

Editorial Comment

The Center of Social and Psychological Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Science and its component, the Institute of Social Sciences CSPA SAS are the heads of the project named *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020) – (TESS2)* supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency. The collaborating organization of the project is the Faculty of Arts of Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice and its two departments, the Department of History and the Department of Political Science of Pavol Jozef Šafárik University.

Part of the presentation of the research results prepared by the project research team members is also a set of studies in the monothematic issue of the *Človek a spoločnosť* journal. The issue of the journal is devoted to national issues and national relations, especially to some aspects of the perception of inter-ethnic relations, stereotypes in the field of national relations, the perception of the media aspects of national relations from the perspective of social psychologists and historians in the years of 2004 – 2017, and a historical analysis of the issue of higher education and national minorities in Slovakia in the activities of the Government Council for Nationalities at the turn of the 1970s. The aim is not to provide a complete statement about the solution of the research project, but to present some partial outputs. The results of the project will be presented in two scientific conference proceedings, in separate monographs with research results, and in the research report with the results of the socio-psychological research.

Nationality issues and national relations are the subject of long-term interest in the social sciences, and in their research, the Slovak Academy of Sciences and Higher Education Institutions in Slovakia have played a significant, long-term role. The aim of the project *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020) – (TESS2)* is to examine trends in the development of ethnic relations in Slovakia by means of three research lines. The primary objective in terms of the importance of the project is to prepare, implement and evaluate interdisciplinary empirical research on theoretical, methodological and practical issues of ethnicity and national relations in Slovakia. The researchers focus on the reflection of history and its impact on contemporary inter-ethnic relations, human rights, minority rights, perspectives on the development of ethnic communities, the perception and assessment of current issues of public (nationality) and political life, identification features of a person, family and household, attitudes towards migrants, and perceived security.

The Institute of Social Sciences CSPA SAS has a long-standing tradition in the research of national minorities, national relations and national politics. In the past decades, it has systematically acquired and processed data on ethnic issues. It is a field of research that has long been a subject of interest and research in the social and human sciences. The wide range of national issues affecting different aspects of social life creates space for broad research reach.

The basis is the analysis of the development of national relations at the beginning of the 21st century which is realized through socio-psychological research, and compares the state of society in the field of national relations and national politics in Slovakia from 2004 to the present (2018). The aim is for it to include: developments in the field of national relations, the strategy of Slovak Republic national politics, objectives and intentions of the political parties depending on ethnicity, demographic development of national minorities at the beginning of the 21st century, cooperation of European and Slovak politics in the field of institutions and national politics management, assessment of the activity and policies of individual governments in the observed period, perception of the history of national minorities, and the study of historical memory with a special focus on historical events with an ethnic background (Slovak-Hungarian relations, Ruthenian-Ukrainian relations, relations of the majority and the minority, Roma issues...).

Another goal of the project, which is not part of the presentation in our journal, is to provide the results of research and findings to the public, university students, and public institutions. This is done in parallel with the solution of the other parts of the project among the students of history and political science of the Faculty of Arts of Pavol Jozef Šafárik University and the involvement of the collaborating institutions in these activities. In the course of each year of the project solution, the project research team members will carry out workshops at the Faculty of Arts of Pavol Jozef Šafárik University or other universities with university students in Slovakia on the issue of ethnic relations, tolerance and cooperation with ethnic minorities. Under the leadership of the project leaders, lectures will be delivered presenting research on ethnic issues, with a controlled discussion of the issue of tolerance of other ethnic groups, or media policy in relation to the minorities.

prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc.

Principal investigator of the project

Hetero- and Auto-Stereotypes of Ethnic Minorities in Slovakia

Jozef Výrost, Institute of Social Sciences, Centre of Social and Psychological Sciences of SAS,
Košice, vyrost@saske.sk

Juraj Martonyik, Institute of Social Sciences, Centre of Social and Psychological Sciences of
SAS, Košice, martonyik@saske.sk

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Abstract:

The ethnic map of the Slovak republic (5, 397, 036 citizens according to the 2011 census) consists of 14 ethnic groups with Slovaks (80.7%) constituting the majority. Hungarians (8.5%), Roma (2.0%), Czechs (0.6%), Ruthenians (0.6%) and Ukrainians (0.1) represent – according to Wolff's classification (2008) – the traditional national minorities. The other 8 ethnic groups (German, Polish, Croatian, Serbian, Russian, Jew, Moravian, Bulgarian) do not each exceed 0.1%. In this article we will concentrate our attention on auto- and hetero-stereotypes of members of five traditional ethnic minorities living in Slovakia: Hungarian, Czech, Roma, Ruthenian, and Ukrainian.

Through intergroup stereotyping we understand standardized and simplified images and beliefs of individual members or groups as a whole. Stereotypes usually correspond to a holder's beliefs and social objects; in the case of intergroup stereotypes these are typically personality characteristics. Stereotypes have a serious impact not only on the formation of the relation to the target group but also to the formation of in-group atmosphere and appurtenance. The current view on stereotypes is expressed by Stereotype Content Model (SCM) formalized by Fiske, Cuddy & Glick (2007). In the SCM, warmth and competence are two orthogonal dimensions of social judgments, and social targets fall into one of four quadrants created by a combination of these two dimensions. The combination of these dimensions generate distinct emotions: admiration (when warmth and competence are both high); pity (warmth high and competence low); envy (warmth low and competence high); contempt (warmth and competence low) (Cuddy, Fiske, Glick, 2008).

Data was collected in the second half of 2017 in all regions of Slovakia. The total quota sample in our research consists of 972 adult respondents: 165 Hungarians, 160 Roma, 165 Czechs, 160 Ruthenians, 160 Ukrainians, and 162 Slovaks. The mean age of the sample was 45.5 years. Respondents in the PAPI mode of interview were asked to answer more than one hundred questions. In our analyses in accordance with Stereotype Content Model we used 6 bipolar items scaled in a 7-points answer format (with 4 as the neutral point of the scale). Three items represented the Warmth dimension (warm-aloof; honest-unfair; sincere-disingenuous) and three items represented the Competence dimension (responsible-irresponsible; assertive-weak; hardworking-indolent). The standardized Cronbach reliability coefficient C_{α} for Warmth scale was 0.897 and for the Competence scale 0.891.

The obtained results reflect clearly the positive reciprocal effect in the Warmth hetero-stereotypes dimension for the most ethnic group dyads. This is especially visible in the case of Slovaks-Czechs, and Ruthenians-Ukrainians bonds, but also is present in mutual relations between all ethnic groups members except for Roma. They also expressed mainly positive hetero-stereotypes to other groups (with the small exception of Hungarians, where the average 3.91 is slightly below the neutral point 4.00 of the rating scale) but this is not reflected from others in a similar way. Figures in the Competence dimension reproduce the picture described above, but ties between the mentioned closest dyads are slightly weaker and hetero-stereotypes to the Roma moved slightly more to the negative pole.

Data connected with auto-stereotypes of all groups reflect the known fact about their favourableness in comparison with hetero-stereotypes. Hetero-stereotypes of respondents to 5 target groups (4 minority ethnic groups - Hungarians, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Czechs and for comparison Slovaks representing the majority) expressed to an important extent patterns of similarity, locating all 6 compared groups of respondents (including Roma) into the positive quadrant of the Stereotype Content Model represented by high warmth and high competence. This result supports the picture described in previous analyses (Homišínová, Výrost, 2005; Výrost, 2005) and confirms the stability of mutual perceptions. The situation with hetero-stereotypes to the Roma target ethnic group is visibly different; its location to low-low quadrant in both the dimensions of the Stereotype Content Model is univocal, without no registered statistical difference between groups. These results fill in the picture of social status and conditions of living of the Roma population in general (Europe) and in Slovakia. The Roma community, with an estimate of more than 10 million people, is widely held to be the largest minority in Europe, and experience negative stereotyping and prejudice. Their low educational level, weak economic position, isolated housing conditions with lack of basic facilities, poor health and dependence on social benefits are fundamental factors behind their social exclusion.

Key words:

Ethnic minorities in Slovakia. Auto-stereotypes. Hetero-stereotypes. Stereotype Content Model.

Intergroup stereotypes in social psychology are understood by standardized and simplified images and beliefs of individual members or groups as a whole. The stereotype term applied in a social context was first used by Walter Lippmann, who defined it as “...an ordered more or less consistent picture of the world, to which our habits, our tastes, our capacities, our comforts and our hopes have adjusted themselves. They may not be a complete picture of the world, but they are a picture of a possible world to which we are adapted” (1997, 63). Stereotypes usually correspond to a holder’s beliefs about attributes of social objects; in the case of intergroup stereotypes, typically personality characteristics could define a group (Yzerbyt, 2016).

Stereotypes have a serious impact not only on formation of relation to the target (out)group but also to the formation of in-group atmosphere and appurtenance. Thomas (2006, 4-5) described six basic functions of intergroup stereotypes/prejudices: 1. Orientation – stereotypes are navigators in complex social reality and strengthen personal capacity for quick reaction; 2. Adjustment – stereotypes accelerate the potential for adjustment to the new social environment and its rules; 3. Resistance – devaluation of out-group as a social comparison tool serves the purpose of creation and maintenance of a positive personal/in-group self-image; 4. Self-expression – communicated images shared by in-group strengthen social support; 5. Identity – stereotypes have a direct impact on collective in-group spirit; 6. Control/justification – stereotypes serves as a control mechanism for required behavior to the target social objects and as a justification of the performed acts.

In seminal classical studies (Katz & Braly, 1933; Allport, 1954) ethnic stereotypes content were viewed as uniform and mostly negative. The current view on stereotypes is expressed by the Stereotype Content Model (SCM) formalized by Fiske, Cuddy & Glick (2007). In the SCM Warmth and Competence are two orthogonal dimensions of social judgments, and social targets fall into one of four quadrants created by a combination of these two dimensions. Despite the empirical evidence that both influences are fundamental, according to the authors warmth judgments are primary: “warmth is judged before competence, and warmth judgments carry more weight in affective and behavioral reactions” (2007, 77). Warmth can be also understood as valence (positive or negative) of social judgments and competence as their extremity (how positive or negative). So the first dimension of the model expresses activity – active facilitation when

positive (helping) or active harming (attacking) when negative. The second dimension (competence) expresses passive behavior – passive facilitation in a positive case (associations) or passive harm (neglect). A combination of these dimensions generates distinct emotions: admiration (when warmth and competence are both high); pity (warmth high and competence low); envy (warmth low and competence high); contempt (warmth and competence low) (Cuddy, Fiske, Glick, 2008).

The ethnic map of the Slovak republic (from a total of 5, 397, 036 citizens according to 2011 census¹) consists of 14² ethnic groups: Slovaks (80.7%) constitutes the majority; Hungarians (8.5%), Roma (2.0%³), Czechs (0.6%), Ruthenians (0.6%) and Ukrainians (0.1) represent, according to Wolff's classification (2008), the traditional national minorities. The other 8 ethnic groups (German, Polish, Croatian, Serbian, Russian, Jew, Moravian, Bulgarian) do not each exceed 0.1%.

In our article we will concentrate our attention on auto- and hetero-stereotypes of members of five traditional ethnic minorities living in Slovakia (Hungarian, Czech, Roma, Ruthenian, and Ukrainian).

Method

Data was collected in the second half of 2017 in all regions of Slovakia by MEDIAN SK fieldwork agency. The total quota sample in our research consists of 972 adult respondents: 165 Hungarians (57% were female), 160 Roma (50 % F), 165 Czechs (54.5% F), 160 Ruthenians (50.6% F), 160 Ukrainians (53.8% F), and 162 Slovaks (53.1% F). The mean age for the whole sample was 45.5 years (SD=15.9); Hungarian subgroup M=45.8; SD=15.7; Roma M=36.2; SD=14.2; Czech M=46.9; SD=15.1; Ruthen M=42.5; SD=15.5; Ukraine M=46.5; SD=13.9; Slovak M= 42.9; SD=16.6.

Respondents in the PAPI mode of interview were asked to answer more than one hundred questions. In our analyses in accordance with the Stereotype Content Model we used 6 bipolar items scaled in a 7-points answer format (with 4 as the neutral point of the scale). Three items represented the WARMTH factor (warm-aloof; honest-unfair; sincere-disingenuous) and three item represented the COMPETENCE factor (responsible-irresponsible; assertive-weak; hardworking-indolent). The standardized Cronbach reliability coefficient C_α for Warmth scale was 0.897 and the Competence scale 0.891.

Results

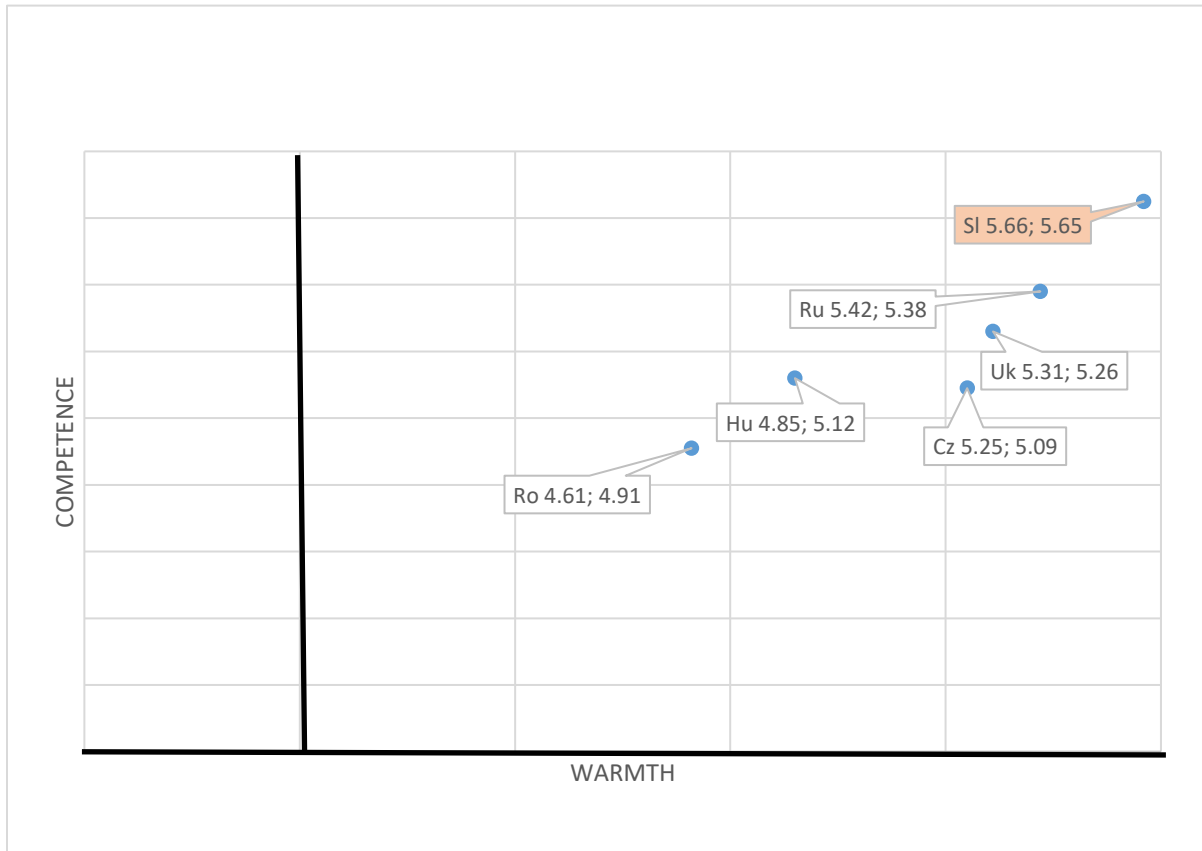
The obtained results are shown in graphic form, with a focus on the quadrant in which the evaluation is located. The axis X represents Warmth dimension of Stereotype Content Model and axis Y represents Competence. The Point of intersection (PI) of axes is the neutral point of the 7-point response scales, e.g. PI = 4. Groups names are expressed through abbreviations: Sl = Slovak respondents; Hu = Hungarians; Ro = Roma; Cz = Czechs; Ru = Ruthenians; Uk = Ukrainians. Together with groups labels in the graph bubbles, two values are presented; the first is the average

¹ Online: <https://census2011.statistics.sk/tabulky.html>

² Nationality of respondents in 2011 census was based on self-declaration principle.

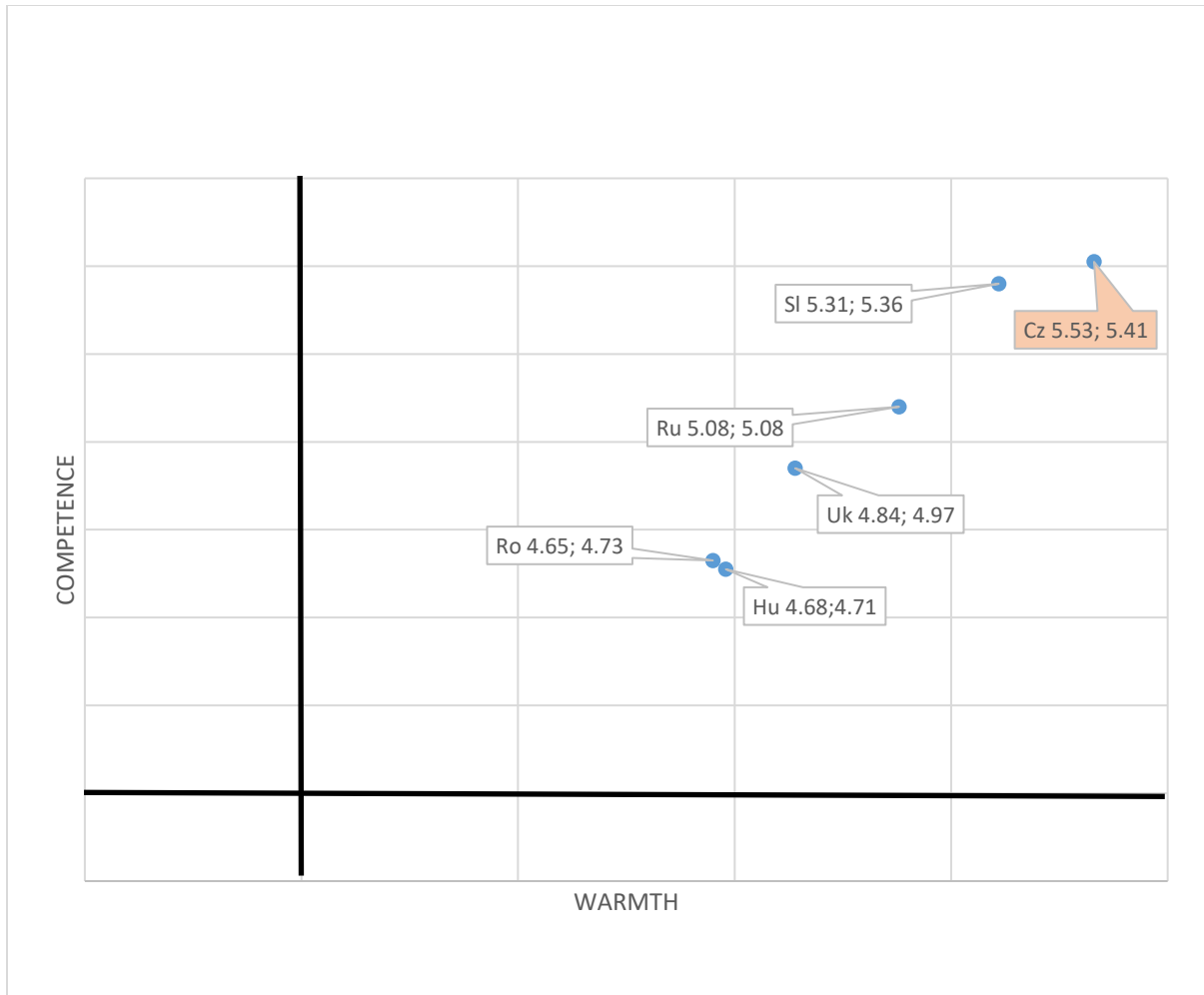
³ Though some estimates suggest that the population could be much higher – they frequently declared themselves as Slovaks and/or Hungarians.

of the group in Warmth dimension, the second is the average of the group in Competence dimension.



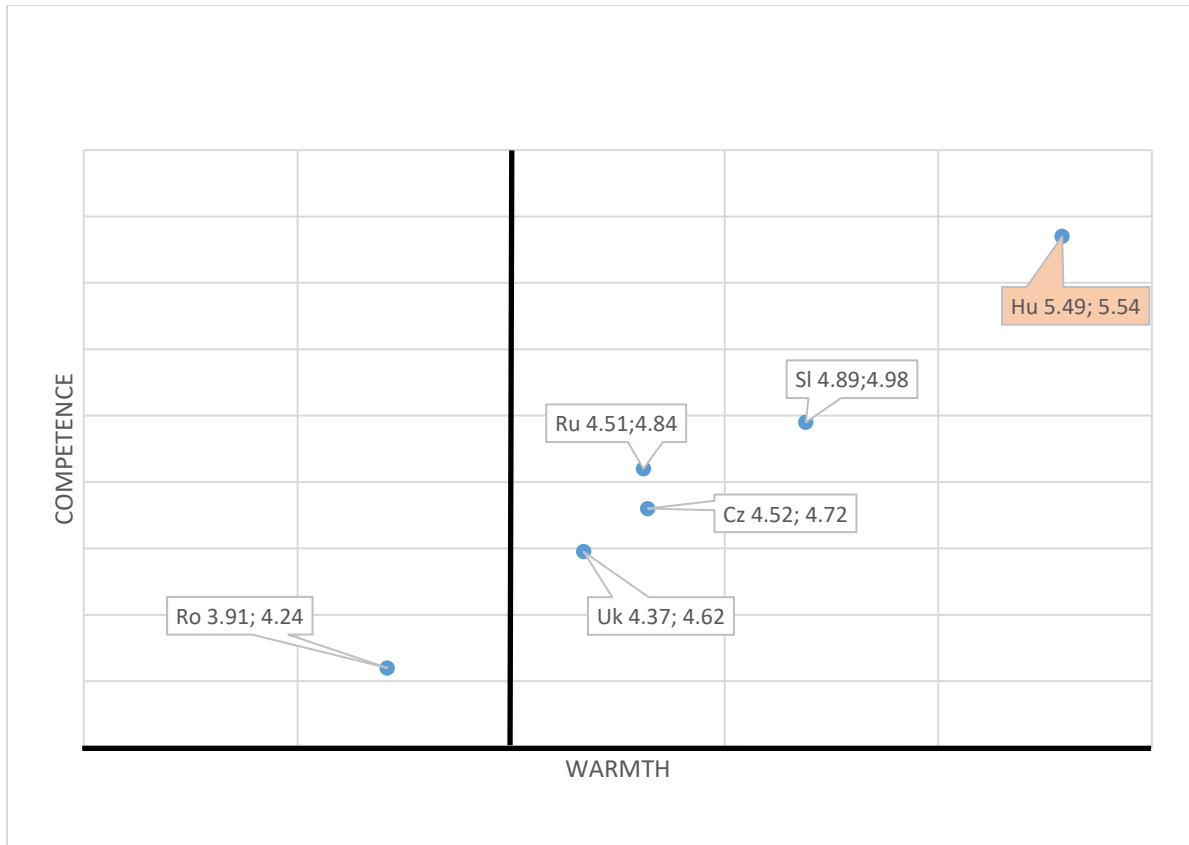
Graph 1: Stereotypes – target group Slovaks

The values reported by the respondents of all nationalities consistently showed that the in-group auto-stereotype was always perceived as the most positive on both dimensions of Competence and Warmth. A one-way ANOVA was conducted to analyse the differences of values assigned by all of the nationalities in regards to Slovaks, revealing significant differences within both dimensions of Warmth ($F(7, 1317) = 15.003, p = .01$) and Competence ($F(7, 1317) = 6.751, p = .01$). Subsequent post-hoc comparisons (Tukey) identified no significant differences between values assigned to Slovaks by Slovaks themselves and by Ukrainians and Ruthenians, yet the difference was significant between Slovaks and Czechs ($p = .017$ for warmth and $p = .01$ for competence, but with statistical power at an only negligible 0.03 and 0.05 respectively), then followed by significantly lower values assigned by Hungarians (Czechs and Hungarians at $p = .01$), and at the end of the spectrum were perceived stereotypes of Slovaks by Roma respondents ($p = .01$ for both dimensions).



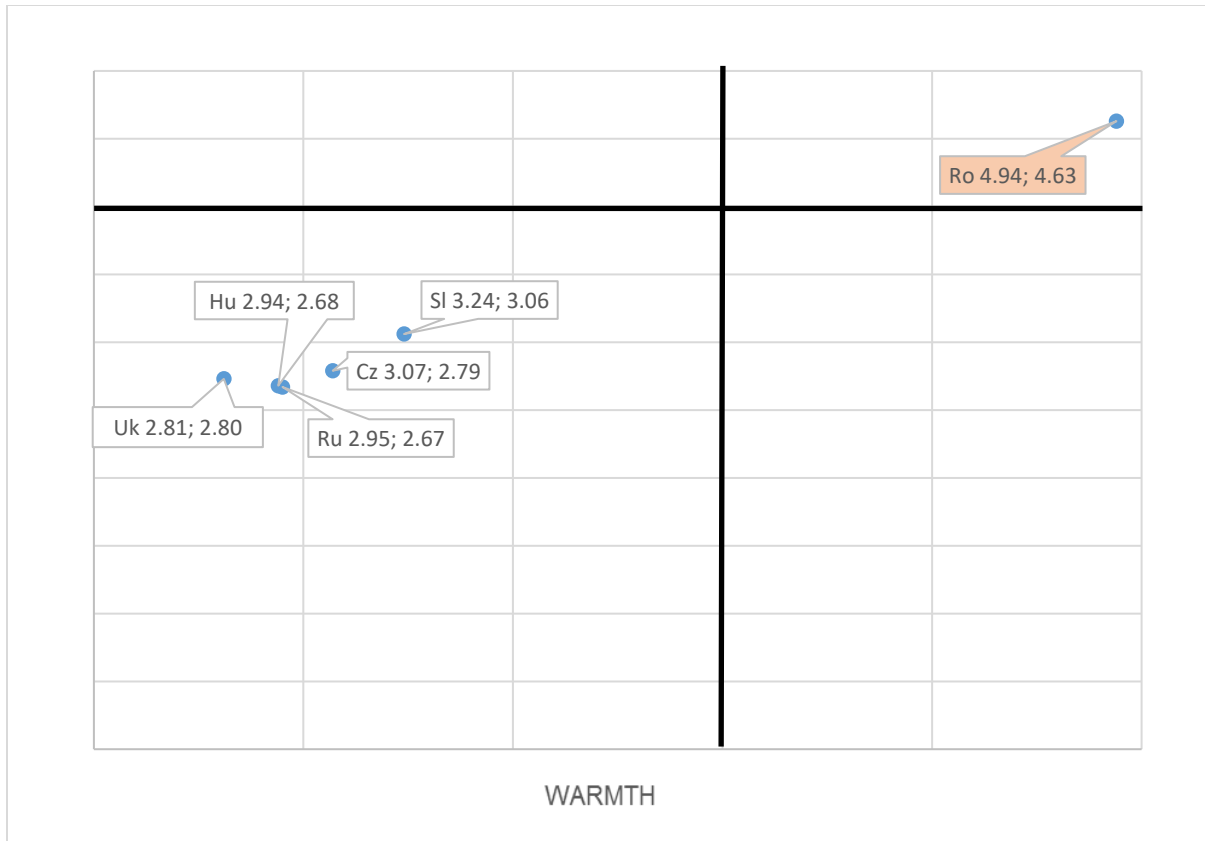
Graph 2: Stereotypes – target group Czechs

When the respondents were asked to assess Czechs on the chosen dimensions, a similar pattern appeared, with the auto-stereotype for Czechs being the most positively perceived by the Czechs themselves. A one-way ANOVA revealed significant differences between some groups for both dimensions of Warmth ($F_{(7, 1317)} = 13.383, p = .01$) and Competence ($F_{(7, 1317)} = 9.907, p = .01$). Subsequent analysis with post-hoc tests (Tukey) found no significant differences between values ascribed by Slovaks and Czechs, but the difference was significant between Czechs and Ruthenians as well as Ukrainians ($p = .01$ for Warmth dimension, but no difference for Competence), but without differences between Ruthenians and Ukrainians. The lowest values given by the respondents to the Czechs were by Roma and Hungarians, without any statistical significance between these two.



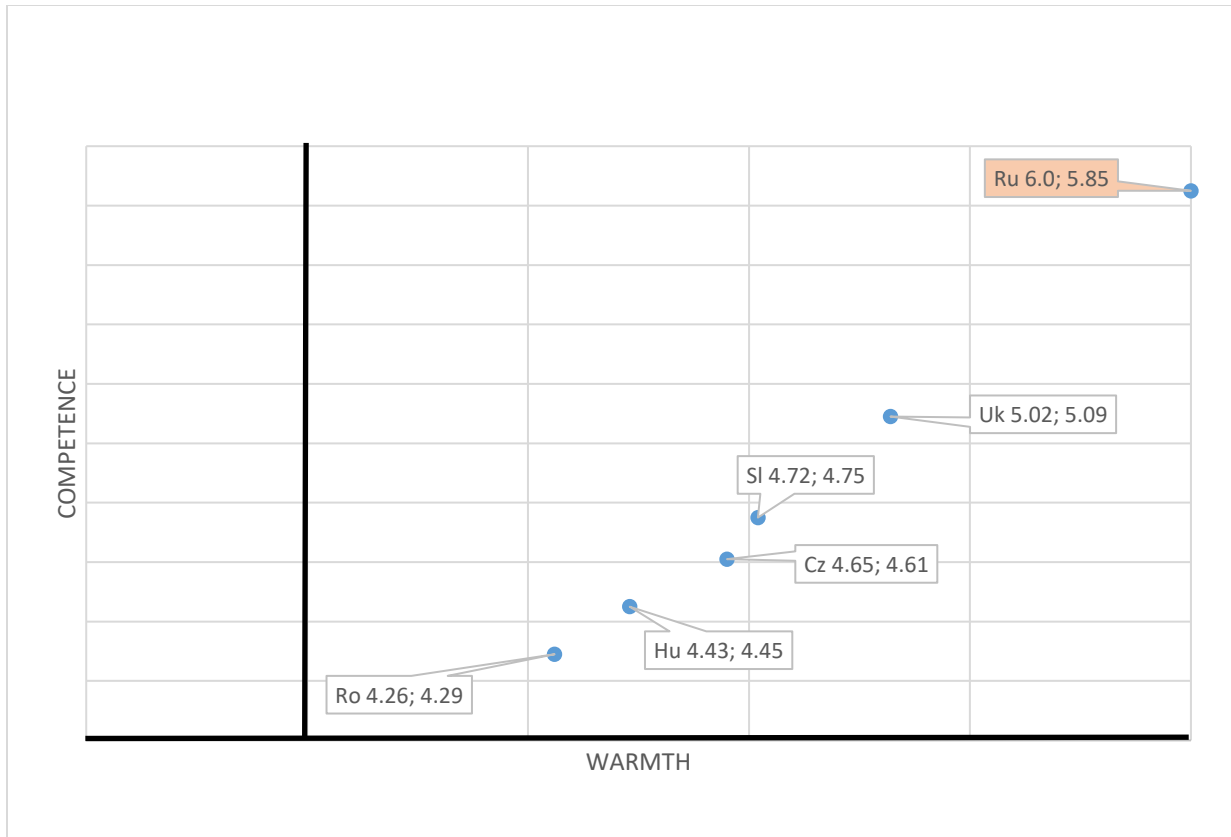
Graph 3: Stereotypes – target group Hungarians

As in the previous cases, the auto-stereotype was reported to be highest in positive values in both dimensions by Hungarians themselves. A performed one-way ANOVA revealed significant differences between groups for both studied dimensions ($F_{(7, 1317)} = 22.049, p = .01$ for Warmth, $F_{(7, 1317)} = 18.029, p = .01$ for Competence). Post-hoc comparisons identified differences between Hungarians and Slovaks (in both dimensions $p = 0.01$), clustered without significant difference together with Czechs and Ruthenians, then followed by Ukrainians (difference at the level $p = .01$), and in the end the hetero-stereotype to the Hungarians was valued as least positive by Roma respondents (with statistically significant differences to all other evaluations at $p = .01$). Also their hetero-stereotype to Hungarians on the warmth dimension under the point of the intersection of the axes moves their location into a different quadrant of the SCM model.



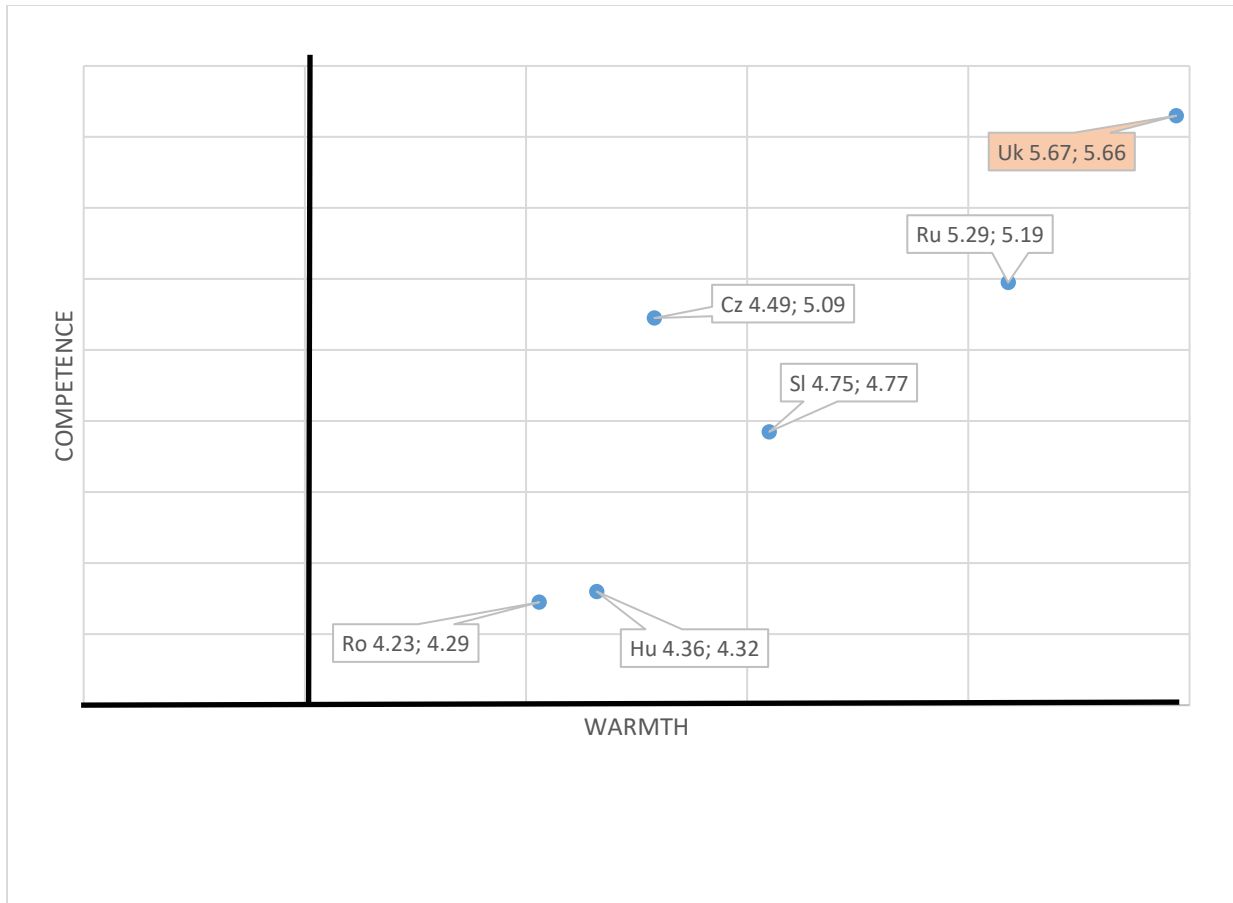
Graph 4: Stereotypes – target group Roma

Stereotypes concerning Roma ethnic group shows an already expected pattern of auto-stereotypes being the highest positive among Roma respondents, but what is noticeable is the overall lower value of it. A one-way ANOVA has confirmed the differences between values assigned ($F_{(7, 1317)} = 42.049, p = .01$ for Warmth, $F_{(7, 1317)} = 37.417, p = .01$ for Competence). A post-hoc test confirmed statistically significant differences between Roma evaluation and the other groups (at $p = .01$), with no differences between the evaluations of the rest of the nationalities, clustered in the negative poles of both dimensions.



Graph 5: Stereotypes – target group Ruthenians

When asked about stereotypes concerning the Ruthenians, the respondents reported an already expected preference for their own in-group; meaning, once again, that the highest scores for positive valence was given to the Ruthenians by Ruthenians themselves. The slight difference between the overall tendencies to give the auto-stereotypes the highest positive values by all nationalities within the research sample was that among all of the nationalities the Ruthenians were giving themselves the highest evaluations in both dimensions, therefore indicating that the in-group preference is the highest from the chosen nationalities. A one-way ANOVA was conducted and found differences between groups ($F_{(7, 1317)} = 40.701, p = .01$ for Warmth dimension, and $F_{(7, 1317)} = 36.241, p = .01$ for Competence). A post-hoc test confirmed significant differences between Ruthenians and Ukrainians ($p = 0.01$), and in descending order with Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians and Roma.



Graph 6: Stereotypes – target group Ukrainians

The final stereotype assessed was the Ukrainian one, with the Ukrainian auto-stereotype being as well perceived as highest at positive ends of both dimensions. A performed one-way ANOVA showed significant differences between groups for both Warmth ($F_{(7, 1317)} = 36.087, p = 0.01$) and Competence ($F_{(7, 1317)} = 33.501, p = .01$). A post-hoc test confirmed differences between values assigned by Ukrainians and Ruthenians, but only in the dimension of Competence ($p = .01$), then for both dimensions between Ruthenians and Czechs ($p = .01$), with Czechs clustered together with Slovaks, without any significant difference between them. At the end of the spectrum, values expressed by Hungarians and Roma were both significantly different from the last values ascribed by Slovaks ($p = .01$ for both dimensions and both nationalities respectively).

In Table 1 we present the overview of the average score in Warmth dimension. Auto-stereotypes are represented by one number in the cells when nationality in the row and column are the same and create a natural diagonal in the table. In the rest of the cells the first average number represents the hetero-stereotype value of members of an ethnic group in the row to the target group in the column; the second number represents the reciprocal hetero-stereotype value of members of ethnic group in the column to the target group in the row.

Table 1: Overview of auto- and mutual hetero-stereotypes of ethnic groups in Warmth dimension

Group	Sl	Cz	Hu	Ro	Ru	Uk
Sl	5.66	5.30; 5.25	4.89; 4.85	3.24; 4.61	4.72; 5.41	4.74; 5.31
Cz		5.52	4.52; 4.68	3.06; 4.64	4.65; 5.07	4.49; 4.84
Hu			5.49	2.93; 3.91	4.42; 4.51	4.35; 4.37
Ro				4.93	4.25; 2.95	4.23; 2.81
Ru					6.03	5.29; 5.02
Uk						5.67

Figures in the Table 1 reflect clearly the positive reciprocal effect in the Warmth hetero-stereotypes dimension for the ethnic group dyads. This is especially visible in the case of Slovaks — Czechs (5.30; 5.25) and Ruthenians — Ukrainians (5.29; 5.02) bonds, but also is present in mutual relations between all ethnic groups members except Roma. They also expressed mainly positive hetero-stereotypes to other groups (with the exception of Hungarians, where the average 3.91 is slightly below the neutral point 4.00 of the rating scale) but this is not reflected in others in a similar way. Probably because the correlation coefficient between the two sets of reciprocal hetero-stereotypes is positive, but approach only the level of significance ($r = 0.401$; $p < 0.139$).

Table 2: Overview of auto- and mutual hetero-stereotypes of ethnic groups in Competence dimension

Group	Sl	Cz	Hu	Ro	Ru	Uk
Sl	5.65	5.35; 5.09	4.98; 5.12	3.05; 4.91	4.75; 5.37	4.77; 5.25
Cz		5.41	4.71; 4.72	2.78; 4.72	4.61; 5.07	5.09; 4.97
Hu			5.53	2.68; 4.24	4.45; 4.83	4.31; 4.62
Ro				4,63	4.29; 2.67	4.28; 2.80
Ru					5.85	5.19; 5.09
Uk						5,66

Figures in the table 2 of Competence dimension reproduces the picture described above, but ties between the mentioned closest dyads are slightly weaker (Slovaks – Czechs 5.35; 5.09 and Ruthenians – Ukrainians 5.19; 4.53) and hetero-stereotypes to the Roma moved slightly more to the negative pole. These differences are reflected also in the lowered correlation coefficient between the two sets of hetero-stereotypes ($r = 0.222$; $p < 0.427$).

Discussion

Data connected with auto-stereotypes of all groups reflects the known fact (e.g. Triandis et al., 1982) about their favourableness in comparison with hetero-stereotypes. Empirical data underlines the interconnection of categorization of a person as a member of social group and self-stereotyping – the mode by which a person reflect themselves through the in-group stereotypes (Cadinu et al., 2013). According to Hunter et al. (2000, 97) “*when category members display group serving*

attributional biases it is social identity based and not personal self-esteem that is likely to be affected”.

The hetero-stereotypes of respondents to 5 target groups (4 minority ethnic groups - Hungarians, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Czechs and for comparison Slovaks representing the majority) expressed to a serious extent patterns of similarity, locating all 6 compared groups of respondents hetero-stereotypes evaluations (including Roma) into the positive quadrant of the Stereotype Content Model represented by high warmth and high competence. This result supports the picture described in previous analyses (Homišínová, Výrost, 2005; Výrost, 2005) and confirms a stability of mutual perceptions of these ethnic groups.

The situation with hetero-stereotypes to the Roma target ethnic group is visibly different: its location in the low-low quadrant in the both dimensions of the Stereotype Content Model by Slovakian, Hungarian, Czech, Ruthenian, and Ukrainian respondents is univocal, with no registered statistical difference between the groups. These results fill in the picture of the social status and conditions of living for the Roma population in general (Europe) and in Slovakia. The Roma community, with an estimated more than 10 million people, is undoubtedly the biggest minority in Europe, who experience intense social exclusion and discrimination (the European Commission, 2005; Ringold et al., 2005; Crepaldi et al., 2008). Their low educational level, weak economic position, isolated housing conditions with lack of basic facilities, poor health and dependence on social benefits are fundamental factors in their social exclusion (FRA, 2012). The Roma belong to groups (together with Africans, Muslims, and Jews) suffering the highest level of discrimination in employment and as victims of hate crimes (ENAR, 2013). A Special Eurobarometer 437 results showed that “social circles of Europeans are steadily becoming more diverse” but “the proportion who have Roma friends or acquaintances remained stable” (2015, 7). In the whole representative sample of 28 EU countries, 63% of respondents answered that they would feel comfortable working with a Roma person, but in the Czech Republic the figure was 29% and in Slovakia 41% (2015, 22).

In conclusion, through our fieldwork experience, we would like to express that stereotypes can be viewed as a sensitive indicator („litmus paper“) of the actual state of interethnic relations. It is instructive to pay systematic attention to this phenomenon. An old truth still stands that „trust takes years to build, seconds to break, and forever to repair“ (Amy Rees Anderson blog, 2014). As far as the Roma community is concerned, it is more and more clear that notwithstanding the responsibility of nation states, the process of their integration will be possible to accelerate only through a common effort and target for all of Europe.

Finally, we would like to add one short methodological remark based on the experience with the Stereotype Content Model application; according to Fiske et al. (2007,79) when people judge individuals, warmth and competence often correlate positively, but when they judge social groups these two dimensions often correlate negatively. In our data all correlations of the scales (6) in all ethnic groups (x6) were positive and statistically significant.

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Perception of Inter-Ethnic Relations of Slovaks, Hungarians and Roma 2004 – 2017

Michal Kentoš, Institute of Social Sciences, Centre of Social and Psychological Sciences of
SAS, Košice, kentos@saske.sk

Mária Ďurkovská, Institute of Social Sciences, Centre of Social and Psychological Sciences of
SAS, Košice, durkovska@saske.sk

Klara Kohoutová, Institute of Social Sciences, Centre of Social and Psychological Sciences of
SAS, Košice, kohoutova@saske.sk

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Abstract:

The aim of the contribution is to analyse interethnic relations between Slovaks, Hungarians and Roma people in 2004-2017 based on empirical research data focused on the theoretical, methodological and practical issues of ethnicity and ethnic relations. The issue of interethnic relations, or to be more precise the relations between the majority and minorities in the central Europe area, represents not only a past concern but also currently one of the priorities for the countries of central and Eastern Europe. The character of contemporary interethnic relationships is becoming more and more a subject of scientific research whose results are being translated into practice. These results contribute to solutions to possible inter-ethnic conflicts that arise from the interaction of different cultures in today's society. After November 1989, the social significance of interethnic relations has been marked by ethno-identification processes in the Slovak republic. The primary interest of individual minority representatives is to improve their position and secure the enactment of their rights. At the centre of societal interest in Slovakia are apart from economic and social issues also minority issues. Czechoslovakia was founded in 1918 as a state of Czechs and Slovaks with many minorities. Today, the Slovak Republic, one of the successor states of Czechoslovakia, is one of the most ethnically heterogeneous countries in central Europe. During the last century, the national composition in Czechoslovakia significantly changed through the influence of World War II and population transfers or migrations. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the legislative framework for the protection of the rights of national minorities gradually changed. Slovakia entered the European Union in 2004, and before that it had to meet the Copenhagen criterion in the area of protection of rights and national minorities. One of the main issues in the near future is the ability to accept the heterogeneity of Slovak society as a normal standard. Roma and Hungarian minorities are an indicator of the problem in Slovakia, today. The problems and status of minorities are a long-term priority of the Slovak political agenda. Today, Slovakia ranks among European countries with relatively advanced legislation for the protection of national minorities. Through its approach to minorities it meets the criteria of international organizations for a modern European and liberal democracy. Data was collected in the second half of 2004 and 2017 in all regions of Slovakia. In 2004, a total of 480 respondents were surveyed for the needs of our study. The subjects of the survey were Slovaks (160) and the two most numerous minorities living in Slovakia: the Hungarians (160) and the Roma (160). The selection criteria for the research sample were: nationality indicator, t. j. public declaration of belonging to the minority; gender, age and education. In 2017 the total quota sample in our research consists of 487 adult respondents: 162 Slovaks, 165 Hungarians and 160 Roma. Several conclusions follow from the presented results of intra-ethnic and interethnic relations. The evaluation of intra-ethnic relations has produced mixed results. While in 2004 Hungarians were more positive about the relations inside their ethnic community, in 2017 it was Slovaks. The Roma assessments didn't change over these two rounds. However, all intra-ethnic

evaluations were positive. The situation was different in the area of interethnic relations. The evaluations of Roma people, except self-assessment, were mostly neutral to slightly negative character. It relates to the Slovaks evaluation of Roma people as well as Roma people of Slovaks. What is interesting is Slovaks evaluations towards the Roma people and the change from the negative zone to the neutral one. For both evaluations relatively large differences apply in 2004 and almost identical values in 2017. Hungarian respondents rated the Roma people slightly negative, approximately the same in both rounds of research. In relation to Hungarians, the ratings were generally more positive, although the trend between the evaluation rounds shows a decreasing trend. While from the point of the minority view, the Slovaks' relationship to the Hungarians cannot be deduced from the downward trend yet; the relations between Hungarians and Slovaks confirms this fact. The relations of Slovaks and Hungarians showed relatively large differences in 2004 but were very similar in 2017. Even the Roma ratings to the Hungarians had a decreasing trend from positive to neutral. Even though this contribution doesn't analyse the reasons for evaluating interethnic relations, the 2017 ratings show less variability among the different ethnic group ratings. It is related to the stabilization of interethnic relations, a more peaceful political dialogue and the presence of an external ethnic threat in the form of a migratory crisis. If we ignore the well-known fact in literature of a more positive self-image and a more critical assessment of others, the relations between the Roma people and the Slovaks are at a maximum neutral value now. Vice versa, Hungarian relations still have positive characteristics.

Key words:

Interethnic relations. Slovakia. Roma. Hungarians. Slovaks. Empirical research.

Introduction

There are diverse approaches to studying inter-ethnic relations in research literature. Some focus on relations between particular minorities (Ortakovski, 2001; Demjaha, 2016), others on minority interactions with the majority (Titzman, 2014). There are also approaches which monitor the growing ethnic diversification (Craig, Rucker, Richeson, 2018). However, more and more attention is paid to interdisciplinary research into inter-ethnic relations in the current socio-political context (Verkuyten, Zaremba, 2005). In this context, the authors point to the need to reflect the current political, economic as well as social changes in the study of inter-ethnic relations, despite the lack of consensus as to how and to what extent these factors influence the nature of inter-ethnic relations. Another research challenge is the relatively high ethnic closeness in the time of increasing ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of individual countries. This is a phenomenon called ethnic homophily (Titzmann, Serwata, Silbereisen, Davidov, 2016). The principle of homophily means that people tend to associate themselves with those whom they "resemble". McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook (2001) state that while homophily works in different dimensions, it has been shown that race, language, religion, and ethnicity are commonly known as the basis of similarity leading to ethnic homophily.

Historical connections of inter-ethnic relations in Slovakia

When analyzing inter-ethnic relations, it is necessary to reflect the continuity of the socio-historical development of particular minorities, which also determines their current development.

Czechoslovakia was founded in 1918 as the state of Czechs and Slovaks, but with many minorities. The most numerous ethnic minority was the Germans, followed by the Hungarian, Russian¹, Jewish and Polish minorities. Czechoslovakia disintegrated into two states on January 1st 1993 and, while the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland are, nationality-wise, a relatively homogeneous country, there is a significant Hungarian minority in Slovakia

¹ Under this label, the Ukrainians, the Ruthenians and the Carpathian Ruthenians were included.

(Vlachová, Řeháková, 2004, p. 493). In spite of the transfer and displacement of the population during totalitarian regimes (fascist and communist) and the immediate post-War, as well as the Holocaust, Slovakia is currently the most ethnically heterogeneous country in Central Europe. Officially, more than 10% (unofficially almost 20%) of the population in Slovakia are national minorities. According to the latest population census in 2011, Hungarians numbered 458,467, Roma 105,738, Ruthenians 33,482, Ukrainians 7,430, Czechs 30,367, Germans 4,690, Poles 3,084, Croats 1,022, Serbs 698, Russians 1,997, Jews 631, and Bulgarians 1,051. (Population and Housing Census, 2011)

In most countries of the European Union, the original minorities were, to a large extent, assimilated. After the Second World War, new minorities started to emerge as a result of migration and displacement. This trend, however, did not concern the newly created Eastern Bloc. In these, small communities of the new minorities formed primarily as an aid to the Cominform countries with Marxist orientation, or later to the developing countries. At the same time, after 1945, many communist states had significantly changed their ethnic structure. Also in Czechoslovakia – and post-separation - the composition of the population has changed dramatically, which has also led to the frustration of minority members and the strengthening of xenophobic attitudes on both sides (from 2015 onwards, the European migration crisis has also been adding to this phenomenon). At present, the Roma and the Hungarian minorities are the indicator of problems in Slovakia. Integration is the main issue among the Roma, but there is also social and economic marginalization. Among the Hungarians, it is primarily about cultural and ethnic seclusion (Lelkes, Tóth, 2006).

The issue of national minorities is perceived as a problem when a majority (or a national majority) consciously or unknowingly excludes other groups from the decision-making process. Despite many objections to the nationalist politics of the communist regime, the rights of the recognized national minorities in Czechoslovakia were protected by the state even during the period of real socialism (Kuklík, Petráš, 2013, p. 26). The Czechoslovak Communists did not view the minorities equally – some of the currently existing national minorities were not formally accepted during the communist regime (for example Roma or Ruthenians).

Since the fall of the communist system, a comprehensive state program has not been prepared in the national policy of Slovakia. The national policy was implemented through partial measures reflecting the current issues of the intra-political development, responding to the Slovak foreign policy objectives related to its membership in transnational European structures, or responding to the standards and documents adopted by these organizations. In the new situation, after the collapse of the communist regimes in Europe, the search for and the creation of the identities of nations and national minorities acquired a well-defined and in some groups of the population also a confrontational form. (Šutaj, 2005)

After the dissolution of the Czechoslovak federation, 14.15% of the Slovak population was represented by ethnic minority members. The proportion of the Hungarian minority rose from nearly 4% of the former Czechoslovakia to almost 12% in the new Republic. Similarly, its geopolitical significance also increased threefold. The Roma's situation, however, was more fluid, with them migrating consistently between Slovakia and the Czech Republic, concentrating mainly in Eastern Slovakia. (Kusý, 1994)

After the fall of the regime, the legislative framework for the protection of the rights of national minorities gradually changed. Before joining the European Union in 2004, Slovakia had to fulfill the Copenhagen Criteria in the sphere of protection of rights and national minorities; with the emphasis on accepting the heterogeneity of Slovak society as a normal standard.

Slovakia has ratified the vast majority of relevant UN documents as well as the Council of Europe documents that have become part of the legal system. Today, Slovakia is among the

European countries with relatively advanced legislation on the protection of national minorities. With its approach to minorities, it meets the criteria of international organizations for modern European and liberal democracy.

Public opinion

Relations between the majority and minorities are influenced daily by social and political events. The issue of the Hungarian minority has become one of the important topics of public life in Slovakia, which after November 1989 has been the subject of political debates that has polarized the minority internally as well as between those of the Slovak majority. The period from the beginning of the Slovak Republic to the parliamentary elections in 1994 was characterized by the deepening of the cooperation of the Hungarian political parties in enforcing the requirements of the Hungarian community. In particular, it was the requirement to designate municipalities in the Hungarian language, to prevent the introduction of alternative education, and to build a territorial division in accordance with the ethnic distribution. Although, according to Šutaj (2005), the Slovak-Hungarian relations managed to overcome various problems (the Slovak-Hungarian Treaty of 1995, entry into the European structures), possible sources of instability in relation to the Hungarian minority appeared again later. This included, in particular, the promotion of nationalist political subjects in the two countries, the adoption of double citizenship laws in Hungary, and the reciprocal adjustment of the Slovak legal norm. A source of tension was also the revelation of Hungarian statues in the Slovak public space (Štefan, 2009). After 2010, there has been a relative harmonization of the relations between the two states and the avoidance of the sources of potential conflicts (Marušiak, 2011, Strážay, 2013).

The Roma are the most visible and one of the most important national minorities of Slovak society and, at the same time, they belong to the marginalized groups. The Roma issue is a multidimensional problem. It is likely that even in the future it will be the Roma who will be the biggest challenge for minorities politics in Slovakia. Within the next two decades, the Roma issue will most likely remain the most discussed one. Between 2004 and 2017, poverty, discrimination, racism, education, and social issues were the most widely discussed in connection to the Roma. In recent years, there have been several cases during which the Roma have come to the forefront of political and public interest, and again they have begun to draw attention to the issue of poverty and segregation in the Roma settlements. The huge problem that the Roma have to face is stereotyping on the part of the majority population. The Roma are often perceived as people avoiding work and civil duties, and who abuse social benefits. It has a historical legacy based on when the term *Roma* was interpreted as a person recoiling from work (Nečas, 1994). Today, the Roma are more or less rejected by the majority community, often through racial aversion. (For more about the stereotypes and image of the Roma in the majority society see the publication Čierno-biele svety [Black and white worlds], 2016.), many Roma children are growing up in institutions, and the relationship between the majority and the Roma are often tense, sometimes with open hostility.

After the accession of the Slovak Republic to the European Union, the Roma were in an unusual situation – their standards were not always completely in line with the normative and value system of the surrounding majority population. The Roma have always lived in closed groups. The distancing of the majority population from the Roma minority has caused even greater closure in the minority's inner world. Thus, the majority community remains a foreign group for the Roma, as it rejected them in the past. Another change after Slovakia's accession to the EU was the introduction of social reforms that curtailed state forms of support and caused a wave of social unrest. It was followed by extensive migration abroad, especially to

Western European countries (Grill, 2016). In recent years, the issue of ethnicity and inter-ethnic relations among minorities has been at the forefront due to the influx of migrants and refugees to Europe.

These frameworks of inter-ethnic relations have also found their reflection in the opinions and attitudes of the population surveyed through public opinion research.

Several qualitative research studies focusing on the opinions of the Roma (such as the 1996 InfoRoma Oral History research and the 2001 World Bank research on Poverty and Welfare of Roma in the Slovak Republic) concluded that the Roma perceive the majority community in a considerably more favorable way than themselves. In addition, the World Bank research of 2001 points to the fact that the stereotypes, animosities, and conflicts within the Roma community are much more significant than the social distance of the Roma from the majority community. Among the Roma, the sub-ethnic differences, regional affiliation and, above all, the degree of integration in society play a much more important role than the partitioning of the majority and the Roma. (Vašečka, 2001).

As Bahna (2015) points out, according to the results of the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), the Slovaks' relations with the Hungarians between 1996 and 2014 have undergone a significant change. While in 1996, 40% of the respondents identified Hungary as the biggest threat, in 2014, it was only 5%. According to the ISSP 2009 survey, conflicts between the Slovaks and the Hungarians were considered to be acute or very acute by 35.6% (22) of the Slovak respondents; similarly the conflicts between the Slovaks and the Roma were assessed negatively by 47.4% (23.5) of the respondents (Džambazovič, Zeman, Pikulík, 2010).

According to the findings of the Institute for Public Affairs in 2015, in the V4 countries in the ranking of trust, according to the opinions of the Slovak public, the Poles (40%) ranked third after the Czechs (78%). The Hungarians were in ninth place (30%). The Hungarians trusted Germans (62% of the respondents) the most. Germans were followed by Poles (58%); the Czechs and Slovaks shared fourth and fifth place (40% each) (Gyárfášová, Mesežnikov, 2016).

Objective of the contribution

The objective of the contribution is to analyze the inter-ethnic relations between the Slovaks, Hungarians and Roma in 2004 and 2017 based on the data of empirical research aimed at the core theoretical, methodological and practical issues of ethnicity and ethnic relations (using the methodological procedures applied in the empirical research of 2004).

Method

The data are from two rounds of the national minority research that took place in 2004 and 2017. A structured questionnaire was used in both rounds of the research, the content of which was in 2017, for the sake of comparability, essentially identical to the original questionnaire but supplemented by some other topical questions.

In 2004 a research file was created consisting of a total of 480 respondents. The subjects of the research were the members of the majority of nationality-mixed areas, Slovaks (160), and members of the two most numerous minorities living in Slovakia: the Hungarians (160) and the Roma (160). The selection criteria for the research sample were: nationality indicator, i.e. public declaration of belonging to the minority; gender, age and education. In 2017, the

research file consisted of 487 respondents; 162 Slovaks, 165 Hungarians, and 160 Roma. The selection criteria for the research sample was the same as in 2004.

In 2004, in terms of gender, the proportion of men and women in the Slovak sample was 49.4% men and 50.6% women; among Hungarians the proportion was 49.4% to 50.6%; among Roma it was 47.5% to 52.5% %. In 2017, there were 46.9% men and 53.1% women in the Slovak group; 43% to 57% among Hungarians; and 50% to 50% among Roma.

In 2004, in terms of age, there were 49.4% of the Slovak respondents up to the age of 45, and 50.6% were and over 45 years. 24.4% of the Hungarian respondents were up to 45 and 75.6% were over 45 years. Among the Roma, 50.6% of the respondents were up to 45 years and 49.4% were over 45 years of age. In 2017, 58% of the Slovak respondents were up to the age of 45, and 42% were over 45 years. Among the Hungarians, 49.1% were up to 45 years, and 50.9% were over 45 years. 71.8% of the Roma respondents were up to 45 years and 28.2% were over 45 years of age.

In terms of education, between 2004 and 2017 there was a slight difference. In 2004 the research file consisted of representatives of the majority and the minorities who had at least a secondary education with a school-leaving certificate (with at least an apprenticeship education for the Roma). However, higher or university education was preferred. In 2017 respondents with primary education were also included in the research. In the 2004 data, 83.6% of Slovaks had passed university education, and 16.3% had a higher qualification. In the Hungarian minority, 3.7% had full secondary education, 84.4% had university education, and 11.9% had a higher qualification. 90% of the Roma had secondary education, 8.7% had university education, and 1.2% had a higher qualification. In 2017 the research file contained 18% of Slovaks with primary education, 66% with secondary, and 16% with university education. In the Hungarian minority, it was similar; 18.2% had primary education, 70.9% had secondary education, and 10.9% had university education. 60% of the Roma had primary education, 38.1% had secondary, and 1.9% had university education.

For the purpose of assessing relations within the ethnic community, the relation of the minority to the majority, and the majority to the minority, the following questions were used: If you were to evaluate the current relations (1. within your minority, 2. of your minority to the Slovaks, 3. of the Slovaks to your minority in the region (in your village, city) in which you live, how would you say they are? The score was calculated from a 7-point scale; where 1 was very bad and 7 was very good. Similarly, relations within the majority and to the minorities were also examined: If you were to evaluate the current relations (1. among the Slovaks, 2. of the Slovaks to the other ethnic minorities in the region (in your village, city) in which you live, how you would say they are? The score was calculated from a 7-point scale, where 1 was very bad and 7 was very good. The relations between the minorities were studied by means of the question: If you were to evaluate the current relations of your minority to the other ethnic minorities living in Slovakia, how would you say they are? The score was calculated from a 7-point scale, where 1 was very bad and 7 was very good.

Results

Evaluation of the relations within own ethnicities

In the first part we analyzed the relations within the individual ethnic communities, including the majority. Using the two-factor analysis of variance, we compared the evaluations of the individual ethnic communities as well as the changes in their evaluations over time (Figure 1). All effects were statistically significant. The ethnicity effect was at $F(2, 954) = 20.41$, $p < .001$, and the data collection year effect achieved $F(1, 954) = 6.20$, $p = 0.013$. The ethnicity

and the data collection year interaction effect was also statistically significant $F(2, 954) = 10.88, p < .001$, while in 2004 the average evaluations of relations among the Hungarians were significantly more positive ($M = 5.54, SD = 1.13$) than the Slovaks' evaluations ($M = 4.82, SD = 1.10$), or the Roma ($M = 4.81, SD = 1.08$). The interaction also revealed a significantly more positive evaluation of relations among the Slovaks in 2017 ($M = 5.49, SD = 1.19$) compared to 2004 ($M = 4.82, SD = 1.10$). In contrast, the Hungarian respondents' evaluations slightly decreased, but the difference was not statistically significant. The Roma respondents showed almost identical evaluations in both data collection rounds. The evaluations of all ethnicities achieved relatively positive values, despite the abovementioned differences.

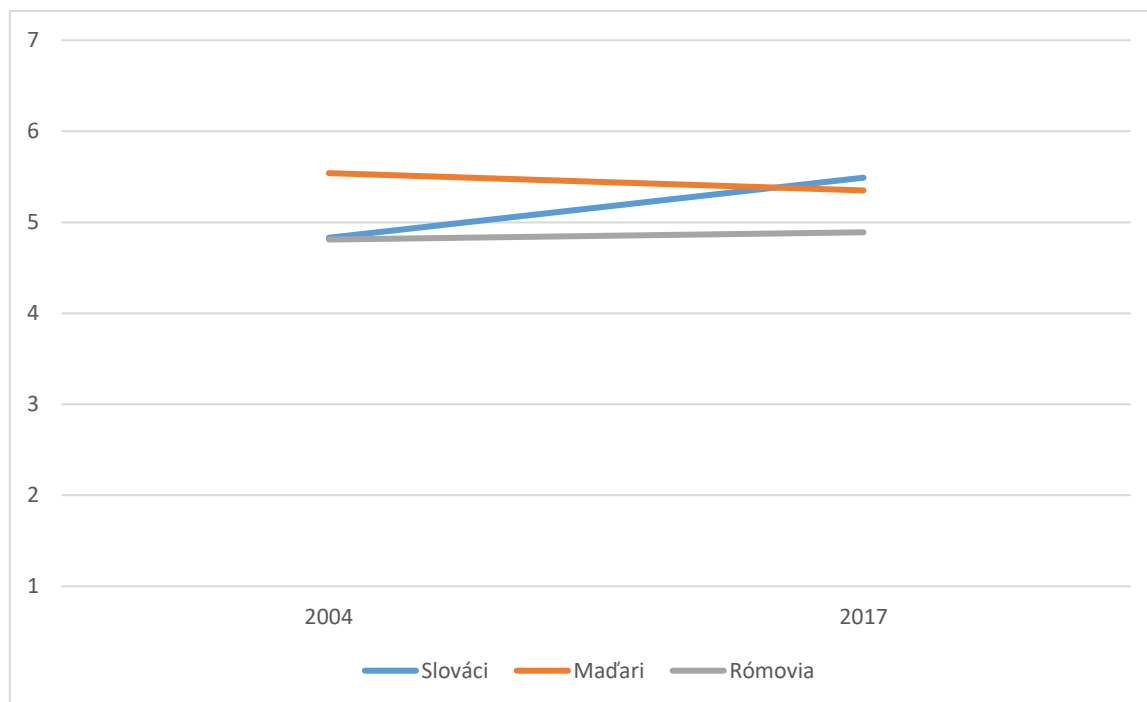


Figure 1: Average evaluations of relations within ethnicities (1 – very bad 7 – very good)

Evaluation of the relations with the majority and among ethnicities

In the next section we analyzed the inter-ethnic relations of the Hungarians and the Roma with the Slovaks. The minorities first assessed Slovaks' relations with the minorities (Figure 2) and, subsequently, they evaluated the minority's relations with the majority. In evaluation of the relations of the majority to the minorities, the results of the two-factor model confirmed the statistical significance of the effect of nationality $F(1, 632) = 103.42, p < .001$, where in both cases the Hungarian respondents rated the relations of the Slovaks with their minority significantly more positive than the Roma. The effect of the collection year $F(1, 632) = 8.30, p = 0.004$ was reflected in the average evaluations of the Slovaks' relations with the Roma (from the point of view of the Roma). These were significantly more negative in 2017 ($M = 3.81, SD = 1.55$) than in 2004 ($M = 4.16, SD = 0.90$). In contrast, there were no significant differences between the Slovaks' relations with the Hungarians. The interaction effect of these factors was not statistically significant.

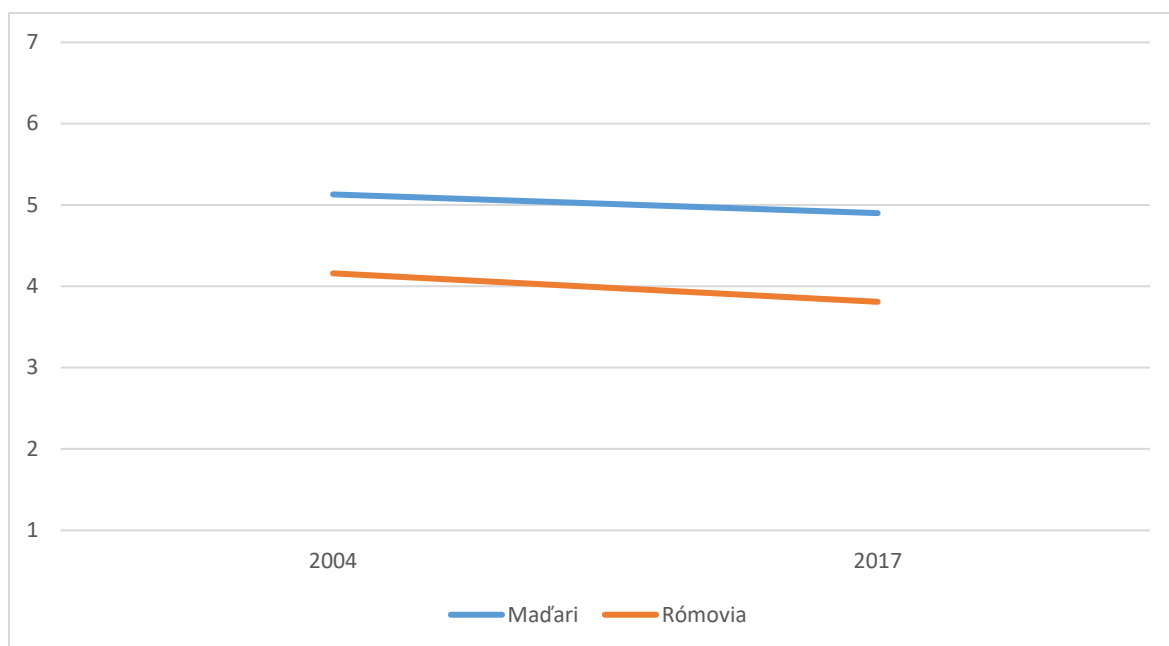


Figure 2: Average evaluations of the Slovaks' relations to the minorities from the point of view of the minorities (1 – very bad 7 – very good)

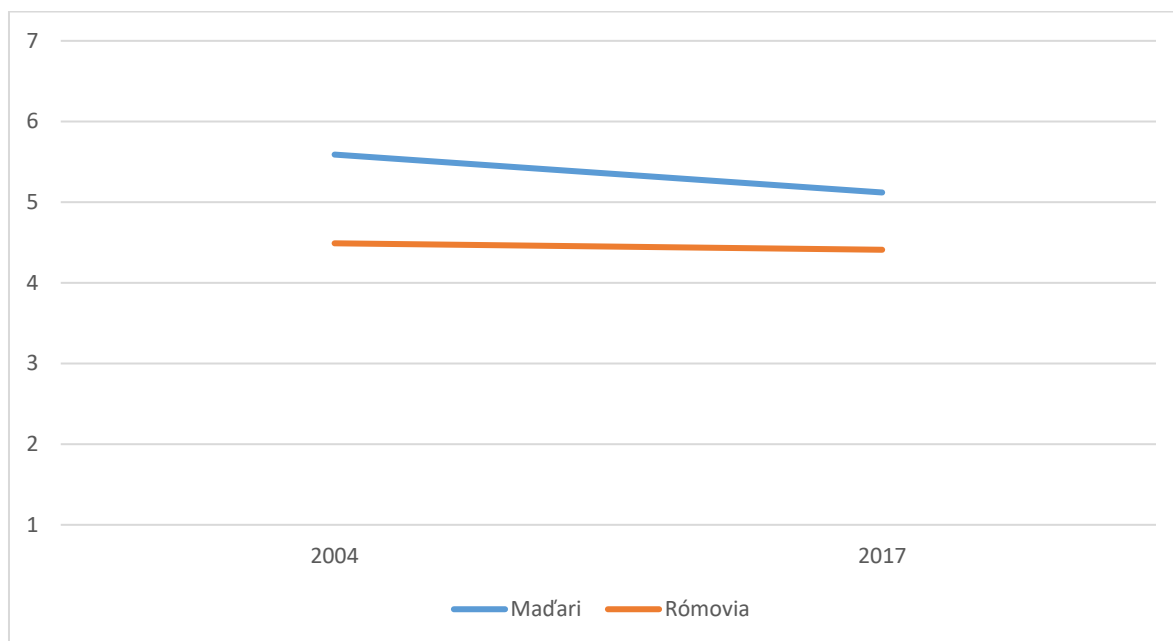


Figure 3: Average evaluations of the minority to the majority relations from the point of view of the minorities (1 – very bad 7 – very good)

The findings from the evaluations of the minorities' relations with the majority were similar (Figure 3). The effect of the nationality $F(1, 634) = 99.89, p < .001$, the effect of the year of collection $F(1, 634) = 9.65, p = .002$, and their interaction $F(1, 634) = 4.57, p = .033$ were significant. The evaluations of the Hungarian respondents in both rounds were significantly more positive than the Roma evaluations. The Hungarian evaluations were significantly more negative in 2017 ($M = 5.12, SD = 1.22$) than in 2004 ($M = 5.54, SD = 1.04$). In contrast, the Roma evaluations did not differ statistically.

Mutual evaluations of the Hungarian and the Roma relations are illustrated in Figure 4. The Hungarian respondents' evaluations in relation to the Roma were practically identical in both rounds, with a slightly negative connotation. In contrast, evaluations of the Roma participants in the 2004 research were significantly more positive in relation to the Hungarians than in 2017, when only the average of the evaluation scale was reached.

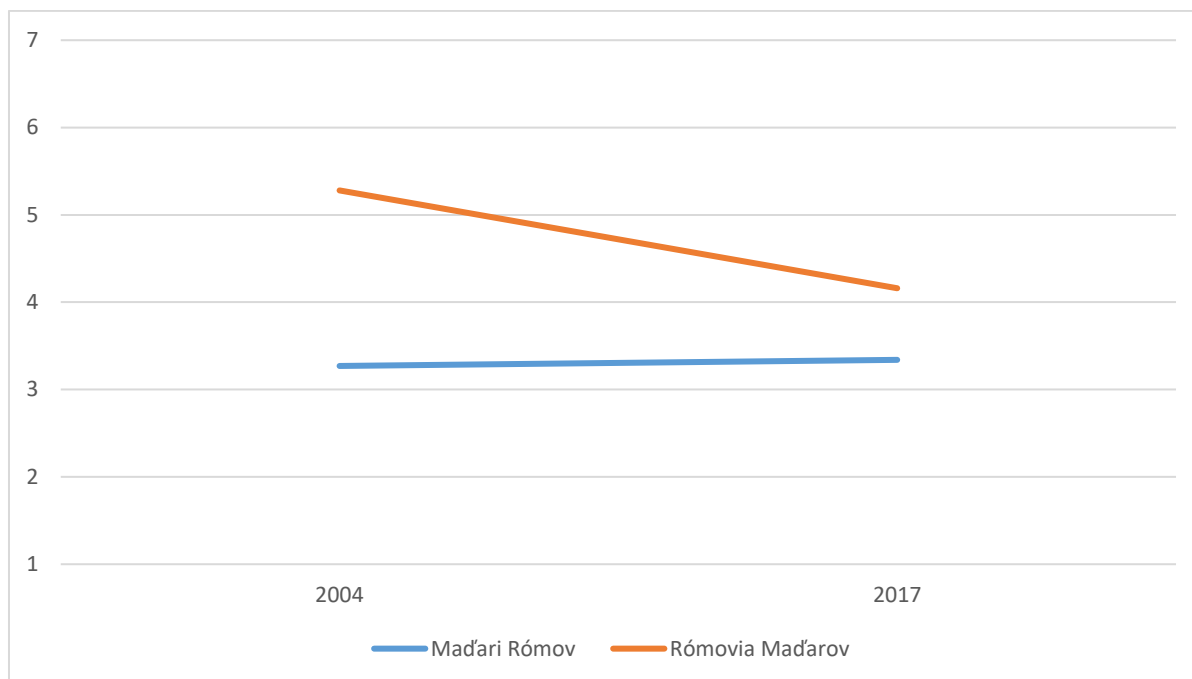


Figure 4: Average evaluations of the Hungarian and the Roma relations (1 – very bad 7 – very good)

A different view of the abovementioned issue was represented by the evaluations of the Slovak respondents (Figure 5). While the minority evaluations of the Slovaks' relations to the minorities were more positive in 2004, the Slovaks' evaluations of the minorities were more negative. In contrast, in 2017 the evaluations of the minorities and the Slovaks were almost equal. For both evaluations (the minorities and the majority) there is a relatively large difference in 2004, and almost no difference in 2017. The Hungarian minority was evaluated by the Slovaks significantly more positively than the Roma one.

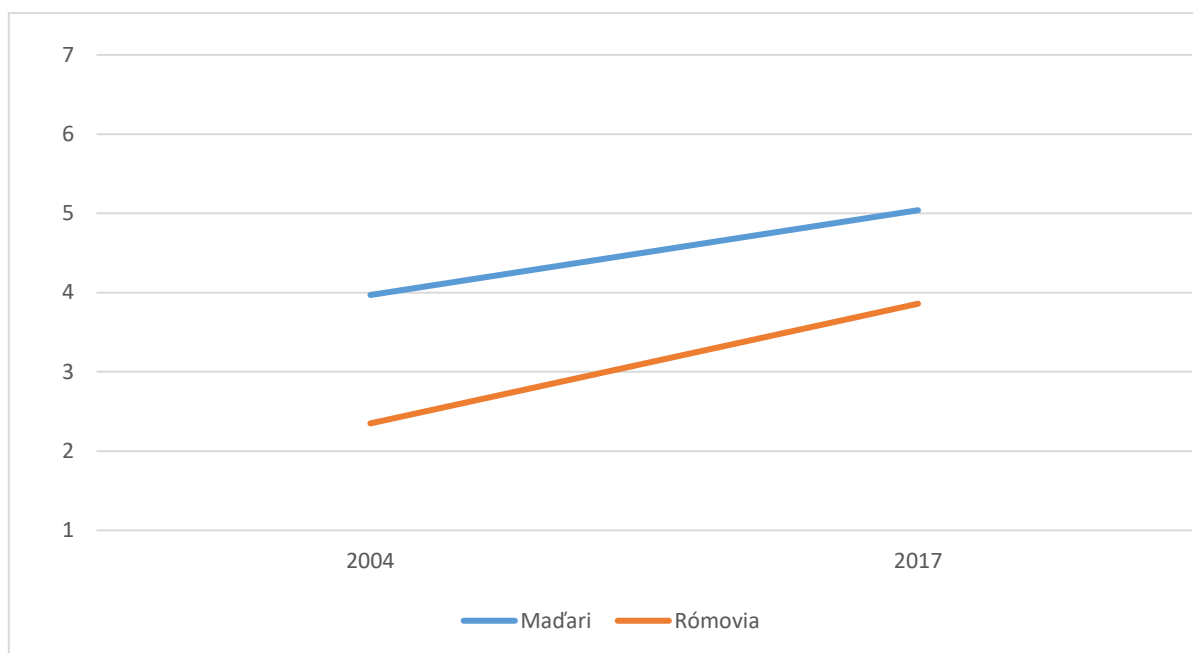


Figure 5: Average evaluations of the Slovaks' relations to the minorities (1 – very bad 7 – very good)

Discussion

The presented results on the evaluation of the intra-ethnic and the inter-ethnic relations lead to several conclusions. Evaluation of the intra-ethnic relations has produced mixed results. While in 2004, the Hungarians were more positive about the relations within the ethnic community; in 2017 it was the Slovaks. The Roma evaluations did not change over the two rounds. However, all intra-ethnic evaluations were of a positive nature.

In the area of inter-ethnic relations, the situation was different. The evaluations connected to the Roma, apart from self-evaluation, were mostly neutral to slightly negative; this concerned the opinion of the Slovaks on the Roma from the point of view of the Roma, as well as the evaluations of the Slovaks. Of interest was the evaluation of the Slovaks towards the Roma and their change from the negative zone to the neutral one. In both evaluations, relatively large differences in 2004, and almost identical values in 2017 are valid. The Hungarian respondents evaluated the Roma slightly negatively; approximately the same in both rounds of the research.

In relation to the Hungarians, the evaluations were generally more positive, although the trend between the evaluation rounds showed a decreasing tendency. While the evaluation of the Slovaks' relations with the Hungarians from the minority point of view does not indicate a downward trend, the Hungarians' relations with the Slovaks does. The mutual evaluations of the Slovaks and the Hungarians showed relatively large differences in 2004 but were very similar in 2017. The Roma evaluations of the Hungarians had a decreasing tendency from the positive to the neutral values.

Even though the presented study does not analyze the reasons for evaluating the inter-ethnic relations, the 2017 evaluations show less variability among the different ethnic group evaluations. This is related to the stabilization of the inter-ethnic relations, more peaceful political dialogues, and the presence of an external ethnic threat in the form of a migration

crisis. If we ignore the well-known fact of a more positive self-image and a more critical evaluation of others, the relations between the Roma and the Slovaks are now gaining a maximum neutral value while the Hungarian relations still have positive characteristics.

When considering the ethnic relations in Slovakia, it is also necessary to take into account the "historical heritage" which influences the fact that the fear for the fate of one's own ethnicity dominates within the leadership of the ethnicities living in the territory of Slovakia, and the threat to another ethnicity on the part of the minority is not considered to be so real. This situation is also characteristic of the Slovak-Hungarian relations, where hypersensitivity and mutual suspicion needs to be considered (Šutaj, 2017). The issue of Slovak-Hungarian relations was supposed to be resolved definitively after the Second World War with the re-establishment of the nation state (when the population was exchanged and re-Slovakization was introduced). Many of the measures applied during Czechoslovakia were to the disadvantage of the Hungarian minority, but as illustrated by international surveys on national pride² this minority could not be weakened as was planned after the Second World War³ (Petráš, 2007; Marušiak, 2003). The Hungarians were recognized as a national minority during the communist regime; they had their own schools and the chance to use their native language in official relations. For more, see Act no. 144 of 1968, Article 3.

According to Kusý (1994), the basic problems of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia were more or less of an administrative nature. This does not mean that these problems do not have a more visible element, but many of the causes are resolvable through more effective administrative action. The basic precondition is primarily the goodwill of political representatives on both sides. Naturally, tensions exist in the relations between the Slovak government and other official Slovak institutions on the one hand, and the political representation of the Hungarian minority on the other. However, to a large extent, this is not an ethnic conflict between the Slovaks and the Hungarians. These ethnicities have lived in this territory for centuries not only as two separate ethnic groups, but also as groups largely mixed, with a high proportion of mixed marriages.

In greater contrast, the main problems of the Roma minority are not of an administrative nature. The essence is predominantly of an economic and social nature. The Roma culture, traditions, customs, symbols, and intra-group relations are perceived as different from the majority culture. The majority often rejects the Roma, does not have a good experience with them while the minority feels segregated and often suffers from prejudice. Mixed marriages are much rarer than in the case of the Hungarian minority. The communist regime unsettled their social structure, eliminating their natural leaders and authorities. According to

² *It can be, therefore, said that in the set of the analyzed European countries, the greatest nationalists or, better said, chauvinists are mainly Austrians, and then Norwegians and Britons, while the biggest patriots are, according to our analysis, Hungarians, Poles and Slovenians* (Vlachová, Řeháková, 2004, p. 502-503).

³ Since the end of the Second World War, the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia has gone through many stages. In the first years after the war there were efforts to remove the Hungarian minority (the same principle as with the German minority). However, no international support has been obtained. Under the contract with the Hungarian government, the exchange of the population was carried out. The procedure with the Hungarian minority in the first post-war years was almost as hostile as it was with the German minority. Due to the failure of the removal, other methods were used to weaken the minority – namely the transfer of part of the Hungarian population to the Czech part of the common state). Another intervention was re-Slovakization. While in the period right after the war, an attempt was made to eliminate the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia, after the establishment of the communist regime, this policy was revised and a more inclusive recognition of the existence of the minority began. A fundamental reason for this change was brought about by the fact that Hungary was included in the states of the Communist Block. Other reasons included the promotion of bilingualism in mixed areas and the restoration of school education.

Pavelčíková (2015), the communist solution of the so-called Gypsy issue was based on the idea that the "cultural differences" were the result of the previous exploitative regimes. Politicians at that time assumed that the Roma would assimilate voluntarily and become enthusiastic supporters of the regime. It was not about a policy of recognizing equivalence, but aggressively suppressing the difference. Until 1989, violent assimilation methods of repression and deprivation of manifestations of their own identity were applied to the Roma. At present, the Roma issue remains very open. This is also reflected in the perception of the status and relations between the majority and the Roma as a social problem, which is one of the main topics of political and social discourse in Slovakia.

In the past, public, media, and political discourse around the Roma has been construed as an international-political issue (conditional entry of Slovakia into the European Union through fulfillment of the so-called Copenhagen criteria, introduction of a visa requirement by countries in which the Slovak Roma have applied for political asylum), and a socio-economic issue (dependence, or even parasitism on the social system). Following the introduction of new social policy in 2003 and 2004, which included the reform of social assistance and family support, and the reform of employment policy, in the perception of the Slovak public the so-called Roma issue began to be increasingly connected with crime (Kollár, Mesežnikov, 2003; Kollár, 2005). In 2010, there was an increase in populist anti-Roma manifestations from parts of the political and radical groups, which responded to the strong public frustration of not addressing the problem of socially excluded and extremely poor groups of the population, and the deterioration of Roma-non-Roma coexistence (see Figure 2 – evaluations of the relations between the Slovaks and the Roma (from the point of view of the Roma), which were significantly more negative in 2017 than in 2004). These facts increase the future risk of the outbreak of inter-ethnic violence, as well as the promotion of radical solutions which would not comply with the EU political and human rights standards (Bútora, Kollár, Mesežnikov, 2010). However, the basis for addressing the Roma issue is, in any case, different from the one relating to the other minorities living in Slovakia. Addressing the issues of the Roma minority requires specific projects, which is not primarily a question of good political will, but a question of social strategy, available resources and their adequate use. The Roma issue cannot be resolved without the state having reliable data on this minority. Also, this situation cannot be resolved without the Roma being actively involved in this solution.

The Hungarian minority demonstrates a great connection with the political context of the time (and especially in recent times). Ten years ago, relations between the majority and the Hungarian minority were tense. It was very closely related not only to the inter-state policy, but also to the national policy. In 2008, the strengthening of the national nature of the state continued, but the social atmosphere in relation to the Hungarian minority deteriorated. The air of relations between the government policy and the Hungarian minority was unsettled by the unsolved case of H. Malinová, the statements of SNS leader J. Šlota, some representatives of the SMK party, and more especially the absence of Slovak-Hungarian international-political dialogue. The development was also affected by other cases⁴. Dialogue was also absent between the ruling coalition and the Hungarian minority, as it was with the other minorities, because, in addition to the well-functioning systems, the institutionalized forms of dialogue with the minorities at various levels of public administration were not able to be established (this was reflected, for example, in the adoption of the School Act and the Law on Geographical Names in Textbooks), which would be in line with the domestic habits and the European legislation. The Slovak government policy still lacks comprehensive material and a concept of addressing minority issues. It was not possible to change the political rhetoric,

⁴ For example, issues of autonomy, geographical names in textbooks, and international political factors (Forum of MPs of the Carpathian Basin, issues of the Hungarian Guard, extremist manifestations).

which, apart from the clearly ethnic focus, also repeatedly gained an aggressive or vulgar form, irrespective of the ethnicity of the politicians. (Šutaj, Sáposová, 2009). Today, the Hungarians' relations with the Slovaks are good, which is related to the fact that the ruling parties (both the Hungarian and the Slovak) focus on other issues (e.g. the European migration crisis).

Intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic relations are a complex set that is, inter alia, influenced by the surrounding environment. The results of the 2004 and 2017 questionnaire surveys show that the political climate and societal changes have an impact not only on the perception of the majority itself, but also on the surrounding minority groups.

The presented study represents a contribution to the knowledge of inter-ethnic relations between the majority as well as the ethnicities from the point of view of public opinion research. This research shows the perceptions of inter-ethnic relations even when they are not at the center of political interests. However, inter-ethnic relations must also be considered in the context of relevant events, such as the migratory crisis, which can cause associations of ethnic threats from other ethnic groups in the perception of the respondents. Limitations also arise from this approach. They are primarily about the composition and the size of the research file, the limitations in the level of its selection in terms of representativeness, as well as the relatively small number of indicators for the evaluation of the inter-ethnic relations.

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Changes in media culture of minorities in Slovakia between 2004 and 2017 on the basis of questionnaire research

(A comparative analysis)

Lucia Heldáková, Institute of Social Sciences, Centre of Social and Psychological Sciences of SAS, Košice, heldakova@saske.sk

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Abstract:

The development and associated life conditions of members of national minorities in Slovakia is influenced by several factors. This article's hypothesis is that one of the significant factors determining the quality of life of national minorities is the degree to which minorities follow media output focussed on them. This article interprets the scale of minorities' engagement with selected media categories (in print, radio and television) using questionnaire collection data in the APVV project. Additionally, the aim of this contribution is to monitor the development of the culture of national minorities in the media sphere through comparing the current research results with the research of the previous project from 2004. Due to the national heterogeneity of Slovakia, an important step by Slovak governmental organizations has been the monitoring and subsequent support and further development of nationality cultural activities. Besides a number of organizations, associations, theatres, museums, associations, civic groups and national minorities groups which organize many cultural activities, the minority culture is also supported by regular radio and television broadcasts on Slovak Radio and Television stations (RTVS) – which was established as a public, national, information, cultural and educational institution. Using the assumption that following the national minorities' media output plays a major influence on the quality of life of national minorities in Slovakia, we analysed this area in research with the question "To what extent do your minority members follow minority representation in the press and in broadcasting through Slovak Radio and Slovak Television?". The analysis of the results of the questionnaire from the current APVV project (Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020) – TESS2) confirmed the statistical significance of the minority factor both in relation to the minority press as well as in relation to the minority broadcasting of RTVS on both the radio and television. In 2017, for all the analysed minorities, except Ruthenians, the most followed medium was STV broadcasting. This marked a change especially for Roma and Ukrainian minorities away from favouring radio broadcasting in 2004 towards television broadcasting in 2017. The Ruthenian minority, as in 2004, most frequently followed radio broadcasting. On the basis of the calculated average, we may summarize the research findings that following minority press and TV broadcasting by minority members is rising gradually, while radio broadcasting is declining. However, the conditionality of the observed phenomenon is not fully apparent and may differ for individual national minorities. For example, the decline in the following of radio and television broadcasts by the Ukrainian minority, found amongst our respondents, may be influenced by their population development; a decrease in the number of the Ukrainian population in the territory of the Slovak Republic and a gradual acclimatization of the Ruthenian minority, which has been gradually separating from the Ukrainian minority since 1989 and is becoming more institutionalized in the Slovak Republic. This relates directly to the increase in the cultural activities within the Ruthenian minority. This also is reflected in our Ruthenian minority respondents who have significantly increased their following in print and television broadcasts. We also assume that the gradual increase of the Roma minority population is related to the increase in the Roma TV broadcasting ratings;

although within this minority between the years 2004-2017 there has been a decrease in following print and radio broadcasting. We assume that this fact is related to the average literacy of the Roma ethnic group and the way of life of the vast majority of this population. In regards to the Hungarian and Czech minorities in Slovakia, which could be characterized within a longer and more recognized (as compared to other national minorities) historical tradition and consequently with a better institutional basis, it can be stated that the rate of their media following has been relatively constant with small fluctuations. In summary, the relationship between the rates of following of the minority press and broadcasting by the relevant minority is interrelated with the life and development of the national minority itself; and, correspondingly, this directly affects the rate of minority broadcasting.

Keywords:

Media. Nationality minorities. Questionnaire research. Culture.

Introduction

Between 2003 – 2005, the Institute of Social Sciences CSPS SAS carried out sociological-sociopsychological research called *Nation, nationality and ethnic group in the transformation process of the Slovak society*; consisting of an empirical analysis of data obtained by questionnaire method on a research sample of 1,280 respondents. The research has provided a comprehensive analysis of five broad thematic blocks from the perspective of eight research subjects; the majority population and the seven minority ethnic communities: Czech, Hungarian, German, Roma, Ruthenian, Ukrainian and Jewish. This project was followed by the project of the Institute of Social Sciences CSPS SAS APVV *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (a comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004-2020) – (TESS2)*. The aim of this article is to compare data from the APVV project with the data from the first project – from the second thematic section entitled “Ethnic Identity (ethnicity) consciousness of ethnicity, language, education and culture issues.”

The cultural rights of national minorities is secured by the Constitution of the Slovak Republic adopted on 1st September 1992 by the National Council of the Slovak Republic in the second chapter, fourth section, entitled Rights of National Minorities and Ethnic Groups (Articles 33 and 34). Since then, minorities have officially gained all human and civil rights in Slovakia, including the right to propagate their own specific culture.¹ The problem of minority culture issues focuses on research of the phenomenon of the bi-cultural environment (one of several components of ethnic identity) and the mass media. Bi-culturalism is characteristic of a minority member who grows up and lives in direct contact with the majority culture; resulting in double cultural valency. In this context, we distinguish between the “Super-culture” (the Slovak and Hungarian cultures) and the local subcultures (the co-existence of a

¹ Constitution of the Slovak Republic claims: „Art. 33: *Membership in any national minority, or ethnic group, must not be to anyone's detriment; Art. 34: (1) The comprehensive development of citizens belonging to national minorities or ethnic groups in the Slovak Republic is guaranteed, particularly the right to develop their own culture together with other members of the minority or ethnic group, the right to disseminate and receive information in their mother tongue, the right to associate in national minority associations, and the right to establish and maintain educational and cultural institutions. Details shall be laid down by law. (2) In addition to the right to master the state language, citizens belonging to national minorities, or ethnic groups, also have, under conditions defined by law, a guaranteed a) right to education in their own language, b) right to use their language in official communications, c) right to participate in the decisions on affairs concerning national minorities and ethnic groups. (3) The exercise of the rights of citizens belonging to national minorities and ethnic groups that are guaranteed in this Constitution may not lead to jeopardizing of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Slovak Republic, and to discrimination against its other inhabitants.*“ Available on the Internet:

<https://www.legislationline.org/download/action/download/id/1633/file/69fc5e0f45478ca59b551a3f8e92.htm>/pre view [cit. 18.09.2018].

certain group of people with a heterogeneous nationality; the immediately created cultural identity of individuals without primary consideration for nationality culture).²

The development and associated life conditions of members of national minorities in Slovakia are influenced by several factors. The hypothesis we try to interpret is that one of the significant factors in the quality of life of national minorities is the operation and following of minority representation in the media by the minorities themselves. This article analyses the following of selected media categories (print, radio and television) by minorities (who participated on data heuristics) using questionnaire collection data from the aforementioned APVV project. Concurrently, the aim of the contribution is to monitor the development of the culture of national minorities in the media sphere through comparing the current research results with the research of the previous project from 2004.

Characteristics of research samples and research

In both research findings, the majority population and seven minority ethnic communities living in Slovakia were the subjects of research. For the 2004 survey this consisted of the Czechs, Hungarians, Germans, Roma, Ruthenians, Ukrainians and Jews (eight subsets in total). The research for the current APVV project includes one change made in the respondents' composition; instead of the Jewish minority previously surveyed, this questionnaire focused on the Polish minority. The other national groups of respondents remained unchanged, and so did the number of surveyed subsets. Both surveys' respondents were made up of representatives of the majority and minority higher social strata, where higher education was preferred. For both surveys, a quota selection was applied to the respondents' ages (25-34 years, 35-44 years, 45-55 years, 55+ years) and as equal proportion of men to women as possible was chosen in each age group category. The research sample of the project in 2004 consisted of 1,280 respondents, of which 663 were women and 617 men, while the 2017 sample consisted of 1,325 respondents, made up of 682 women and 643 men. For both projects, the most numerous minority groups in the given period were chosen, subject to research options, in order to ensure a sufficient sample from each sub-sample under examination.

In 2004, the number of respondents represented in the majority and seven minorities was fixed at 160 for each group. In 2017, the numbers were: Slovaks 162, Hungarians 165, Roma 160, Ukrainians 160, Polish 174, Ruthenians 160, Germans 179 and Czechs 165. For more detailed information on age categories within the subsets under review, see Table no. 1

² HOMIŠINOVÁ, Mária – VÝROST, Jozef (Eds.). *Národ, národnosti a etnické skupiny v procese transformácie Slovenskej spoločnosti* : Empirická analýza dát zo sociologicko-sociálnopsychologického výskumu v rámci riešenia Štátneho programu výskumu a vývoja 2003/2005. Košice : Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 2005. p. 40.

Table 1: Age categories within the subsets

Ethnic groups	Age categories							
	25-34		35-44		45-54		55 +	
	2004	2017	2004	2017	2004	2017	2004	2017
Slovaks	41 (3.20%)	62 (4.68%)	38 (2.97%)	27 (2.03%)	46 (3.59%)	29 (2.18%)	35 (2.73%)	44 (3.32%)
Hungarians	45 (3.51%)	45 (3.40%)	36 (2.81%)	33 (2.49%)	43 (3.36%)	35 (2.64%)	36 (2.81%)	52 (3.92%)
Roma	71 (5.55%)	88 (6.64%)	50 (3.90%)	23 (1.74%)	25 (1.95%)	26 (1.96%)	14 (1.09%)	23 (1.74%)
Ruthenians	25 (1.95%)	59 (4.45%)	41 (3.20%)	28 (2.11%)	44 (3.44%)	28 (2.11%)	50 (3.90%)	45 (3.40%)
Ukrainians	32 (2.50%)	30 (2.26%)	44 (3.44%)	33 (2.49%)	44 (3.44%)	51 (3.85%)	40 (3.13%)	46 (3.47%)
Czechs	20 (1.56%)	41 (3.09%)	19 (1.48%)	24 (1.81%)	30 (2.34%)	46 (3.47%)	91 (7.11%)	54 (4.08%)
Germans	19 (4.48%)	33 (2.49%)	31 (2.42%)	14 (1.06%)	38 (2.97%)	42 (3.17%)	72 (5.63%)	90 (6.79%)
Jews (in 2004) Polish (in 2017)	69 (5.39%)	32 (2.42%)	11 (0.86%)	25 (1.89%)	36 (2.81%)	43 (3.25%)	44 (3.44%)	74 (5.58%)

Legislative and institutional media coverage of cultural activities of national minorities in the Slovak Republic

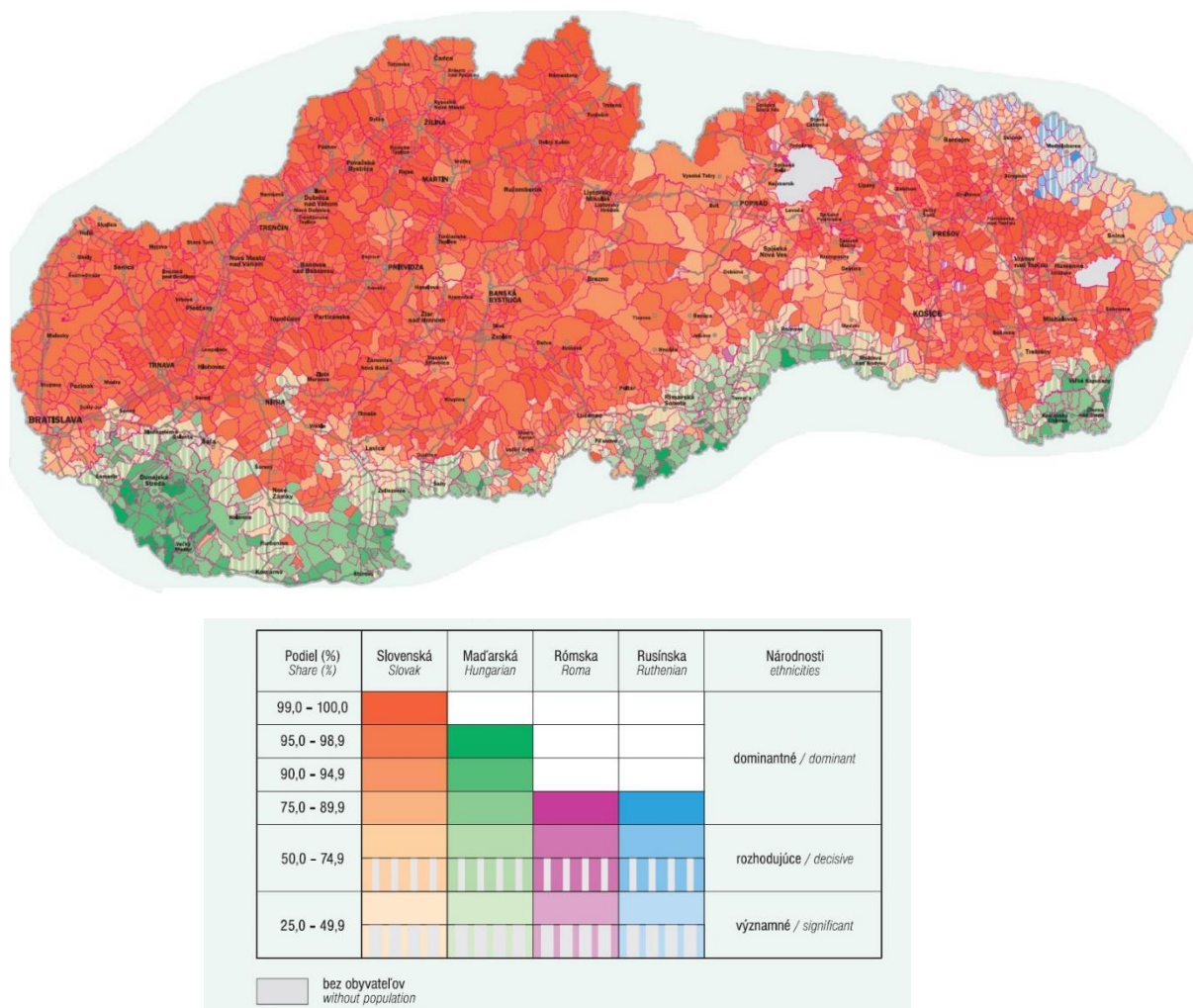


Figure 1: Representation of national minorities in the structure of the population in 2001

Due to the national heterogeneity of Slovakia (see Figure no. 1)³, an important step by Slovak governmental organizations is monitoring and subsequently supporting and maintaining the further development of national minority cultural activities. Besides a number of organizations, associations, theatres, museums, associations, civic groups and groups of national minorities which organize many cultural activities, the minority culture is also supported by regular radio and television broadcasts by Slovak Radio and Television (RTVS)⁴ - which was established as a public, national, information, cultural and educational institution.

³ Representation of nationalities in the structure of the population in 2001.

Source: MLÁDEK, Jozef. IV. Štruktúry obyvateľstva. In Collective of authors. *Atlas obyvateľstva Slovenska*. Bratislava : Univerzita Komenského, Prírodovedecká fakulta, 2006, p. 102.

⁴ "... broadcasting of at least four radio program services, one is devoted for broadcasting of contextually and regionally balanced programs in the languages of national minorities and ethnic groups living in the territory of the Slovak Republic ... broadcasting of contextually and regionally balanced programs in the languages of national minorities and ethnic groups living in the territory of the Slovak Republic in a time scale corresponding to the national and ethnic composition of the population of the Slovak Republic; to ensure the production and

RTVS provides the broadcasting of contextually and regionally balanced programs in the language of national and ethnic minorities according to the corresponding nationality and ethnic composition of the population of the Slovak Republic. It fulfils its public function in relation to national minorities by informing about their lives in their native language. It has been broadcasting to national minorities for more than 30 years. News and brief reports were published in the Hungarian language at the beginning, and after 1989 coverage in Ukrainian, German, Ruthenian and other languages was introduced.⁵ The RTVS Nationality Broadcasting Center broadcasts regularly languages of national minorities and works closely with cultural institutions. For example, Radio Patria, which has (according to the Status and Rights Report of National Minorities for 2015) the most influential media content for national minorities, also cooperates with the Central Committee of Hungarian Teachers and others. Minority TV broadcasting is realized in 10 languages and it is continuously improving and modernizing. The Council for Broadcasting and Retransmission⁶ aims to *"enforce the public interest in the exercise of the right to information, freedom of expression, and the rights of access to cultural values and education. For the purposes of performance of the state administration in the areas of broadcasting, retransmission, and the provision of on-demand audio-visual media services."*⁷

Regarding periodical and non-periodical publications of national minorities, their publication has been legislatively regulated by the laws on the use of languages of national minorities and on the amendment of some laws⁸. Registration is run by the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak

broadcasting of programs for national minorities and ethnic groups, the Radio and Television of Slovakia sets up separate organizational units of the Slovak Radio and Slovak Television ... " According to § 5 par. Article 1, p. b), g) of Act no. 532/2010 Coll. on Radio and television of Slovakia and on the amendment and supplementation of some laws.

The language settings of individual nationality broadcasting are regulated by the Act of the Nationality Council of the Slovak Republic Act No. 270/1995 Coll. On the State Language of the Slovak Republic, as amended, stipulating that television and radio broadcasting on the territory of the Slovak Republic shall be implemented in the state language, except for the broadcasting in the language of national minorities with subtitles in the state language or with immediately preceding or subsequent broadcasting in the state language. According to the law Radio broadcasting may take place in the language of the national minority in the Slovak Radio at regional or local broadcasting for national minorities (including live broadcasting) where the use of the Slovak language is not required. Private broadcasters may broadcast in their nationality language without the need to provide the Slovak version. Concerning occasional prints for cultural purposes, programs of cinema, theatres, catalogues of galleries, libraries, museums, etc., must be issued in the state language or in the language of national minorities, but in this case the basic information must be translated into the state language. Under Section 5 of Act No. 270/1995 Coll. on the state language of the Slovak Republic, as amended.

⁵ In 1992 (January 20), Hungarian magazines were fully established and the Ruthenian-Ukrainian magazine was broadcasted for the first time, a month later the Romani magazine (now called Romale). German broadcasting has also been added since 1993, and also Czech in 1998. The effort of the Ruthenian minority for autonomy in the language area was also reflected in broadcasting and thus the Ruthenian-Ukrainian magazine was divided into two separate magazines. The Polish magazine began its broadcasting in 1999, and since 2001 the Jewish, Bulgarian, Croatian and Mix magazines are also broadcasted. Source: Národnostné vysielanie Slovenskej televízie. Bratislava, 25.6.2008.
Available on the Internet: <http://archiv.vlada.gov.sk/ludskeprava/data/files/3971.pdf> [cit 01.10.2018].

⁶ The status and operation of the Council for Broadcasting and Retransmission are governed by Act no. 308/2000 Coll. on broadcasting and retransmission and on amendment of Act no. 195/2000 Coll. on Telecommunications as amended.

⁷ According to § 4 par. Article 1 of Act no. 308/2000 Coll. on broadcasting and retransmission and on amendment of Act no. 195/2000 Coll. on telecommunications.

⁸ According to § 1 par. Article 2 of Act no. 184/1999 Coll. on the use of languages of national minorities in the wording of Act no. 204/2011 Coll., amending Act no. 184/1999 Coll. use of languages of national minorities as

Republic and a list of periodicals is available online on the website of the Ministry.⁹ Publishing of books is supported annually by the grant program Culture of National Minorities (currently called KNM) within the competence of the Government Office of the Slovak Republic, whose sponsor is the Government Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Slovak Republic for National Minorities. The aim of the KNM is "*to ensure the preservation, expression, protection and development of the identity and cultural values of national minorities, inter-ethnic and intercultural dialogue and understanding between the national majority and ethnic minorities and ethnic groups.*"¹⁰ The terms and other requirements of grants are described in Act No. 524/2010 Coll. on granting subsidies within the competence of the Office of the Government of the Slovak Republic, as amended.

According to § 2 par. Article 2 b) of Act no. 61/2000 Coll., educational activity is a part of the general culture and the educational level of the people and is, among other things, about building the relation to their own state, to the cultural identity of the nation, national minorities and ethnic groups. Following similar lines, the activities of the National Educational Center (now the NOC) focuses on the cultural activities of national minorities and was founded under the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic. The NOC, according to Act no. 189/2015 Coll. about cultural and educational activity, is "*... a cultural and educational institution with a wide range of competences operating within the area of all Slovakia. The National Educational Center is an expert and methodical workplace for cultural and educational activities, a coordinating and executive workplace for theoretical, analytical, information, documentation and consulting activities in the field of cultural and educational activities, a coordination and executive workplace for research and state statistical surveys in the field of culture. A professional workplace that maintains the National Heritage Register as a central register of data and information on cultural heritage and institution for further education of employees in the field of cultural and educational activities.*"¹¹

amended by Act No. 318/2009 Coll., which amends some laws, minority languages are: Bulgarian, Czech, Croatian, Hungarian, German, Polish, Romani, Russian and Ukrainian.

⁹ List of periodic print, sorted by title, territorial scope, language, periodicity, content, share of the broadcast can be found on the page <http://www.culture.gov.sk/pertlac/modul/tlac>.

¹⁰ *Report on the status and rights of members of national minorities 2015*. Office of the Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Slovak Republic for National Minorities, the Government Office of the Slovak Republic, 2016, p. 50.

¹¹ The main activities of the National Education Centre are:

- *-promoting the development of cultural identity and intercultural dialogue at the national level,*
- *-mapping the cultural potential of the regions of the Slovak Republic and promoting cooperation and partnerships on the territory of the Slovak Republic and abroad,*
- *-spreading of information on the current state and the development of regional and local culture,*
- *-protection and development of intangible cultural heritage,*
- *-promoting the development of interest-based artistic and non-professional artistic creation,*
- *-non-formal education in the field of culture and prevention of negative social phenomena,*
- *-implementing research with an emphasis on sociological research on culture, the arts and the media,*
- *-coordinating the tasks of the state statistical survey in the field of culture,*
- *-ensuring work for the National Register of Cultural Heritage and make digitized cultural heritage available,*
- *-ensuring that the tasks of the European Contact Point are fulfilled,*
- *-ensuring the operation of a multicultural center."*

According to Act no. 189/2015 on cultural and educational activities.

To support the culture of national minorities, the Fund for the Promotion of the Culture of National Minorities was established in 2017¹² for the purpose of cultural self-government. It facilitates the management of cultural activities of nationality groups, as the cultural activity of minorities is supported by local self-government and higher administrative units (support of projects within grant schemes).

A comparative analysis of the extent to which the minority groups follow national minority media

Using the assumption that following the national media plays a major influence on the quality of life of national minorities in Slovakia, we analysed this area in with the question “*To what extent do your minority members follow minority representation in the press and in broadcasting through Slovak Radio and Slovak Television?*”. We used a scale from 1 – 7, whereby 1 represented *not at all* and 7 represented *very often*. Analysis of the results of the questionnaire from the current APVV project¹³ confirmed the statistical significance of the minority factor both in relation to the national minority press as well as in relation to the national minority broadcasting of RTVS on both radio and television.

The national minorities press was followed at the highest end of the scale by Czechs (4.98), then Germans (4.96), Ruthenians (4.86), and Hungarians (4.84) in 2017. In the 2004 questionnaire Hungarians (5.02), Jews (4.73) and Czechs (4.50) had the highest representation. Germans began to read the national minorities press more during 2004-2017 and a significant increase in the number of national minorities’ readers was recorded in the Ruthenian minority – from 3.94 to 4.86. The Roma minority had the least engagement (3.18). The overview of national minorities’ readers of the press by minority category is presented in Table no. 2.

Table 1: Following the national minorities press by minorities in 2004 and 2017

2004								
	Slovaks	Czechs	Hungarians	Germans	Roma	Ruthenians	Ukrainians	Jewish
1	-	4.50	5.02	3.70	3.94	3.94	4.10	4.73
2017								
	Slovaks	Czechs	Hungarians	Germans	Roma	Ruthenians	Ukrainians	Polish
1	-	4.98	4.84	4.96	3.18	4.86	4.75	4.65

Caption: 1 – national minorities press

¹² “*The Fund is an independent public institution whose mission is to promote and stimulate the culture of national minorities in the field of cultural and scientific activities of national minorities, in particular by creating support mechanisms for the creation and dissemination of cultural and scientific values. By implementing its mission, the fund contributes to the realization of the cultural policy of the Slovak Republic and the European Union in the field of support for the development of national minorities.*

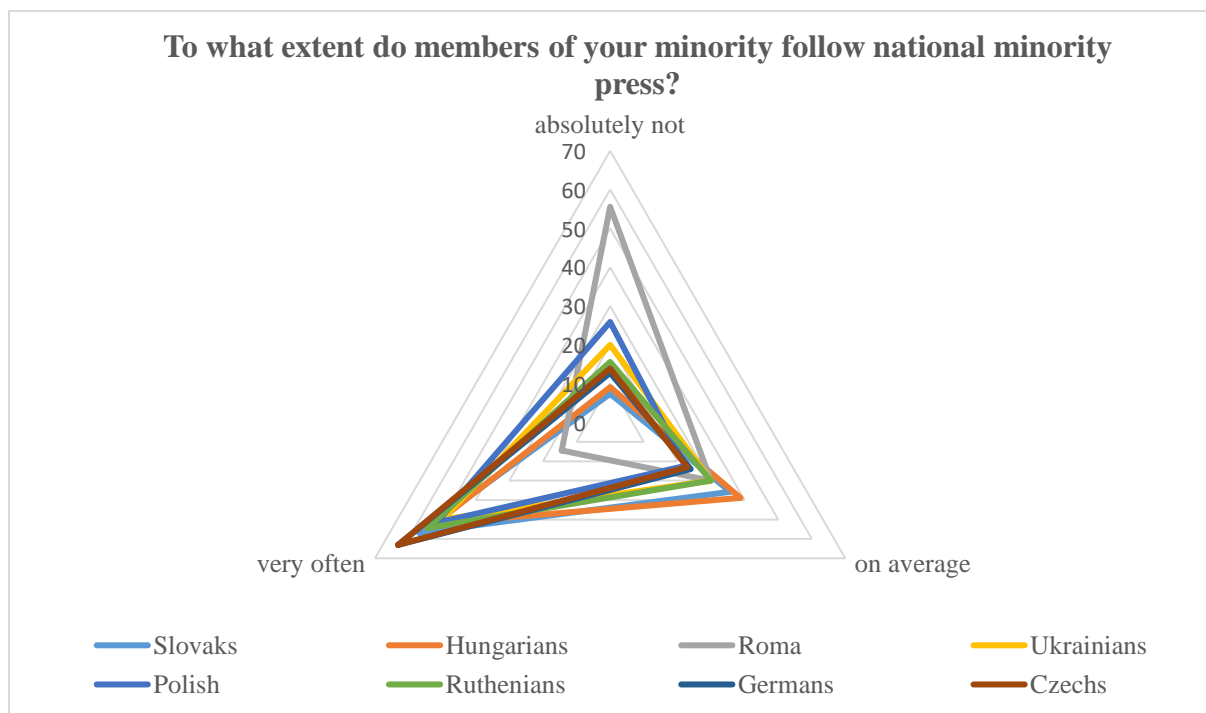
The Fund is set up to:

- (a) *create conditions for the preservation, expression, protection and development of the identity and cultural values of national minorities;*
- (b) *promote education and training for the rights of persons belonging to national minorities; as well as*
- (c) *to create conditions for the development of intercultural dialogue and understanding between citizens of Slovak nationality and citizens belonging to national minorities and ethnic groups. ”*

Source: Štatút Fondu na podporu kultúry národnostných menšín, Bratislava 7. December 2017. p. 2. Available on the Internet: http://www.kultminor.sk/attachments/article/405/Statut_FPKNM.pdf [cit. 26.09.2018].

¹³ APVV Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (a comparative research of ethnic issues in the years 2004 – 2020) – TESS2.

For an illustrative interpretation of the latest research findings through data analysis from the questionnaire collection 2017, we present a graph showing the rate of national minorities' press followed by the relevant national minority. (see Graph no. 1).



Graph 1: The rate of national minorities' press followed by the relevant national minority

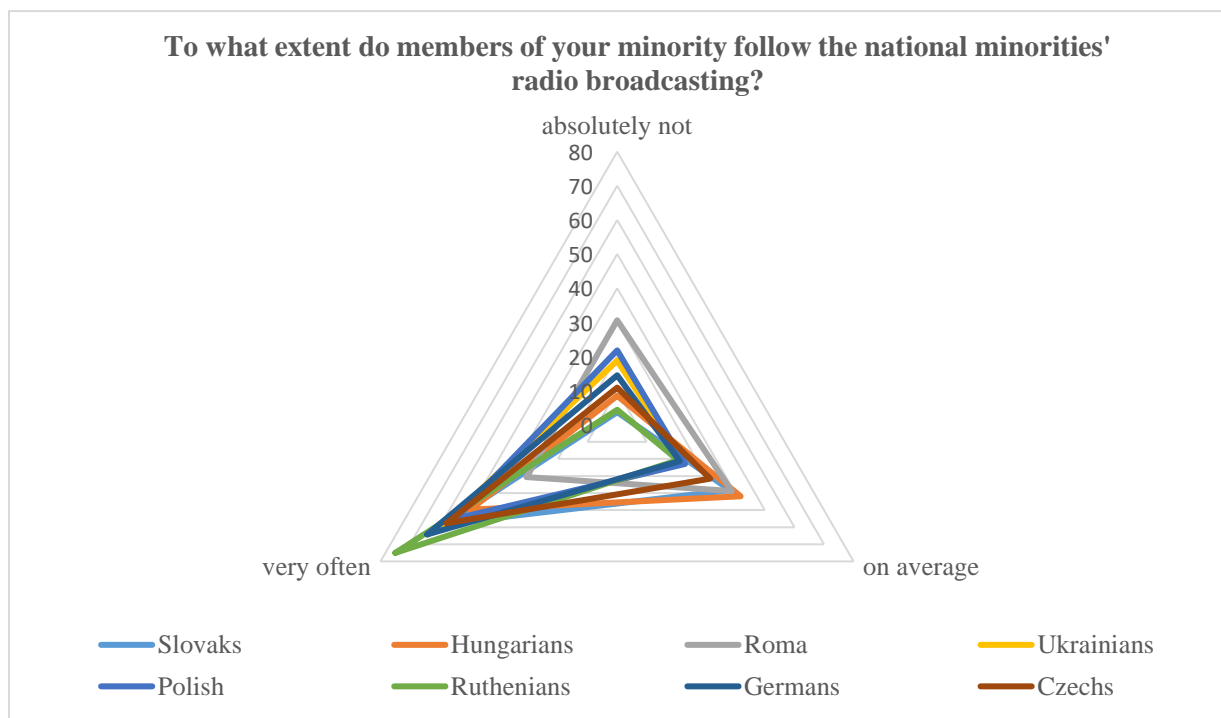
In the case of national minority radio broadcasting, apart from the Ruthenian minority, there are differences when comparing the questionnaire survey in 2004 and 2017. In 2004 radio broadcasting was followed at the highest rate by Ukrainians (6.29), then Ruthenians (5.77), Roma (5.77), and Hungarians (4.81), with Germans (3.73) evaluated as following radio broadcasting at a below average rate. In 2017, Ruthenian (5.55), German (5.12), Czech (4.99) and Ukrainian minorities (4.92) were reported to follow national minorities broadcasting at the highest rate. The Ukrainian and Roma minorities recorded a decline in following radio broadcasting, while radio broadcasting started to be followed at an increasing rate by members of the German and Czech population. The overview of the national minorities' radio broadcasting survey depending on the national minority of the respondents is presented in Table no. 3.

Table 2: Following the national minorities radio broadcasting by minorities in 2004 and 2017

2004								
	Slovaks	Czechs	Hungarians	Germans	Roma	Ruthenians	Ukrainians	Jewish
2	-	4.29	4.81	3.73	5.77	5.77	6.29	4.28
2017								
	Slovaks	Czechs	Hungarians	Germans	Roma	Ruthenians	Ukrainians	Polish
2	-	4.99	4.77	5.12	4.10	5.55	4.92	4.84

Caption: 2 – national minorities radio broadcasting (RTVS)

For an illustrative interpretation of the latest research findings through data analysis from the questionnaire collection 2017, we present a graph showing the rate of national minorities' radio broadcasting followed by the relevant national minority (see Graph no. 2).



Graph 2: The extent of national minorities' radio broadcasting followed by the relevant national minority

In general, we may assume that the following of Slovak television minority broadcasting by all respondents, irrespective of their nationality, can be described as above average. More specifically, the result obtained from the Czech minority (5.62) shows a higher frequency of respondents watching their national broadcasting on Slovak Television (STV) than the other respondents. The Czech minority is followed by Ruthenian (5.38) and German (5.36) minority according to the frequency. Compared to the results of the 2004 research, the results of the following of Slovak television minority broadcasting are different. In 2004, the highest frequency of STV following was among the Hungarian (5.43) and Ukrainian minority (5.37).

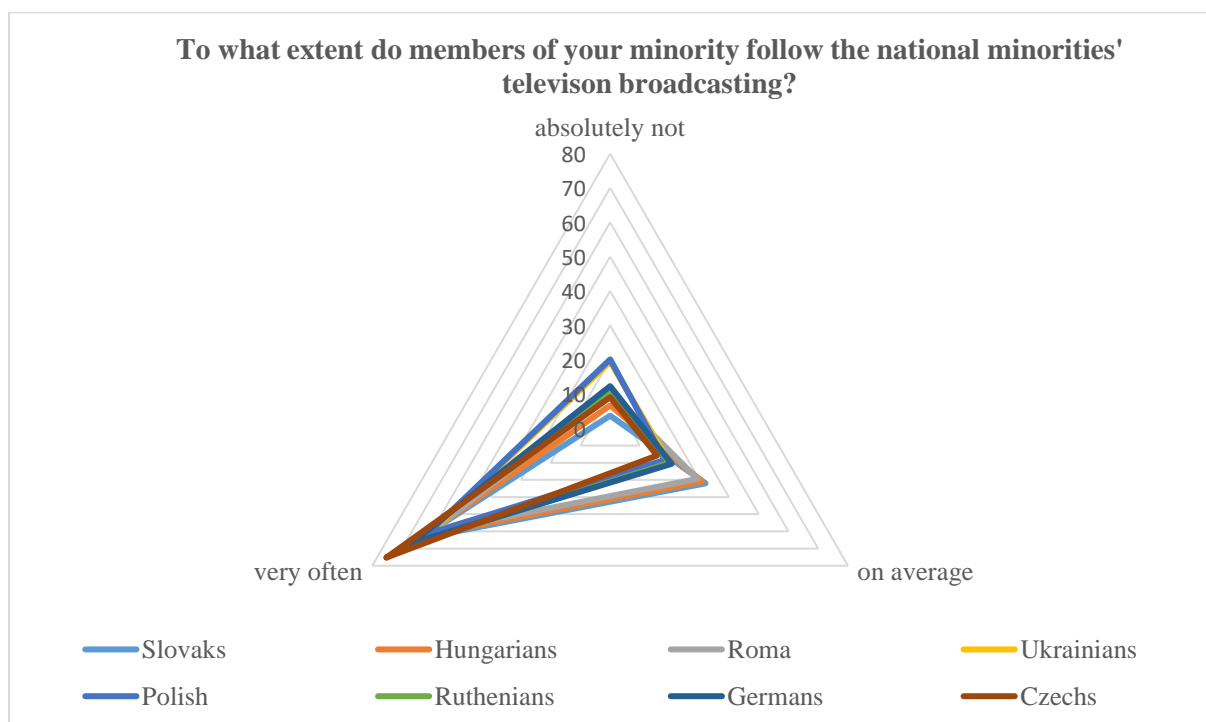
Generally, in 2017, for all analysed minorities, except Ruthenians, the key medium (most watched) was the broadcasting of STV. The Ruthenian minority showed in 2017 the highest frequency of following of radio broadcasting, as it was in 2004. The frequency of media following changed in two studied national minorities, the Roma and Ukrainian, who in 2004 recorded the highest frequency for national minorities radio broadcasting, but in 2017 were the least frequent minorities in regards to following minorities' television broadcasting. The overview of the nationality television broadcasting of RTVS, depending on the national minority of the respondents, is presented in Table no. 4.

Table 3: Following the national minorities' television broadcasting by minorities in 2004 and 2017

2004								
	Slovaks	Czechs	Hungarians	Germans	Roma	Ruthenians	Ukrainians	Jewish
3	-	4.84	5.43	4.55	4.62	4.63	5.37	4.59
2017								
	Slovaks	Czechs	Hungarians	Germans	Roma	Ruthenians	Ukrainians	Polish
3	-	5.62	5.12	5.36	5.18	5.38	5.04	5.11

Caption: 3 – national minorities' television broadcasting (RTVS)

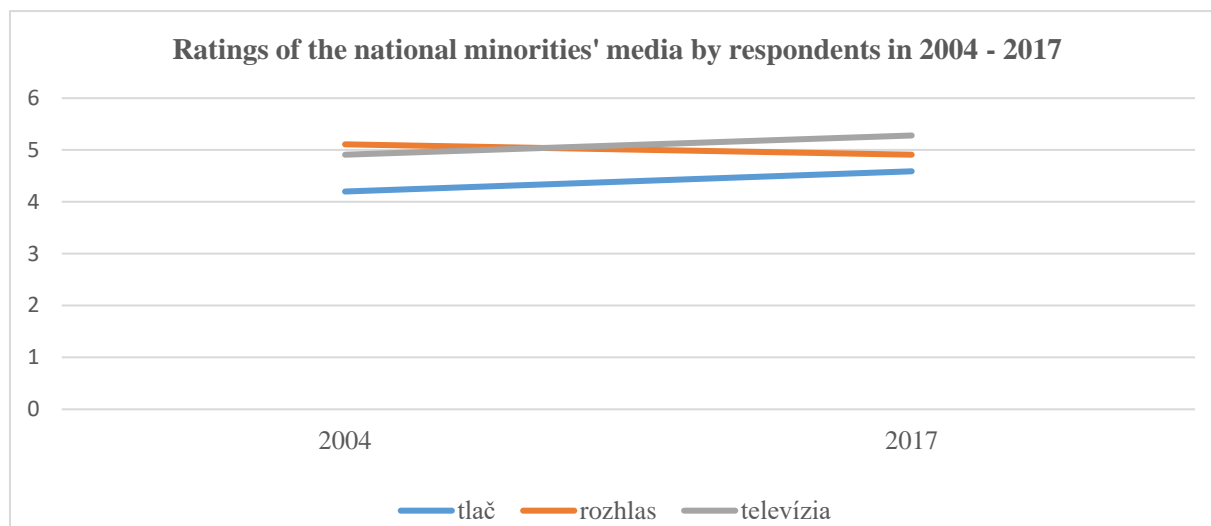
For an illustrative interpretation of the latest research findings through data analysis from the questionnaire collection 2017, we present a graph showing the rate of national minorities' TV broadcasting followed by the relevant national minority (see Graph no. 3).



Graph 3: The extent of national television broadcasting followed by the relevant national minority

Conclusion

On the basis of the calculated average, we may summarize that the research findings for following national minorities' press and TV broadcasting by minority members is rising gradually, but radio broadcasting has recorded a decline (see Graph no. 4).



Graph 4: Ratings of the national minorities' media by respondents in 2004 – 2017

However, the conditionality of the observed phenomenon is not fully apparent and may differ for individual national minorities. For example, the decline in the following of radio and television broadcasts by the Ukrainian minority, found in our respondents, may be influenced by their population development; a decrease in the number of the Ukrainian population in the territory of the Slovak Republic and a gradual acclimatization of the Ruthenian minority which has been gradually separating from the Ukrainian minority since 1989, and is becoming more institutionalized in the Slovak Republic. This relates directly to the increase in the cultural activities within the Ruthenian minority.

This corresponds also to the significant increase in the following of national minorities' in print and television broadcasts gained from respondents belonging to the Ruthenian minority. We also assume that the gradual increase of the Roma minority population is related to the increase of the Roma TV broadcasting ratings, although within this minority between 2004 and 2017, despite the increasing number of the population, we can observe a decrease in the following of their national minorities' print and radio broadcasting output. We expect that this fact is related to the average literacy of the Roma ethnic group and the way of life for the vast majority of this population.

In connection to the socio-historical development of the Hungarian and Czech minority in Slovakia, which could be characterized by a longer (as compared to other national minorities) historical tradition and thus they have a better minority institutional basis, it can be stated that the rate of their following of national minorities' media has been constant with only small differences.

In conclusion, the relationship between the rates of following of the minority press and broadcasting by the relevant minority is interrelated with the life and development of the national minority itself; and, correspondingly, this directly affects the rate of minority broadcasting.

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<http://www.culture.gov.sk/pertlac/modul/tlac>.

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The Issue of Higher Education for Minorities in Slovakia in the Materials of the Government Council of the Slovak Socialist Republic for Nationalities in the 1970s.

Jana Šutajová, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Arts, University of Pavol Jozef Šafárik, Košice, jana.sutajova@upjs.sk

ŠUTAJOVÁ, Jana. The Issue of Higher Education for Minorities in Slovakia in the Materials of the Government Council of the Slovak Socialist Republic for Nationalities in the 1970s. Človek a spoločnosť [Individual and Society], 2018, roč. 21, č. 4, s. 45-58.

Abstract:

The first part of the study focuses on the establishment and operation of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities (minorities) and the changes that took place in the Council in the 1970s. The second part of the study deals with issues of higher education for minorities in the SR through the materials of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities during this period.

The Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities was an advisory body. Its role was to professionally review the materials and decisions submitted to the Government, to participate in the preparation of laws and measures of the Government concerning nationalities, and to submit to the Government and its bodies initiatives for the management of the economic, social and cultural life of nationalities. The preparation of materials was provided through standing working committees, temporary working groups and the expertise of research and science institutes. The first Council meetings indicated a more positive intent towards their work. However, their later activity was marked by Normalization. Thus, expectations of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities were not fulfilled. It was originally expected that the Council and their standing and temporary committees would be comprehensively and systematically preparing measures to address minority problems, initiate solutions, legislative standards, and so on. However, the Council gradually became the official appendage of the Normalization mechanism of power. In October 1971, changes were made to the composition of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities, following previous Normalization resolutions passed by the Communist Party bodies. A notable change was that the new Council composition reflected new Normalization tendencies. People who had been in some way discredited in the previous periods, primarily for political reasons resulting in occupation by Warsaw Pact troops in 1968, were removed. Regarding the further activities of the Council, changes were brought about by the Normalization process. The Council's activities were limited to a formal, bureaucratic mechanism for reviewing reports on the development of individual nationally mixed regions. The Council completely stopped the development of legislative standards and the anticipated further regulations to further develop the Act on Nationalities.

In their activities, the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities frequently dealt with the issue of minorities' education, and the issue of higher education. Changes in the Council's activities in the 1970s also reflected the issue of higher education. The work of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities in the area of higher education was limited; in particular to reviewing various types of reports and information on nationalities and issuing opinions on these reports. The reviewed reports and information on higher education were mostly materials prepared by the Ministry of Education, which the Council or the Council's Secretariat prepared comments on, or materials prepared by the Council's Secretariat for the needs of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities.

The reviewed reports and information focused on several issues. A large part of the reports and information concerned the position of Hungarian and Ukrainian nationals in Slovakia. Within these reports a large amount of attention was paid to the overview of statistical information on the educational level and nationality structure of university students. The greatest attention in the area of higher education was devoted to the issue of nationality in the educational level of the population of Slovakia; especially the disproportionate share of students of

Hungarian nationality at universities. In the 1970s, there was a gradual increase of Hungarian students in the total number of university students at universities. However, even this increase was not able to compensate for the differences from previous periods in the educational level of the Hungarian population in the Slovak Republic.

Another observed area covered statistical information on the admission of students of Hungarian and Ukrainian nationality to secondary schools and universities. The reports highlighted, in particular, the problems with the number of admitted students of Hungarian nationality, and the fact that the number of Hungarian nationals applying for university studies only gradually increased. Despite the increase in the number of newly-admitted students of Hungarian nationality in individual school years, the number of newly-admitted students in some faculties still did not correspond with the needs. Such examples included the Faculty of Law of the Comenius University in Bratislava, the Faculty of Medicine in Bratislava and Košice, the Agricultural University of Nitra and the University of Economics in Bratislava; where the share and the number of students of Hungarian nationality remained at a historical low.

The attention of the Government of the SSR for Nationalities was also paid to measures to increase the proportion of students of Hungarian nationality at technical universities. The low number of students applying for these schools was perceived as a serious obstacle to balancing the number of students of Hungarian nationality at secondary vocational schools and universities. Another observed problem was still the significant difference in the number of students who, at their own request, left their studies during the 1st year of university. While the national average was 14.16%, in the case of students of Hungarian nationality it was as much as 22.3%. The most common causes were difficulties in their study and fear of examinations due to insufficient knowledge of Slovak language and, in some courses, insufficient knowledge of professional terminology from natural sciences and technical disciplines.

Special attention in the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities was devoted to education and training of teachers for the needs of minority education, qualification of teachers of minority schools and their preparation for various types of national minority schools. The qualification of teachers of minority schools proved to be a long-term problem. The preparation of teachers for Hungarian language schools was carried out at the Faculty of Education in Nitra and at the Faculty of Arts of the Comenius University in Bratislava. There was also a long-term problem of qualification of teachers of minority schools with even the Ministry of Education of the SSR stating in 1977 that there was shortage of qualified teachers for the Slovak language, Civic Education, Music, Art and Physical Education at primary and secondary schools which had Hungarian language for instruction. Nevertheless, according to the schedule of students newly admitted into the first year of university for the school year 1978/79, the Hungarian Department of the Faculty of Education in Nitra admitted only 35 first-years. Other faculties of higher education in the SSR with teaching courses, such as the Faculty of Natural Sciences of the CU, the Faculty of Natural Sciences of UPJŠ in Košice and the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport of the CU in Bratislava did not specifically define the planned numbers for the preparation of teachers of minority schools. Therefore, it was not possible to find out in what form and at which faculty the educational system provided education of qualified teachers for primary and secondary schools with Hungarian and Ukrainian language of instruction, in subjects such as Chemistry, Biology, Geography, Physical Education.

In conclusion, we can state that the content of individual reports reviewed at the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities was largely repeated, as were the individual justifications of the problems described in the minority education system or the tasks for individual institutions (the Government, ministries, the Government Council for Nationalities, etc.) dedicated to addressing these issues.

In this period, the Council's activities in the field of minority higher education, but also the overall work of the Council, reflect changes caused by the Normalization process. While at the beginning of its existence, the Council of the SSR for Nationalities had an ambition to participate in the preparation of legislative standards to develop the Act on Nationalities or to influence the tackling of the minority issue, later the Council's activity was limited to reviewing reports on the development of individual nationally mixed regions and the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities completely stopped preparing legislative standards and the expected further regulations to further develop the Act on Nationalities.

Keywords:

Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities, Minority Higher Education, Slovakia, Normalization, 1970s.

As of January 1st 1969, the Constitutional Act on the Czechoslovak Federation and the Constitutional Act on the Status of Nationalities in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CSSR) came into force.¹ Subsequently, several institutions were set up in Slovakia that focused on nationality issues. In addition to the Department for Nationalities of the Office of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic (SSR), the Department for Minority Education of the Ministry of Education of the SSR, the Minority Culture Group at the Ministry of Culture of the SSR (MK SSR) or the Minister without portfolio (László Dobos) who was appointed by the Government of the SSR to deal with nationality issues, the Council of the Government of the SSR for Nationalities (hereinafter referred to as the Council) was established. Minister's Deputies were also appointed from among other nationalities (three Hungarians and two Ukrainians).²

The establishment of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities was preceded by the creation of the Secretariat of the Committee on Nationalities of the Board of the Slovak National Council (SNC). This institution was established by the Resolution of the Board of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Slovak Republic (CC CPS) on September 11th and September 16th, 1968. SNC Chairman Ondrej Klokoč submitted a proposal for the establishment of the SNC Committee on Nationalities, its statute and establishment of the Secretariat to the Board of the SNC on September 23rd, 1968. After its creation, he elected a six-member Board. Since its establishment, the Secretariat was a subsidiary body of the SNC Board and the SNC Committee for Nationalities and it was incorporated into the SNC Office.³

After the establishment of the Government of the SSR, the Secretariat was part of the Government Office of the SSR from January 1st 1969 as the Secretariat for Nationalities; having the status of a division. Firstly, it used the name the Office of the Government of the SSR - Secretariat for Nationalities. The Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities was established by resolution of the SSR Government as of April 8th, 1969. The Statute also determined the functions of its Secretariat. From 1971, the division worked as the Department for Nationalities of the SSR, and also served as the Secretariat of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities. From January 1st 1969 to June 30th, 1970, the Secretariat also served as the expert apparatus of the Minister without portfolio.⁴

The Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities was an advisory body. Its task was to expertly review the materials and decisions submitted to the Government, to participate in the preparation of laws and measures of the Government concerning nationalities, and to submit initiatives for the management of the economic, social and cultural life of nationalities to the Government and its bodies. The preparation of the materials was to be carried out through standing working committees, temporary working teams and the expertise of research and scientific institutes.⁵

¹ Ústavní zákon č. 143/1968 Sb. ze dne 27. října 1968 o československé federaci. (Constitutional Act No. 143/1968 on the Czechoslovak Federation, on October 27, 1968) In GRONSKÝ, Ján. *Komentované dokumenty k ústavním dějinám Československa III. 1960–1989*, Praha : Karolinum, 2007, page (p.) 167-214; Ústavní zákon č. 144/1968 Sb. ze dne 27. října 1968 o postavení národností v Československé socialistické republice. (Constitutional Act No. 144/1968 on the Status of Nationalities in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, on October 27, 1968) In GRONSKÝ, Ján. *Komentované dokumenty...*, p. 215-217.

² ŠUTAJ, Štefan. Národnostné práva na prelome 60. – 70. rokov 20. storočia. Príklad postavenia maďarskej menšiny. In TÍŽIK, Miroslav – KMEŤ, Norbert (Eds.). *Príliš ľudská tvár socializmu? Reforma zdola a okolnosti reformného procesu v Československu roku 1968*. Bratislava : Sociologický ústav SAV, 2016, p. 137-138.

³ ŠUTAJ, Š. Národnostné práva..., p. 138.

⁴ ŠUTAJ, Š. Národnostné práva..., p. 138.

⁵ ŠUTAJ, Š. Národnostné práva..., p. 139.

Its first tasks included the creation of the "draft of SNC laws on the status of nationalities". The work plan of the Government of the SSR for the first half of 1969 predicted a review of the Act on Nationalities for April 1969. In May 1969, the principles of the Act on Territorial Division of Slovakia were to be prepared and in June 1969 "Draft of novelisation of amendments by SNC laws in the section of state administration, especially in the field of education, culture and association, ensuring the implementation of the rights of nationalities in the SSR".⁶

Following on the Government's work plan, a proposal for a monthly meeting of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities was prepared.⁷ As the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities was only appointed in April 1969, the preparation of laws was postponed.⁸

The Council was supposed to meet once a month, more frequently if necessary. During the first half of 1969, only one meeting was held on April 22nd, related to organizational issues. Subsequently, the Council met on July 10th 1969. At the Council's meetings, the motions were not adopted by vote, but by agreement, and in the absence of an agreement, the proposal made to the Government by the Chairman of the Council was to include the opposing views. The Chairman could, if necessary, also invite other people to attend the meeting. At the first meeting, working teams were established to prepare the Acts on Nationality. At the end of May 1969, a joint meeting of the teams in Hrušov was held. In the second half of the year, the standing committees were to meet once a month, and in October-November 1969, the laws should have been prepared for the approval by the SNC. The first meetings of the Council indicated that they acted constructively towards their working orientation. However, their activity was later affected by self-censorship, correction of activities and Normalization.⁹ Practical roles were gradually transferred from the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities to the Council's Secretariat.¹⁰

The Normalization process¹¹ had specific consequences for the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities and its Secretariat. The expectations of the Council were not fulfilled. It was originally expected that the Council would comprehensively and systematically prepare measures to tackle minority issues, initiate solutions, legislative standards, and so on. However, the Council gradually became only a formal appendage of the Normalization power mechanism.¹²

⁶ Archív Fórum inštitútu Šamorín (Archive of Forum Institute Šamorín; hereinafter referred to only as AFI Šamorín), carton (c.) Gyönyör-titkarság 68-69. Návrh plánu práce vlády Slovenskej socialistickej republiky na I. polrok 1969 (Draft Plan of Work of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic for the First Half of 1969).

⁷ AFI Šamorín, c. Gyönyör-titkarság 68-69. Návrh plánu práce Rady pre národnosti vlády SSR na I. polrok 1969 (Draft Plan of Work of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic for the First Half of 1969).

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⁹ In politics, definition of the political line of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia leadership after Soviet occupation in August 1968. According to ŽALOUDEK, Karel. *Encyklopedie politiky*. Praha : Libri, 2004, p. 300.

¹⁰ ŠUTAJ, Š. *Národnostné práva...*, p. 139-140.

¹¹ More details on the Normalization Period, e.g.: OTÁHAL, Milan. *Komunistický režim v období tzv. normalizace*. In KOČIAN, Jiří et. al. *Slovníková příručka k československým dějinám 1948–1989*. Praha : ÚSD AV ČR, 2006, p. 38-42; SIKORA, Stanislav. *Under the Banner of Socialism (Hungarians in Slovakia During the Communist Regime)*. In ŠUTAJ, Štefan et al. *Key Issues...*, p. 244-256.

¹² ŠUTAJ, Š. *Národnostné práva...*, p. 147.

The changes to the Council took place in October 1971. Following the previous normalization resolutions of the Communist Party bodies, on October 8th 1971, the Prime Minister Peter Colotka submitted proposals for the cancellation of the Government of the SSR Resolution of April 8th 1969, on the Status and Rules of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities and Resolution of the Government of the SSR No. 304 of September 30th 1970 on the composition of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities. The proposal was also discussed by the Board of the Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS) on August 31st 1971.¹³ On October 13th 1971, the Government of the SSR approved the proposal to appoint the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities. The first meeting of the new Council took place on November 2nd 1971.¹⁴

Previously, the Council had 18 members: nine of them of Slovak, six of them Hungarian and three of them of Ukrainian (Ruthenian) nationality. The new Council had 27 members: 13 of them of Slovak, ten of Hungarian and four of Ukrainian (Ruthenian) nationality.¹⁵ The notable change was that the new Council composition reflected new Normalization tendencies. People who were discredited in some way in the past, primarily for political reasons and in connection to the occupation by the Warsaw Pact troops, or by their activities in the years 1968-1969, were removed.¹⁶ The new Council was composed of party officials from the Central, District and Regional Committees of the KSS, party press representatives (Új Szó), officials from ministries whose activities were related to minority issues. Representatives of Csemadok and the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers (KZUP) did not become members of the Council.¹⁷ In terms of the Council's next activities, changes caused by the normalization process could be seen in that the Council's activity was limited to a formal bureaucratic mechanism for reviewing reports on the development of individual nationally mixed regions. Nationality policy was considered only once in the subsequent periods, and only through socio-economic indicators. The Council also completely stopped preparing legislative standards and other regulations to further develop the Act on Nationalities. *"Later, the absence of legislative implementation of the constitutional act on the status of nationalities in the Czechoslovak federation was not perceived as a negative phenomenon."*¹⁸

As for the other institutions referred to in the introduction that were created after the declaration of the federation, *"The SNC Committee for Nationalities was abolished in 1971 and the nationality issues were referred to the SNC Committee for National Committees, State Administration and Nationality Issues. However, it did not play a significant role in the nationality policy. During the two years of its existence, it did not deal with a single report on nationalities. The Section for Nationality Education was cancelled at the beginning of the 1970s and a department was set up instead. At the Ministry of Culture of the SSR, there was only one worker dedicated to nationality issues during the Normalization years. The Minister without Portfolio was dismissed from the office in June 1970 and the function itself was cancelled. Deputy Ministers from national minorities were appointed to issues that had nothing to do with nationality relations. (e.g. the Deputy Minister of Education was appointed to economic affairs)."*¹⁹

¹³ AFI Šamorín, c. Sekretariát Rady vlády pre národnosti 1970-1971.

¹⁴ AFI Šamorín, c. Sekretariát Rady vlády pre národnosti 1970-1971. Záznam z 1.schôdze Rady vlády SSR pre národnosti v roku 1971 (Record of the 1st Session of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities in 1971).

¹⁵ AFI Šamorín, c. Sekretariát Rady vlády pre národnosti 1970-1971.

¹⁶ ŠUTAJ, Š. Národnostné práva..., p. 147.

¹⁷ AFI Šamorín, c. Sekretariát Rady vlády pre národnosti 1970-1971.

¹⁸ ŠUTAJ, Š. Národnostné práva..., p. 148.

¹⁹ ŠUTAJ, Š. Národnostné práva..., p. 138-139.

As part of their activities, the Council also frequently dealt with the issue of minority education and hence with the issue of universities. One of the earliest occasions when attention was paid to higher education was with the "focus" of the temporary working group of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities, tasked with the preparation of political principles of the Act on the Status of Nationalities in the SSR between May 19 – 22, 1969 in Hrušov.²⁰ The result was an extensive proposal of the principles of the Act on the Representation of Nationalities, submitted in Hrušov on May 21st, 1969.²¹ The adoption of several acts, including the Education Act, the Act on Cultural Institutions, the Language Act, the Act on Representations of Nationalities and the Act on Administrative Division, were to be adopted.

The document prepared in Hrušov, entitled Political Directives and the Proposal for the Drafting of the Act on Minority Education, devoted some degree of attention to the issue of higher education. The document detailed how to make the study of minority nationalities in their mother tongue correspond to the societal and economic needs of the given minority and achieve the national average of highly qualified national minority specialists. In order to achieve this national average, the document advised that university education be provided for minority youth in:

„1. a domestic university with the language of instruction of a national minority. This university provides for the education of specialists with university education in particular for: a, the health section; namely doctors at the medical faculty of a minority university, b, the section of agriculture; namely agricultural engineers at the agricultural faculty of a minority university, c, the section of teacher education and professors of pedagogical, philosophical and natural sciences faculty of a minority university.

2. Domestic Slovak and Czech universities, by admission of an appropriate number of students according to the national minority population percentage.

*3. Foreign universities with the national minority language of instruction*²² This form of study was to be provided by the Minister of Education of the SSR, after an agreement with the respective countries, and the students of the national minority were obliged to return to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic after the end of their studies and to be employed, mainly in the territory inhabited by minorities. For students from the Hungarian minority studying abroad, it was proposed they study Slovak or Czech language at the relevant foreign university and to take exams in it.²³

The document also dealt with the possible shortage of minority teachers at schools in the minority educational system. It proposed solving this problem by inviting teachers from the country concerned to a transitional period and, at the same time start with the training of teachers of Czechoslovak nationality who had a command of the language of a national minority in domestic or foreign schools. To overcome the high percentage of inexperience, the document emphasized the need to further allow teachers of minority schools to complete and extend their approbation in the form of external study at the Faculty of Education in Nitra and Prešov, and to further allow teachers of minority schools to complete or extend the approbation while they worked at domestic and foreign universities and higher schools.²⁴

²⁰ AFI Šamorín, c. Körtvelyes 1969. Pozvánka na sústreďenie (Invitation to assembly).

²¹ AFI Šamorín, c. Körtvelyes 1969. Návrh zásad zákona o orgánoch národností, Hrušov, 21. máj 1969. (Bill draft Law on the Authority of Nationalities, Hrušov, May 21, 1969).

²² Politické smernice a návrh k vypracovaniu zákona národnostného školstva (Political guidelines and proposal for the drafting of a law on national education), Hrušov, 21. máj 1969. Personal archive of the Šutaj family.

²³ Politické smernice a návrh k vypracovaniu zákona národnostného školstva (Political guidelines and proposal for the drafting of a law on national education), Hrušov, May 21, 1969. Personal archive of the Šutaj family.

²⁴ Politické smernice a návrh k vypracovaniu zákona národnostného školstva (Political guidelines and proposal for the drafting of a law on national education), Hrušov, May 21, 1969. Personal archive of the Šutaj family.

The resulting *Political Guidelines for Elaboration of Principles of the Minorities Education Act*²⁵, adopted a day later on May 22nd 1969, the last day of the discussions, included, however, only a relatively brief statement on higher education; "higher education of national minorities in the mother tongue should correspond to social and economic needs of a given national minority, thereby achieving the national average of highly qualified national minority specialists."²⁶ However, the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities did not later address this document concerning education at their meetings.

At the start of their activity, the Council and their standing and temporary committees carried out advisory activities and solved nationality affairs, and were expected to be actively involved in the elaboration of further laws following the Act on Nationalities. However, this activity of the Council only lasted for a brief period and the activity of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities also changed due to the changed political situation. The Council practically withdrew from the preparation of legislative standards and mainly discussed the reports on the development of individual nationally mixed regions. This change was also reflected in the issue of higher education in the Council.

The Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities concentrated on several issues in their activity related to higher education in the 1970s. However, the work of the Council was limited to reviewing various types of reports and information on nationalities and issuing statements on these reports. The reviewed reports and information on higher education were mostly materials prepared by the Ministry of Education which the Council or the Council Secretariat prepared comments on, or materials prepared by the Council Secretariat for the Council's needs.

The reviewed reports and information concerned several issues. A large part of the reports and information addressed the status of Hungarian and Ukrainian nationality²⁷ in Slovakia. Within this type of reports, a great deal of attention was paid to the overview of statistical information at the educational level and the nationality structure of university students. In the field of higher education, the greatest attention was devoted to the issue of disproportion in the educational level of the population of Slovakia according to nationality. For example, according to census data from 1970, the relative number of people of Hungarian and Ukrainian nationality in the 0 – 24 age group was 11.1% and 0.8% respectively. According to the data in the *Survey of Statistical Information at the Educational Level and Nationality Structure of Students at Secondary Schools and Universities*, prepared by the Council's Secretariat for the meeting of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities, even a seemingly minor deviation from the nationality structure of youth at universities would have a significant impact, for example; 0.1% would exclude 46 students from the possibility of further study. The share of students of Ukrainian nationality at universities was at that time 0.86%, which corresponded to the relative number of Ukrainian youths below 24 years of age. The share of Hungarian youth at universities was 4.33%, which was very negatively disproportionate to the number of Hungarian youths under 24. To reach a proportionate figure would have required increasing the number of university students from 2,002 students to

²⁵ Political guidelines focused on several issues: I. Specifics, significance and principles of the system of minority schools. II. Establishing minority schools. III. Demands on teachers of minority schools IV. Administrative bodies of minority schools.

²⁶ Politické smernice k vypracovaniu zásad zákona národnostného školstva (Political guidelines for the development of the principles of the law of national education), Hrušov, May 22, 1969. Personal archive of the Šutaj family.

²⁷ On the issue of Ukrainian (Ruthenian) nationality, see e.g. KONEČNÝ, Stanislav. Historické kontexty formovania a vývoja rusínskeho etnika v Karpatoch. In DULEBA, Alexander (Ed.). *Rusíni na Slovensku súčasné postavenie a historické kontexty vývinu*. Bratislava – Prešov : ADIN s.r.o., 2012, p. 34-42.

5,000 students. The failure to reach this percentage led to further increases in disproportion.²⁸ The problem persisted in the following periods. According to the data from the material of the Ministry of Education of the SSR *The Proposal of Measures to Increase the Number of Students of Hungarian Nationality at Secondary Vocational Schools and Universities, particularly Technical Universities*, prepared in 1978, in the school year 1977/1978, 2,756 university students of Hungarian nationality studied at higher education institutions in the CSSR. According to the aforementioned report, to stop the increase in disproportion of the educational level of the population of the SSR, the number of students of Hungarian nationality would have had to increase to 5,600 students; although this would not have compensated for the lag and differences in the educational level of the Hungarian population in the SSR.²⁹ According to an overview of the nationality composition at universities in Slovakia in the school year 1970/1971, students of Hungarian nationality represented 3.8% (1,606 students) of all university students, in the school year 1975/1976, 4.2% (2,017 students), and in the school year 1980/1981, 4.6% (2,619 students). While the number of university students in the SSR increased by 42% compared to the school year 1970/1971, in the case of students of Hungarian nationality, the increase was 73.9%.³⁰ Thus, in the 1970s we can see a gradual increase in the share of the total number of students studying at universities in the case of students of Hungarian nationality. However, this increase could not compensate for the differences in educational level of the Hungarian population in Slovakia from previous periods. In the early 1980s, the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities positively accepted the approach of the Ministry of Education of the SSR and the Rectorate of Universities with regard to the development of the number and share of students of Hungarian and Ukrainian nationality; along with the fact that in the area inhabited by the Hungarian nationality, there was a gradual change in the composition and share of university students, mainly in favour of technical areas and natural sciences.³¹

Another area examined was the statistical information on the admission of students of Hungarian and Ukrainian nationality to secondary schools and universities. The reports highlighted mainly the problems with the number of admitted students of Hungarian nationality and the fact that although the number of Hungarian students applying for universities gradually increased, the number of students admitted remained stagnant. For example, in the school year 1973/1974, 825 applicants of Hungarian nationality applied to universities in Slovakia. Of the total of 371 Hungarians not admitted, the majority of them (143) were not admitted to the Comenius University (UK) in Bratislava (mainly to Medical, Law Faculties, Faculty of Arts and Faculties of Physical Education and Sport), at the Agricultural University in Nitra, 49 applicants out of 110 were admitted, at the University of Economics in Bratislava, out of 38 students 23 were not admitted, and at the Transport

²⁸ AFI Šamorín, c. Rada vlády pre národnosti (Government Council for Nationalities, hereinafter referred to only as RVN). Prehľad štatistických informácií o vzdelanostnej úrovni a národnostnej štruktúre študujúcich na stredných a vysokých školách, 15. september 1975. (Overview of statistical information on the educational level and the national structure of students at secondary and higher education institutions, September, 15, 1975)

²⁹ AFI Šamorín, c. RVN 3. Pripomienky sekretariátu Rady vlády SSR pre národnosti k materiálu Ministerstva školstva SSR „Návrh opatrení na zvýšenie počtu študentov maďarskej národnosti na stredných odborných a vysokých školách, osobitne na vysokých školách technického smeru“, 1. december 1978.

³⁰ AFI Šamorín, c. RVN 4. Vyhodnotenie plnenia úloh vyplývajúcich z uznesení vlády SSR č. 230/73 a 290/77, 6. október 1981. (Evaluation of the fulfilment of the tasks resulting from the Government Resolution of SSR No. 230/73 a 290/77, October, 6, 1981)

³¹ AFI Šamorín, c. RVN 4. /Návrh/ Stanovisko Rady vlády SSR pre národnosti k správe Ministerstva školstva SSR zo 6. októbra 1981 „Vyhodnotenie plnenia úloh vyplývajúcich z uznesení vlády SSR č. 230/73 a 290/77“. (Opinion of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities on the Information of the Ministry of Education, October 6, 1981 “Evaluation of the fulfilment of the tasks resulting from the Government Resolution of SSR No. 230/73 a 290/77”)

University in Žilina only 3 applicants were admitted out of 13. Thus, only 55.03% of Hungarian applicants were admitted to universities. A similar situation repeated itself in the school year 1974/1975, when 55.71% of Hungarian applicants were admitted to universities, while overall 61.8% of applicants in Slovakia were admitted. In the school year 1974/75, 928 Hungarian students applied to universities. Of the total 411 non-admitted Hungarian students, 174 were not admitted to the UK in Bratislava (mainly to the Medical, Law Faculties, Faculty of Arts and Faculties of Physical Education and Sport), at the Agricultural University in Nitra, out of 110 applicants 65 were not admitted, at the University of Economics in Bratislava 40 applicants out of 63 were not admitted, and at the Transport University in Žilina only 2 applicants out of 9 were admitted.³² The problem persisted, with the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities, in their *Statement on the Report of the Ministry of Education of the SSR of 6 October 1981 The Evaluation of the Fulfilment of the Tasks Arising from the Resolution of the Government of the SSR No. 230/73 and 290/77* stating that despite the increase in the number of newly admitted students of Hungarian nationality in individual school years, the number of newly admitted students at some faculties still does not meet the needs. The statement specifically mentioned the Faculty of Law of the CU in Bratislava, the Faculty of Medicine in Bratislava and Košice, the Agricultural University in Nitra and the University of Economics in Bratislava, where the share and the numbers of students of Hungarian nationality were still low.³³

The attention of the Council was also focused on measures to increase the share of Hungarian students at technical schools. The low number of accepted students at these schools, especially in technical fields, was perceived as a significant obstacle to balancing the number of students of Hungarian nationality at secondary vocational schools and universities.³⁴ According to the data on the structure of students according to nationality and specialisation, the number of university students of Hungarian nationality in the school year 1970/1971 accounted for 3.7% of the total number of university students in Slovakia, i.e. 1,506 students. The internal structure of students of Hungarian nationality by individual faculties (or specialisations) was also perceived negatively in the report, as nearly half of Hungarian students of higher education attended universities, especially teaching courses.³⁵ Out of 1,506 students of Hungarian nationality, 749 students studied at university courses (49.7%), while only 456 students (30.03%) attended technical studies. The situation was more positively perceived by the Ministry of Education of the SSR at the beginning of the 1980s, when in the

³² AFI Šamorín, c. RVN 2. Prehľad štatistických informácií o vzdelanostnej úrovni a národnostnej štruktúre študujúcich na stredných a vysokých školách, 15. september 1975. (Overview of statistical information on the educational level and the national structure of students at secondary and higher education institutions, September, 15, 1975)

³³ AFI Šamorín, c. RVN 4. /Návrh/ Stanovisko Rady vlády SSR pre národnosti k správe Ministerstva školstva SSR zo 6.októbra 1981 „Vyhodnotenie plnenia úloh vyplývajúcich z uznesení vlády SSR č. 230/73 a 290/77“. (Opinion of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities on the Information of the Ministry of Education, October 6, 1981 “Evaluation of the fulfilment of the tasks resulting from the Government Resolution of SSR No. 230/73 a 290/77”)

³⁴ AFI Šamorín, c. RVN 3. Návrh opatrení na zvýšenie počtu študentov maďarskej národnosti na stredných odborných a vysokých školách, osobitne na vysokých školách technického smeru, 20. november 1978. (Draft of measures to increase the number of students of Hungarian nationality at secondary schools and universities, especially at technical colleges)

³⁵ AFI Šamorín, c. RVN 1. Niektoré otázky postavenia maďarskej a ukrajinskej /rusínskej/ národnosti v Slovenskej socialistickej republike. /Stav v realizácii uznesení stranických orgánov orgánmi štátnej správy/, Bratislava 1972. (Some Questions of the Status of Hungarian and Ukrainian / Ruthenian / Nationality in the Slovak Socialist Republic.)

school year 1980/81, only 846 out of 2,619 students of Hungarian nationality (32.3%) studied at university courses, while 1,165 students (44.5%) studied technical courses.³⁶

There was still the issue of a significant difference in the number of students who voluntarily dropped out of their studies in their first year. While the Slovak average was 14.16%, 22.3% of students of Hungarian nationality dropped out of their studies in this manner. The most frequent causes were study difficulties and fear of examinations due to insufficient knowledge of the Slovak language and, in some fields, due to insufficient knowledge of professional terminology from natural sciences and technical disciplines. However, the success of Hungarian students in subsequent years of study was equal to the success of Slovak nationality students.³⁷ The regime 'eliminated' the possibility of separate colleges for minorities by allowing students of national minorities to study at foreign schools in the countries of their mother nations. According to the 1972 document *Some Issues of the Status of Hungarian and Ukrainian/Ruthenian/ nationality in the Slovak Socialist Republic. The State of the Implementation of Party bodies' resolutions by the State Administration Authorities*, approximately 150 students studied at the universities and colleges of the Hungarian People's Republic at their own costs. All costs related to their study, travel and board had to be reimbursed by the students, there were no discounts, and many of those students came from socially disadvantaged families.³⁸ According to data as of September 1st 1974, 288 students from the CSSR studied in the People's Republic of Hungary, 250 of whom were of Hungarian nationality. Only 34% of the total number of CSSR students in the People's Republic of Hungary received scholarship from the Ministry of Education of the SSR. Up to 191 students studied in the People's Republic of Hungary at their own expense. From the school year 1975/1976, this self-financed study was ended and the Ministry of Education of the SSR slightly increased the number of scholarship recipients.³⁹

In the Council, special attention was paid to the education and training of teachers for the needs of minority schools, qualification of teachers of minority schools and their preparation for various types of schools of national minorities. Teacher training for Hungarian language schools was carried out at the Faculty of Education (PF) in Nitra and at the Faculty of Arts (FF) in Bratislava. The development of the Hungarian Department at the Faculty of Education in Nitra was characterized by the number of newly-admitted students in the first year of full-time study in individual periods; between 1959 – 1963, 171-212 newly-admitted students, between 1964-1971, 88-118 newly-admitted students, in the school year 1973/74, 75 newly-

³⁶ AFI Šamorín, c. RVN 4. Vyhodnotenie plnenia úloh vyplývajúcich z uznesení vlády SSR č. 230/73 a 290/77, 6.október 1981. (Evaluation of the fulfilment of the tasks resulting from the Government Resolution of SSR No. 230/73 a 290/77, October, 6, 1981)

³⁷ AFI Šamorín, c. RVN 3. Kontrolná správa o realizácii uznesenia vlády SSR č. 209 z 9.7.1974 a komplexných pedagogicko-organizačných opatrení, prijatých na zintenzívnenie vyučovania slovenského jazyka v školách s vyučovacím jazykom maďarským, 23. november 1978 a Návrh opatrení na zvýšenie počtu študentov maďarskej národnosti na stredných odborných a vysokých školách, osobitne na vysokých školách technického smeru, 20. november 1978. (Control report on the implementation of the government resolution and complex pedagogical and organizational measures approved to intensify the teaching of Slovak language in Hungarian language schools, November 23 1978; Draft of measures to increase the number of students of Hungarian nationality at secondary schools and universities, especially at technical colleges)

³⁸ AFI Šamorín, c. RVN 1. Niektoré otázky postavenia maďarskej a ukrajinskej /rusínskej/ národnosti v Slovenskej socialistickej republike. /Stav v realizácii uznesení stranických orgánov orgánmi štátnej správy/, Bratislava 1972. (Some Questions of the Status of Hungarian and Ukrainian / Ruthenian / Nationality in the Slovak Socialist Republic.)

³⁹ AFI Šamorín, c. RVN 2. Prehľad štatistických informácií o vzdelanostnej úrovni a národnostnej štruktúre študujúcich na stredných a vysokých školách, 15. september 1975. (Overview of statistical information on the educational level and the national structure of students at secondary and higher education institutions, September, 15, 1975)

admitted students, in the school year 1976/77, 41 newly-admitted students, and in the school year 1977/78, 21 newly-admitted students. While the total number of full-time students of the Hungarian Department of PF in Nitra was almost 700 in 1963/64, in the school year 1977/78 it was only 160. In parallel with the decrease in the number of newly-admitted applicants for full-time study, the number of students studying externally and the number of approbations (from an original 19 to three) also decreased.

Teacher training for schools with Ukrainian language of instruction was carried out at the Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Arts at the University of Pavol Jozef Šafárik (UPJŠ). The decrease in the number of students also affected the Ukrainian department of the PF in Prešov, but it was not so strong. Other faculties - including Slovak departments in Nitra and Prešov - remained at their original level, or their numbers of students increased slightly. One of the changes related to the training of teachers was a change of language of instruction in the preparation of teachers for the 5th - 12th grade. At minority departments, all subjects' approbations except Hungarian or Ukrainian language were taught in Slovak.

There was a long-standing problem of qualification of teachers of minority schools. Also, the Ministry of Education of the SSR stated in 1977 that there was a shortage of qualified teachers of Slovak Language, Civic Education, Music, Art and Physical Education at primary and secondary schools with a Hungarian language of instruction. It also stated that at secondary grammar schools with Hungarian language of instruction, out of 82 mathematics teachers with approbation mathematics - physics, mathematics - descriptive geometry, mathematics, and other combinations, 39% were unqualified.⁴⁰ The qualification of Slovak language teachers was unfavourable, especially in the East Slovak region, where only 64.4% of teachers of Slovak language at nine-year elementary schools and 82% of teachers at secondary grammar schools were qualified.⁴¹

According to the plan of newly-admitted students in the first year of universities in the school year 1978/79, all faculties of education in the SSR were to admit 1,115 applicants for full-time study. Of this, a total of 260 students, including 35 first-year students at the Hungarian Department (of which 20 for Teaching for the First Grade, 10 for combination Mathematics - Physics and 5 for combination Russian Language - Civic Education) were at the Faculty of Education in Nitra. The Faculty of Education in Prešov had a plan to admit 315 students, of which 15 were admitted to the Ukrainian Department (10 for Teaching for the First Grade and 5 students for the combination Ukrainian Language - Civic Education).

At the Faculty of Arts of the UK in Bratislava and at the Faculty of Arts in Prešov, a total of 195 students could be admitted to Teaching courses, of which 20 were admitted to Hungarian language schools (10 for combination Hungarian - Slovak, 5 for combination Hungarian - History and 5 for combination Hungarian - German) and 5 students for combination Ukrainian language - Slovak language. The planned numbers of teacher for the needs of minority schools and universities were similarly low.

⁴⁰ AFI Šamorín, c. RVN 3. Stanovisko Sekretariátu Rady vlády SSR pre národnosti k materiálu Ministerstva školstva SSR „Informatívna správa o výchove a príprave učiteľov pre potreby národnostného školstva“, september 1978. (Statement of the Secretariat of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities on the material of the Ministry of Education of the SSR “An informative report on the education and training of teachers for the needs of national education”, September 1978)

⁴¹ AFI Šamorín, c. RVN 3. Kontrolná správa o realizácii uznesenia vlády SSR č. 209 z 9.7.1974 a komplexných pedagogicko-organizačných opatrení, prijatých na zintenzívnenie vyučovania slovenského jazyka v školách s vyučovacím jazykom maďarským, 23. november 1978. (Control report on the implementation of the government resolution and complex pedagogical and organizational measures approved to intensify the teaching of Slovak language in Hungarian language schools, November 23 1978)

Other faculties of universities in the SSR, which also established teaching courses, such as the Faculty of Natural Sciences of the CU, planned to admit 145 students, the Faculty of Natural Sciences of UPJŠ in Košice planned 100 newly admitted students, and the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport of the CU in Bratislava planned 130 students. However, they did not specifically determine the planned numbers for the preparation of teachers of minority schools. It was therefore not possible to find out in what form and in which faculty the Education Department provided the education of qualified teachers for primary and secondary schools with Hungarian and Ukrainian language of instruction, in study subjects - predominantly natural sciences – such as Chemistry, Biology, Geography, Art, Physical Education. Of the total planned number of 1,705 newly-admitted full-time students of teaching courses in all of the SSR, in the school year 1978/79, only 55 students (3.22%) were planned for Hungarian language schools and 22 students for Ukrainian language schools (1.17%).⁴²

In conclusion, we can state that the content of individual reports discussed at the Council of the Government of the SSR for Nationalities was largely repeated, as were the individual justifications of the problems described in the minority education system or the tasks for individual institutions (the Government, ministries, the Government Council for Nationalities, etc.) dedicated to addressing these issues.

The bureaucratic-administrative nature, the non-conceptual origins and the proposed solution did not tackle the essence of the problem; mostly being masked by Marxist-Leninist terminology and Marxist-Leninist solutions to the minority issue. The results of the analyses were not reflected in new legislative proposals and mostly had a formal, administrative nature. Thus, we can see the changes caused by the Normalization process in the activities of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities in the area of minority higher education, but also in the general activities of the Council. While at the beginning of its existence, the Council had an ambition to participate in the preparation of legislative standards to develop the Act on Nationalities, to influence the tackling of minority issues and to provide the Government and its bodies with proposals to manage economic, social and cultural life of minorities, in the period of Normalization the Council's activities were limited to a formal, bureaucratic mechanism for reviewing reports on the development of individual nationally mixed regions. At the same time, the Council completely withdrew from the preparation of legislative standards and further regulations to develop the Act on Nationalities.

⁴² AFI Šamorín, c. RVN 3. Pripomienky k materiálu Ministerstva školstva „Informatívna správa o výchove a príprave učiteľov pre potreby národnostného školstva“, 6. júl 1978 a Stanovisko Sekretariátu Rady vlády SSR pre národnosti k materiálu Ministerstva školstva SSR „Informatívna správa o výchove a príprave učiteľov pre potreby národnostného školstva“, september 1978. (Comments on the material of the Ministry of Education “An informative report on the education and training of teachers for the needs of national education”, July 6, 1978 and Statement of the Secretariat of the Government Council of the SSR for Nationalities on the material of the Ministry of Education of the SSR “An informative report on the education and training of teachers for the needs of national education”, September 1978)

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Šutaj, Š. – Regináčová, N. – Heldáková, L. *Current Issues of Research on Nationality Policy and Nationality Relations in Slovakia in the 20th and 21st Centuries.*
Prešov: Universum-eu, 2017, 198 p., ISBN 978-80-89946-01-3

Nationality issues and relationships are long-term subjects of interest in social sciences, with the work of the Slovak Academy of Science and university institutions in Slovakia playing a significant role in their research over a long period of time. This publication presents a practical view on nationality issues and relationships in Slovakia during the 20th and 21st centuries. It has been divided into five main chapters which have been subdivided into subchapters. The content of the publication consists of contributions presented at the international scientific conference which discussed the project, Trends in the Development of Ethnic Relations in Slovakia. The conference focused on comparative research in nationality issues between 2004 and 2020.

The first chapter deals with tendencies in the development of ethnic relations in Slovakia. The first part focuses on the issues of national policy as a subject for science research and general information about the main goals of the project, Trends in the Development of Ethnic Relations in Slovakia. The second part summarises the research carried out on ethnicity in Slovakia. The third part presents the bibliography on ethnic relations – with Slovak political journals being the main source of information. The final part focuses on a demographic exploration of the Roma population in Slovakia. The data comes from the 2011 census; giving information regarding age and gender, family status, education and economic activities.

The second chapter is focused on Slovaks and Hungarians living abroad, and consists of three articles. The first article is about sociolinguistic aspects of those Slovak minorities living abroad; primarily those in Hungary, Croatia, Serbia and Romania. This article gives a comprehensive view of the thematic and methodological framework of two interdisciplinary scientific research projects VEGA SAS, which ran between 2009 and 2016. The second article looks at identity issues of those Slovaks living in Hungary from the second half of 20th Century. The study focuses on cultural life, identity characteristics and changes between 1946 and 1990. The last part is concerned with changes in the national policy of the Hungarian government from 1989.

The third chapter focuses on the legal aspects of the status of national minorities. The chapter is composed of three subchapters. The first part deals with the issue of national minorities and ethnic groups in the case law of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic after accession to the European Union from 2004 to 2016. It describes the course taken and analyses the decisions of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic which directly or indirectly affected the issue of national minorities or ethnic minorities groups. The second article approaches the issue of minorities in the Czech Republic. It provides information around Legal science and minority research both before and after 1989. It provides an overview of the current research tasks the author feels need to be reviewed. The last subchapter focuses on Slovak minorities living in different parts of the Czech Republic. The main interest of the contribution is to document the usage of Slovak language in the Czech Republic.

The fourth chapter offers a historical overview of various aspects of the status of minorities. The first article looks historically at the status of the Jewish population in the Czech Republic throughout the 20th century and up to the present day. It describes the periods of inter-war Czechoslovakia, the Second Republic, the post-war period from 1945 to 1948, the first Communist period from 1948 to 1968, the second from 1969 to 1989 and finally the period after 1989. The second part of the chapter describes the history of the Jewish community in the Slovak Republic, and is divided by the author into four phases.

The last chapter is devoted to the poster part which was presented at the conference. The first poster entitled: Population in numbers, describes the development of the population in the Slovak Republic. It draws attention to factors in the decline or increase in the number of inhabitants in individual historical periods, and shows the importance and necessity of monitoring the cultural-demographic features of the population. The third poster: Institutions and basic documents for the protection of national minorities provides an overview of the rights and conventions that were enacted in the context of national minorities. Basic information on the whole project APVV-15-0475 is described in the last poster entitled: Research of the basic trends in the development of ethnic relations.

The publication is beneficial because it brings new information about the nationality issue of minorities in Slovakia. I would recommend the work to academic and research workers as well as to teachers.

Ivan Schmidt, schmidt@saske.sk

Report from the conference „Central-European contexts of nationality relations development at the beginning of 21st century“, Košice, 15th November 2018

On 15th November 2018 an International scientific conference took place in the Historic hall of the University of Pavol Jozef Šafarik in Košice, named “Central-European contexts of nationality relations development at the beginning of 21st century”. The event was organized by the Centre for Social and Psychological Sciences, the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts UPJŠ and the Department of Political Science UPJŠ. This conference was held as a part of APVV project named Trends in the development of Ethnic Relations in Slovakia (Comparative Research on Nationality Issues between 2004 and 2020). The conference was opened by one of its organizers and head of the project Štefan Šutaj, who elucidated on the APVV project itself, its main goals as well as expected outcomes. He expressed his disappointment that some of the expected speakers, mainly from abroad, were unable to participate due to health issues or other duties. The attendees also commemorated the memory of late Anna Jurová, historian, a long-time researcher at the Institute of Social Sciences and a noted expert on Roma issues.

The conference itself was divided into three segments. Attendees could engage with the first segment, named *Nationality policy as a subject of scientific research – results of comparative research on Nationality Issues*, in a lecture called “Who is supposed to have competence in the cultural matters of minorities from the perspective of their members” by Jozef Výrost. It was followed by an inquiry into the development of relations between minorities in the Slovak republic between 2004 and 2017 by Michal Kentoš. He aimed his analysis at relations between Slovaks, Hungarians and Roma, based on data collected via empirically oriented research, focusing on the main theoretical, methodological and practical issues arising from ethnicity and national relations. Next was Juraj Martonyik with his lecture on changes and relations in perception of ethnic identity and ethnicity between 2004 and 2017, in which he explored ethnic identity, its structure and changes. In his report he identified components of this identity and differences between each minority concerned. He was followed by Mária Ďurková with a lecture on the position of mother language in the value hierarchy of chosen nationalities in the years 2004 and 2017. This dealt with the status of mother language on the individual value hierarchy of Slovak, Hungarian, Roma and Ruthenian respondents, and with the influence of gender and age on the preference of mother language. The first segment was closed by a presentation by Lucia Heldáková, regarding the reflection of perception of decision processes in the area of the lives of minorities based on questionnaire research.

In the second segment named *Humanities, Social Sciences and research into relations of nationalities in Central Europe 1. (historical, political science, law, ethnological, psychological, sociological, philosophical and pedagogical aspects of minority issues)*, Branislav Šprocha opened with a lecture concerned with the ongoing transformation of family and reproductive behaviour of national minorities in Slovakia at the beginning of 21st Century. The author highlighted the change in ages for marriage and birth of the first child in Slovakia within the Slovak, Hungarian, Roma and Ruthenian populations during the census of 2001 and 2011. The lecturer Klára Kohoutová then focused her presentation on the socio-demographic factors affecting the perception of the ethnically coded sites of memories in the public spaces. The attendees were interested by a lecture from Yuko Kambara Yamane, of the Japanese University of Kitakyushu, which described the potential of anthropological minority research in Slovakia.

The third segment, named *Humanities, Social Sciences and research into relations of nationalities in Central Europe II.*, began with Zlatica Sáposová giving a presentation on the usage of the Hungarian language and Hungarian minority in Košice. This lecture presented the outcomes of research which was aimed at the communication behaviour of the Hungarian minority in Košice. The focus was aimed mainly at the perception of self-identity. The presentation was co-authored by Iveta Jeleňová, who was unable to attend due to an overlapping presentation at the Faculty of Public Administration UPJŠ. Boris Michalík and Jaroslav Čukan then followed with a lecture on the context of changes in identity and culture by Alföld (Lower-ground) Slovaks, in which they described everyday life and problems of the Slovak minority in towns and villages of Serbia, Croatia, Romania and Hungary. This was followed by a report on new ethnic and religious minorities in Slovakia by Silvia Letavajová. The last entry of the third segment was presented by Petr Bednařík on how minorities have been portrayed in the Czech media up to the beginning of the 21st century.

In the end it can be summarized that the scientific conference ‘Central-European contexts of nationality relations development in the beginning of 21st century’ fulfilled its aim both from a professional and societal perspective. The contributions from the conference will be published in a book of proceedings which will be both in Slovak and English languages.

Mária Ďurkovská, durkovska@saske.sk

Juraj Martonyik, martonyik@saske.sk