were tourists' sitting and lying on the meadows at the turn of the millennium. It was a modest change and the people practising the use of green spaces were still predominantly foreigners; natives still were looking at such practices as strange to the urban habitus. Still, this practice went hand in hand with growing tourism in the city. Urban boosterism gradually started to change the practices and narrations of the city and public events became the cornerstone in such urban politics.

One of the most visited public events in the city is the "Advent in Zagreb". In the season 2016/17 it lasted 6 weeks continuously from the end of November till middle

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14 It has to be noted that Christmas Market existed in Zagreb from the 1980s consisting of groups of street vendors in the centre of the city. "Advent in Zagreb" refers to Christmas market as an organized manifestation that together with street vendors includes various activities (concerts, Santa Claus's house...)

15 The word "cest" in the title of the event means "street", "d" stands for "the" (= the street is the best)

Photo 8: "Advent in Zagreb", park Zrinjevac by nigt (photo by Valentina Gulin Zrnić, December 2016)

January and it was visited by more than 70 000 tourists.[16] It would appear that there is hardly anyone of locals, citizens of Zagreb, who did not "go on Advent" during December. It is the 6th season of the manifestation and for the last two years it was selected as the "European Best Christmas Market".[17] The programme is organized in public spaces – parks, squares, streets – of the Downtown, Old Town, and this year in newer part of the city for the first time. Moreover, there are also some public institutions incorporated into the manifestation offering thematic Christmas programmes (museums, ZOO), as well as some private sites (common yards etc.). Almost 30 sites which are occupied by "Advent" manifestation indicate the intention of the organizer to spread all over the city.

The main organizer and coordinator of the event is the Touristic Board of the City of Zagreb but organization of events in particular urban spaces is given to various event agencies. Each public space has its own concept targeting at specific public (children, youth, families) or specific interest (romantic atmosphere, mysterious sites, old Zagreb sense or more contemporary and cosmopolitan). The atmosphere is built through decorations, lights, music (from Christmas songs – both Croatian church songs and international pop Christmas songs – to jazz, groove, disco, classical music etc.), gastro offering (on some locations dominant tastes were old Zagreb or far east tastes, or Mediterranean or of some particular national cuisines etc.) (Photo 7, 8). It is the

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16 http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/zagreb-rusi-rekorde-za-blagdane-ce-se-okrenuti-200-milijuna-kuna—-421071.html

17 "The best Christmas destinations selected by travellers", http://www.europeanbestdestinations.com/christmas-markets/

"event of place" characterized by "throwntogetherness" (Massey, 2005); it is a "co-habitation" of various elements in "particular setting and situation" (Löfgren, 2016:126). Quite a challenge for an ethnologist to discern all the elements of various traditions that are thrown together in "Advent", some old and some invented traditions but most of all hybridized in terms of mixing cultures (foods, drinks, music, design etc.). The image of the city built through the "Advent in Zagreb" is modern, open, traditional, European, cosmopolitan city. It is the statement of the city-to-be, an anticipation, a direction of urban politics as to how to develop the city. Therefore, it is an "event-that-models the live-in world" – it is oriented towards making the very change it imagines, "it contains future within itself" (Handelman, 1998: 28).[18] The concepts and intentions of this public event are part of the *production* of city, it is an event (actually a conglomerate of events) orchestrated from above as part of the process of urban boosterism and developing urban tourism. In terms of methodology within the projects such a production of city can be grasped through interviews with officials from the municipal departments, organizers, event managers etc. Another method is analysis of discourse in official documents and newspapers. But for grasping the *construction* of city through the "Advent" manifestation, the research is methodologically challenged in order to provide more detailed ethnographies in accordance with the detailedness of the event. The method of participant observation is widely used. Ethnographic interviews with citizens who visited "Advent" are also carried out. However, they are post-festive interviews, made with a spatial and temporal distance from the immediate experience. Thus, we modified the interview method by inviting the interlocutor for a stroll through spaces of "Advent" manifestation. As a modified version of classical interview generally performed in a static place, *walking ethnography* is an interview in motion: interlocutors walk through the city together with the researcher and make comments and reflections on the spaces, situations and people they meet. The walking through the "Advent" also immediately affects people. The rationale of this method is that an individual in movement through the city re-activates his/her own knowledge of the city and the relationship towards the city, including his/her imagination of the city. It is this cognitive and affective ground which results in a selection of what is perceived and constitutes/builds individuals' identity relationship with the city. The interview enacted in direct interaction of the person with the space brought more detailed comments on situations that were experienced or on people that were met during the interview in motion. Moreover it brought instant comparisons of various places passed through the walking and on their concepts and atmospheres; particularly, it provoked interlocutors' comparisons on their experiences of other similar events in various European cities, as well as comparisons referring to Zagreb in previous decades. The walking of an individual through space should be seen in what Lefebvre (2004) calls "temporal-cognitive perspective" of multitudiness and simultaneousness of various motions and dynamics in the city.

Compared to the static version of the interview, walking ethnography abounds with sensory comments. While strolling through places a person is immersed in a mosaic of smells of the food and drinks offered at kiosks, and occasionally one could also taste these specialities. Smells of "American goulash and hot dog, Turkish baklava, oriental falafel, British punch, Swiss raclette" could all be smelled and tasted in just one stroll

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18 More detailed description of the "Advent in Zagreb" and some structural, interpretative and phenomenological analysis in Čapo and Gulin Zrnić, in print.

along several vendors on the Tomislav Square. The European square mentioned as the site of artistic intervention, on the "Advent" occasion was given one more European reference – smells and tastes of European cuisines. The visual sensation was also dense – numerous Christmas lamps were wrapped around 220 trees in the park Zrinjevac,[19] other places were decorated according to their concept by candles, torches, spotlights etc. One could also "light-up" the "Advent" by riding an electric bike with a glittering sign. The sense of sound was exposed to constant buzzing and various music genres when passing from one street to another and the rhythm beats also permeated the body in space. Due to the cold winter, the body felt chilly but might be warmed up with hot drinks. Another strong sensation was tactile, the sense of rubbing and pushing in a crowd. On the opening and during the weekends the central part of the city was so crowded that people spread even on the traffic routes and the traffic (trams, cars) occasionally could not pass through the crowd. Being in "Advent" is predominantly an embodied, sensory experience. Doing urban *sensory ethnography* is well applicable: it "takes as its starting point the multi-sensoriality of experience, perception, knowing and practice" (Pink, 2009: 1). Having in mind many studies and essays on Zagreb, there are scarce comments on the senses other than sight.

In summary, walking ethnography incorporates sensory ethnography. It unites "material, social, and symbolic" with perceptual aspects of urbanscape and it is through the walking as embodied movement that some questions about the construction of urban space and the construction of urban knowledge are brought to the fore (Ingold and Vergunst, 2009). Particular potential of walking ethnography could be in enacting it with groups characterized by social marginality (homeless people, Roma people etc.) who's understanding and knowing the city presumably differs significantly from the majority of "ordinary" citizens. The same goes for the walking the city with children. On the other hand, the project shows that this method might not be applicable for disabled people who rely on particular sensory modality: blind persons cannot walk and talk, they primarily have to listen to the city.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The research carried out within the Zagreb "City-making" project is embedded in urban anthropological approaches where the city is not only a location for the research of ethnological themes but the very focus of the research. The "new growth momentum" of cities (Hamilton et al., 2005: xiii) at the turn of the millennium, is characterized by global urban trends like neoliberal governance, commercialization of public space, development of urban tourism, immigration etc. In terms of the research, the "transitional" meta-narrative lost its dominance, and global economic and cultural processes that caused urban restructuring came to the fore, such as urban boosterism and creative industries.

The "City-making" project affirms the analytical grid of *production and construction of city* – the first perspective refers to influence and decision-making from above, while the second perspective focuses on lived experience and activities from below. However, the two perspectives are heuristic vessels since there is a blurred border between them as shown by the research. Two segments of the research that are presented in the text

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– production and construction of city by art and by public events – highlight the importance of *public space* as a stage of negotiating urban identity, questioning of (taken-for granted) values, and of remodelling urban life. Theoretical inputs by Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, Michel de Certeau and others, who influenced the so called "spatial turn" in humanities and social sciences in the 1990s, show that space produces social and cultural relations and is produced by them. In contrast to the view on the space as mere container of culture and society – the view which dominated most of the discipline's history – space has become conceived as a co-creator of social practice and cultural and social meanings.[20] In the "City-making" project, space has become the third pillar – together with culture and identity – of ethnological and cultural anthropological urban research.

Several research themes of the project are presented and commented as indicators of theoretical and methodological challenges for researching and conceptualizing the city from a ethnological perspective, particularly affect and *time*. "Affect arises in the midst of *in-between-ness*: in the capacities to act and be acted upon", and it is the intensities, flows, forces and resonances of a moment that make the context for the affect (Seigworth and Gregg, 2010: 1). To be affected by an artwork in the city, or to be immersed in an "affective atmosphere" (Anderson, 2009) of an organized public event in urban public spaces, might become a looking-glass for research into the city. The main question then would be how affects influence the life-world. If a person is affected by public familiarity and cultural hybridity organized during the manifestation "Advent in Zagreb", the research might be given an insight into the constituting of urban values such as diversity and tolerance through a public event. This might direct the research toward questioning new (urban) subjectivity, and new or modified citizens' capacities of social and political engagement. In terms of methodology, attending the affect asks for modification of classical anthropological methods. *Walking and sensory ethnographies* engage the interlocutor in a more direct manner with the (urban) environment, people and situations, and they give the researcher an opportunity to capture the moment when a citizen is affected upon or affects the city.

Another potent theme that comes out of the research is time. Each space is a pentimento: in its form and architecture it hides and reveals traces of previous times. Thus, the space is simultaneousness of time – various epochs exist in the same space simultaneously. In Bakhtin's words (1981), time is the fourth dimension of space. The city is thus a complex whole of many particular chronotopes. Moreover, each space has its own rhythm. It is Henry Lefebvre (2004) who introduced the idea of various rhythms of the city which arise from the mixture of "space, time, and activity": moving through the city following routine directions (interrupted by a thrill provoked by artwork) or moving through the city in an "Advent" crowd (which suspends the speed of walking), seasonal changes of nature in the city or flow of urban annual festivities (no matter how commercialized they are, they still recall cyclical time of rituals), the rhythm of weeks and the rhythms of weekends, the pace of pedestrian and the pace of car. All these paces and motions – the time – in/of particular space create rhythms that can be harmonious or interfere, accelerating or soothing (ibid.). Through such understanding of time and space interrelation, Lefebvre wants to comprehend the everyday life – which is the domain of life that is a salient field of research in ethnology and cultural anthropology.

The project on city-making in Zagreb is still work in progress but certain research

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20 On spatial turn see Low and Lawrence–Zúñiga, 2003; Čapo and Gulin Zrnić, 2011.

activities open up the need for more profound elaboration on theorizing the city and it is the notion of simultaneousness (of time) and affectiveness (of space) that may add to the complex understanding of the city from ethnological and cultural anthropological perspective.

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NOT ONLY MOVING BODIES:
CONTESTED AND TRANSFORMING CONCEPTS
IN MIGRATION STUDIES

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This text is focused on migration to the American and European continents. It deals
with the conceptualizations of the terms transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, the
source space, target space, country of origin. It shows the changes in the usage of
these terms over the past hundred years and also indicates some changes in the
migration and post-migration situations. For its interpretation, I have chosen the
discussion on immigration, which took place in the United States of America during
World War I and compare the argumentation then with the contemporary
conceptualization of the terms. I have selected the empirical examples of the changes
in contemporary migrations from my own research work and from other surveys,
which inter alia also took place in the Czech milieu.

Key words: migration, transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, country of origin

INTRODUCTION

In my contribution, I will deal with the migrations, which have manifested themselves
especially in recent years again as a significant source of social movement. A significant
influx of migrants had not been recorded into the Slovak Republic or the Czech
Republic. Nevertheless, international migration has become a topic of society-wide
discussion and catalyst of opinion polarization. It has become, in the words of Antonio
Gramsci, a component of the permanent "*war of position*" (Gramsci, 1971; Holmes &
Castañeda, 2016).

Discussion on the migration issue has shown how significantly the method of its
thematization and its articulation acts and what role the media play in the creation of
public opinion (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016). Already the mere change of diction that
migrants flow not for instance into Germany and Great Britain but into Europe shifts
the conceptualization of the entire issue into another light and influences the thinking
and conduct of large groups of people. The changed contextualization of the issue can

lead for instance to a distancing from Europe as well as on the contrary to calling for pan-European responsibility. As for example Michal Buchowski shows, the emphasis on other words can change also the conceptualization of minorities, who have been autochthonic in the given territory for a number of generations (Buchowski, 2016).

In the introductory piece for the publication *Global Connections and Emerging Inequalities in Europe: Perspectives on Poverty and Transnational Migration*, Deema Kaneff and Frances Pine say that migrations and migration theory coming from them as have been studied in the last thirty years "*basically … can be grouped into those which address the structural (political and economic) conditions in the home and destination countries which encourage migration, those which consider migration as a particular manifestation of global inequalities, dependencies, or processes of underdevelopment, and those which are concerned with the experience and agency of migrants in making decisions, in pursuing migration pathways and during their time abroad as migrants*" (Kaneff & Pine, 2011: 19).

In my paper, I focus on several key terms, which accompany migration and which cut through all three topics and theories that were mentioned by Deema Kaneff and Frances Pine, although they probably concern the first mentioned area the most. At the heart of my attention are concepts of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, source space, target space and country of origin and last but not least the modern diaspora concept.

The transformations of the meanings of these terms indicate alternatives, with which thinking about migrations alters. Our examples show that with the progressive discussions on migration and with extended migration movements, concepts are losing clarity, alternative approaches and interpretations are increasing, and original radical solutions often make no sense.

The change of the aspects on which the emphasis is placed in the interpretation of the terms also symbolizes the altered conditions in which migrations take place.

TRANSNATIONALISM AND COSMOPOLITANISM

The permanent discussion on the course of the level of the desired conformity from new arrivals in their target destinations usually culminates in the period of war conflicts, when immigrants who dwell in target countries from enemy states, are not so conforming as to not use the language, religion, customs or other characteristic features of the country with which their target destination is in conflict. It acts unwittingly like an enemy army on the territory, where they seek refuge and arouse a xenophobic reaction.

The United States of America just like other immigration lands has many times registered increased pressure on the conformity of fresh immigrants in time of war or international tension. It was significant for instance in the period of World War I, when the "Americanization movement" focused on rapid language assimilation of the new immigrants and on instruction of American customs became very popular (LeMay & Barkan, 1999: xxxiv). A similar role was played then also by the ideology "melting pot", but the xenophobic reaction also aroused an initiative in defence of the immigrants. In the tense nationalistic and assimilationist atmosphere, the concept of transnationalism, which gave the immigrants the space to develop their own language and cultural specificity, was activated as an opposite. From the period of World War I

are known for instance the texts of the young physically-handicapped essayist Randolph Bourne, particularly his vision from an article in Atlantic Monthly from 1916 entitled *Trans-national America*.

Randolph Bourne in the essay speaks of Germans, Scandinavians, Czechs (Bohemians) and Poles, hence of groups from enemy or neutral, rather pro-German and Austro-Hungarian oriented states. In his treatise, he takes a very understanding position to their cultural customs and emphasizes that the immigrants do not come to the United States to become White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, but free people with their own way just like the previous settlers did not move to America to become American Indians. Immigrants also develop their creativity in the spirit of their previous experiences and it is better to preserve their spiritual original homeland than to make them into cultural outcasts. Bourne in his text considers in parallel immigrants and American society as a whole, which in his opinion needs to lose its isolation and parochialism and in that the transnational concept could help it (Bourne, 1916).

The resolution of internal political tensions and stagnation through openness to migrations is, as we see, a "traditional" concept, although it is now rather under communicated in neoliberal societies. Perhaps also because the work is contextualized into the social situation, which took place in the USA more than one hundred years ago, it helps us capture how the concept of transnationalism and the other mentioned concepts have changed.

First of all, we note that Bourne speaks of transnationalism in several meanings. In the introductory passages of the text, he speaks of a spiritual transnationalism, which could be perceived as preservation of the national distinctiveness and relationship to their country of origin. In the final passages of the text, however, he also supports the idea of dual citizenship and the free bilateral movement of people, thus transnationalism rooted in cross-border transfer. According to Bourne, this movement creates cosmopolitan society. Hence, not the amalgam arising from a melting pot, but a fabric of cultures (Bourne, 1916).

As it stems from Bourne's text, transnationalism has a relation to cosmopolitanism. Although cosmopolitanism is often tied to rather more qualified and educated groups of the population (Werbner, 2006), Bourne in his texts does not focus only on the modern or postmodern traveller[1] and supposed that even a number of the Slavs coming to the United States can be illiterate and still relates them to the transnational cosmopolitan society.[2] They are components of the new American society and at the same time retain specific features from the country of origin (Bourne, 1916).

In 2016 Maria José Canelo returned to Bourne's text and the type of cosmopolitanism that Bourne considers, categorized as rooted cosmopolitanism (Canelo, 2016), hence by the same category as Kwame Anthony Appiah created, when he named the feelings of his father Joe Emmanuel Appiah, an important lawyer, politician and diplomat coming from Ghana, but living besides in Ghana also in Great Britain, the USA and other countries. As arises from the interpretation of Kwame Anthony Appiah, his father felt like a cosmopolitan person but with a feeling of patriotism which bound him to the space of Ghana. According to Appiah, a synonym for rooted cosmopolitanism is cosmopolitan patriotism (Appiah, 1996; Appiah, 1997).

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1 Bourne works with the term postmodern and speaks in his text of the Japanese leap from the Middle Ages to postmodernity.

2 Bourne probably alludes to the former then protracted America-wide debate whether to allow illiterate immigrants into the country.

It seems that transnationalism can create various types of cosmopolitan awareness. Appiah describes another situation than for instance Ulf Hannerz in his text *Flows, Boundaries and Hybrids*, in which part of the population as if travelled between local cultures and picked them according to their own needs (Hannerz, 1997). Again, another polarization is created by Homi K. Bhabha, when he emotively describes his homeland and the experience after moving from Bombay to Oxford in 1970, where he could try dual cosmopolitan worlds; the cosmopolitan world of the upper classes and the cosmopolitan world of the very poor immigrants, which he called "vernacular cosmopolitanism" (Bhabha, 1996). Its polarity logically raises the question to what extent these worlds are comparable and whether in the second case the term cosmopolitanism is appropriate. Pnina Werbner asks similarly and concludes: "*Vernacular cosmopolitanism belongs to a family of concepts, all of which combine in similar fashion apparently contradictory opposites: cosmopolitan patriotism, rooted cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitan ethnicity, working-class cosmopolitanism, discrepant cosmopolitanism.*" (Werbner, 2006: 496).

From the examples given, it is clear that the process of expanding the ties and contacts through migration can be diverse and the cosmopolitan sensation from this process has a number of subjectively tuned connotations. For many migrants, the post-migration period can be just as well characterized rather by isolation. Especially "*individuals who migrate from collectivistic or socio-centric societies, who themselves are socio-centric, into individualist or egocentric societies may experience feelings of alienation and mental distress*" (Bhugra & Becker, 2005: 18; Bhugra, 2004) rather than cosmopolitan viewpoints. In the same way, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism needn't be in my opinion connected with migration as it was presented by Everett Lee, that means as a "*permanent or semi-permanent change of residence*" (Lee, 1966: 49). On the contrary, it can be the creation of international contacts based on trade, professional or interest relations in one locality.

Although we can conceptualize transnational ties with migrants as well as non-migrating people, the measurement is usually conducted with immigrants, or immigrant populations. The used indicators of transnationalism also correspond to that, which normally include the following: remittance, contacts, contact abroad, family abroad, visits to given country, attachment, language, and following information from the given country (Fauser, et al., 2015: 1502). If the mentioned indicators were used on data collected within the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP), which contains a sample with the data of approximately 11,000 immigration families totalling 20,000 people,[3] the result with immigrants in Germany in the first generation indicated transnationalism with 80% of the people, mainly on the level of contact with acquaintances and with family members. Additionally 45 % of the people in the sample felt a strong tie with the country of origin and approximately half used their original language in everyday communication. Two thirds of respondents then visited the country of origin at least once a year to every other year (Fauser, et al., 2015: 1509).

In accord with my experience from similar surveys on smaller samples, it is possible to state that the extent of the transnational ties can hardly be put into the context of the integration into local or other defined societies in the target destinations. Fewer transnational ties do not in any way signal a greater extent of local contacts or the

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3   More detail at http://www.eui.eu/Research/Library/ResearchGuides/Economics/Statistics/Data Portal/GSOEP.aspx

opposite. In the case of the sample created within the German Socio-Economic Panel, it rather appears that the transnational ties from the selected sample of migrants are most often maintained by people from the higher social classes, hence the socially more successful in the target country (Fauser, et al., 2015: 1509-1511).

We would discover parallels to the finding in the German milieu also in the case of the research projects of controlled migrations of compatriots to the Czech Republic from Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Also in this case, we recorded that transnational ties do not weaken but are often also renewed with economic prosperity or with a deeper mooring of the resettled in Czech society, even in the second generation. It can sometimes result also in transnational economic activities (Uherek & Beranská, 2015), or in activities, which have the goal to renew friendship or familial ties or the family cultural heritage. An interesting case was a family of resettled people from Beroun,[4] who after settling down began to send their children regularly to summer camps in Russia and Ukraine to not forget Russia and possibly to create contacts there (research 2011).

Transnational ties can also strengthen the local patriotic ties without the person stopping perceiving himself as a cosmopolitan person as in the cited case by Appiah (Appiah, 1997). On the other hand, not every local patriotic anchored person with transnationally created ties becomes cosmopolitan. In the study of the resettlement of Czech compatriots from Ukraine to the Czech Republic in 1991–1993, which clearly created a scope for transnational ties, we have encountered cases several times of strong compatriot feelings of Czech nationalism, which increased in the course of the migration and also disappointment that the national culture is not devoted such attention in Bohemia as it deserved according to the resettled from Ukraine (Valášková, et al., 1997). However, the group did not tend towards cosmopolitism. Its ties were on the contrary developed in the local communities and even more in the compatriot communities across the Czech Republic.

The characteristics of transnationalism naturally depend to a great degree on the indicators, which we select for transnationalism. They can be any kind of regular cross-border ties or ties connected with economic activity. Only rarely the conceptualization of this term in transnational manifestation also counts visits to the family village or family grave abroad, which take place several times in lives of people as it was realized in the dissertation by Luděk Jirka, who studied the case of the Volhynia Czechs which resettled from Ukraine to Bohemia after the WW II (Jirka, 2016).

Transnationalism, which we have discussed so far, took place, as it was considered also by Randolph Bourne, between the country of origin and the target country. However, currently, transnationalism is also a question of the ties to other states. It is further necessary to include particularly the transnational ties, which take place in the target destination. It would also be possible to consider transnational contacts, which take place in the virtual world, through correspondence, Skype, or trade abroad via the internet. All of them correspond to the definition of transnationalism, which was used for example by Stephen Vertovec: "*sustained cross-border relationships, patterns of exchange, affiliations and social formations spanning national states*" (Vertovec, 2009: 2). It thus opens a wide field of ties, the intensity of which can be very extensive and therefore considerable.

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4   Beroun is a town in the Czech Republic about 30 kilometres west of Prague.

In the text by Randolph Bourne, he considers only two territories: the country of origin and the target destination: the United States of America. Immigrants bring from the country of origin a specificity to the target destination, which could enrich it. However, in the world of cultural relativism, clear contours are not common. So, as the emic viewpoint of George Marcus relativizes Wallerstein's centre-peripheral conception where in the classification of global ties centres are and where peripheries are, because what is a centre for one can be a periphery for another (Marcus, 1998), in the same way in relocation many times and an emic point of view it complicates what to consider as source and what as target space. At the same time, it is not a pointless question. Patriotic feelings, feelings of home are often bound to the country of origin or source space, the country of origin is the land of immigrant's ancestors; a wide range of elements are connected with the country of origin, which a person identifies with and based on which he / she is also categorized by his / her social surroundings. Already in 1960s, Iva Heroldová hit upon the complication with source and target countries when she studied ethnic Czechs from Poland's Zelów, who situated their origin themselves geographically to Bohemia, but were often considered by their Polish and Russian neighbours particularly until the end of World War I according to their protestant religion and country of arrival as Prussians (Heroldová, 1971).

The problem of the country of origin is then complicated in the conceptualization of the migration groups and their surroundings in the case of the returning compatriot migrations, when the discourse on the country of origin changes based on the situation and the country of origin alternately becomes the source and target and vice versa. The immigration groups of compatriots from Ukraine were originally from Bohemia, but their country of birth was Ukraine, where they had their native homes, memories of childhood, where their ancestors were buried. Strictly speaking, their country of origin of their ancestors was Bohemia; their actual country of origin was Ukraine. The feeling of home with many of them tied them in a certain sense to both countries.

Nevertheless, the feeling of home does not have to be tied to the source country and the country of origin. With Roma migrants from Bohemia to Canada, for instance, I recorded after several years of living in Canada where they had already decided to remain that they strongly felt on a visit to the Czech Republic that they are already at home in Canada.[5] A number of resettled people from Ukraine, however, reacted similarly as well. After several years and visits in the residences of their origin, some said that they already looked forward to going home to Bohemia (Valášková, et al. 1997). It is thus the opposite reaction to the new milieu than Roma street buskers in Switzerland from the Slovak-Hungarian border felt, who left their families in their country of origin and only made money in Switzerland, as they are described by Jan Grill (Grill, 2011). Stanislav Brouček recorded an even more complex situation in the case of the Vietnamese in the Czech Republic, when the feeling of home of the parents and children often differ radically (Uherek, 2003; Brouček, 2016).

The relativisation of the concept of source and target countries and the transformations of this concept over time is also quite visible in the changing view of the migration of Czech settlement in Romania's Banat. The story of the Czechs there,

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5   The family resettled in 2012 and the trip to the Czech Republic was made in 2014. The interview with the family took place in Canada in 2016.

whose ancestors resettled the Banat forests at the beginning of the 19th century and built a colonization village there, which we know for example from the narrations selected for the film *Piemule* by Jana Ševčíková (Piemule, 1983), in many ways correspond to the view drawn by Jaromír Jech with Olga Skalníková and Vladimír Scheufler via field research in the 1960s (Jech, et al., 1992). It is an image of forgotten compatriots, who for more than a century have preserved a great number of elements of the original culture and to a certain extent also lifestyle. It is necessary to preserve this valuable object and show it to the public (Jech, et al., 1992).

The methods of Jana Ševčíková and the collective led by Jaromír Jech are not the same. Ethnographers of the 1960s collected the relicts of the Czech folk culture and from their analysis we have discovered much about the folk culture of the Banat Czechs, less on how the compatriots lived in Banat in the 1960s. Their texts mainly record elements of Czech folk culture, which the ethnographers captured among the compatriots.

Jana Ševčíková not quite twenty years later captures more on the life of this group in the scenery of the "folk culture", which surrounds them. Iva Heroldová, at the same time when Jana Ševčíková shot her film, devoted herself to remigration of these compatriots to the Czech Republic and writes this sentence in the recapitulation of the social and cultural background of the Banat Czechs: "Territorial isolation and the compactness of the agricultural settlement contributed to the ethnic integrity and cultural retardation ..." (Heroldová, 1983: 241).

Iva Heroldová states in the text that the cultural peculiarity of the Banat Czechs, problems with becoming accustomed to the cooler climate in the Czech lands after 1945 and the position of the autochthonic population to those re-emigrating, whom they often called Romanians, led to some of the re-emigrants secretly travelling back to Romania.

The arrival of the compatriots from Romania to then Czechoslovakia suddenly changed the country of their origin. While in Romania their country of origin was Czech Lands, in Czechoslovakia their country of origin became Romania, not only for their autochthon Czech and Moravian neighbours, but apparently also for them themselves and for the ethnographer who conducted the research among them. Additionally, the valuable relics transformed into anachronisms slowing integration.

Lukáš Hanus, who returned to the Romanian case in his doctoral theses from 2015, captured the specificity of the migrating group from another perspective. Whereas Olga Skalníková demonstrated using the example of the Romanian Czechs how this group preserved the Czech elements of the lifestyle of the 18th and 19th century in their isolated localities and Iva Heroldová using groups that had returned after 1945 found examples of how difficult their integration back into the Czech milieu was; Lukáš Hanus shows in his example of Czechs from Romania coming to the Czech Republic in 21st Century that their need to integrate into the new milieu means something else than integration meant for their ancestors. Whereas integration still in the middle of the 20th century meant inclusion in the majority population, for Czechs coming from Romania now it means especially knowing how to commute between the milieu of Romanian villages with a Czech population and the milieu of the Czech Republic. Present-day migrations mean expansion of the active radius into more localities rather than a change of the place of residence (Hanus, 2015).

Migrants currently do not typically leave the place of origin entirely, but only partially. Communication by Skype, telephone and easy travel causes that absence in

the place of origin is frequently only temporary and partial. Consequently, however, the presence in the new milieu can be temporary too. More advantageous position can be frequently between local societies than inside them. Creating new communities can frequently be easier than to integrate into old ones. Lukáš Hanus in this context speaks of a transnational field, which compatriots created in the direction of the Czech Republic. Commuting between two or more countries relativize which of them is the source and which is the target country. The process is well described by Nina Glick-Schiller and her co-workers in her study with the symptomatic name: *From Immigrant to Trans migrant* (Glick-Schiller, Basch, Szanton-Blanc, 1995) or in the text *Mexican Migration and the Social Space of Postmodernism* by Roger Rouse (Rouse: 1991).

In the end, this new situation corresponds also to the authorization of dual or multiple citizenship, which a number of states including the Czech Republic, have implemented in their legal norms.

CONCLUSION

At the end of the several previous examples, we have returned to the concept of transnationalism to focus now on the causes that transnationalism and other mentioned terms are currently considered otherwise than approximately a hundred years ago.

It is evident from the text that the migrations themselves are transforming. Even moving a great distance does not interrupt the contacts with the country of origin. The ending of contacts with countries of origin is not assumed nor is clear integration into the society in the target space assumed. It is not necessary to fight for transnationalism now; it simply is. The migrants continue to be used as an instrument of economic growth, but the checks on the abuse of migration flows for purely commercial purposes is increasing. The forced transfers typical for colonial powers and entrepreneurs on the American continent in the 16th – 19th centuries, the most alarming form of which was the so-called triangular trade – a component of which was also the transfer of the black population from Africa to North America in the 16th – 18th centuries (Castles & Miller, 1993), are recorded on a small scale to this day, but they are criminal.

After a period of spontaneous to massive migration to the North American continent[6] in the 19th century, migration to the USA after World War I began to be regulated as a risk factor. The long-term discussion on immigration policy and inclusion of immigrant groups into America society (LeMay & Barkan, 1999) in 1920 resulted in the introduction of immigration quotas. The reaction to the ethnic and confessional difference and negative views of the public especially of groups coming from states that were enemy at the time of World War I or from states, whose lifestyle and religion differed distinctly from the norms of Anglo-Saxon protestants, was also captured by Emory S. Bogardus, when he published his experiments with measurement of the social distance based on an empirical collection of the data in 1925. He then drew the conclusion that the greatest distance was felt by the population of the United States to the Turks (Bogardus, 1925).

The logical reaction to the fears and assimilation pressures is usually mobilization of a pro-migration opposition, which inter alia puts emphasis on the humanitarian

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6   For more detail William Petersen discusses free migration and mass migration on the American continent in his General Typology of Migration (Petersen, 1958).

aspect and at the same time, seeks arguments on how migration is useful for the wider society. Although the security domain is usually in the hands of the state, the criticism of the increased regulation of migration usually concerns also the state itself and the state of the society protected by the state.

As we could already convince ourselves several times, the demand for scientific data increases in similar situations. If the scientific results are not special-purpose products ordered by one or the other group, the data refine the theoretical thinking and shift the knowledge on migrations ahead, but they do not resolve the dispute between the two debating camps, because it is not a dispute on knowledge but a political dispute. The illustrative example is the Chicago School of Sociology that precisely at the time of which we speak collected empirical data on migrations and created a number of methodologically enriching texts on the investigation of immigration groups (Simons, 1901 – 1902; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918 – 1920; Hannerz, 1997), but they practically did not intervene in the dispute.

Randolph Bourne is an example of the mobilization of the humanitarian-oriented and critically tuned intellectual elite, which reacted to the discussion on anti-migration measures and assimilation pressures on migrants and sought arguments against the assimilation projects and migration restrictions. His argumentation reflects the method of migration then, when it was possible to determine clearly the source and target country, to name the differences in the way of life of the arrivals and their values, with the contribution of which it was possible to create a cosmopolitan society. He puts the changes in the actual migration practices into a different light particularly:

1. The aspect of migration as a unilateral move from the source to the target space. Migrants currently do not move to new destinations so that they would be separated from those original ones but they connect them and usually seek the benefits of both destinations. The migrant normally is not a turncoat, who strengthens one group at the expense of the other, he is a keystone, who connected the two groups, creates informational, skill but also personal ties.
2. Randolph Bourne builds transnationalism chiefly on the movement of people. Currently, as we have shown, the fundamental aspects stand on the creation of ties.
3. The element of assimilation loses its sense. In contemporary diversified societies, the term assimilation is very hard to grasp, because we are not a monolithic culture in which uniformity is to occur. It might be possible to speak of assimilation in cases of mixed marriages into small isolated communities. Linguistic assimilations commonly occurs, integration in the area of employment, conformity with local societies, but also in this situation a scope remains for diverse overlaps into other societies than those which appear to be target.

At least societies in the European Union are currently shaped so that mainly an institutional networking into the state and local wholes is required of immigrant groups. Strategies can thus be created of both close contact with the population in the localities and also create their own full-fledged relatively closed network, diasporas. In European societies, their existence has the same old history as the existence of cosmopolitan groupings.

For the existence of contemporary diasporas, however, the physical proximity of their members is no longer essential. In this context, Steven Vertovec speaks about new or dispersed diasporas which operate especially throughout Europe. As a person only partially leaves the source destination, one only partially integrates into the new milieu. Thus, diasporas secure and develop their specific kind of relationships,

oriented by specific ties on history and geography, a tension on political orientations, and specific kinds of economic strategies (Vertovec, et al., 1999: XVII–XVIII). A known fact is that immigration groups bring with them their language, habits from everyday life, religion and other elements, which they pass down some times from generation to generation for a long time. It is true in the case of both external and internal migrations. While the state develops concepts of integration, migration groups frequently create mechanisms for preserving their original cultures and habits. Thus, a newly redefined term of diaspora can become a tool in their cultural politics (Cohen, 1999). "*Diaspora has arisen as part of the postmodern project resisting the nation-state, which is perceived as hegemonic, discriminatory and culturally homogenising*" (Vertovec, 2009: 132). "*Diasporic identity has become an occasion for the celebration of multiplicity*" (Tölölyan, 1996: 28) but not cosmopolitanism. The aim of this type of solidarity is not to revive the majority scene but to preserve one's own (traditional) integrity in the global world.

Migrations are a complex phenomenon, and therefore movement is intrinsic to society as a whole; the society as a whole represents itself in migrations and the position to them. Therefore, it is possible to decipher in the discussion on migrations what individual societies fear, what they place emphasis on, what they would like to change in their surroundings. Shifts in the concepts related to migration indicate a dynamic of changes in the society, which we are trying to understand.

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THE INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY SAS EVALUATED AS ONE OF THE BEST SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS IN SLOVAKIA

By Resolution of the Slovak Academy of Sciences No. 1212.C of 09 February 2017, the Institute of Ethnology SAS was included in category A in accordance with the Principles of Regular Evaluation of SAS Organisations (2012–2015) and on the basis of the evaluation by the International Panel of Evaluators and the Evaluation Protocol of the Metapanel of the Institute of Ethnology SAS.

The Institute has been characterised as follows: "The research is internationally leading within the European context. The institute has demonstrated important contributions to the field and is considered an international player in Europe".

According to the summary results, of the total number of 57 SAS organisations two institutes were included in category A = "international leaders": the Institute of Ethnology SAS, and the Institute of Polymers SAS. The category B = "valuable research results visible at the European level" was achieved by 30 organisations, of which 9 organisations received the evaluation with wording "excellent research results visible at the international level". The first international scientific audit in the history of Slovak science showed that the Slovak Academy of Sciences is not only a top-level research institution in the domestic context, but is also one of the important European scientific institutions.

Further to the evaluation by the International Evaluators Panel for Organisations in Social Sciences and Humanities, of the total number of 20 organisations, one organisation obtained category A ranking and ten organisations category B ranking (three of them received evaluation with wording "excellent research results visible at the international level").

The first international evaluation of the Slovak Academy of Sciences showed that most SAS organisations represent important and visible players in the European science and that the quality of SAS institutes is balanced in this regard. We are very glad for having received the international leader appraisal, and we consider it an appreciation of our collective efforts. The Metapanel Protocol is an important protocol for us in terms of guiding and improving the effectiveness of our research strategy in the forthcoming period.

The international experts highlighted in their evaluations the effective management, top-level functioning within the European networks (not only as a partner, but also leader), excellent national and international research, the vision concerning the institution's publishing activities and the balanced composition of publication outputs, targeted pro-activity, the high success rate in obtaining international projects, the balanced age, gender and qualification structure of the work team, and the personnel policy focused

on the stabilisation of quality postdocs and continuing education and training of PhD students in the field of ethnology. The experts also appreciated the exceptional social impacts of our scientific activities, the links to the decision-making sphere and the third sector, and our emphasis on the dissemination and popularisation of the basic research findings.

With a view to the enhanced focus on the research of present-day society, they recommended changing the name of the organisation to the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology. It was also recommended to produce a plan for a more intensive collaboration with renowned foreign publishing houses and a major change in the proportion of publication outputs in favour of international ones. In addition, the meta-panel used its competence to address the recommendations not only to the SAS organisations, but also to the government sector and concrete ministries. One of the recommendations highlighted the need to provide more support by the Slovak Academy of Sciences and the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sports in order to open the road to top-level institutions within European infrastructures under the national ESFRI roadmap. The potential participation of Slovakia in the existing European SSH infrastructures would open the possibility for involvement of the Institute of Ethnology SAS and other academic and non-academic organisations in European networks, such as DARIAH and EURO-PEANA.

TATIANA PODOLINSKÁ,
Institute of Ethnology SAS in Bratislava

ETHNOLOGY

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BOOK REVIEWS
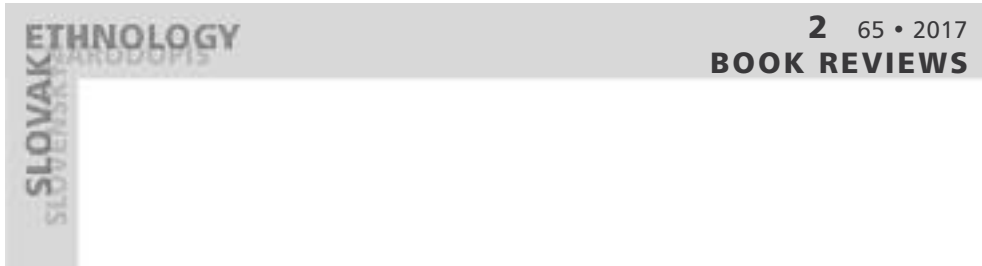
GABRIELA KILIÁNOVÁ,
JURAJ ZAJONC:
70 rokov Ústavu etnológie Slovenskej akadémie vied: kontinuity a diskontinuity bádania a jednej inštitúcie (70 Years of the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences: Continuities and Discontinuities of Research and of One Institution).
Bratislava: Veda, 2016, 287 p.

The top-level scientific centre of basic and applied research in the field of ethnology, social and cultural anthropology and religious studies – the Institute of Ethnology SAS in Bratislava – remembered the 70th anniversary of its establishment last year. In the presence of its former and current staff members and its domestic and foreign partner institutions, it celebrated this anniversary with a Laudation Day (Bratislava, 17 June 2016) and with an international conference on the challenges in ethnology in the 3rd millennium (Smolenice, 19–21 October 2016). This Laudation Day included the presentation of a new book and exhibition covering the seven decades of the existence of this institute. The reviewed book is one of the outputs related to this anniversary.

The foreword by J. Zajonc and, in particular, the introductory chapter by the co-author G. Kiliánová, present well-formulated aims and objectives, as well as the methodologies used in the compilation of the history of this institution and a short presentation of the structure of the book. As noted by G. Kiliánová, the aim is to present the continuities and discontinuities in the research activities of this institution, the methodological approaches, research topics and issues observed in particular periods. The authors chose the approach based not only on the mapping of the history of this expert centre and its institutional history, but also on the presentation of its internal structure and its relationship to superior bodies and partner institutions. They observe the history of this institution through the daily work of its staff members whom they consider the social actors of the whole process. They interpret the different facts through strategies, motivations, daily routines and accomplishments. They seek answers to the questions – "what happened", "how" and "why" it happened. They describe the role of the institution and its contribution to the development of ethnography/ethnology in Slovakia since the 2nd half of the 20th century.

The publication describes the well-mapped process of the establishment of the institution (from 1946), the development of its structure (the organisational changes, as well as its sections, units or the detached department in Košice), the re-structuring, personnel development, the scientific and research topics, the most important work results, up to the period after 1989 when the institution faced a new social-political situation, the market economy and the opening up to cross-border cooperation. The book is logically divided into four principal chapters covering the periods that follow the historical milestones in the development of this institution in the context of the social and political development of society: the periods covered are 1946–1953, 1953–1969, 1969–1989, and the situation after 1989 until today. These time periods correspond to the estab-

lishment, functioning, temporary closing and transformation of the institution, its re-opening as an independent institution, and further functioning during turbulent events.

The authors follow the history of the institution at several levels: not only its development and organisational changes, but also the thematic focus of research – from the mapping of the traditional forms of folk culture to research on the changes in this field, study of the forms of folk culture under the new changed circumstances of the socialist society, research on "cooperative villages", the working class, ethnic minorities, Slovaks abroad, the functioning and the current forms of folk culture up to the study of the present-day social reality. They also mention the different research locations, the ways of selecting them, the personal coverage of the different thematic areas, etc. Another focus of the study is the development of the theoretical and methodological principles – continuity with the functional-structural method and the historical-genetic focus at the time of the establishment of the institution, which survived in spite of the pressures to apply the Marxist ethnography; or the broad range of theoretical and methodological approaches used after 1989. They describe the complicated processes related to the implementation of the requirements and pressures of the former regime on scientific research, the ideologisation of sciences, Communist purges, the enforcement of new methodological approaches and the ways of (non-)applying them. All these facts are supported with references to works by different authors.

Each chapter contains a concise final summary which appropriately summarises the principal characteristics of the individual periods, the most important accomplishments, as well as several findings and conclusions. The final chapter brings summary information on the individual stages of the institution's development, and conclusions on the entire range of continuity and discontinuity factors as compared to the institution in its present form.

The authors approached their attempt to

compile a synthetic work presenting the seven decades of our top ethnological institution in Slovakia not only with the aim of explaining, but also of providing an overview. In addition to the 130 pages of concise texts on the different stages of its development, the book also offers data which cover selected events throughout the existence of the institution. A proportionally larger part is formed by annexes which bring an overview of all important facts on the personal, publication and project portfolio of the institution. It is not only a list and short introduction of the institution's leading figures, lists of all researchers and specialised staff, but also a list of national and international projects and selected publications and journals published by or in collaboration with the institution. In addition to the bibliography, the book also contains registers (by names, subjects and regions). It represents a huge amount of work produced with the participation of many colleagues, listed in the introductory part of the publication (p. 19).

The work has minor formal inconsistencies regarding references to cited sources. This concerns Ján Mjartan who is the only author referred to by his first name and surname in brackets in the first chapter of the book (e.g. Ján Mjartan, 2006), while other authors are referred to only by their surname (e.g. Barabášová, 1952). The mentioning of the names and surnames of the different personalities in the texts is not consistent either: the authors indicate either the whole first name, or just the capital letter or only the surname; at one place (p. 86), the authors use the full titles of the persons, while at other places they appear without their respective titles.

The year of establishment of *Slovenská vlastiveda* (1934), as mentioned on page 22, is incorrect; the correct year (1943) is indicated in the footnote on the same page. When referring to the year of publishing of the fairy tales collection by P. Dobšinský on page 78 as the best known and most frequently published collection of Slovak fairy tales, the authors indicate the years 1858–1961. However, this work, published by
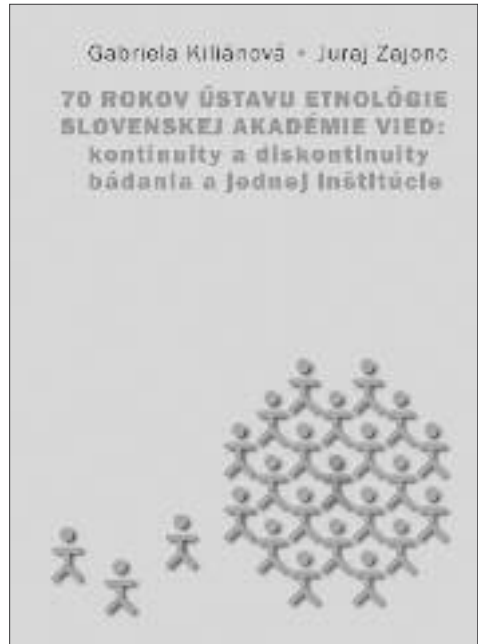
P. Dobšinský together with A. H. Škultéty, preceded the greatest collection of fairy tales published gradually 20 years later – *Prostonárodnie slovenské povesti* (published in 1880–1883). In connection with editorial works, some data related to the research project in Závadka na Hronom is repeatedly mentioned at two places in two different chapters (on page 48 and again on page 70).

As a pedagogue working with students of ethnology, I appreciate the efforts to present this huge amount of facts about the development of the institution in an easy and understandable manner, but with a pithy description of the contemporary contexts. The authors interpret the talk of facts and data through concrete persons, their fates and the results of work in the form of concrete scientific outputs. In this way, the book helps better understand the wider context of the production of the publications and the work conditions and activities of the actors. We also appreciate the decent layout of the publication, enhanced by a high-quality text and a photographic annex that "humanises" the presented data and gives the publication a special character, although most readers prefer having pictures directly in the text.

Although students (not only in our field of study) do not really favour general history or the history of scientific disciplines, I am confident that these types of publications will find their way to this category of readers (as well as others) and will help them learn about and understand the history of the institution in the context of the overall development of our scientific field from the second half of the 20th century until the present.

The publication presents a number of well-known facts based on older works on the history of this scientific field and of the SAS institution (or SAVU or ČSAV), which are complemented with many previously unknown data based on the authors' research conducted through an in-depth study of archive documents. We can learn, for example, about the ambitious plans to expand the institute and its personnel capacities, on the basis of which it was supposed to reach 80 staff members by the end of the 1980s and focus on non-European research within its research portfolio, as well. However, these plans remained on the drawing board.

The authors managed to accomplish the set objectives and created a representative work that adequately presents our top-level ethnological institution which was highly evaluated by the international committee under the evaluation process conducted in the Slovak Academy of Sciences last year. In this regard, I consider this book a model example and an inspiration for other institutions with decades of existence without any comprehensive monograph.

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CALL FOR THE ISSUE OF SLOVAK
ETHNOLOGY/SLOVENSKÝ NÁRODOPIS,
VOLUME 66, NUMBER 2/2018

AGEISM – A MULTI-NATIONAL, INTERDISCIPLINARY
PERSPECTIVE

HOSTING EDITOR: ĽUBICA VOĽANSKÁ

In a wider sense, ageism means stereotyping, discrimination or unfair
treatment based on a person's age (under the same principle it can be
applied also on a group). Highly prevalent under ageism we understand
a complex and often negative social construction of old age. However, the
term is also used to name prejudice and discrimination against adolescents
and children, including ignoring their ideas because they are too young,
or assuming that they should behave in certain ways because of their age.

The term was coined in 1969 by Robert Neil Butler[1] to describe
discrimination against seniors, and patterned on sexism and racism. It can
include the way that older people are represented in the media, which can
have a wider impact on the public's attitudes. No less important, it can also
impact on someone's confidence, job prospects, financial situation and
quality of life. It has been pointed out that stigmatization does not only
occur outside of the cohesively imagined group of the elderly but likewise
takes place within the stigmatized group itself.

Concerning the connection of the research of age groups as well as ageism
(in a wider or narrow sense): ethnology, social and cultural anthropology did
not particularly concentrate on the special phase of old age by the research
of non-European societies. Even Margaret Clark wrote (1968) that the time
span between marriage and death seems to be a monotonous field or
"ethnographic vacuum"[2]. At the end of the 20th century, however, the
situation began to change gradually.

This issue of Slovak Ethnology presents a contribution to the research
of ageism related to all age groups. The journal invites analytic, theoretical
or synthetic articles, research reports, essays and discussions in the fields
of ethnology, social and cultural anthropology and related scholarly disciplines,
focused especially (not, however, exclusively) on the following issues:

- Ageism at the structural and individual levels – different contexts of ageism (the workplace, health care, media, community, family etc.);
- Institutional practices and policies that perpetuate stereotypes about persons belonging to specific age groups;
- Cultural reflections of causes of ageism;
- Arts & Culture: How social media and visual culture are related to our view on specific age groups;
- (Auto)biographical research, the role of narratives (giving voice perspective) in the area of ageism research;
- Gendered ageism;
- Age related stereotypes then become self-fulfilling prophecies.

Submission guidelines: please follow the guidelines for submissions as given on the website of Slovak Ethnology/Slovenský národopis:

http://www.uet.sav.sk/?q=en/guidelines-contributors

Final date for abstracts: 15. 11. 2017

Only authors of accepted abstracts will be invited to submit a full paper. An invitation to submit a full paper does not constitute a commitment for publication; all papers will be subject to anonymous peer review following the submission.

Final date for papers: 15. 2. 2018

Please send your abstracts and papers as an e-mail attachment to the editors, at:

slovensky.narodopis@savba.sk

The issue of Slovak Ethnology will be supported by ISCH COST Action IS1402, *Ageism –a multi-national, interdisciplinary perspective* (http://www.cost.eu/COST_Actions/isch/IS1402).

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1   Butler, R. N. (1969). "Age-ism: Another form of bigotry". *The Gerontologist*, *9*(4), 243–246.
2   Clark, M. (1968). The anthropology of ageing: A new area for studies of culture and personality. In: B. L. Neugarten (Ed.), *Middle age and ageing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.