

# Slovaks in Hungary

Antal Örkény

The Social Sciences Faculty of the Eotvos Loránd University, Budapest

Endre Sik

ELTE University, Department of Minority Studies, Budapest

**Slovaks in Hungary.** On the basis of the historical, political, geographical, and demographic analysis the main sociological characteristics of the Slovak minority in Hungary is as follows: It is not a (quasi) Diaspora since at the time of creation they did not cross any border (it was gradual internal migration) consequently they did not develop a "Lost Motherland" attitude, i.e. nowadays Slovakia is not a relevant identity component for them. It is not a migrant community either since within the current Slovak minority in Hungary there is only a very small migrant segment. There are, though, in certain border regions where cross-border labor migration and transnational entrepreneurship is more important but these migrant groups do not influence the identity processes of the Slovak minority in Hungary. The Slovaks in Hungary constitute a set of geographically concentrated, rural communities with an aging population characterized by an advanced stage of assimilation (without suffering any significant prejudice on behalf of the majority and with heavy cultural attachment to their Slovak identity as well as local patriotism.

**Key words:** Slovaks, minority, Hungary, identity

**Slováci v Maďarsku.** Na základe historickej, politickej, geografickej a demografickej analýzy, hlavnými sociologickými charakteristikami slovenskej menšiny v Maďarsku sú nasledovné: nejedná sa o kvázi diaspóru nakoľko v čase vytvárania neprešli hranice štátu (bola to postupná interná migrácia), rovnako nevytvorili postoj tzv "stratenej vlasti", čiže v súčasnosti Slovenská republika nepredstavuje relevantný identitifikačný komponent. Nemôžeme teda hovoriť o spoločnosti migrantov, keďže Slováci v Maďarsku tvoria iba veľmi malý migračný segment. V niektorých prihraničných oblastiach nachádzame cezhraničných pracovných migrantov a transnacionálne podnikanie, avšak z hľadiska identity títo nezohrávajú dôležitú úlohu. Slováci v Maďarsku vytvorili súhrn geograficky koncentrovaných vidieckych spoločenstiev s vekovou populáciou charakteristickou pre pokročilé štádium asimilácie (bez významných predsudkov voči etnickej väčšine, ani bez ťažkej kultúrnej väzby na slovenskú identitu alebo miestny patriotizmus.

**Kľúčové slová:** Slováci, menšina, Maďarsko, identita

## Brief historical overview

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

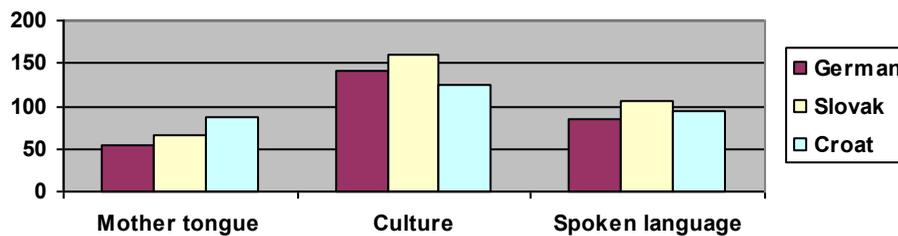
gradual re-settlement first in middle-Hungary later on in the Southern regions) and took almost two centuries

Before WW II most of Slovaks living in the Great Hungarian Plain were (often rather well-to-do) peasants, day laborers or artisans, those living in Central- or Northern Hungary were miners, coal burners, or industrial workers. The post WW II forced repatriation and the collectivization of the agriculture, the urbanization and industrialization generated growth in commuting, which reshaped the Slovakian communities. In 1955 60%, in 1980 35% of them worked in agriculture (Bakker, 1997).

### Brief demographic and geographical overview

According to the 2001 census there were 17,692 Slovaks in Hungary<sup>1</sup>. The 2001 census block of questions on ethnic identity approached identity as a hybrid. Every person could declare belongingness to a national minority on the bases of four questions: Which of these national minorities do you think you belong to? Which of these national minorities' cultural values and traditions do you feel affinity with? What is your mother tongue? In which language do you speak with family members or friends?

Figure 1: **The prevalence of three elements of identity among the three largest national minorities in Hungary** (belongingness = 100 %)



Source: The authors' computation based on Vékás (2003)

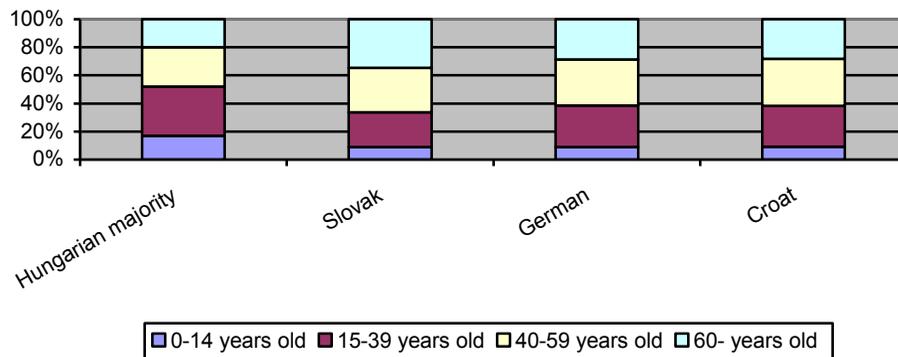
If we compare the relative importance (using belongingness as a point of reference) of the four elements of identity we find that for the Slovak minority having Slovak as the mother tongue is less, culture is more important, and the spoken language has about the same importance that belongingness, and this

<sup>1</sup> Compared to the 1991 census this shows a 70% increase as far as self-identification is concerned and a 7% decrease in using Slovak as a mother tongue (Homisimová, 2008). The approximate decrease of language use (in general in the 1991 census, at home in the 2001 census) is even more significant (74%).

structure is very similar to that of the other two largest national minority groups in Hungary (Figure 1).

Within the Slovak minority the proportion of those born abroad is low (6%)<sup>2</sup> which means that the migrant component within the minority is negligible<sup>3</sup>. The Slovak minority is older than the Hungarian majority and slightly older even than the other two largest minorities in Hungary (Figure 2).

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



Source: Census 2001

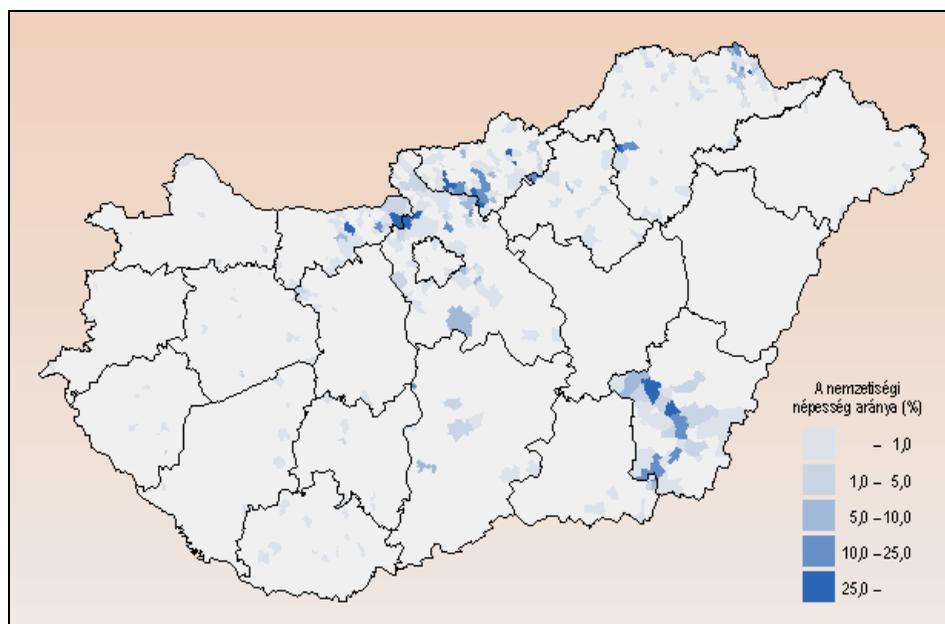
We come to the same conclusion if we compare the average age of the ethnic minorities by their four identity components (Annex 1 Table 3). The average age of the Slovak minority (with one exception, i.e. German minority identified by their mother tongue) is the highest, and the difference between the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

The following map shows the location and the rate of the Slovak minority as percent of the minority population.

<sup>2</sup> Unlike in case of the Bulgarian, Polish, Romanian, Ruthenian, Ukrainian minorities of which half, and the Serb and Armenian of which third of the population was born in abroad (Tóth-Vékás, 2005)

<sup>3</sup> Unsurprisingly most of the 2360 migrant Slovaks came from Slovakia, but 10% of them came from Romania, and 10-10% from Ukraine and the Czech Republic (Tóth-Vékás, 2005)

Map 1: The location and rate of the Slovak national minority (% of the total population) in 2001<sup>4</sup>



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

Compared to other minorities the Slovaks are very concentrated: the weighted proportion of the Slovaks by settlement<sup>5</sup> is close to 15% with only two minorities higher than this value (the Croats (24%) and the Slovenians (22%)), (Tóth-Vékás, 2006). The Slovak minority is most heavily concentrated in Pest (22%), Nógrád (21%), Komárom (21%), Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén (17%), and Békés (12%) counties (Tóth-Vékás, 2006).

### On Slovak identity

There are several anthropological case studies as well as small scale (often linguistic) surveys to analyze the social construction of the Slovak identity (anthropological ones are: on Mezőberény Molnár, 1993; on Tótkomlós, 1996; on Pilisszántó Szabó, 2002; on Budapest and Piliscsév, Szabó, 2007; on cross-

---

<sup>4</sup> HCSO Census 2001 (<http://www.nepszamlalas.hu/hun/kotetek/04/kartogram.html>).

<sup>5</sup> The number of a minority living in the settlement multiplied with its share of the total population of the settlement and divided by the total number of the minority.

border migration related aspects of identity Vári, 2002 and small scale survey based analyzes Homisimová, 2008; Uhrin, 2010, etc.).

Molnár (1993) compared the identity building processes of Slovaks and Germans in the same settlement (Mezőberény). She found that both ethnic group define themselves as Hungarian but – especially the elderly – have a nostalgic feeling towards the time when the two communities were intact and lively (i.e. all of them speaking their language (in church, on the streets, etc.). Both communities still have fears originated from post-WW II deportations and forced re-settlements but the elderly Slovaks fear shame as well for those who left the community for Slovakia between 1946 and 1948.

The loss of language is almost complete but the cultural basis still exists and there are some of the youth who tries to find their roots and intentionally recreate local Slovak and German culture (which are helped by the state and self-governmental institutions)<sup>6</sup>. The two communities have very positive (post-peasant, i.e. work and family-oriented stereotypes) about each other (hard worker, diligent, family centered, thrifty, clean, honest) with minor negative (if these are negative at all!) ones (an auto stereotype of the Slovak males is stubbornness, German females told about Slovak males that they are uninventive, both German males and females told that the Slovak females are bossy.

There are various sociological surveys we can use as a basis to follow the changes of the Slovak identity during the past decades. For example the TÁRKI survey on the main characteristics of the identity structure of the 50-60 years old in the 1990ies (Garami-Szántó, 1992)<sup>7</sup>, the Carpathian Project, which described the auto- and hetero-stereotypes of the Hungarian Slovak minority in comparison with the Hungarian society (Csepeli et al, 2002)<sup>8</sup>, and the already mentioned 2001 census (Vékás, 2004, Tóth-Vékás, 2005).

### **Slovak identity in the early 1990's**

According to the TÁRKI survey (Garami-Szántó, 1992), though 94 % of the respondents had Slovak grandparents, already their parents were assimilated: 99% of their parents spoke Hungarian. The respondents were even less attached to the Slovak language only 34% considered it as mother tongue, and only 12%

---

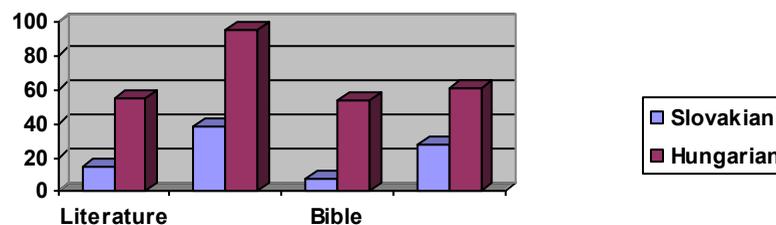
<sup>6</sup> The town has partner settlements both in Slovakia (Kolarovo (Guta)) and two in Germany (Münsingen and Gronau) which serves as strong networks for the ethnic communities.

<sup>7</sup> The survey in 1991 covered 50-60 years old respondents (N=605) in eight settlements with at least 80 % of all inhabitants claiming Slovak identity in the 1980 census.

<sup>8</sup> The survey was done in thirty one settlements (including five small towns) having Slovak classes in the primary school.

referred Slovakian as a first language. Culturally the domination of Hungarian language was even stronger.

Figure 3: **The proportion of those who read ... (%)**



Source: TÁRKI, 1991

Most of the respondents (72%) claimed themselves as Hungarian, 28% as Slovaks. Compared to those with Hungarian identity those who considered themselves as Slovak were more likely to be raised in a Slovak speaking environment, consider Slovak as their mother tongue, and see themselves as bilingual.

### **Slovak identity of the Slovak minority in 2000**

The Carpathian Project divided the minorities into four categories according to the nationality of ancestors, the language spoken in the family when the respondent was a child, and the national self-description given during the 1990 census. These were as follows:

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

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

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

*The identity-seekers:* (they had similar characteristics than the assimilated but they claim that their Slovak heritage is becoming more and more important

for them, and they start to teach their children for Slovakian language). This group had about the same size as the assimilated (16%).

To sum up, at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century though almost three-fourths of the Slovaks in Hungary had Slovak background, the chances of transferring it to the next generation seemed rather weak. This is also implied by the result that the use of Slovakian language within the family characterized about one third of respondents only.

### **Slovak identity in 2009**

Most of the Slovaks in Hungary either speak both Hungarian and Slovak or only Hungarian. Only a very small minority (and no one in the youngest cohort) uses only Slovakian at home. The Hungarian language has an increasing prevalence as the single language at home at the expense of the mixed Hungarian-Slovak language.

Table 1: **Language spoken at home by age groups (%)**

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

While all respondents read Hungarian newspapers, half of them read Slovak newspapers published in Hungary and about every fourth of them read Slovakian newspaper as well. In this respect there is no difference among the age groups<sup>9</sup>.

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

---

<sup>9</sup> The picture is similar when analyzing the composition of those watching TV and listening to radio. Almost all respondents watch Hungarian TV (99%), and listen to Hungarian broadcast (84%). The proportion of those watching Slovak programs of the Hungarian TV is 66% and those listening Slovak programs in the Hungarian radio is 32%, both only slightly more frequent than those of watching Slovak TV (54%) and listening Slovak radio (31%). (Note that in case of Slovak TV and radio about fourth to third of the population do not have access to these programs).

There is strong association between self-identification and various other elements of ethnic identity. We created an index (using principal component analysis) containing variables such as the language use at home, the importance of fostering ethnic minority culture, and the width of ethnic friendship network.

**Table 2: The proportion of those reading Hungarian, Slovakian and Slovakian in Hungary newspaper by age groups (%)**

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

**Table 3: The mean value principal component (PC) factors of ethnic identity by self-identity**

	Mean value of the PC
I'm Hungarian Slovak	0,26
I'm Hungarian with Slovak descent	- 0,36
I'm Hungarian	- 0,59
Total	0,01
Eta (and Eta-square)	0,34 (0,12)

The high positive value of the factor among those with minority self-identity means strong association between minority identity and the everyday components of minority status, the high negative values of the PC among those without Slovak self-identification means the opposite, i.e. not having minority identity is associated strongly with assimilated behavior and attitudes.

### **Some characteristics of the value system of Slovaks in Hungary**

To belong to a Diaspora or to develop ethnic identity, it is a necessary but insufficient condition that the individual have some kind of relationship with his/her ethnic group and with the home nation, i.e. to construct group belonging based on positive feelings and values. From a psychological point of view it is a necessary condition for “filling” and strengthening identity with both emotional and cognitive contents. In this chapter we compare those psychological factors of the Slovak minority to the Hungarian majority which we considered crucial in the process of forming the minority identity in an inter-group context. These are the circles of belongingness, pride, national and

ethnic characterization, attitude toward assimilation versus integration, general and institutional trust, political attitudes, and perception of social tensions<sup>10</sup>.

The feeling of closeness to the Hungary is as strong among the Slovaks as among the majority. Being in a minority position this emotional component could play an even stronger role in building the minority identity than among the Hungarians in Hungary.

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

The brief historical summary explains why the Slovak minority identity is less connected to the motherland. Moreover, the European identity is also less important among them as it is among the majority.

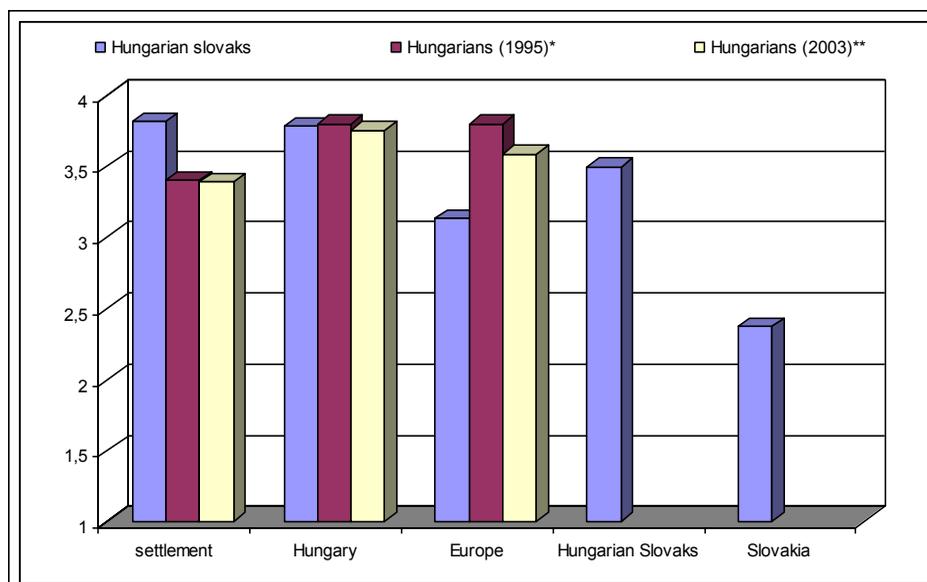
We identified four directions of pride: being Slovak, Hungarian, Hungarian Slovak, and European. By cluster analysis we identified for different types of feeling pride. Third of the Hungarian Slovaks are proud of being member of their minority group (34%), slightly less feel no pride at all (29%), fourth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

Table 4 shows the association between the clusters of pride and minority self-identification. Among those who identify themselves as Hungarian Slovaks the most typical attitude is to show strong proud of their minority. In this group the lack of pride is relatively small. Among those respondents who do not identify themselves with their minority and who only emphasis their Hungarian origin, the lack of pride is quite high and the pride toward their minority group is low.

---

<sup>10</sup> In the course of analysis we match the Hungarian population to the Slovak minority, i.e. only those respondents of the majority sample are covered who live in villages or small towns in the five counties Slovaks live in Hungary (Map 1). By this restriction we excluded from the analysis the city dwellers of Hungary (in the following we call it the adjusted majority sample). The second step to increase the comparability between the adjusted majority sample and the minority sample was to re-weight the majority sample to match the age and gender structure of the minority (in the following we call it re-weighted adjusted majority sample. The computation was done by Ksenia Kizilova (Harkov University).

Figure 4: The broadening circles of belongingness of Hungarian Slovaks and Hungarians (average point)<sup>11</sup>



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

Table 4: Feeling of pride toward Hungary, Slovakia and the Slovak diaspora, percent

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

<sup>11</sup> The circles of identity expand from the locality to Europe, i.e. from the locality where the respondent lives, the country, and finally Europe (and only among the Hungarian Slovaks the Slovak minority in Hungary and Slovakia). In each case, we asked whether the respondent feels the respondent close to these entities. A four point scale was available to respondents, to show the level of closeness one being low and four high level of closeness.

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

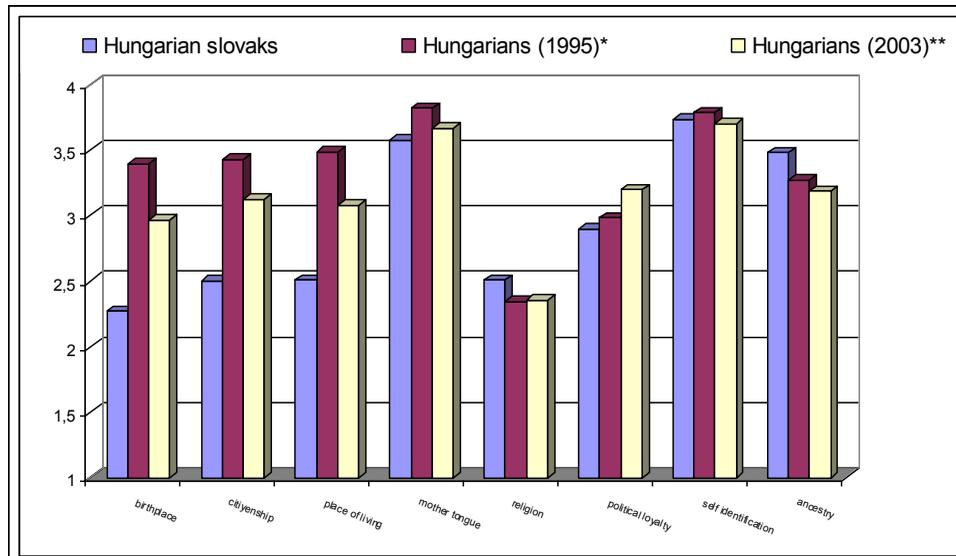
For the Hungarian Slovaks - the same way as for the majority - the most important aspects of the national categorization is mother tongue, self-identification, and ethnic ancestry, i.e. blood relationship. While in case of mother tongue and self-identification the difference between minorities is small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

When the nation is defined in cultural terms, probably it comes from two distinct factors in the case of the Hungarian Slovaks. The first arises from the necessity that they does not belong to the political community of their mother nation. Thereby if they want to bind themselves to the Slovak nation, this is only possible through cultural ties. This reflects to the strong cultural determination of the identity building mechanism (*ius sanguinis*) and the deep attachment to the past and the symbolic realm. On the other hand, the Slovak identity is strongly determined by local network of personal relationships, which is built by a common culture, language and identity.

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

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

Figure 5: The thematic frame of the national categorization among Hungarian Slovaks and Hungarians (average point)<sup>12</sup>



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

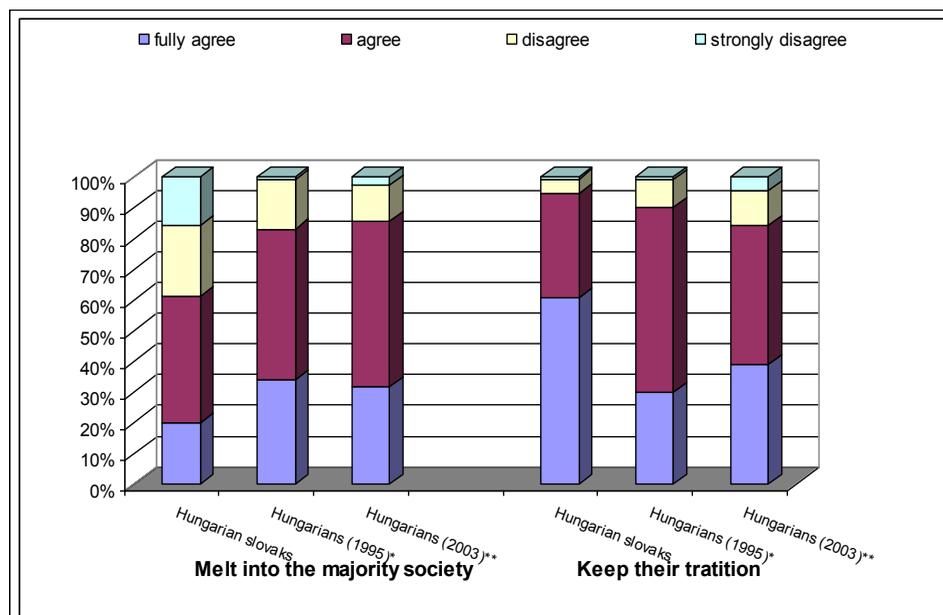
Finally, we analyze how trust a basic social psychological mechanism influences minority consciousness. We assume that for an ethnic group in a minority position general trust plays an important role, both as a driving force to strengthen ethnic solidarity (bonding social capital), and as a psychological tool to bridge between cultures (bridging social capital). We assumed that institutional trust, however, can be an important source for social inclusion, helping to build connection to majority (linking social capital) (Hardin 2002; Tóth, ed. 2005). On the other hand the opposite (suspicion) – as it is mentioned in the literature – can frequently lead to ethnic isolation or sometimes to segregation (Uslaner 2004).

The results of the ENRI-East survey seem to confirm the validity of first hypothesis. The level of general trust among Hungarian Slovaks is much greater than among the Hungarian population. This high level of generalized trust does not contradict to minority and ethnic trust, i.e. trust the within the minority group and in the “unrelated and remote” Slovakian Slovaks as well.

<sup>12</sup> We operationalized ethnic and national categorization using eight different categories. In each case the respondents had to decide how important these are to become a member of the minority community/nation. The scale had four values, from very important (4) to not important at all (1).

This result suggests that the within- minority bonding social capital and the cross-minority/majority bridging social capital live in peaceful coexistence.

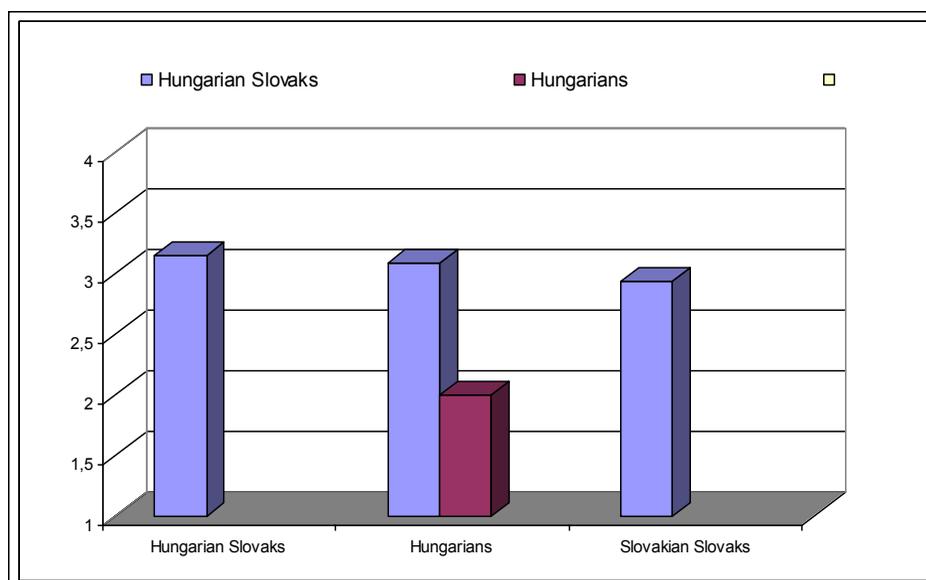
Figure 6: **Attitude towards assimilation versus integration among Hungarian Slovaks and Hungarians (%)**<sup>13</sup>



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

<sup>13</sup> In the questionnaire the following statements represented the assimilation and integration attitudes. “It is better if ethnic groups adapt and blend into the larger society.” „It is better if ethnic groups preserve their customs and traditions.” Respondents had to judge on a four-point scale to what extent they agree with them. The value of 4 meant that the respondent fully agreed with the item, and value of 1 that he or she did not agree with that statement.

Figure 7: **General trust among Hungarian Slovaks and Hungarians, (average point)<sup>14</sup>**



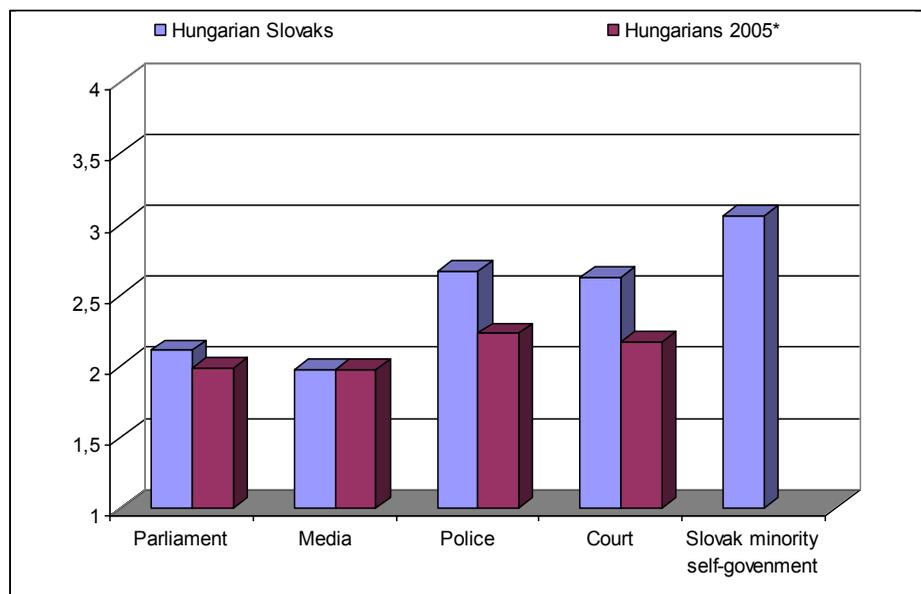
\* ESS 2006 (adjusted majority sample)

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

---

<sup>14</sup> The question in the survey was the following: „How much do you trust Hungarian Slovaks (... Hungarians ... Slovakian Slovaks)?” The scale had four values, from very important (4) to not important at all (1).

**Figure 8: Institutional trust (average point) among Hungarian Slovaks and Hungarians, (average point)<sup>15</sup>**



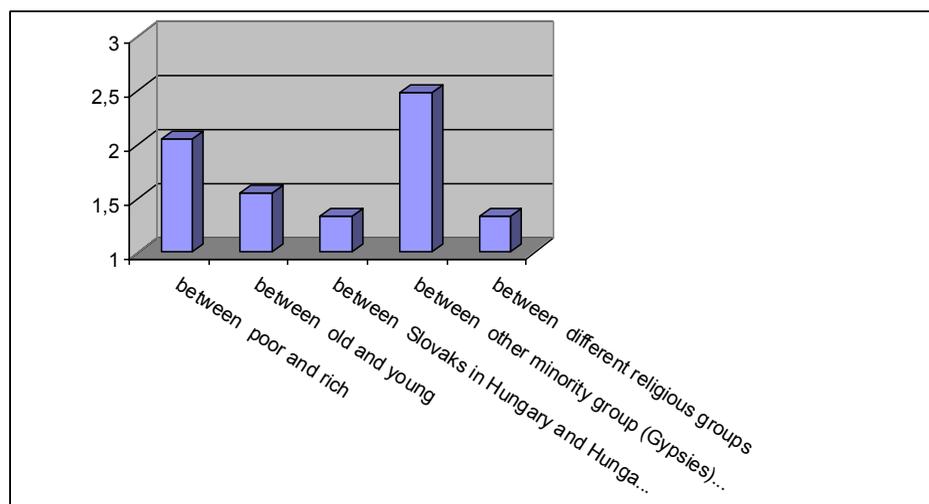
\* World Value Survey, 2005

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

<sup>15</sup> The question in the survey was the following: „How much do you trust the Parliament (... the media, the police, the court, the Slovak minority self-government)?” The scale had four values, from very important (4) to not important at all (1).

Finally, we measured the perception of tension between various social groups, including inter-ethnic tension between the majority and the minorities (Figure 9). Hungarian Slovaks perceive their situation quite peaceful in Hungary today. They perceive conflicts mainly between the Roma and the majority and between rich and poor.

Figure 9: Perceived tension between different social and cultural situations (average point)<sup>16</sup>



### Summary

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

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

---

<sup>16</sup> The question in the survey was the following: „Do you perceive tension between rich and poor? (Old and young, Slovaks and Hungarians, Roma and Hungarians, different religions)”. The scale had three values, from high (3) to no tension at all (1).

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

The Slovaks in Hungary constitute a set of geographically concentrated, rural communities with an aging population characterized by an advanced stage of assimilation (without suffering any significant prejudice on behalf of the majority (Sik, 1995)) and with heavy cultural attachment to their Slovak identity as well as local patriotism.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bindorffer, G. 2008. Nemzetiségek egymás között. In Császár Melinda – Rosta Gergely szerk. *Ami rejtve van, s ami látható*. Budapest – Piliscsaba: Pázmány Társadalomtudomány, 10. sz.: p. 61-76.
- Csepeli, G. – Örkény, A. – Székelyi, M. 2002. *Nemzetek egymás tükrében*, Balassi, Budapest.
- Garami, E. – János, S. 1992. A magyarországi szlovákok identitása. *Régió*, 3(2): pp. 113-133.
- Giczi, J. – Sik, E. 2004. A települések kapcsolati tőkéjének egy típusa – a testvértelepülések. *Szociológiai Szemle*, 1 sz. pp. 34-54.
- Gyivicsán, A. – Krupa, A. 1997. *A magyarországi szlovákok*, Útmutató, Budapest.
- Gyivicsán, A. – Tóth, I. 1998. *Szlovákok: Nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségek Magyarországon*. Budapest: Auktor.
- Homišimová, M. 2002. A magyarországi kisebbségek egyéni és csoportidentitásáról. In *Tér és Társadalom I. Szerk.: Kovács Nóra – Szarka László*. Akadémiai, Budapest, pp. 33-40.
- Homišimová, M. 2008. Magyarországi szlovákok és szlovákiai magyarok, *Fórum*, XX. évf. 1 sz. pp. 77-94. old.
- Kántor, I. 2010. A szlovákok asszimilációja Bélés megyében, *Szakdolgozat*, Budapest.
- Molnár, É. 1993. Te tót (német) vagy! Mondta anyám magyarul. *Régió*, 4(1), pp. 134-149.
- Sik, E. 1995. Az XXXellenesség Magyarországon 1994-ben. *Replika*, 17-18: pp. 282-290.
- Szabó, O. 2002. Képek egy pilisi szlovák faluról. In *Tér és Társadalom I. Szerk.: Kovács Nóra – Szarka László*. Akadémiai, Budapest, pp. 75-86.
- Szabó, O. 2007. Kettős identitás? Budapest és Piliscsév szlovák közösségei. In *Változatok kettős identitásra*. Szerk. Bindorffer Györgyi. Gondolat-MTA NEKI, Budapest, pp. 63-109.

- Tóth, Á. – Vékás, J. 2004. Nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségek Magyarországon (a 2001. évi népszámlási adatok rövid összefoglalása). *Barátság*, (5), pp. 4425-4432.
- Tóth, Á. – Vékás, J. 2004a.: Határok és identitás. In Tér és terep III. szerk. Kovács Nóra, Osvát Anna, Szarka László, Akadémiai, Budapest, pp. 135-190.
- Tóth, Á. – Vékás, J. 2005. A bevándorlás hatása a hazai nemzeti kisebbségek összetételére. In Nemzetfelfogások szerk. Tamás Pál, Erőss Gábor, Tibori Tímea, pp. 278-293.
- Tóth, Á. – Vékás, J. 2006. Család és identitás. In Mindennapi előítéleteink szerk. Bakó Boglárka, Papp Richárd, Szarka László, pp. 252-309.
- Uhrin, E. 2010. A szlovák nyelv Magyarországon. In Kevésbé használt nyelvek helyzete a Visegrádi Négyek országaiban. Szerk. Papp Anna Mária, Országos Idegennyelvű Könyvtár, Budapest, pp. 95-109 old.
- Vékás, J. 2003. Statisztikai adatok az 1980 – 2001. Évi népszámlálások összehasonlító elemzéséhez. In Kovács Nóra és Szarka László (szerk.) *Tér és Terep II.* Az MTA Kisebbségkutató Intézetének évkönyve II. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 2003, pp. 237-250.

*Antal Orkeny DSc, habil. Professor at the ELTE-UNESCO Minority Studies Department in the Social Sciences Faculty of the Eotvos Loránd University of Budapest. Since 1996 Antal Orkeny is the chair of the department which offers an MA program in ethnic and minority studies, from 2006 he is the director of the Institute for Social Relations including three departments (Minority Studies, Social Psychology, Cultural Anthropology), and from 2011 he is heading the Post Graduate (PhD) Program in social sciences at the ELTE. His major research fields are cross-national surveys on popular perceptions of social Justice, national identity and national stereotypes, and inter-ethnic relations. He has also published ten monographs including his two new releases in 2011.*

*Endre Sik DSc, habil. Professor at ELTE University, Department of Minority Studies, senior project manager at TÁRKI, former director of the National Focal Point of the European Union Centre for Monitoring Race and Xenophobia. For ten years he was the chairman of Refuge – Association for Helping Migrants. He served as the president of the Hungarian Sociological Association.*

Örkény Antal  
 ELTE, Budapest 1117 Pázmány Péter sétány 1/a  
 Sik Endre  
 TÁRKI, Budapest 1112 Budaörsi út 45  
 Hungary  
 Emailto: sikendre@sik.t-online.hu