

Boundary Mechanisms in the Formulation of National Identity: A Case Study of Students in the Slovak Department at Selye János University

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Introduction

This paper analyses the results of a questionnaire survey¹ conducted

1 Before the survey, the author created an English-language questionnaire comprised of 53 items, on the basis of questionnaires used in opinion surveys of minorities around the world (Zimmer 2004; Kim et.al., 2006; Brubaker et.al., 2008; Wimmer 2013) and made adjustments based on the state of affairs in Slovakia and Hungary. Before starting the survey, the author sent a written request to Professor Szarka László, dean of the Faculty of Education. Following a meeting with him, his consent was obtained, and he assisted in the distribution and collection of the questionnaire to students. The questionnaire was distributed to 120 second- and third- year students in four humanities departments at the Faculty of Education at the Selye János University. 101 samples were collected (28 from the English department, 22 from the Hungarian department, 16 from the Slovak department, 11 from the history department, and 24 from the pre-school and elementary school education department), that is, a response rate of 84.1 percent. English language surveys were distributed to students in the English department, while the same questionnaire translated by Professor Szarka into Hungarian was distributed to students in other departments after it was confirmed that the translation was exact. Gender was not taken into account.

with the aid of a grant from the Toyota Foundation between March 16-21, 2011 on students at the Faculty of Education at Selye János University² in Komárno, Slovakia. The aim of this research is to analyse both the structure and dynamic, nuanced nature of the identities and lifestyles of young Hungarians living in Slovakia, past and present. The data collected in this survey constitutes one form of objective (albeit limited) source material that may be use of in attempting to predict the future status of Hungarian society in Slovakia. The method of this paper is to examine the ‘national identity’ of the 16 students in the Slovak Language Department. The author has also previously completed identical surveys of students in the same university’s English Language Department and Hungarian Language Department.³ Analysis of that data indicates that an explicit ‘mechanism’ exists for delineating the boundary of national identity for the students in those two departments that differentiates them from students in other subject areas. The ‘symbolic resources’ that determine the identity have also been established. The survey results of the Slovak Language Department students presented in the current paper are broadly of a piece with those of the English and Hungarian Language Departments, although it becomes clear that they are more nuanced and complex and, as such, warrant a closer examination in order to delineate more precisely their distinct perceptions of their ‘national identity’ and which mechanisms and symbolic resources appertain to defining it.

2 This university was founded in 2004 to serve the students of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, and is the first Hungarian-language university in Slovakia. The subjects provided an excellent opportunity to grasp the attitudes of one facet of Slovakia’s young Hungarian population.

3 Tatsuya Nakazawa, ‘Boundary Mechanisms in the Formulation of National Identity: A Case Study of Students in the English Department at Selye János University’, *Eruditio-Educatio*, 7-3, 2012, pp. 106-121; Tatsuya Nakazawa, ‘Boundary Mechanisms in the Formulation of National Identity: A Case Study of Students in the Hungarian Department at Selye János University’, *Slavic Eurasia Studies*, 27, 2014, pp. 69-101.

1. A summary of English and Hungarian language students' national identity

1-1 Main characteristics of the national identity of English language students⁴

	Daily language	Contact with Slovaks	Contact with Hungarians in Hungary	Experience of discrimination	Economic sufficiency	Ability of Hungarian	Official language or dialect	Symbolic resources: area
Hungarian in Slovakia exclusive identity 11 students	Hungarian	not so much	little	No	Yes	advantage	official language	home-country (Hungary and Slovakia)
Hungarian in Slovakia+α composite identity 13 students	Slovak and Hungarian	much	little	No	Yes	disadvantage	dialect	hometown

As represented in the table above, the main national identity of the students in the English department is divided into two.

One is the exclusive identity as 'Hungarian in Slovakia'(Type1). This type includes the neighbouring Slovaks who are 'interested in' communicating in the Hungarian language, and serves as the mechanism that forms the boundary from other 'identity' groups. The salient characteristics of this type include the following: 1. They have no experience of national discrimination. 2. They have not experienced financial hardship. 3. They are emotionally attached to the Slovak Republic and equally to that of Hungary (there is a strong sense of national identity). 4. They don't feel that the ability to speak Hungarian represents a particular advantage in Slovakia (being greatly influenced by an environment in which the Slovaks use the Hungarian language in their everyday lives). 5. As for the language of the Hungarians who live in Slovakia, 50% believe that they must speak the official language of the Republic of Hungary (there is a strong national favouritism).

⁴ Nakazawa, 2012: 115.

The second type has the characteristics of a composite identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’ (Type2). This type is identified as representing the Hungarians themselves, ‘being interested in’ communicating in the Slovak language and serves as the mechanism that forms the boundary from other ‘identity’ groups. The characteristics of this type include the following. 1. They have no experience of national discrimination. 2. They have not experienced financial hardship. 3. They are emotionally attached to the regions where they were born and brought up, not to the Republics of Slovakia or Hungary as such. 4. They feel that the ability to speak Hungarian is advantageous in Slovakia (and in Hungary to be able to speak Slovak), and that there is value in being bilingual (as being greatly influenced by the environment in which they speak Slovak every day). 5. As for the Hungarian language of the Hungarians in Slovakia, they believe that it should be preserved. Rather than being concerned with the national level, they are more interested in regional issues, extending sometimes beyond the border.

1-2 Main characteristics of the national identity of the Hungarian language students⁵

	Daily Language	Contact with Slovaks	Contact with Hungarians in Hungary	Experience of discrimination	Political liberty	Economic sufficiency	Cultural pressure	Symbolic resource : area
Hungarian in Slovakia exclusive identity 5 students	Hungarian	little	Nothing	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	hometown
Hungarian+ Hungarian in Slovakia+α composite identity 10 students	Hungarian	little	Much	No	No	No	if anything, Yes	home-country (Slovakia-Hungary) and hometown

As shown in the table above, the main national identity of the students

⁵ Nakazawa, 2014: 98-100.

in the Hungarian department is divided into two.

The exclusive identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ (Type1) relies on the Slovak neighbours ‘approaching them’ and speaking in Hungarian for communication. Their marked characteristics include: 1. They have little contact with the Slovaks and no connection with the Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary. 2. They have the experience of national discrimination. 3. They have no feeling of political deprivation. 4. They have no experience of financial hardship. 5. They have no cultural oppression. Factors 1 - 5 form the core that determines these identities and also provides the ‘mechanism’ to separate the identities. Furthermore, the symbolic resources which the identities depend on are ‘cultural rights’. The specific sphere that is assumed to realize such cultural rights may apply to 6: the area in which they were born and brought up. They have more attachment to their birthplace, rather than to the Republics of Slovakia or Hungary (i.e. they are locally orientated). Thus, they are likely to take employment in their birthplace, are interested in preserving the dialect of Hungarian in Slovakia, and think that their ability to speak Hungarian is advantageous in Slovakia (having the advantage of being bilingual). This is the identity related to those who have lived affluently in the Slovak Republic, and whose lives are stable.

The composite identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia+ α ’ (Type2) represents the majority of the Hungarian language department, and is peculiar to the department while not being identified in the other departments. This type also relies on the Slovaks ‘approaching them’ and speaking Hungarian for communication. Their characteristics include: 1. They have little contact with the Slovaks in the Slovak Republic but close connections with the Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary. 2. They have no experience of national discrimination. 3. They feel political strain. 4. They have experience of financial hardship. 5. They have some sense of cultural oppression. These factors, 1-5, are the core that forms identities and also provides the mechanism to separate identities. As with Type 1, ‘cultural rights’ (as symbolic resources) also determine

their identity. The areas for which the cultural rights apply include the Republics of Slovakia and Hungary as well as their hometowns. Their employment prospects are equally diverse. Type 2 subjects are orientated locally as well as nationally. They are interested in preserving the dialects of Hungarian in Slovakia; however, they do not think that the ability to speak Hungarian is necessarily advantageous in Slovakia (they also have some doubt about the value of being bilingual).

This paper compares the abovementioned questionnaire results of the students of the English and Hungarian departments with those of the students of the Slovak Language Department.

2. Analysis

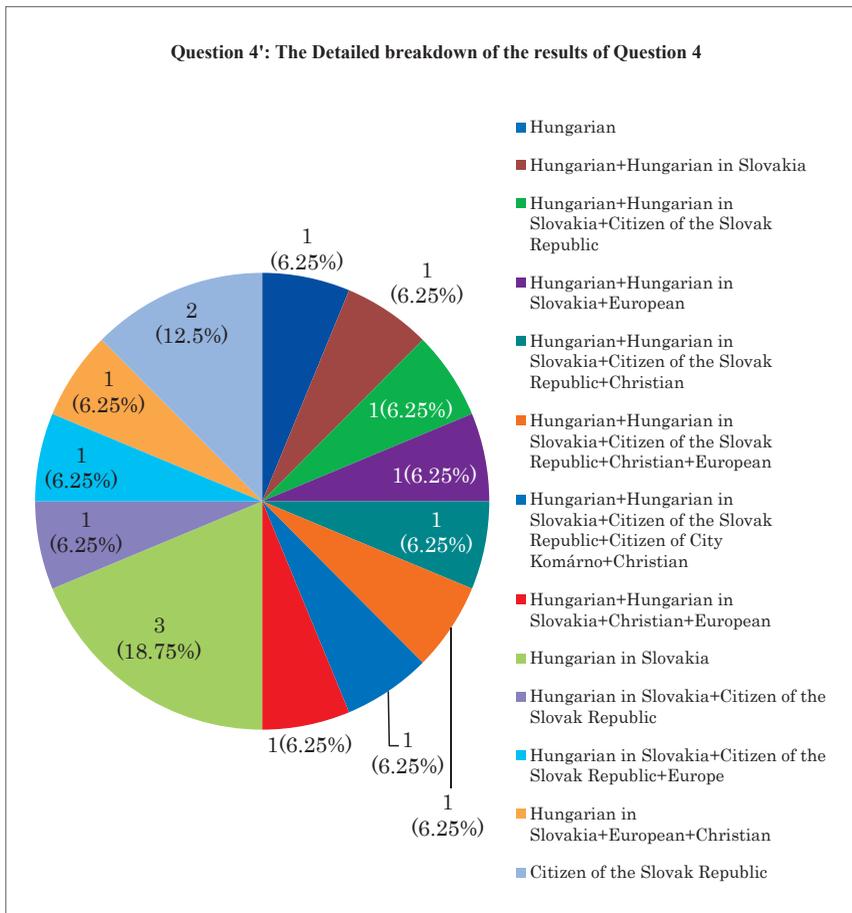
2-1 Pre-conditions

According to Questions 1, 20, and 21, twelve of the sixteen students (75%) in the Slovak Language Department are unmarried individuals born in 1988 or later, and thus they belong to a generation that has not experienced the socialist system or the Czechoslovakian era. Three of the students were born in Komárno (Komárom). Two students each were born in Nové Zámky (Érsekújvár), Kráľovský Chlmec (Királyhalmec), and Šaľa (Vágsellye). Also, one student was born in each of Galanta (Galánta), Levice (Léva), Veľký Meder (Nagymegyer), Štúrovo (Párkány), Bratislava (Pozsony), Dvory nad Žitavou (Udvard), and Želiezovce (Zselíz). Meanwhile, two students each grew up in Nové Zámky and Komárno while one student grew up in each of Bátorove Kosihy (Bátorkeszi), Búč (Búcs), Dunajská Streda (Dunaszerdahely), Dvory nad Žitavou, Ipeľský Sokolec (Ipolyszakállos), Kráľovský Chlmec, Levice, Svätušie (Bodrogszentes), Šaľa, Tešedíkovo (Pered), Tôň (Tany), Veľká Mača (Nagymácséd), and Veľký Meder. In other words, almost all the students in the Slovak Language Department are from Southern Slovakia, including their places of birth and upbringing. Of the sixteen students, seven students were born and raised in the same place while nine were born and raised in different places. According to

Question 16, 93.75% of the students (fifteen students) were educated in gymnasiums while the other student (one student) was educated in a business school. Next, I will discuss the identities of the students.

2-2 Exclusive identity and composite identity

On Question 4, students were able to select their identities from a list of multiple-choice items, and they were also able to freely describe their identities if none of the options applied. A detailed breakdown of the identities chosen by the students is presented in the graph below.



According to Question 4, of the sixteen students in the Slovak Language Department, one student (S2-5) answered that he or she identified him/herself as “Hungarian” only, three students (S2-2, S2-11, S2-13) answered that they identified themselves as “Hungarian in Slovakia”, and two students (S2-8, S2-12) stated that they identified themselves as “citizen of the Slovak Republic” only. The above six students (37.5%) answered only with exclusive identities. Of the remaining students, six (S1-1, S1-2, S2-4, S2-6, S2-7, S2-10) answered that they held composite identities consisting of “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ” while three (S2-1, S2-9, S2-14) answered that they held composite identities comprised of “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizens of the Slovak Republic + α ”. One student (S2-3) held an identity that did not belong to any of the above categories, “Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian”. In other words, the above ten students (62.5%) held composite identities. This proportion is similar to the results obtained from other departments.⁶

Further, among the six students who held exclusive identities, three identified themselves as “Hungarian in Slovakia” while two identified themselves as “citizen of the Slovak Republic”. The presence of this exclusive identity of “citizen of the Slovak Republic” was a unique characteristic not seen in other departments. Among the ten students who held composite identities, as in the Hungarian Language Department, six students answered that they identified themselves as “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ”, making them the majority. However, three students answered that they identified themselves as “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic”. The presence of the composite identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + α ” is another unique feature not seen in other departments. Age and gender deviations were

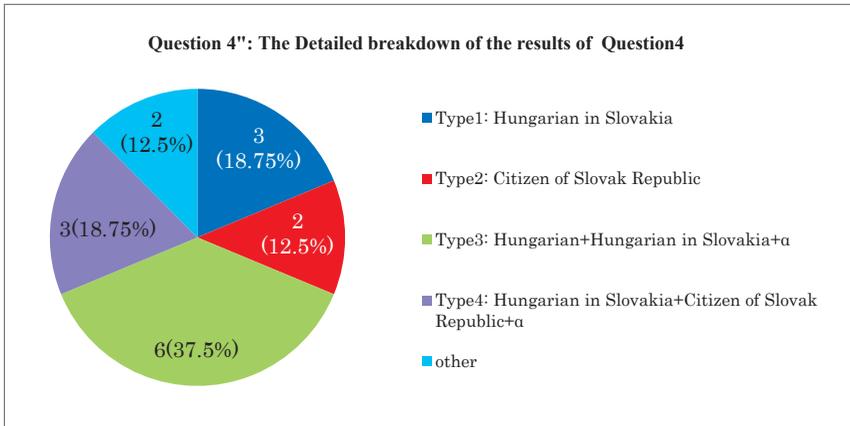
⁶ Twelve students (42.85%) in the English Language Department had exclusive identities, and sixteen (57.15%) had composite identities. On the other hand, seven students (31.81%) held exclusive identities and fifteen (68.19%) held composite identities in the Hungarian Language Department. Nakazawa, 2012: 117; Nakazawa, 2014: 74-75.

not discernible for most of the above identities, but, as I will discuss later, there were some regional deviations.

Overall, although the unique characteristics of the students in the Slovak Language Department were similar to those of the students in the English Language Department and the Hungarian Language Department, the situation was more complex. The fact that two students (12.5%) held the exclusive identity of “citizen of the Slovak Republic” was a unique phenomenon in the Slovak Language Department. Among the six students who held the composite identity of “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ” as well, α was “citizen of the Slovak Republic” in the case of four students. Also, three students held the composite identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + α ”. Among the total sixteen students, more than half (nine students) were aware of themselves as “citizen of the Slovak Republic”. This tendency is not seen in other departments. There were indeed students who identified themselves as “citizen of the Slovak Republic” in the English Language Department and the Hungarian Language Department as well. However, all students who identified themselves as such did so in the form of a composite identity, and there were only two such students in each department.⁷

In the discussion below, the exclusive identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia” among the students in the Slovak Language Department is designated as Type 1. The exclusive identity of “citizen of the Slovak Republic”, which comprises a unique category found only among students in the Slovak Language Department, is designated as Type 2. Additionally, the composite identity of “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ”, which comprises the majority of the composite identities, is designated as Type 3, and the composite identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + α ”, a category worthy of special mention among students in this department, is designated as Type 4. On the basis of the above, the graph below again presents the results of Question 4.

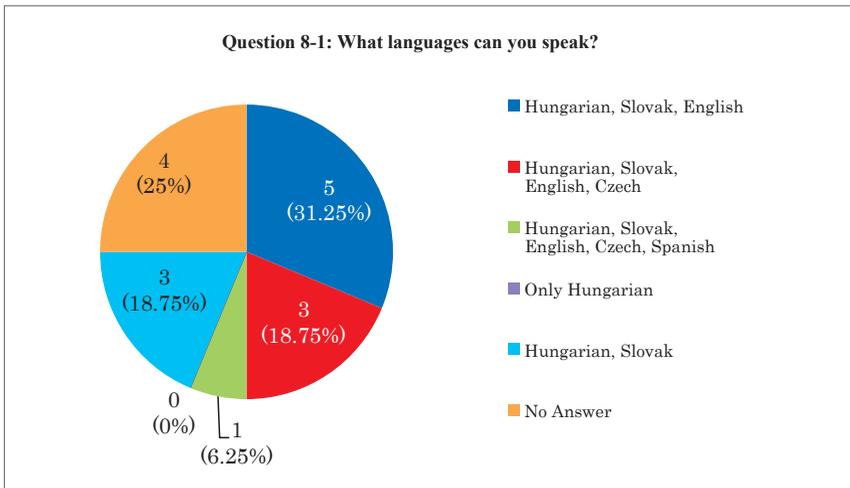
⁷ Nakazawa, 2012: 117; Nakazawa, 2014: 74-75.



The discussion below will focus on an analysis of the facts concerning Type 1, Type 2, Type 3, and Type 4, and I will elucidate the boundary mechanisms between the types.

2-3 Boundary mechanisms between national identities

(1) Language of daily use

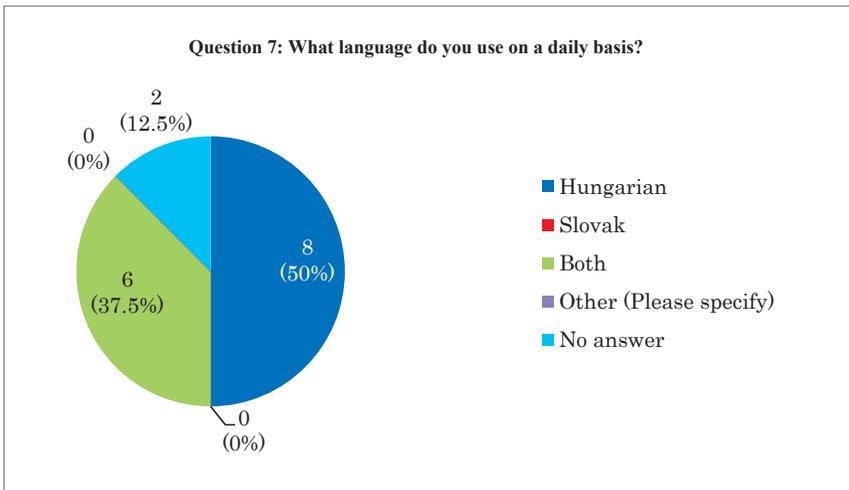


Other than students who did not answer, the largest number of students answered that they spoke Hungarian, Slovak, and English

(five students). The breakdown of these five students' identities is as follows: "Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European" (S1-2), "Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic" (S2-1), "Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + citizen of the City Komárno + Christian" (S2-6), "Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian" (S2-7), and "Hungarian in Slovakia" (S2-11). The next most prevalent answer was Hungarian, Slovak, English, and Czech (three students). Their identities were "Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian" (S2-3), "Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic" (S2-9), and "citizen of the Slovak Republic" (S2-12). Also, three students answered that they spoke Hungarian and Slovak. Their identities were "Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + European" (S2-14), "Hungarian in Slovakia" (S2-13), and "citizen of the Slovak Republic" (S2-8). Finally, one student answered that he or she spoke Hungarian, Slovak, English, Czech, and Spanish, and this student's identity was "Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + Christian" (S1-1).

The above results show that, among the twelve students in the Slovak Language Department who answered the question, not even one is unable to speak Slovak (although this is naturally so), and that most of these students identify themselves as "Hungarian in Slovakia". In other words, "Hungarian in Slovakia" indicates exclusively "Hungarians who live in Slovakia and can speak Slovak", a result similar to that obtained in the English Language Department and the Hungarian Language Department. To categorize these students more specifically, among the eleven students who speak Slovak as well, two students (S2-11, S2-13) hold the exclusive identity of "Hungarian in Slovakia" (Type 1), four students (S1-1, S1-2, S2-6, S2-7) hold the composite identity of "Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α " (Type 3), three students hold the composite identity of "Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + α " (Type 4), and one student (S2-12) holds the exclusive identity of "citizen of the Slovak Republic" (Type 2). Incidentally, students in the Hungarian Language

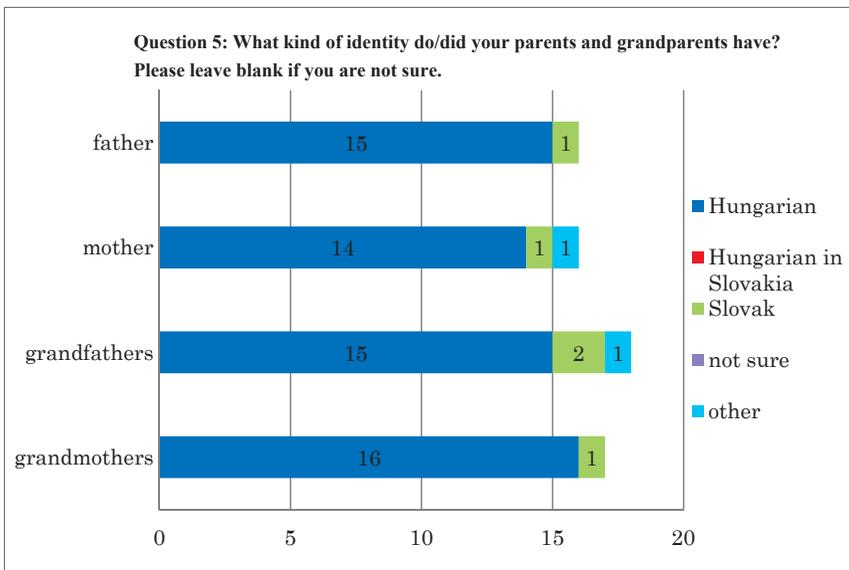
Department who can speak Slovak tend to hold the composite identity of “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ”. The majority of the students in the English Language Department who can speak Slovak tend to hold the exclusive identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia”. On the other hand, in the Slovak Language Department, in addition to the same unique characteristics as the other two departments, it appears that the exclusive identity of “citizen of the Slovak Republic” is also firmly established. Below, I will investigate the boundary mechanisms between Type 2 and the other types.



According to Question 7, no fewer than six students (37.5%) use both Hungarian and Slovak on a daily basis, more than in the other departments. On Question 4, these six students answered that they identified themselves as “Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-3), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + citizen of the City Komárno + Christian” (S2-6), “citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-8, S2-12), “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-9), and “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + European” (S2-14). It is clear here that all of the students who speak two languages on a daily basis identify themselves as “citizen of the Slovak Republic”

or as “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + α .” In other words, the use of two languages on a daily basis is a prominent feature of Type 2 and Type 4. On the other hand, most of the eight students (50%) who use Hungarian on a daily basis belong to Type 1 or Type 3, comprising the majority of these types. Below, let us confirm whether the identities of family members constitute the boundary mechanism between Type 2 and the other types.

(2) Identities of family members

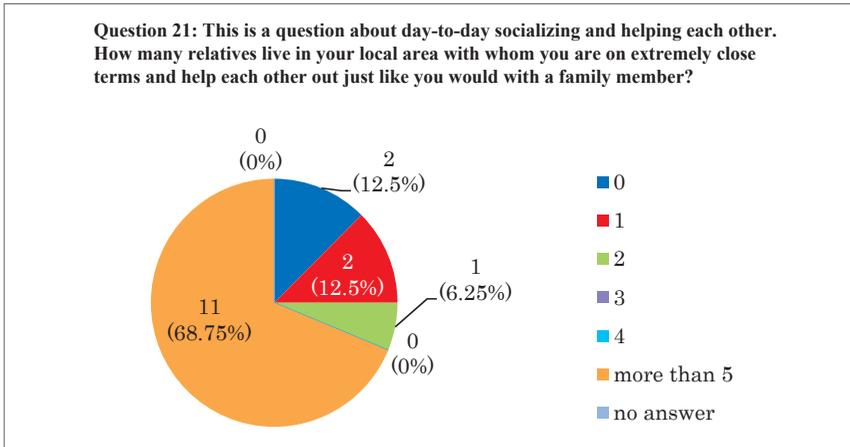


According to Question 5, a significant characteristic of the Slovak Language Department as compared to the other departments is that a comparatively larger number of students’parents and grandparents are identified as “Slovak” by those students (four students: S2-8, S2-9, S2-11, and S2-12, 25% of the total). Most significantly, the results indicate that three of the four students identify themselves as “citizen of the Slovak Republic.” The breakdown is indicated below: (A) In no case were the identities of only the father and mother different (i.e., without the student’s grandparents also being

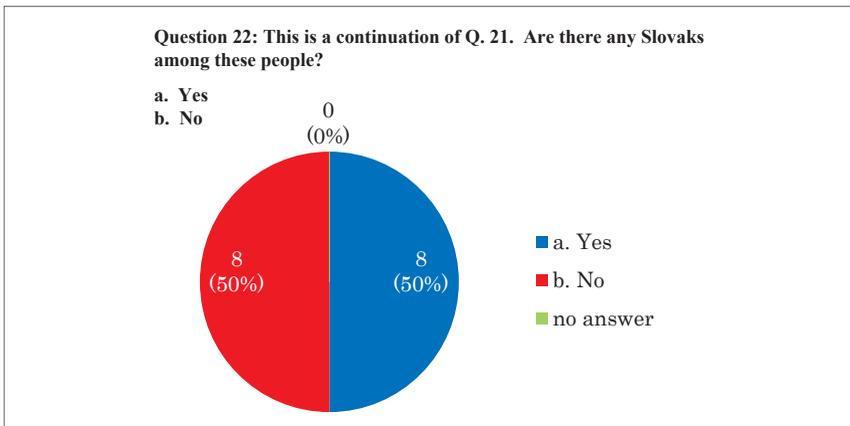
of different identities), but, (B) in two cases, the identities differed between the father and mother as well as between the grandmother and grandfather, with the breakdown consisting of a holder of the composite identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + α ” (S2-9) and a holder of the exclusive identity of “citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-12). (3) Identities differed only between the grandmother and grandfather in two cases, with the breakdown consisting of a holder of the exclusive identity of “citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-8) and a holder of the exclusive identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-11). It is significant that here there was not even one holder of the composite identity of “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ”, the most common identity in the Slovak Language Department. In other words, the presence or absence of a person who identifies him/herself as “Slovak” among the parents and grandparents serves as one of the boundary mechanisms between Type 2, the exclusive identity of “citizen of the Slovak Republic”, and Type 3, the composite identity of “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ”.

On the basis of the above, it is clear that the exclusive identity of “citizen of the Slovak Republic” is prevalent among students who have a parent or grandparent who is Slovak. The question here is whether the exclusive identity of “citizen of the Slovak Republic” is a concept that is subsumed in the identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia” (Hungarians who live in Slovakia and can speak Slovak). Additionally, it will be necessary to clarify the boundary mechanism between this exclusive identity of “citizen of the Slovak Republic” and each of the exclusive identity of Hungarian in Slovakia (Type 1) and the composite identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + α ” (Type 4). Below, I will investigate relationships with others in the local area, bearing this point in mind.

(3) Interactions with others in the local area



According to Question 21, eleven of the sixteen students (68.75%) interact closely with at least five other people on a daily basis. This indicates that, in the Slovak Language Department, compared to other departments, a large number of students come from areas where extensive communities persist. In the Hungarian Language Department, eleven of 22 students (50%) interact closely with at least five other people on a daily basis. Next, let us proceed to examine Question 22.



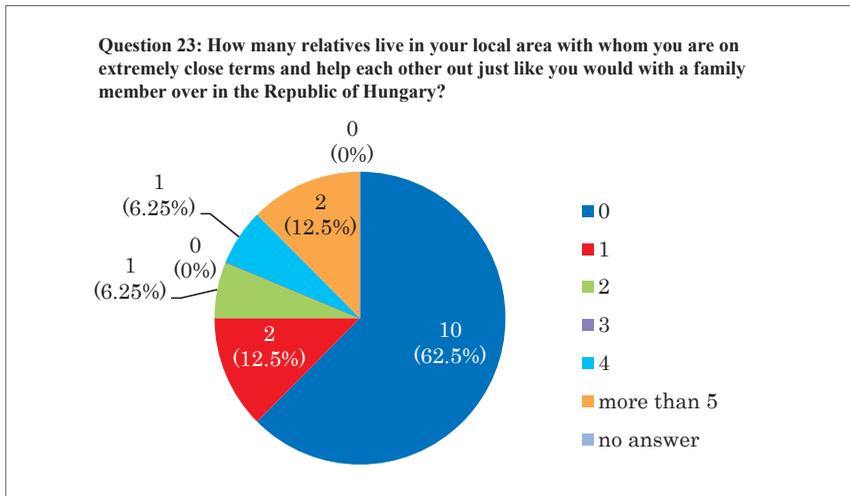
Eight of the sixteen students (50%) in the Slovak Language Department had Slovak neighbours. This is a higher number than that found in the English Language Department (seven of 28 students, 25%) or the Hungarian Language Department (five of 22 students, 22.72%). Of these eight students, based on the results of Question 7, three use Slovak on a daily basis (S2-8, S2-9, S2-12). These three students use Slovak to communicate with their Slovak neighbours as well. In other words, these students have the most opportunities to interact with Slovaks and to use the Slovak language, and, according to Question 1, they live in mixed ethnic communities along the national border: Tõň, Bátorove Kosihy, and Komárno. Their identities are “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-9) and “citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-1, S2-8). On the other hand, of the eight students in the Slovak Language Department who have Slovak neighbours, four use only Hungarian on a daily basis (S1-2, S2-4, S2-10, S2-11). In the case of these four students, their Slovak neighbours are the ones who use Hungarian to communicate with them. Their places of residence are Levice, Veľký Meder, Šaľa, and Dvory nad Žitavou. Their identities are “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European” (S1-2), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-4), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + European + Christian” (S2-10), and “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-11). Of the eight students in the Slovak Language Department with Slovak neighbours, one student did not provide an answer regarding his or her language of daily use, and this student’s identity was “Hungarian” (S2-5).

Next, of the eight students in the Slovak Language Department who do not have Slovak neighbours, three students speak Slovak as well on a daily basis. Their identities are “Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-3), “Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-14), and “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + citizen of the City Komárno + Christian” (S2-6). Additionally, of the eight students in the Slovak Language Department who do not have Slovak neighbours, four students speak

Hungarian on a daily basis. They identify themselves as “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + European + Christian” (S1-1), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-7), “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-1), and “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-13). Among the eight students in the Slovak Language Department who do not have Slovak neighbours, one did not answer, and the identity of this student was “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-2).

The previously mentioned Question 7 produced a large number of responses in which the students who used both Slovak and Hungarian on a daily basis belonged to either Type 4 or Type 2, and Question 22 provides additional evidence for this. In other words, the results indicate that the identities of students who communicate with Slovak neighbours in Slovak can only be Type 4 or Type 2. Also, the results of Question 5 indicate that students who have at least one Slovak family member have an increased tendency to belong to Type 2. Another unique characteristic of Type 2 is that these students are found mostly in mixed ethnic communities along the national border.

Additionally, Question 22 brings to light another boundary mechanism. The identities of students who communicate with their Slovak neighbours in Hungarian can only be Type 3 or Type 1. This clearly indicates the boundary mechanism between Type 4/Type 2 and Type 3/Type 1. Also, Question 5 demonstrates that, in the case of Type 3, all the students’ family members are Hungarian without exception, and none of their family members are Slovak. In other words, Type 3 is especially prevalent among students who only speak Hungarian on a daily basis, within a larger group of Hungarians who can speak and understand Slovak. This result is the same as Type 3 in the Hungarian Language Department. Next, I will examine the interactions with Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary. In this discussion, I will focus on the boundary mechanisms between Type 1, the exclusive identity of “Hungarian and Slovakia”, and other identities.



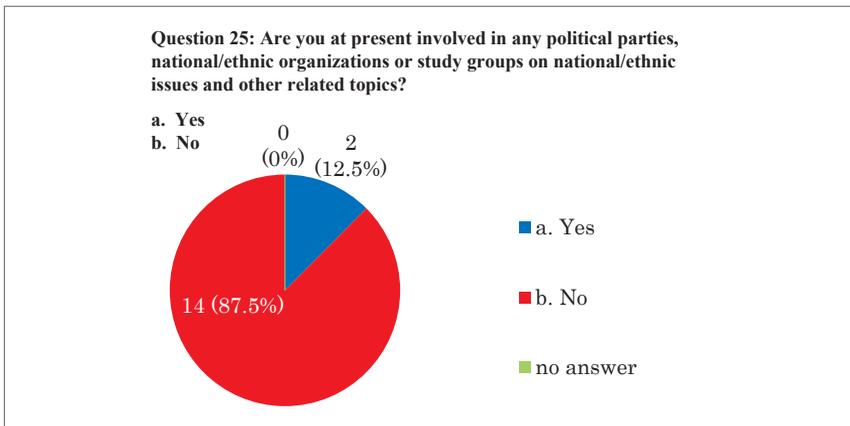
In comparison to students in the Hungarian Language Department, a unique characteristic of students in the Slovak Language Department is their extremely weak connection with the people of the Republic of Hungary.⁸ In particular, the identities of the ten students (62.5%) who had no connection at all with Hungary were “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + Christian” (S1-1), “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-1), “Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-3), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-4), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + citizen of the City Komárno + Christian” (S2-6), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-7), “citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-8, S2-12), “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-9), and “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + European” (S2-14). A unique characteristic of this group of ten students is that it includes most of the students who identify themselves as “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + α ”, which is Type 4.

⁸ Nakazawa, 2012: 171.

On the other hand, the identities of the six students who do have a connection with Hungary are “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European” (S1-2), “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-2, S2-11, S2-13), “Hungarian” (S2-5), and “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + European + Christian” (S2-10). A unique characteristic of this group is that it includes many Type 1 students, who hold the exclusive identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia”.

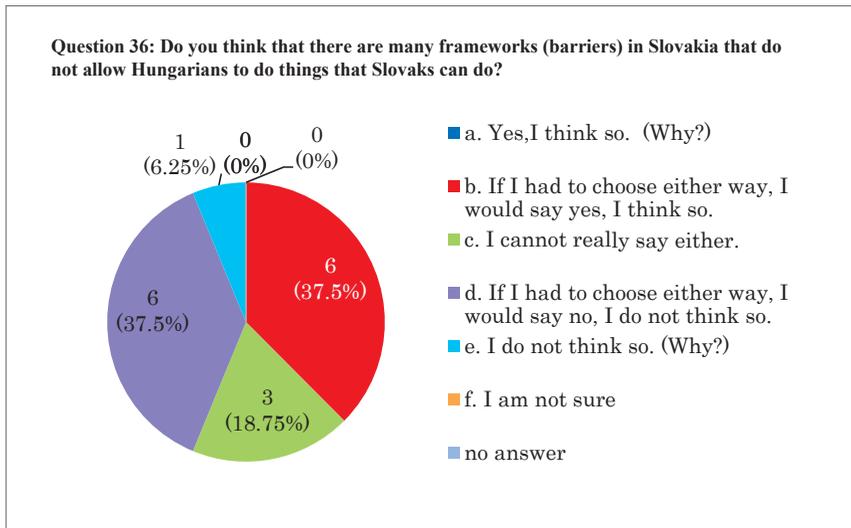
To summarise the above results, students who do not have a connection with Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary tend to identify themselves as Type 4, “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + α ”. On the other hand, many of the students who do have a connection with Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary identify themselves as Type 1, the exclusive identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia”. In other words, we may conclude that the boundary mechanism between Type 1 and Type 4 is the presence or absence of a connection with Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary. What, then, is the boundary mechanism between Type 1 and Type 2?

(4) Political activities and sense of political restriction

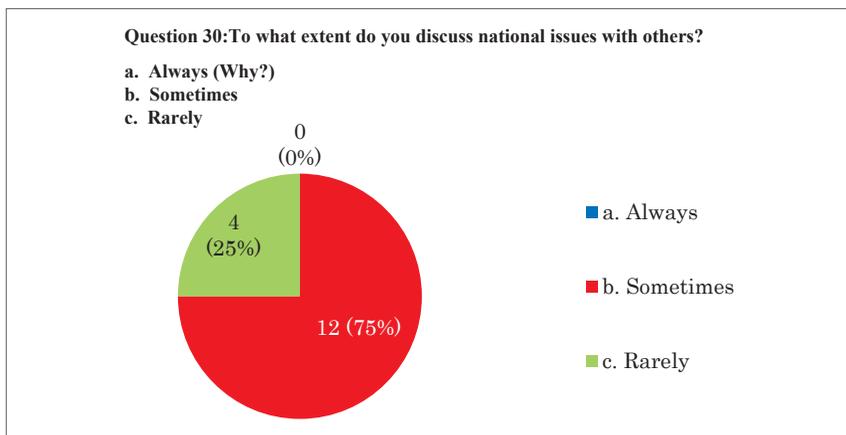


Questions 27 and 29 demonstrate that two students (S2-11, S2-13) are actively involved in the youth associations of ethnic Hungarian political parties. Both students hold the exclusive identity of

“Hungarian in Slovakia”. Based on Question 23, both of these students have connections with Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary. Both students speak Hungarian on a daily basis, and one student does not have Slovak neighbours (S2-13) while the other (S2-11) does. Next, I will proceed to analyse Questions 36 and 30.



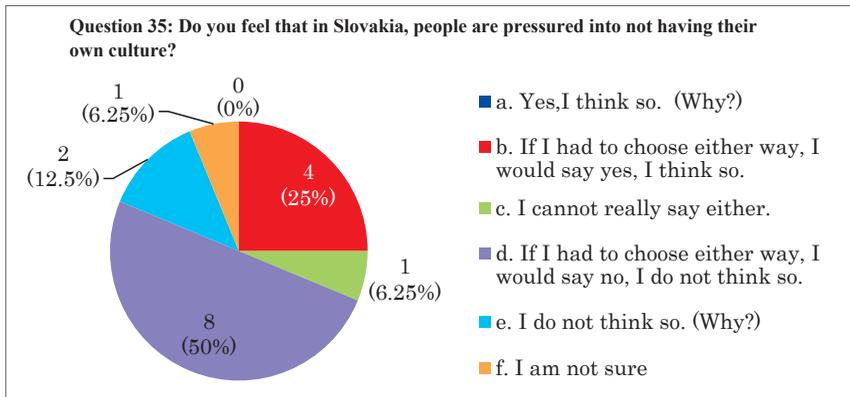
Six students (37.5%) chose “b”, while seven students (43.75%) chose either “d” or “e”. As in the English Language Department, the results were roughly evenly divided. The identities of the six students who chose “b” were “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European” (S1-2), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-7), “citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-8), “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-9), and “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-11, S2-13). In other words, the results indicate that most of the students who hold the exclusive identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia” feel a sense of political restriction. Both of these students are members of political parties (Question 25). There was no particular trend in the identities of the seven students who do not feel a sense of political restriction.



Seventy-five percent of students in the Slovak Language Department are interested in ethnic issues. This is a higher proportion of students than in other departments. Of the four students who are not interested (S1-1, S2-1, S2-8, S2-12), two identified themselves as Type 2 while one student each identified him/herself as Type 3 and Type 4. In other words, students who hold the exclusive identity of “citizen of the Slovak Republic” apparently have little interest in ethnic issues. On the other hand, all the students in Type 1 and most of the students in Type 3 and Type 4 are interested in ethnic issues. In other words, all the students who hold the exclusive identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia”, Type 1, are interested in ethnic issues, and it is likely that this is the reason why they participate in political activities. On the basis of the above, it may be stated that active participation or lack thereof in political activities as well as presence or absence of interest in ethnic issues constitute boundary mechanisms between Type 1 and Type 2.

(5) Feelings of cultural oppression

The results indicate that for students in the Slovak Language Department, unlike students in other departments, experiences of discrimination and feelings of economic insufficiency do not constitute boundary mechanisms between particular identities (Questions 32, 34). What, then, of feelings of cultural oppression?

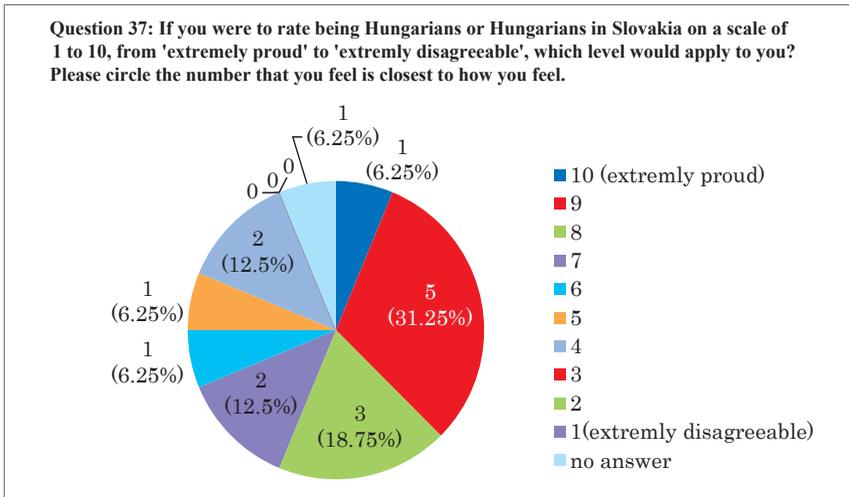


No fewer than ten students (62.5%) answered either “d” or “e”. Additionally, four students (25%) answered “b”. The identities of the two students who answered “e” were “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + citizen of the City Komárno + Christian” (S2-6) and “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-1).

The identities of the eight students who answered “d” were “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + Christian” (S1-1), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European” (S1-2), “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-2), “Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-3), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-4), “Hungarian” (S2-5), “citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-12), and “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + European” (S2-14). In other words, all the Type 4 students, who hold the identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + α ”, feel that there is “no sense of cultural oppression”.

Additionally, the identities of the four students who answered “b” are “citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-8), “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-9), and “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-11, S2-13). These students most closely approximate to Type 1, the exclusive identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia”. Next, I will investigate the presence or absence of national/ethnic pride.

(6) National/Ethnic pride



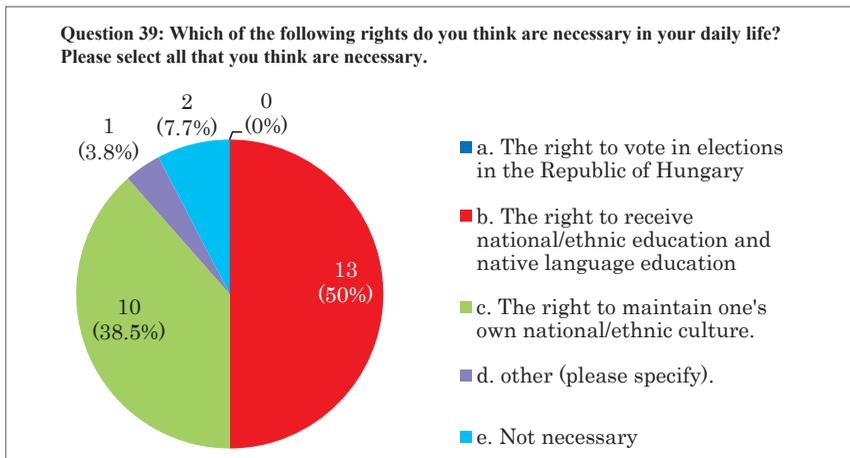
One person answered “10”, and this person held the identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-3). Five people answered “9”, and the breakdown of their identities is “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-2, S2-13), “Hungarian” (S2-5), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-7), and “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-9). Three people answered “8”, and the breakdown of their identities is “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + Christian” (S1-1), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + Christian” (S2-10), and “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-13). Two people answered “7”, and the breakdown of their identities is “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European” (S1-2) and “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-1). One person answered “6”, and this person identified as “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-4). In other words, most students in Type 1, Type 3, and Type 4 are proud of the fact that they are Hungarian or Hungarian in Slovakia.

On the other hand, one person answered “5”, and this person’s

identity was “citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-8). Two people answered “4”, and their identities were “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + citizen of the City Komárno + Christian” (S2-6) and “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + European” (S2-14). One person did not answer, and this person held the exclusive identity of “citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-13). Regarding the reason behind the lack of an answer, this person stated the following: “Because I do not think of myself as Hungarian.” In other words, the results indicate that most Type 2 students either do not take particular pride in being Hungarian or do not even think of themselves as Hungarian. It may be said that the boundary mechanism separating Type 2 from Type 1, Type 3, and Type 4 has been clarified.

2-4. Symbolic resources

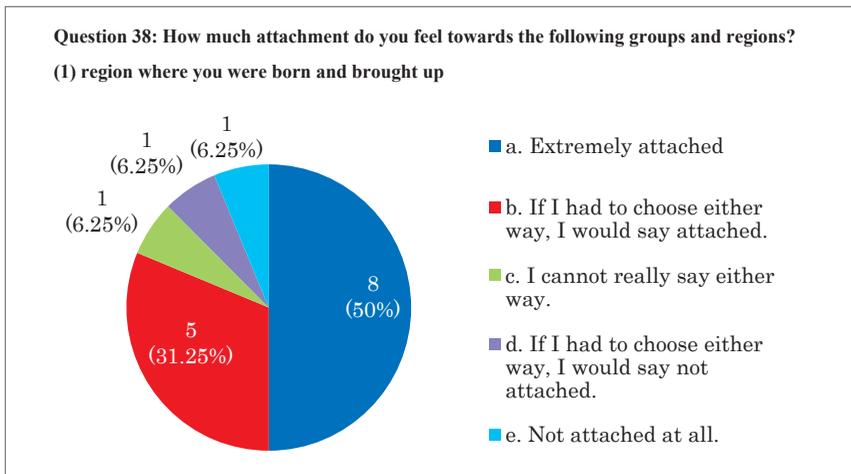
(1) Cultural rights



No students answered “a”, while 50% of students answered “b” and 38.5% of students answered “c”. These results resemble those from the Hungarian Language Department. In the Hungarian Language Department, 48.7% of people answered “b” and 37.8% of people answered “c”. In other words, as in the Hungarian Language

Department, cultural rights rather than political rights constitute the symbolic resources pertaining to national identity in the Slovak Language Department. Let us examine a detailed breakdown of the various types. Type 1 seeks rights pertaining to national/ethnic education and native language education (S2-13, S2-11, S2-2) as well as maintenance of national/ethnic culture (S2-2) while Type 2 also seeks rights pertaining to national/ethnic education and native language education (S2-8) as well as the maintenance of national/ethnic culture (S2-12). The majority of Type 3 also feel that rights pertaining to national/ethnic education and native language education (S2-10, S2-7, S2-4, S1-2) are necessary, along with maintenance of national/ethnic culture (S2-7, S2-4, S1-2), but some students feel that other rights are necessary (S2-6) or that nothing additional is needed (S2-6, S1-1). Type 4 seeks rights pertaining to national/ethnic education and native language education (S2-14, S2-9, S2-1) as well as maintenance of ethnic culture (S2-14, S2-9). In which geographical areas, then, are these cultural rights enacted? Let us proceed to examine Question 38.

(2) Geographical area

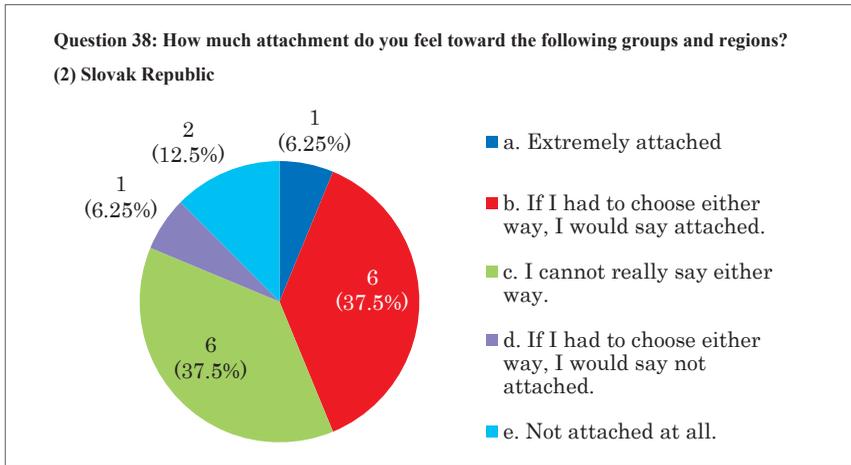


In the English Language Department, 25% of students (seven students) answered “a”, but this figure was 45.5% of students (ten students) in the Hungarian Language Department,⁹ and, in the Slovak Language Department, the figure was very similar: 50% of students (eight students). The breakdown of the students’ identities is as follows: “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S1-1), “Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-3), “Hungarian” (S2-5), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-7), “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of Slovak Republic” (S2-9), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak + European + Christian” (S2-10), and “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-11, S2-13).

The breakdown of the identities of the five students who answered “b” is as follows: “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European” (S1-2), “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-1), “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-2), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-4), and “citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-12).

In other words, the three students belonging to Type 1 and Type 4 have an attachment to their places of birth and upbringing. Five of the Type 3 students (83.3%) have an attachment to their places of birth and upbringing. These results indicate that Type 1, Type 3, and Type 4 students feel either some affection or strong affection for their hometowns. It is interesting that the identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia” exists in all of these types. We may conjecture that the identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia” essentially constitutes a regional identity, while the symbolic resources (geographical areas) underlying the identities of the three types comprise the student’s hometowns. Next, let us investigate the students’ degrees of attachment to the Slovak Republic.

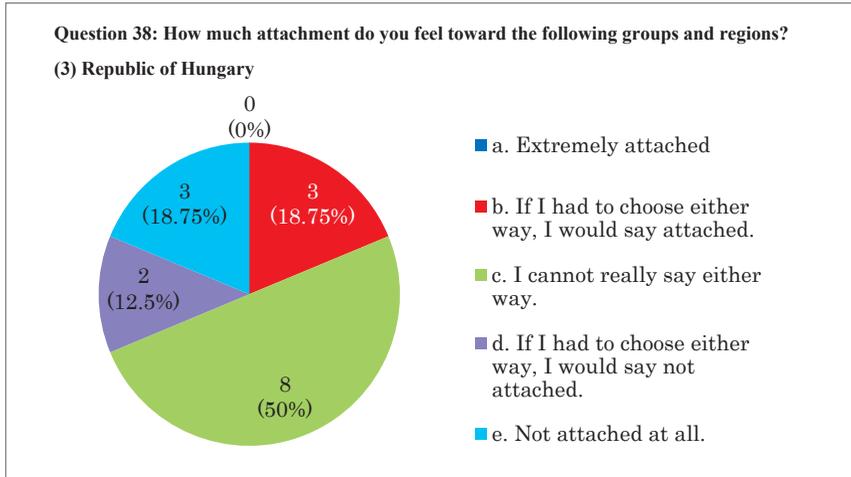
9 Nakazawa, 2014: 92.



More students answered “a” or “b” (seven students) than “d” or “e” (three students). This is a phenomenon unique to the Slovak Language Department and was not seen at all in other departments. The breakdown of the identities of the seven students who answered either “a” or “b” is “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S1-1), “Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-3), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-4), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + citizen of the City Komárno + Christian” (S2-6), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + European + Christian” (S2-10), “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-13), and “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + European” (S2-14). That is, four of the six Type 3 students feel an attachment to the Slovak Republic. Not even one student in Type 2 feels such an attachment. There were no particular tendencies in the other types.

The breakdown of the identities of the three students who answered either “d” or “e” is “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-1), “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-2), and “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-9), and none of these students belongs to Type 3. This provides evidence

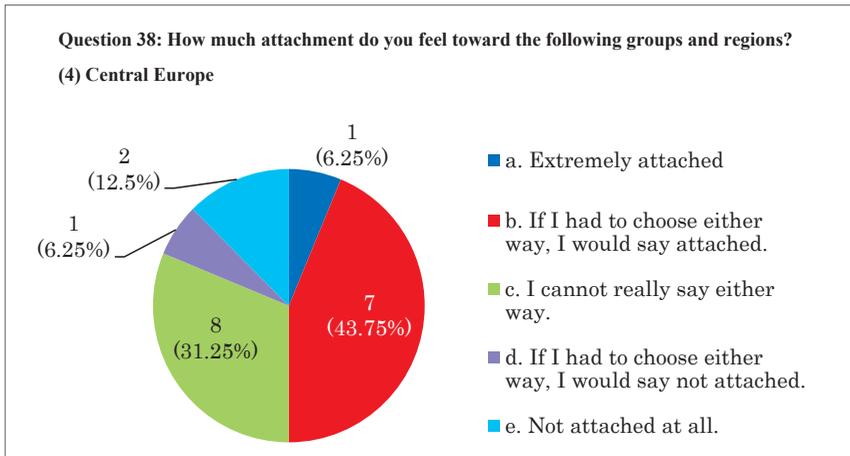
for the attachment to the Slovak Republic among Type 3 students. On the basis of the above results, it is clear that Type 3 students feel an attachment to their hometowns as well as the Slovak Republic, and that the geographical area constitutes the symbolic resources underlying Type 3. Next, let us examine the degree of attachment to the Republic of Hungary.



Half of the students answered “c” while three students (18.75%) answered “b” and five students (31.25%) answered either “d” or “e”. On the other hand, in the Hungarian Language Department, nine students (40.9%) answered either “a” or “b” while four students (18.1%) answered either “d” or “e”.¹⁰ These results indicate that, in the Slovak Language Department, compared to the Hungarian Language Department, an extremely low number of students feel an attachment to Hungary. The breakdown of the identities of the three students who answered “b” is “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European” (S1-2) and “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-11, S2-13). That is, as demonstrated by the attachment to the Republic of Hungary on the part of two of the three students, an attachment to Hungary is related

¹⁰ Nakazawa, 2014: 94-95.

to the exclusive identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia”, Type 1. Type 1 is made up of students who have close relationships with Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary (Question 23), and some of the students participate in youth organizations of national/ethnic Hungarian political parties (Question 25). Regarding the students who answered “c” (eight students), “d” (two students) and “e” (three students), there were no significant results indicating links with specific identities. On the basis of the above, we may conclude that the Republic of Hungary constitutes the symbolic resources (the geographical area) underlying Type 1. Next, let us examine the degree of attachment to Central Europe.

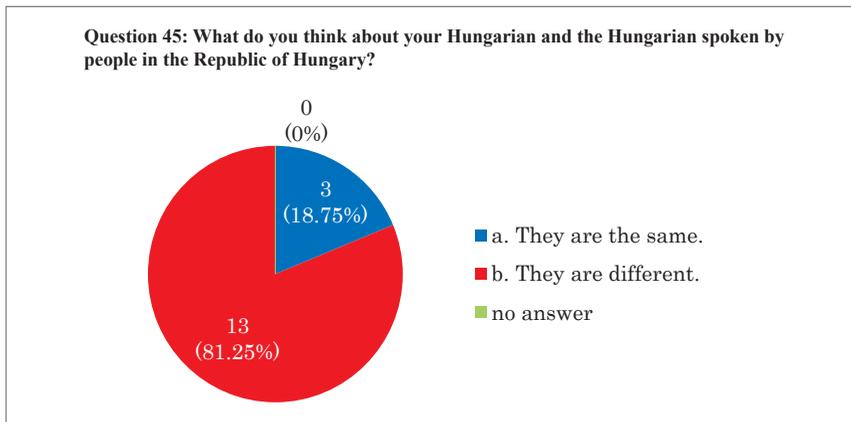


The identity of the one student who answered “a” is “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-13), and this student has a high degree of attachment to the Republic of Hungary. The breakdown of the identity of the seven students who answered “b” is “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European” (S1-2), “Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-3), “Hungarian” (S2-5), “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian” (S2-7), “citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-8, S2-12), and “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-11). In other words, all of the Type 1 and Type 2 students feel an attachment with Central Europe.

Additionally, the breakdown of the identities of the three students who answered “d” or “e” is “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-1), “Hungarian in Slovakia” (S2-2), and “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-9). In general, many Type 4 students identify themselves as “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + α”. Their identities are not linked with the broader entity of Central Europe. On the basis of the above, we may conclude that Central Europe constitutes the symbolic resources (geographical area) underlying Type 1 and Type 2.

(3) Hungarian language

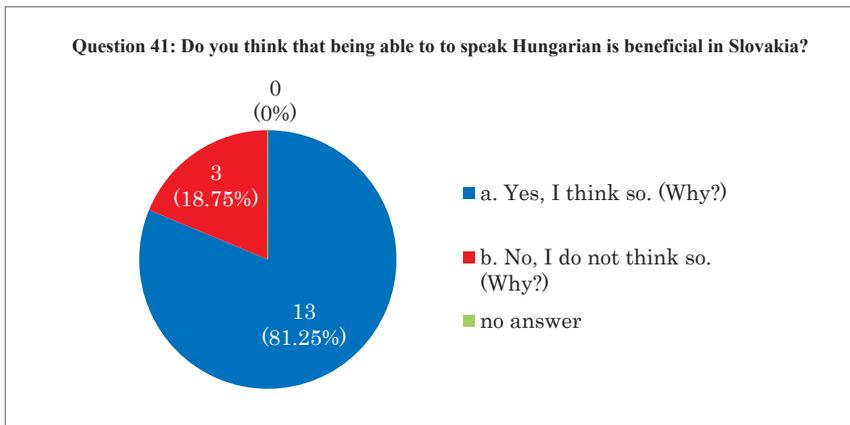
According to Question 47, students in the Slovak Language Department believe that the Hungarian language is an essential component of their cultural rights. Below, I will examine their attitudes towards the Hungarian language in more detail.



Three students (18.75%) in the Slovak Language Department answered “a”. The figure was 17.9% in the English Language Department and 27.3% in the Hungarian Language Department.¹¹ Additionally, thirteen students (81.25%) in the Slovak Language Department answered “b”. The figure was 82.1% in the English

¹¹ Nakazawa, 2014: 97.

Language Department and 63.6% in the Hungarian Language Department.¹² At any rate, it is clear that there is a strong tendency for students in the Slovak Language Department to consider the Hungarian spoken in Southern Slovakia as a dialect. The breakdown of the identities of the three students who answered “a” is “citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-12), “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-1), and “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic” (S2-9). In other words, it is clear that it is only Type 4 students who do not recognise their Hungarian as being a dialect.



In comparison to students in other departments, students in the Slovak Language Department believe overwhelmingly that it is beneficial to be able to speak Hungarian. This is significantly different from other departments. There was no particular trend in the identities of the three students who did not believe that it was beneficial to be able to speak Hungarian. This is clearly different from the results obtained in the Hungarian Language Department and the English Language Department, where the number of students who believe that it is beneficial to be able to speak Hungarian and the number of those who do not are roughly even.

12 Ibid.

Conclusion

The below graph presents significant trends in the national identities of students in the Slovak Language Department.

	Daily language	Slovak Relatives	Contact with Slovaks	Contact with Hungarians in Hungary	Political activity Political inconvenience	Cultural oppression	National pride	Hungarian	Symbolic resources: area
Type1 3 students	Hungarian	No	little	much	Yes	Yes	Yes	dialect	hometown Hungary and Central Europe
Type2 2 students	Hungarian and Slovak	Yes	much	nothing	No	little	No	dialect	Central Europe
Type3 6 students	Hungarian	No	little	little	No	little	Yes	dialect	hometown and Slovakia
Type4 3 students	Hungarian and Slovak	No	much	nothing	No	No	Yes	standard	hometown

The unique characteristics of the identities of the students in the Slovak Language Department are that there are more categories and that the identities are more nuanced and complex than those of students in the English Language Department or the Hungarian Language Department. These identities are mainly comprised of the following four types.

First, the special characteristics of Type1, the exclusive identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia”, are: (1) use of Hungarian as an everyday language, (2) absence of Slovak family members, (3) lack of interaction with Slovak neighbours (it is their Slovak neighbours who use Hungarian to communicate with the students), (4) deep connections with Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary, (5) feelings of cultural oppression, (6) presence of many individuals who take part in political activities (belong to youth organizations of political parties), (7) strong ethnic pride, and (8) awareness of their own Hungarian as a dialect. Among these, (4), (5) and (6) constitute the boundary mechanism between Type 1 and the other identities. The symbolic resources (geographical areas) that underlie Type 1 are

hometown, the Republic of Hungary, and Central Europe, to which Slovakia does not apply.

The unique characteristics of Type 2, the exclusive identity of “citizen of the Slovak Republic”, are (1) first and most prominently, the use of two everyday languages, Hungarian and Slovak. The other unique characteristics are: (2) the presence of Slovak relatives, (3) a very high degree of interaction with neighbouring Slovaks (the students communicate with neighbouring Slovaks in Slovak), (4) a complete lack of interaction with Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary, (5) a relative lack of a sense of cultural oppression, (6) lack of participation in political activities, (7) a weak sense of national/ethnic pride, and (8) awareness on the part of the students of their own Hungarian as a dialect. Among these, (2) and (7) constitute the boundary mechanism between Type 2 and the other identities. Another unique characteristic is that Central Europe alone constitutes the symbolic resources (geographical area) underlying Type 2.

The unique characteristics of the composite identity of “Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ”, Type 3, are: (1) use of Hungarian as the everyday language, (2) absence of Slovak family members, (3) a low degree of interaction with neighbouring Slovaks (it is their Slovak neighbours who use Hungarian to communicate with the students), (4) relative lack of interaction with Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary, (5) relative lack of a sense of cultural oppression, (6) lack of participation in political activities, (7) strong national/ethnic pride, and (8) awareness on the part of the students of their own Hungarian as a dialect. Among these characteristics, (4) is the factor that acts as the boundary mechanism between Type 3 and all other identities. Hometown and the Slovak Republic are the symbolic resources (geographical areas) underlying Type 3, and the Republic of Hungary and Central Europe do not play any such defining role.

The unique characteristics of Type 4, the composite identity of “Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of the Slovak Republic + α ”, are: (1) use of Hungarian and Slovak as everyday languages, (2) lack of Slovak family members, (3) extensive interaction with Slovak

neighbours (the students communicate with Slovak neighbours in Slovak), (4) a complete lack of interaction with Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary, (5) lack of a sense of cultural oppression, (6) lack of participation in political activities. However, these students also have: (7) a strong sense of national/ethnic pride, and (8) perceive their Hungarian as being largely the same as the standard Hungarian language in the Republic of Hungary. Of these factors, (8) is the boundary mechanism between Type 4 and the other identities. Hometown alone constitutes the symbolic resources (geographical area) underlying Type 4. Slovak, Hungary, and Central Europe do not play any such defining role.

Why do the identities of the students in the Slovak Language Department have such complex characteristics? For one, as already seen in their choice to enrol in the Slovak Language Department itself, these students are the ones among Hungarian minorities who have particularly deep ties with Slovaks and the Slovak language. Many of them live in a special environment where they either have Slovak family members, live in mixed ethnic regions along the national border, or use Slovak to communicate with their Slovak neighbours. This environment enriches the communication of the students in the Slovak Language Department and may give rise to a unique identity. A correlation was partially seen between the living environment and communication among students in the English Language Department as well as the Hungarian Language Department. However, to state this as a conclusion, it will be necessary to conduct continuing research for several years and to proceed with a comprehensive investigation base on a larger number of samples.

Thus, in this liminal area, people's perceptions of their own particular national identities seem to be primarily shaped by the environmental factor of their individual everyday lives, especially their 'daily contact with neighbours' and other such types of 'communication', in addition to through their political, economic, or cultural 'experiences'. A third determining factor is 'symbolic resources'. These are the results yielded by this survey of students in

the Slovak Language Department in the Faculty of Education at Selye János University. By and large, these results seem to correlate with, and thus confirm, the results of the previous surveys of students in the same university's English Language Department and Hungarian Language Department. The survey results from all three departments indicate that students' perceptions of their national identities are not fixed, but rather may be changeable, depending on the variables of the environmental circumstances of an individual's particular everyday life and on that person's particular individual experience. This complex and changing situation requires further sustained research over the course of future years.

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