

BRATISLAVA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

**INTEGRATION OF MINORITIES IN SLOVAKIA
AS A STRUCTURAL ISSUE**

BACHELOR THESIS

Bratislava , 2010

Petra Hayek

BRATISLAVA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

**INTEGRATION OF MINORITIES IN SLOVAKIA
AS A STRUCTURAL ISSUE**

BACHELOR THESIS

Academic major : **3.1.6 Politology**
Bachelor academic program: **Liberal studies**
Counselor of bachelor thesis : **PhDr. Michal Vašečka, PhD.**
Degree: **Bachelor ("Bc.")**
Date of submission: **05.5.2010**
Date of defense: **15.6. 2010**

Bratislava, 2010

Petra Hayek

Declaration of originality

I declare that this Bachelor thesis has been completed by me independently without outside help and only the defined sources and study aids were used.

Bratislava, 05. 05. 2010

.....

Petra Hayek

Čestné prehlásenie

Čestne prehlasujem, že predloženú bakalársku prácu som vypracovala samostatne s využitím uvedenej literatúry a informačných zdrojov.

V Bratislave , 05. 05. 2010

.....

Petra Hayek

Acknowledgement

My acknowledgement belongs to my counselor PhDr. Michal Vašečka Phd, for expert and methodic help in conception of this bachelor thesis, his comments and suggestions, which were worth asset for me.

Pod'akovanie

Moja vďaka patrí môjmu školiteľovi, PhDr. Michalovi Vašečkovi Phd., za odbornú a metodickú pomoc pri koncipovaní tejto bakalárskej práce, jeho rady a pripomienky, ktoré boli pre mňa cenným prínosom.

ABSTRACT

INTEGRATION OF MINORITIES IN SLOVAKIA AS A STRUCTURAL ISSUE

HAYEK, Petra [Bachelor thesis] – Liberal studies; Academic major 3.1.6 Politology.
Counselor of bachelor thesis: PhDr. Michal Vašečka, PhD. Bratislava, 2010
Proportion : 36 pages (9840 words)

The thesis focuses on the developmental concept and ideas of the integration of immigrants into the social structure of a host society. It will assess how the understanding of the theoretical definition and concepts are reflected into individual dimensions of integration policies and into the issue of granting citizenship (and its components) to migrants from third countries. Its main objective is to determine whether the integration of ethnic minorities within a host society is possible and if it is perceived as desirable.

To address this issue in the thesis, the concept of integration is described by reconstructing the meaning and objectives of integration using the example of the Slovak republic. The thesis will discuss how the public sphere is being ethnicized in Slovakia, a non-inclusive country. The question of whether the integration process in Slovakia is possible and potentially successful will be answered by making a comparison between the "core" and "out" groups in Slovakia and the USA using model of Jeffrey Alexander which will be demonstrated by graphical representation.

The final section addresses the issue of the integration potential of Slovakia and possibilities for its modification and whether the Slovak society is prepared for growing diversity and opens to all its faces, including the most significant aspect – integration penetration of minorities into the major host society.

Keywords : Integration, Migration, Minorities, Cultural Diversity, “Core and Out” groups, Civic Nation, Ethnic Nation, Nationalism, Citizenship, Ius Soli, Ius Sanguini

ABSTRAKT

INTEGRÁCIA MENŠÍN NA SLOVENSKU AKO ŠTRUKTURÁLNY PROBLÉM

HAYEK, Petra: [Bakalárska práca]– Liberálne štúdia; Štúdijný odbor 3.1.6 Politológia.
Školiteľ bakalárskej práce: PhDr. Michal Vašečka, PhD. Bratislava 2010
Rozsah práce: 36 strán (9840 slov)

Práca sa zameriava na vývojové koncepcie a myšlienky integrácie prisťahovalcov do sociálnej štruktúry hostiteľskej spoločnosti. Hodnotí, ako sa porozumenie teoretickej definície a predstáv pretvára do jednotlivých dimenzií integračných politík a do problematiky priznávania občianstva (a jeho zložiek) prisťahovalcom z rozvojových krajín sveta.

Hlavným cieľom práce je zistiť, či je integrácia etnických menšín do hostiteľskej spoločnosti, možná a vnímaná ako žiaduca. Na zodpovedanie tejto otázky je v práci opísaný pojem integrácie na príklade Slovenskej republiky pomocou dekonštrukcie významu a cieľov integrácie. Práca analyzuje ako je verejná sféra na Slovensku etnizovaná v krajine neinkluzívnosti. Pre zodpovedanie otázky, nakoľko je proces integrácie na Slovensku možný a potenciálne úspešný je v práci porovnávaná priepustnosť medzi „core“ a „out“ skupinami na Slovensku a v USA na základe modelu Jeffrey Alexandra.

Záver práce je venovaný integračnému potenciálu Slovenskej republiky a možnosti jeho modifikácie. Práca sa taktiež zamýšľa myšlienkou slovenskej spoločnosti, či je pripravená na nárast diverzity a či je otvorená všetkým jej formám, vrátane najvýznamnejšieho aspektu – integračnej priepustnosti menšín do väčšinovej hostujúcej spoločnosti.

Kľúčové slová: Integrácia, Minority, Migrácia, Kultúrna diverzita, “Core” a “Out” skupiny, Občiansky národ, Etnický národ, Nacionalizmus, Občianstvo, Ius Soli, Ius Sanguni

PREFACE

There has been a significant increase in the number of migrants across Europe during the decades after World War II. Migration has become one of the most important social issues affecting modern European society as well as an important part of European history. History shows that no crisis could stop migration from occurring.

Migration, to some extent, is a natural process; it has become an inevitable part of every nation in the world connected by continually globalizing links. However, migration has never been given as much attention as it has with the emergence of modern states.

Along with determination of borders of nation states, which clearly defines the territory where citizens live, the sharp division of “we” (citizens of the state), and “they” (citizens of other countries), emerges simultaneously. Movement in modern society is becoming increasingly important status-creating factor, which connects on one hand and divides on the other (Bauman, 2004, p.n.). The same inclusive bond has the effect of excluding those who are different and engendering hostility toward “outsiders”. In the host society, the problem of categorization occurs among the “core” and “out” groups. The outside members of society, forming minorities who are forward taken the option of integration, are then struggling in the process of integration into the host society. The problem does not stagnate on the assigned theories, but on the initial understanding of nation’s primordial social structure.

The author considered looking at the issue from another perspective, in terms of understanding the main essence of society functioning, realizing the causality and respectively to dig deeper to make aware the indicators of malfunctioning of the integration process. This is done by analyzing structural causes that have origins in the way of the creation of modern nation.

The main objective of the thesis is to determine whether the integration of ethnic minorities within a host society is possible and if it is perceived as desirable. To address this issue in the thesis, the concept of integration is described by reconstructing meaning and objectives. The thesis discusses how the public sphere is being ethnicized in Slovakia, the author’s country of origin, Slovak republic.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration of originality.....	iii
Acknowledgement	iv
Pod'akovanie	iv
ABSTRACT	5
ABSTRAKT	6
INTRODUCTION.....	9
CHAPTER 1	11
OPERATIONALIZATION OF TERMS	11
1.1 Minorities	11
1.2 Integration –concept and notion	13
CHAPTER 2	15
THE IMPACT OF ETHNIZATION OF PUBLIC SPHERE.....	15
2.1 Principles of nationalism	15
2.1.1 The notion of a nation	17
2.1.2 National identities.....	19
2.1.2.1 <i>Civic Nation</i>	20
2.1.2.2 <i>Ethnic Nation</i>	21
2.2 Cultural diversity and social cohesion.....	22
2.3 Determination of cultural –successful integration	24
CHAPTER 3	25
SOCIAL STRUCTURE – “core” and “out” groups	25
3.1 Core and out group in USA	26
3.2 Core and out group in Slovakia.....	27
CHAPTER 4	29
STRUCTURAL CAUSES OF NON-INCLUSIVENESS	29
4.2 Slovak nation structure	29
4.3 Perceptions of the majority society in Slovakia	31
CHAPTER 5	33
POTENTIAL OPTIMALIZATION PROCESSES	33
5.1 Educational system towards the tolerance in multicultural society	33
5.2 Media approach.....	36
6. CONCLUSION.....	38
7. RESUMÉ	41
8. REFERENCES	44

INTRODUCTION

J.K. Bade (2000, p.n.) perceives migrant history being a part of general history, where “*Homo migrans*” have existed as long as “*Homo sapiens*”, imputes that this can be only understood on the history migration background. In today's world of late modernity, migration, characterized by complexity and diversity is therefore fundamentally changing its character globally. Diversity plays a significant role over the ethnicity background that we as human beings, were born into. Ethnicity has long been a key and -in the case of class- hotly disputed conceptual tool for the understanding of societies. Non-strikingly Europe day to day becomes more cultural and colorful. Borders are dismantling, not only those which separate states from one another, but also those of cultural character.

Hand in hand with expanding volume of migration, the nature of many migratory phenomenon and processes are changing, not only the migratory paths and routes being modified, but the heterogeneity and the complexity of migratory flows are increasing (Divinský, 2009, p.13). The cultural diversity and the society concomitantly lose their exclusivity: the social cohesion. Cultures naturally happen to blend together, which is considered to be the primary aspect of multiculturalism. While multiculturalism, in connection with the influx of workers from non-European regions has been dealt with in Europe since the 60's (Barša, 2003, p.12), eastern post-communist countries lived in notable ethnic and racial homogeneity including Slovakia and its surrounding neighbor states. As one of many, Slovakia being a mono-cultural country for a long time, becomes also a destination of residence for foreign immigrants of different nationalities, ethnicities, races, religions, and people coming from different backgrounds, life styles or recognized values.

Since 1989, after the Velvet revolution, migration to and across Slovakia has become more intense, not only after the collapse of communist regime but also because of Slovakia's geographical position. By the accession to the European Union in 2004, participation in the Schengen agreement the concern over Slovakia as the target country for ethnic minority migrants has increased.

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

The improvement of living conditions in the country and economic growth are also among the reasons for the growing immigration to Slovakia, along which, the cultural diversity is widely discussed (Kriglerová, 2009, 14), not only by sociologists and politic representatives, but lately more and more by its holders. These are the people who bilaterally create the society, its “core” group and the “out” group. Therefore, naturally emerging minorities are finding ways how to integrate into the core of host society. The inefficiency of integration and migration policies causing social exclusion does not rest only on political process. The political process derives from the background of historically created national identities. Different ways of creation and different introspection of different nations are predicted to favor one or the other principle in the approach towards migrants and immigrants – hence towards the *inclusion*, or in contrary towards the *exclusion* (Barša, 2005, p.30).

The aim of the thesis is to allocate how the cultural diversity is reflected in the host society. Its main objective is to determine whether the integration of ethnic minorities within a host society is possible and if it is perceived as desirable. To address this issue in the thesis the concept of integration is described by reconstructing meaning and objectives of integration using the example of author’s country of origin, Slovak republic. The thesis focuses on the developmental concept and ideas of the integration of immigrants into the social structure of a host society. It assesses how the understanding of the theoretical definition and concepts are reflected into individual dimensions of integration policies and into the issue of granting citizenship (and its components) to migrants from third countries.

The thesis discusses how the public sphere is being ethnicized in Slovakia. The question whether the integration process in Slovakia is possible and potentially successful will be answered by making a comparison between “core” and “out” groups in Slovakia and the USA, using the model of Jeffrey Alexander, which is demonstrated by graphical representation.

Ambition of the thesis is not to cover the whole spectrum of issues linked to the migration but to focus on aspect of cultural integration, whether the Slovak society is prepared for growing diversity and open to all its faces, including the most significant aspect – integration penetration of minorities into the major host society.

CHAPTER 1

OPERATIONALIZATION OF TERMS

1.1 Minorities

Kymlička (2001) is considered to be the only theorist of multiculturalism, which in his theory comes to the classification of minorities. He distinguishes between national minorities – *autochthonic* ones, which could be compared to traditional minorities, and ethnic minorities – the new incoming immigrants (Kymlička, c.f. Norman, 2000, p.19)

Minority is defined according to Norman (2000, p.19) as a group of people visibly disadvantaged compared to the mainstream host society. In a narrow sense, it is a group of people that differs from host society by certain physical, cultural, economic characteristics or patterns. In addition, beside distinction from the majority, the minority is defined also by the sense of belonging and solidarity or the feel of minority being treated unfairly by the majority. Members of the minority see themselves as part of a group that is different from the majority community and they separate themselves (e.g.: politically, culturally or geographically), having strong sense of belonging and solidarity towards its members. Minorities being self-aware of the difference from other minorities or the majority community try to find a way to adapt to the majority in order to have a positive relationship with the majority community and to integrate successfully.

As far as the notion “adaptation” is concerned, the process of minority’s adaptation is not simple. It is mutually conditioned by interactions for the functioning of the minority, by their method of answering to the demonstration of existence and activity of the minority. Adaptation in the sense of integration, i.e. “*preservation of ones own identity as well as positive relationship with the majority community*” seem to be the most acceptable way of coexistence, according to Malá (1998, pg. 3).

Migrants coming from diverse cultures draw claims of strategies, ways of integrating into host society. These strategies are concerned with to what extent these people feel the need to maintain and cherish their culture, but also how much is the society, which they are coming to, open to them. As well as to what extent the host society allows them to express their cultural otherness (Kriglerová, 2009, p.17).

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

Coherently, individual countries set integration policies and in response to variations in structural conditions, ethnic “out” groups, minorities, develop different incorporative strategies, such as assimilation, ethnically conscious inclusion as well as different stratification principles to justify their demands (Morada, 2006, p.n.).

Many new definitions of incorporative strategies have appeared that are inevitable to mention as a significant determination of the terminology:

- 1) **Assmilation** – Is such a method of adaptation when minority community feels very strongly about having good relations with the majority but it does not regard preservation of traditional culture importance (Berry, 1996, p. 211-212).

Assimilation is a incorporative process that achieves transformation, the process whereby a minority group gradually adapts to the customs and attitudes of the prevailing dominant culture. An assimilation *„takes place when out-group members are allowed to enter fully into civil life on the condition that they shed their polluted primordial identities“* (Alexander, 1988, p. 243) In an assmilation, what is perceived on the „outside“ is incorporated into the internal world, without changing its structure .

- 2) **Acculturation** – According to Redfield, Linton & Herskovitz (1936, p. 149) *„Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups.“*

Acculturation has usually been also called **Inculturation**, which refers to the learning, accepting, and ultimately internalizing of some or all the patterns of behaviour of another, structurally larger group or society (Morada, 2006, p.n.).

- 3) **Integration** - The term social integration according to Horáková (1997, p. 4) could be defined as *„continual process unificating elements of social structure and processess, which take place in the structure, into the balanced higher entity reaching for acchievment of cohesion, consensus, stability, replication and opportunities of further growth, thereby to preserve the vitality of particular social system“*. Integration is a unceasing continual process, which involves participation of concerned sides – both, the immigrant and also the host society.

1.2 Integration –concept and notion

„Integration is a chaotic concept: a word used by many but understood differently by most“ (Robinson, 1998)

„There is no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant integration. The concept continues to be controversial and hotly debated“ (Castles, 2001).

Taking into consideration the theoretical ambiguity of the concept integration, Joppke and Morawska (2003, p.3) allege that integration is, rather than analytical concept, a taken over practical category from world politics. The concept of integration and its affined notions like social cohesion, coherence, inclusion or exclusion refers to efforts dealing with differences and social inequalities. (Modráková, 2009, p.2)

Regarding to the definition of these concepts, the general consensus could not be found. Some authors prefer the term integration, elsewhere the term is denied by others and other more neutral expressions are preferred, such as “insertion”, “incorporation” or “coexistence”. The content and the meaning of the terms related to integration can vary according to specific period, place or country, as well as according to political and historical factors. These concepts, beside micro-social dimension¹ have also their meso-/macro- social dimension. It is related to a social cohesion as a whole and to its ability and mechanisms to deal with factors of difference and inequality, which are perceived as strange factors to “coherent whole” (Modráková, 2009, p. 4).

It is necessary to mention that even though the notions “coherence” and “cohesion” are oftentimes considered to be synonyms, Šafr and Sedláčková (2006) propose their resolution. The notion *coherence* relates to the socio-scientific discourse, which relates to the “status”- society (as a goal). In contrast, the notion *cohesion* is used in practical socio-political discourse and it is marked as a process and behavior of leading social coherence (Šafr, Sedláčková, 2006, p.n.).

¹ integration of particular subject or its groups into social structure

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

The use of the concept integration (general concepts of cohesion) could be classified by several approaches. From functionalistic angle, there are concepts of integration and immigrant cohesion understood in the context of social system and structure, in which the immigrants are carriers of particular functions. It is about a process leading towards mutual adaptation of units and subsystems for preserving their functions for the whole and for the stability of institutionalized culture (Mareš, 2006, p.14).

Political point of view on the concept of integration is related to the sensitivity of the topic of the immigrant presence in the host society from the side of the citizen, who tend to approach it with many various attitudes and experiences (Modráková, 2009, p. 5).

The integration of foreigners thus may be generally described as a process which includes the approximation of the national population and foreigners residing in the particular country into one, common society (Mareš, 2006, p.14).

This is not only on the theoretical level defined by integration policies but also meeting their effective practical implementation.

According to J. Berry (1996, p. 211-212) integration means that a minority regards the preservation of traditional culture and good relations with the majority nation as important and valuable. The notion of “preservation of traditional culture” is understood according to J. Berry (1996, p. 214) *as preservation of the language, traditions, folklore, ethnic peculiarities*“ to which the realization of minority also binds itself, that it is different from majority and of their own identity (Malá, 1998, pg.3).

Integration is thus a two-way process that involves adaptation of foreigners on one side and the effective implementation of integration policies on practical level, the creation of conditions and opportunities for the integration of foreigners on the other side.

CHAPTER 2

THE IMPACT OF ETHNIZATION OF PUBLIC SPHERE

Ethnicity and Nationalism, modern phenomenas are not „givens“, they are social and political constructions that are „inseparably connected“. Ethnicity and nationalism and interethnic conflicts have been the major forces shaping the nations of modern world and the structure and stability of contemporary state societies.

„*Liberté, égalité, fraternité*“, a tripartite motto, finds its origins in eighteenth century hand in hand with roots of nationalism that are in the thoughts of the French Revolution. The development of modern industrial states and nationalist movements in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are closely related to the development and to the conceptualization of a nation.

2.1 Principles of nationalism

Nationalism, as an ideology threatens interhuman relations and builds on the superiority of one group over another. Jaromír Janata associates nationalism, mainly with low tolerance with differences (1999, p.108). Nationalism believes in superiority of its own nation, it is basically a kind of religion and it is not suprising that it is connected to the low tolerance of duality.

Anxiety over the unknown is completely normal as people need to feel secure and be sure about everything. They distrust and are not to in favor of anything that could disturb their security. The kind of threat they feel can consequently intergrow into xenophoby. According to Hartl, xenophoby „*a morbid fear from strangers and unknown people and places*“ is not only an enormous enemy of migrants, but also of all the enemies, hence people of various differences who differ from the majority (Hartl, 194, p. 238). Xenophoby, fundamentaly makes the integration process for minorities harder.

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

Tatjana Šišková (1998, p.9) finds the problem in the lack of objective information and generalized negative news about everything that it is not considered as „theirs“. What is essentially and practically threatening people, what is in effect a source of stereotypes, growing xenophobia and racism. Prejudices, so called hetero-stereotypes defined by Geist (1992,p.102) „*prejudices and opinions based on simplified judgements owned by individuals and groups who feel this way towards other individuals and groups*“ stand beyond the xenophobia for the most part.

The active component of nationalism, *the nation building-development*, is meant to capture the sense in which deliberate nation shaping activities are a form of social engineering (Norman, 2006, p.87) and can be seen as a process of encountering and producing new solidarity outgroups (Lipset 1967,p.n,c.f. Rokkan 1975,p.n.) which brings the problem of inclusion „*as the process by which previously excluded groups gain solidarity in the „terminal“ community of a society.*“ (Morada, 2006, p.n. c.f. Parsons 1967,p.n.) In respect to differences in national process of ethnic inclusion Morada proposed a multidimensional model : (2006, p.n.)

>*On the internal axis*, inclusion varies according to the degree of primordial complementarity between core group and solidary outgroup.

>*On the external axis*, inclusion varies according to the degree of institutional differentiation in the host society.

Inclusion of an ethnic outgroup depends on two factors :

- 1) **The external** (environmental) factor , which refers to the structure of society that surrounds the core group
- 2) **The internal** (volitional) factor, which refers to the relationship between the primordial qualities of „core“ group and „out“ group.

The more differentiated these systems are, the more inclusion becomes a legitimate possibility. In contrast to external reference, the internal factor is more volitional, to the degree that primordial complementarity exists between „core“ group and „out“ group where members of the core group will tend to regard inclusion as a desirable possibility. Ultimately, both internal and external factors can be measured by concomitant behaviour (Morada, 2006, p.n.).

2.1.1 The notion of a nation

Nation is pretty close tied up to the concept of nationalism . Nation can not exist unless there are individuals - Nationalians „N'ians” who identify with the nation and have an national identity (Norman, 2006,p.88).

Both nations and national identities exist because of the beliefs, convictions, sentiments, and attitudes of individual people, who can not have national identity unless nation qualifies as a nation (Norman, 2006, p. 88). There is no clear and universally accepted definition of the nation.

Correspondingly, the definition of “national minorities” has a similar fate; concurrent definitions and perceptions circulate in the political and academic arenas without any consensus or compromise from the actors involved (Tibor Tóro, 2007, p.1).

Nations are founded by groups whose members share certain qualitatively distinct characteristics, traits around which they structure their solidarity. The concept of social solidarity refers to the subjective feelings of integration that individuals experience for members of their social groups.

Radim Morada (2006, p.79,80) alleges that it occurs through „ *particular concrete mechanisms that create wider solidarity, through more efficient transportation and communication, increased geographical and cultural mobility, urbanization, secular education, mass and elite occupational mobility and intermarriage*“.

The term *national citizenship* of course presupposes the notion of “nation” or “nation-state”. While nation-state clearly refers to such common elements *as* territory, people, and organized sovereign state structure, „ *it is often given further content in terms of people sharing a common culture, sometimes even ethnicity*“ (Gerhard Casper, 2008, p.1).

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

From the historical experience of nation construction comes the right to obtain citizenship, which is based on three principles, modes for acquiring a country's nationality: (Gerhard Casper, 2008, p.1)

(1) citizenship by descent, i.e., the biological mode (*ius sanguinis*);

(2) birth on a state's territory, i.e., the territorial mode (*ius soli*); and

(3) citizenship based on domicile of origin (*ius domicili*) naturalization, i.e., the transformative mode

- **Ius Sanguinis** – (Latin: “**right of blood**”) is a social policy by which nationality or citizenship is not determined by place of birth, but by having an *ancestor* who is a nationalist or citizen of the state (example of Slovakia, Germany, Spain or Greece).
- **Ius Soli** – (Latin: for "**right of soil**") birthright citizenship, is a right by which nationality or citizenship can be granted to any individual born within the *territory* of the related state (example of the United States, United Kingdom).
- **Ius Domicili** – (Latin: for „**naturalization**“), according to which individuals can obtain the right to be granted the citizenship based on *domicile*, within the country's territory. There is certainly an important relation between immigration and naturalization rules and ordinary people's conception of when foreigner can come to be regarded as “one of us”.

While members of non-core groups may be extended full legal rights and may even achieve high levels of actual institutional participation, their full membership in the solidarity of the national community may never be complete (Lipset 1967, p.n., Rokkan 1975 p.n.).

2.1.2 National identities

Certainly a migration and immigration policy does not depend only on the behaviour and political processes that have an impact on immigrants. The political process always derives from historical background that forms a national identity.

Different ways of creation and distinct introspection of various nations designate them to favour one or the other principle in the approach to migrants and immigrants – hence to inclusion, or conversely to exclusion (Barša, 2005, p.30).

The typology of nation identities is inevitably important to explain, in order to understand why nations were polarized in the second half of the 20th century (Barša, 2005, p. 30 – 31). The typology consists in two contradictions:

> The first is the contradiction between *nation of immigrants* and „*Old nations*“, thus between a *exogenic* and *endogenic* nation.

> The second is the contradiction between a civic nation and ethnic nation.

The first contradiction reflects the difference between countries of Old and New world. Nationality is a result of free choice in exogenic nations of New world, where in endogenic nations of the Old world is the nationality perceived as vital legacy of the past. The second contradiction places against the ethnic and civic nations (Barša, 2005, p.31).

While the first contradictions refers to the way of a nation creation, the second one proposes the criteria of nationality. Putting together these two contradictions, four ideal types of national identity of liberal-democratic states appear.

For some, the criteria for obtaining citizenship may be the blood affinity of an ethnic group. Correspondingly, there is the division of ethnic and civic nations (Smith 1991, p.8-15 ; c.f. Barša 1999, p. 31-33).

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

Empirically, the nation types of countries such as USA, Canada, Australia, Great Britain, France, West Germany and Israel were used as models in the Diagram 1.

Diagram 1: Four models of national identity

	<u>„Nation of immigrants“</u>	<u>„Old Nations“</u>
CIVIC NATION	USA , Canada, Australia 	France, Great Britain 
ETHNIC NATION	Israel 	Germany (Slovakia) 

Ethnic „Old Nations“ (case of Slovakia) referring to nation of ethnic ancestry absolutely represents a contradiction towards the civic nation of immigrants (case of the USA).

2.1.2.1 Civic Nation

Civic nation of immigrants : the USA

In the USA, the nation building fell within immigration and colonization of the land into one. The immigrant nation is created from people, who originally belonged to different nations. The focus of its identity lies in the presence, not the past.

Therefore, this kind of nation is more open to its immigrants and their contribution to common identity. That is the main reason the integration policies of USA, in a long-term, were getting closer to the inclusivity in the second half of the 20th century (Barša, 2005, p. 32).

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

Permanent immigrants were continually supported and encouraged, because they were considered as future citizens of the USA. Once the racial and ethnic prejudices were overcome in the last quarter of the 20th century, the USA has gradually seen itself as a nation of a multicultural, multiethnic or multiracial character, which has become the dominant interpretation of their national identity (Kymlicka, 1997, p.n., c.f. Glazer, 1994; Takaki, 1993).

When talking about nation and nationalism, the conception of so-called *civic national identity* follows. Civic nationalists tend to characterize this national identity in two ways:

- a) in terms of membership in a political community like a state or a substate political unit (where citizens happen to live in a nation, regardless of ethnicity, religion or mother tongue)
- b) in terms of accepting certain basic values, typically including the fundamental constitutional rights and duties of the state (so the nationalists are those who believe in liberty, democracy or multiculturalism) (Norman, 2006, p.97).

2.1.2.2 *Ethnic Nation*

Ethnic nation of pilgrims : Germany (Slovakia)

In Germany, since 1913, the national citizenship could be obtained by one only exclusively based on the model - *ius sanguinis* (the blood ancestry). This feature of the German representation was also strengthened by the fact the German federal republic after the World War II played a political defence role and it was seen as a representative of German natives from the east part of Germany and from other Western European countries (Barša, 2005, p.33). Western Germany has always been a nation which only consisted of ethnic Germans, regardless their place of residence.

Therefore the enormous exclusivity and particularistic approach has emerged towards immigrants (Barša, 2005, p.: 33).

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

As ethnic Germans had the automatic right to obtain citizenship regardless their place of residence, immigrants of different ethnic backgrounds did not have the same right even though they could legally reside in the country, or even they were born there (Barša, 2005, p.33, c.f. Brubaker, 1992 ; Dumont 1983, 1985 ; Joppke 1999).

This factor emerges throughout the Western countries, including Slovakia.

The idea of an ethnic national identity is best understood when looking at its content. An individual has an ethnic national identity to the extent when she or he believes that membership in their national identity is based on descent, on blood.

In particular a person tends to think that in order to be a true *Nationian* („N’ian“ - citizens of particular nation, one have to be born of N’ian’s parents).

They incline to exclude grown children born and educated in nation of non-N’ian parents even if these individuals speak only language of nation and they do not intend to ever leave the nation’s homeland. Indeed the truth is, at the extreme, someone with an ethnic national identity will not see these individuals as N’ians even after they are granted citizenship in the N’ian’s national state (Norman, 2006, p.95,96).

The nationality created out of an ethnic group is sure to be quite a different social formation from the initial group. Creating relatively homogenous national groups identical with territorial boundaries of the state may or not may be so successful. It is important for a host country state authorities to recognize and tolerate some forms of cultural diversity.

2.2 Cultural diversity and social cohesion

“People live in a ground-breaking period, not only because of the dawn of millennium, but also because of extensive changes, that humanity is undergoing due to the process of globalization. Period of unprecedented meeting and overlapping cultures supervenes the period of cultural diversity” (Kamin, 2000, p. 279).

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

As a result of growing globalization, the variety of human societies or cultures coming together in a specific region or in the world as a whole naturally create the cultural diversity.

Migration and increase of cultural diversity cause notable change in the society structure, which may to some extent have an effect on its social solidarity and cohesion. Increasing diversity may violate the idea of homogeneity, hence the cohesion (Kriglerová, 2009, p.18).

According to Gordon Allport's "contact hypothesis" (1979), bigger diversity implicates bigger interethnic tolerance and social solidarity. If people have more contact with other people, who are culturally different, it helps to break the initial barrier of distrust and ignorance.

This theory was later developed by "intra-group" of Pettigrew, who asserts that the biggest trust among people occurs if certain conditions are met: equal status of individual groups, mutual cooperation of groups and legislative support (Pettigrew c.f., Lancee, Dronkers, 2008, p.3). Stated ideas represent the ideal status, which is achievable only by very few societies.

Problems usually arise with increasing diversity primarily because of unequal position of new minorities and their rejection by the majority population (Kriglerová, 2009, p.18). Social cohesion may weaken not so much because of the increased ethnic and cultural diversity but more due to interaction between individual groups (Cheong, 2007, p.24-49). Social cohesion is usually measured by two indicators: - "*by the general trust and the degree of ethnocentrism*".

Factors, such as the education, financial situation and the political stability in the country have the main impact on the degree of the general trust towards people. Very similar data (but inversely) imply for the ethnocentrism as well. The better education people have, the higher the living standards, the little the degree of ethnocentrism remains among them (Hooge, Reekskens, Stolle, Trappers, 2006).

2.3 Determination of cultural –successful integration

Successful integration represents the best precaution of creation of ethnic, religious or cultural conflicts that might occur. In addition, it creates conditions for social stability and coherence of society. Creation of conditions to achieve social consensus in co-existence between the host society and immigrant population is therefore extremely important (Vondráková, 2000 ,p.48).

It is necessary to integrate foreigners to social life, to give them a space and opportunity for self-realization, to represent their culture, traditions and religion in educational and politic organizations and media.

The integration is successful when migrants become part of the "core" of the society, but in all aspects of society - social, economic social, cultural and symbolic. Integration can not be successful if migrants do not have the opportunity to become part of the core.

When thinking of a succesfull integration , the question of *How to become a part of the „core“* rises. Vasečka (2009, p.n.) suggests that there are certain conditions that should be met in order to get closer to successful integration of minority groups into host society over certain period of time.

Pre-conditions for becoming part of the core:

1. Equal status; - citizenship policies, equal rights
2. De-ethnization of public sphere;
3. Shift towards political nation;
4. Culturally neutral state;
5. De-racialization of interactions between citizens; – to achieve perception of the race as a social construct

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL STRUCTURE – “core” and “out” groups

A particular cultural system applies to a society or complex of cultures . A complex of a society consists of various subcultures of social groups (of classes and ethnic minorities). For a modern society, the social structure is characteristic with its many groups and the intricate complex network of relations, where every individual and social groups seek to meet their individual and group needs and follow their interests.

One of the many criteria under which society is differentiated is a ethnic criterium. In the various approaches on the teoretical level, it could be distiguated between a class and ethnicity as analytical constructs that may help to make sense of complex social structure class and ethnicity „*as ways in which participants in the society conciously represent that society to themselves and act in accordance with that representation* .“ (McCall, 1990, 203)

The social group is a unit which is characterized by three basic features, such as social interaction (mutual interaction), sense of belonging to a group and group corporate identity (Alexander, 2006, p.n.). According to a relation of a individual to a particular group, the so-called „in and out“ groups can be distinguished in typological way:

- a) internal groups (endogenic groups– „in“ groups)-** reffered to - „us“
- b) external groups (exogenic groups – „out“ groups)-** reffered to - „them“

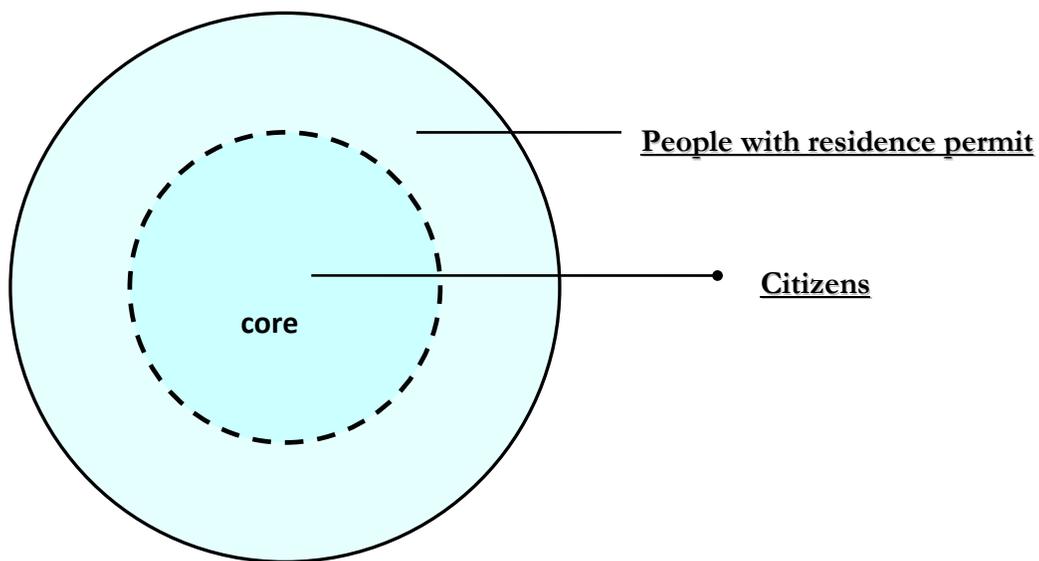
Anywhere in the world societies are divided into majority and minority of the population, where the major part is created by so-called state-forming people.

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

Jeffrey Alexander, in this context refers to the fact that each society is divided into the "core" and "out" groups. People who belong to "out" group seek to integrate to the "core" group. (Alexander, 2006) "Core" group is determined according to social, geographic, class, and especially ethnic aspects (Alexander, 2006). Alexander states that this is a general rule, where it is important that both groups are penetrated.

3.1 Core and out group in USA

(Figure 1) Ideal status *United States*



In a society based on civic principles form the "core group" citizens and "out group" residents without citizenship of existent country. These people may enter into "core group" after fulfilling strictly defined conditions, although there are no barriers due to process of ethnization. Social structure of such a society is represented by (*figure 1*) seen as an ideal status, which is sat up in the civic nation structure of USA.

3.2 Core and out group in Slovakia

(Figure 2): Status reflecting preamble of *Slovak Constitution* and ethnization of public sphere

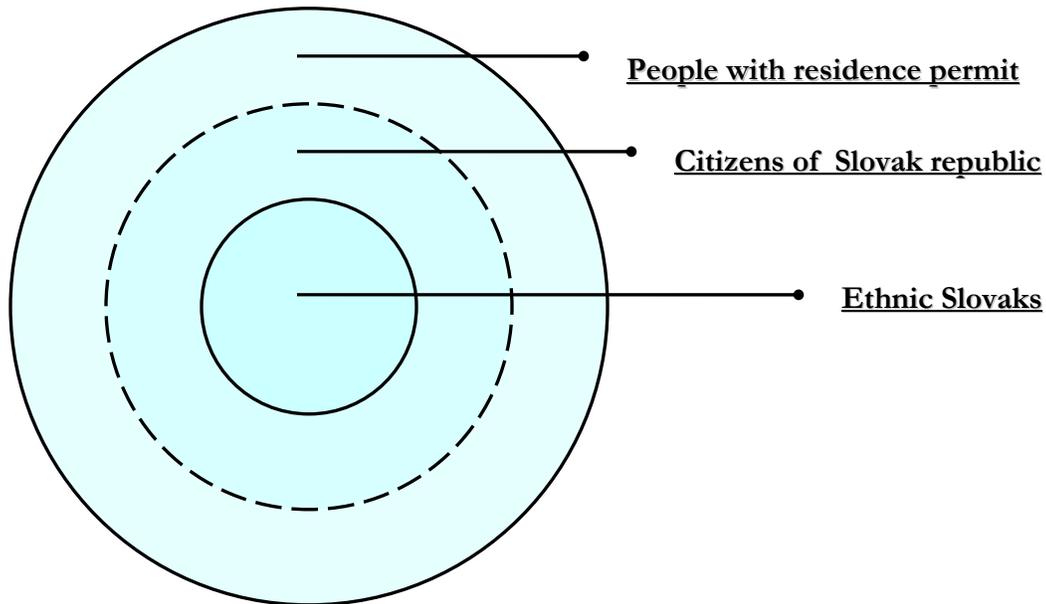


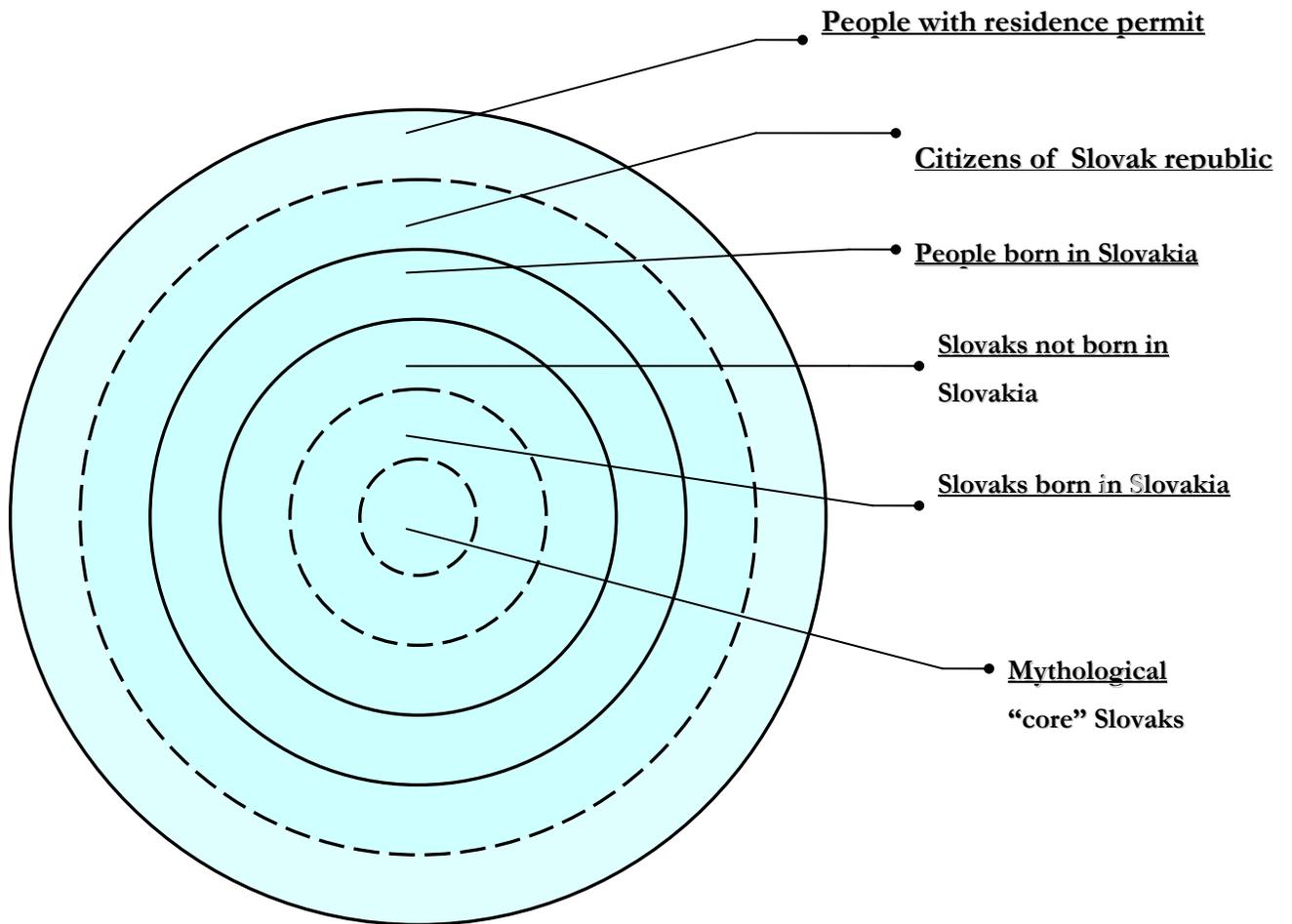
Figure 2 shows how the public sphere is being ethnicized in Slovakia, due to structure of ethnic nation based on principle *ius sanguini* (blood affinity). As stated on the graphic, only “true” ethnic Slovaks are able to form the “core”.

Unfortunately, being a citizen is not enough to become a “Slovak”. Dashed line represents the ability of penetration closer towards the “core”. In contrary, the penetration to the core is not possible, leading to failure in the integration process.

Figure 3, (p.28), details adds that the penetration between two parts of the external „out“ group is provided, but the penetration permeability towards „core“ group is almost excluded. To be considered as a Slovak actually means to have slovak parents (at least one of them).

Hence, they have to be of „slovak blood“ which is often described by the notion „slovak blooded“. Slovak sentiment of nationality is in fact significantly influenced by the ethnicity that has an impact on the identity and nation structure.

(Figure3): Status reflecting the preamble of the Constitution and public ethnization of Slovak republic



CHAPTER 4

STRUCTURAL CAUSES OF NON-INCLUSIVENESS

Slovakia is a country with a major crisis of identity, „*which addresses a strong and uncompromising pressure on existing plurality of the identities of its citizens in order to destroy any "inappropriate" and called for Slovak national project of "inadaptable" identity*“ (Vašečka, 2010, p.241).

In Slovakia, the diversity is not perceived as something natural and desirable. Link to otherness to its own diversity of Slovakia is a structural problem that can not be solved without fundamental changes, self-perception of dominant group and change of "Slovak nation structure" (Vašečka , 2010, p.242).

4.2 Slovak nation structure

Fundamentally, the right of self-determination is the basis of Slovak nation structure. Slovakia is a country of pilgrims, not the immigrants. Ethnic Slovaks perceive themselves as ancestors of Slovaks that lived within the territory of Slovak republic for centuries; therefore they consider the state to be their possession. (Lajčáková, 2009,p.:86)

One of the most significant myths justifying the need of Slovak republic is for centuries lasting process – a struggle for national existence and relief from the alleged millennium lasting oppression of other nations. Slovak nation is constructed in ethnic categories, where the criteria for obtaining citizenship are primordially based on blood affinity (Barša, Baršová, 2005, note 49, p.31).

The nation state presents the biggest extent for the protection and development of the cultural community values and language of ethnic Slovaks. Slovaks defend these values by expansive nation-building instruments, which are more or less liberal (Kymlička, 2001, p. 53-60). The constitution of Slovak republic supports this so called *nation-building project*. Even though the constitution is on one hand based on respecting the equality of citizens regardless the ethnicity background or nationality, on the other hand it privileges its members, ethnic Slovaks, while determining fundamental question of the state (Nedelsky, 2003, p.105).

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

Prevalence of ethnic criteria creates two classes of unequal citizens: those who have organic relationship with the state and those who are excluded from such a relation. This kind of stratification of citizenship creates room for blaming the minorities as potentially disloyal and thereby limiting their civil rights and minority.

Regime of constitutional nationalism has an impact on relations between the majority and minorities and subsequently on the extent of minority rights (Kriglerová, 2009, p.87).

The constitution of Slovak republic protects persons belonging to minorities just by passing the law of prohibition of discrimination and creating room for preservation of their different cultural and linguistic identities throughout individual minority rights. (Constitution of Slovak Republic, article 26).

Minority rights are inevitable in order to preserve stability and piece. If a host society can offer immigrants and minorities the opportunity of fully-fledged integration into the host society, it might bring along significant issues. It would lead to their separation, higher awareness of their difference or to creation of own isolated communities and subsequently to a higher inter-group hatred, violence or desire for self-political autonomy. The solution could be found in openness of the country, in which the ethnic majority gives up its monopoly and makes a room for minorities.

Hynek Skořepa in his work talks about adequate inclusion and creation of real multicultural society. He proposes that it is necessary to free individual countries of historical understanding of their identity and their state (Skořepa, 2000, p.224).

The current extension of minority rights remains in a conflict with nation-building project of Slovaks. It supports cultural heterogeneity, which is seen as threat for ethnically homogenous state of Slovaks. Minority members are therefore considered as potentially disloyal only based on their ethnicity.

The constitution incorporates the principle of protection of minority and ethnic groups and explicitly states that the exercise of minority rights should not lead to discrimination of majority group and can not threat sovereignty and state's territory integrity (Constitution of Slovak Republic, article 34).

4.3 Perceptions of the majority society in Slovakia

As stated by *Conception of foreign integration*, immigrants in Slovakia are being constructed as physical, cultural, health or economic threats. Lacking the relevant information the host society perceives immigrants as economic burden, health or safety risk and subject of threatening labor market and job opportunities. The exploitation of immigrants as cheap labor and related law breaking are particular source of tension between the majority society and foreigners (The Integration concept of immigrants in Slovak republic, note 1, p.50). Unfortunately, minority members are perceived by the majority as something strange and undesirable.

The Explanatory memorandum to amendment of Civic Act argues that „*Considering the constantly increasing number of terrorism attacks and organized crime, the need of precise review of all relevant applicant's information is needed in order to grant them citizenship of Slovak republic*“ (Note 12, p.16). The Explanatory memorandum to amendment of Civic Act markedly stiffens up conditions to grant citizenship by the process of naturalization.

Surprisingly, the Slovak republic approaches the integration policy with some amount of positivism, taking action when it comes to integration process of immigrants, because the state realizes that at least a small percentage of immigrants is inevitable. Non existence of integration policy could lead to their isolation and then towards social tensions between majority society and immigrant communities (Lajčaková, 2009, p. 88, 89). Lajčaková claims that the implementation of effective integration immigrant model into practice is unlikely. It would require principal transformation of majority institutions towards the cultural heterogeneity (2009, p.89).

The project of multiethnic society creation, on which the existing government policies are appealing to, however stands in the contradiction with building homogenous ethnic nation state of Slovaks. Immigrants, similarly to minority members, who would seek to develop and protect their cultural identities in public sphere, are perceived as a threat of such effort.

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

It is unlikely that immigrants will go down the path of building parallel cultural and linguistic institutions within existing model of minority accommodation as the existing method of implementation of minority rights is profoundly inappropriate (Lajčaková, 2009, p.89).

Migrants may succeed in their integration only when they will fully respect „rules of the game” within which they have to express allegiance towards majority population, *de facto*, to give up their identities, which are not compatible with what is required from them in Slovakia. This approach will automatically lead to assimilation. However in the case migrants decide to follow, the acceptance by majority population will be necessary for assimilation process (Lajčaková, 2009, p. 89).

Paradoxically, a situation may arise, where the assimilation will be required from migrants on one hand and despite their own efforts they will not be accepted. It may lead to exclusion from the society, in segregation form or symbolic exclusion (non-acceptance in mutual public sphere) (Kriglerová, 2009, p.122).

Lajčaková thinks that it is possible that the change of argumentation for minority laws may gradually contribute to creating conditions for institution building, enabling integration of diverse people from different ethnic, linguistic, religious or national groups (2009, p.89).

Identifying the diversity with multicultural features as the goal of integration requires migrants adjust less and the host society adjusts more. Approaches to integration can be positioned on a continuum that reaches from unity (common values and cultural practices) at one end, to diversity (different values and practices) at the other.

Considered from the perspective of the degree of adjustment required on the part of society, assimilation, two-way integration, and multiculturalism range from “minimal adjustment” of society on the left to a “high level of adjustment” of society on the right (Modraková, p.15).

CHAPTER 5

POTENTIAL OPTIMALIZATION PROCESSES

The situation of minority in a society can not be understood unless people also understand the situation of ethnic majority and their mutual relationships. Exclusive limited focus on ethnic minorities give us only a little spectrum of what we need to know and realize. It is not actually them who need to undergo „fixing“ , but rather the majority society of the majority is the one which needs a structural reconstruction and self realization, a process involving structural change.

According to results from the research *done by Center for the research of ethnicity and culture* two-thirds of Slovaks perceive immigrants as something undissolvable. The common fact , that it is the relationship between „them“ and „us“ is often times forgotten and it must be the key of future research and interest. In order to take an action the multicultural education hand in hand with media approach are the main side factors of achieving successful integration beside integration policies which are often times impossible to fulfill in practice.

5.1 Educational system towards the tolerance in multicultural society

The problems of multicultural education can be analyzed in several ways. From the sociological point of view the multicultural education can be integrated into the broader process of socialization (the process called : *enculturation*), in which the man as a human being becomes social being. The question why the multicultural education should be a significant part of socialization process, is frequent subject of debates. One may wonder what can implementation of such a education actually bring in order to increase intra-human relations.

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

Jana Kadlečiková (2009, p.22) from the *Center for the research of ethnicity and culture*, alleges when dealing with cultural diversity, perception of culturally divergent groups or creation of perception and prejudices emerge. She states that the process of socialization has its own specifics in early or late ages, that are categorized into the primary or secondary process of socialization.

It is necessary to realize whether one comes into contact with cultural diversity in primary or secondary phase or in contrary, whether it influences the person when one lacks the contact with cultural diversity (Kadlečiková, 2009, p.22). The concept of primary and secondary socialization as described by Berger and Luckmann states:

Primary socialization is first socialization, in which individual passes through childhood and throughout which the child becomes a member of a society. The process of primary socialization is specific in that it takes place in a very emotional conditions, a child emotionally identifies with the *important species* and learns how to perceive himself as it is perceived by others.

Secondary socialization is any subsequent process, which introduces already socialized individual into new areas of society where he lives (1999, p.130). From the characteristics of primary and secondary socialization it is apparent that reality socialized during the primary socialization is deeply rooted and stabilized than during the secondary socialization (Kadlečiková, 2009, p.23).

In addition Allports says: „*Little child is absolutely powerless when it comes to basic values as long as it doesn't follow his parents. His only possible model how to survive is their model. As long as their way of life is tolerant, the child is tolerant as well, as long they show hate towards certain group, the child follows their actions and expressions. It all happens in process of identification*“. The child has basically no choice. When the child is not capable yet of understanding, the child has to adopt opinions of others (Allport, 2004, p.316).

Therefore, values and approaches are one of the areas, in which the identification happens the easiest way. The nearest relatives provide the child with the sense of self-identity, the sense of belonging to a particular group and difference to other groups.

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

Coming from these two socialization processes Kadlečiková utters a hypothesis that perceiving culturally different groups, whether in positive or a negative way, is to some extent due to the way how this problem was perceived by relatives of the child, respectively by his family. The cultural difference is a part of cultural capital, which is obtained by the child within the family and is also reproduced in school. The family plays a major role when it comes to perceiving the cultural difference by young children (Kadlečiková, 2009, p.23).

Children are an *alfa&omega* in shaping societies, they represent future of redefinition of structure and perceptions. Hence educating them multiculturally is a necessity in order to come closer to achieving a change over time.

From the description of secondary socialization it is clear that multicultural education in schools is a part of secondary socialization. It is evident that attitudes to cultural diversity are not created exclusively before the child starts attending the school. During the secondary socialization these attitudes get modified, formed or a child comes to the stage where the attitudes and approaches adopted, starts to question and deny (Allport, 2004, p.331).

The period of pre-school age (three to six) is according to Matejčka (2003, p.69,70) important in order to accept differences. It is a period of child's life when he is maximally conformal towards his environment and he accepts what is authoritatively presented to him. Therefore Matejčka concludes that it is important to add something new *pro-social* into the education, because children with their natural curiousness adopt even what seems to them extraordinary or new in a way.

The effectivity of multicultural education is mostly dependant on the school system setting. Considering that school is involved in legitimizing and reproducing inequalities in society, the question how to modulate the school functioning arises. Coming from this point of view, the multicultural education should mean implementation of such elements to school system which would help to perceive individual culturally different groups as equal.

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

Implementation of multicultural education is subject to particular restrictions, which derive from the process of socialization adopting a culture or creation of attitudes and approaches (Kadlečíková, 2009, p.25). Multicultural education as a part of the schooling system, should try to provide children with the most balanced stance while acquisition, for instance by the way that the school will not explicitly or implicitly dominate particular social groups and categories over other (Kadlečíková, 2009, p. 25).

Moreover countries, including Slovakia, should take a stand on the issue of cultural cohesion and introduce the idea of „bicultural“ teaching. Intercultural or multicultural teaching for all the children should be cherished in the school systems, which aim is to facilitate the mutual understanding and the respect for mates with a different ethnic and national background, and of enhancing the self-esteem of the migrant children integrating into a host country.

5.2 Media approach

Special development of communication means and their wider availability offer unique opportunities to enrich life, not only of individuals but also entire families. But at the same time families are now facing new challenges arising from different and often contradictory messages disseminated through social media.

Julia Petrozza and D'Youville College have written an article called Critical Multicultural Education and the Media, in which they propose that there are factors that inhibit the advancement of multiculturalism and that especially tarnish the views and attitudes of children of any host society whom authorities might try to educate in multicultural settings. Media is considered to be one of these factors.

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

Jean Kunz and Augie Fleras critically analyze the media in their book *Media and Minorities* contending that, *"no one should underestimate the possibility that mediacentric values may reinforce racism in the media through the one-sidedness of media messages in perpetuating a race-based status quo"* (Fleras, Kunz, 2001, Petrozza, Collage 2002, p.n.).

According to Fleras and Kunz (2001, p.n.) media is a major contributor to the propagation of racism and stereotypes in any society. Media racism acknowledges the pervasive influence that have a negative effect of misrepresenting minorities and continues to endorse structures and values that have the systemic consequence of excluding or denying minorities (Petrozza, Collage 2002, p.n.).

In the media, minorities are represented as the "other" according to Fleras, Kunz and Cortes (2001, p.n.) *„they are not the people who make the decisions ,they are not the people who run the show, they are the people who in the media are represented in their stereotypical roles of outsiders“*; criminals, terrorists, job takers and any of the other roles that are typically known to be filled by those who carry the minority status title.

The presentations of minorities in the media as misrepresentations can guide children in the right path of respecting the differences in people including their own. Misrepresentations of minorities are strongly prevalent in television and movies (Petrozza, Collage, 2002, p.n.)

Consequently media ruled by the host majority population play a big role in having an impact on people's perceptions, opinions , attitudes or approaches when it comes to perceiving minority groups and cultural otherness.

6. CONCLUSION

The ambition of the thesis was to focus on the concept and ideas of the integration of minorities into the social structure of a host society, which was described by reconstructing meaning and objectives of integration, assessing how the understanding of the theoretical definition and concepts are reflected into dimensions of integration perceptions and into the issue of granting citizenship (and its components) to migrants from third countries.

Its main objective was to determine whether the integration of ethnic minorities within a host society is possible and if it is perceived as desirable in Slovakia. Author came to the conclusion that due to strong ethnization derived from primordial social structure, country like Slovakia detached to the idea of *ethnic nation* is unfortunately highly non-inclusive.

Different ways of creation and different introspection of different nations are predicted to favor one or the other principle in the approach towards migrants and immigrants – hence towards the *inclusion*, or in contrary towards the *exclusion* (Barša, 2005, p.30).

According to model of Jeffrey Alexander comparing the structure of host societies between the "core" and "out" groups in Slovakia and the USA, demonstrated by graphical representations, it is clear that penetration of minorities into the „core“ of host society and the deriving inclusion are more than impossible causing the social exclusion in a country with strong ethnization, such as Slovakia. Which is the main factor influencing the relationship between the majority population and incoming minorities and related affectivity of set up theoretical integration policies that are often times not met in practice and very inefficient, nearly supporting the exclusion.

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

Castles and Davidson (2000, p.153) suggest that idea of civic inclusion, based upon democratic active citizenship can be sustained only under condition that cultural community will be replaced by political community. First of all, state should be undetached from an idea of nation and replaced by fully democratic state based upon open and flexible coexistence. Secondly, and this is even greater challenge, such forms of political participation should be invented that go beyond borders of the state.

Living together cannot be based upon group cultural belonging, but at the same time it should not ignore it at the same time. New forms of belonging together should be based upon both principles of individual equality and upon principles of collective difference (Vašečka, 2009, p.n.).

To conclude there are structural needs for European countries to follow in order to achieve improvement: (Castles, Davidson 2000, ix)

1. Need to re-define national identities but to leave space for uniting universalistic principles in order to secure social cohesion of post-modern societies.
2. Need of transfer from ethno-cultural to legal-political definition of a nation
3. Need of redefinition of the core solidarity based on ethnicity to core solidarity based on postmodern citizenship.
4. Need to “sell” constitutional patriotism to people who are locked in the cage of banal nationalism.

Vašečka alleges these changes will certainly not happen in Central Europe in a short-term perspective saying:” *Lack of discussions, active policies, and legislative changes might however turn against interest of the whole EU. Otherwise some of Central European countries (such as Slovakia) might turn to be real trouble-makers within the EU in its attempts to move closer toward post-national citizenship. EU did not utilize yet its chances in the process of constituting an European citizenship based on other principles than of an extension of particular national citizenships. But that does not mean that the process is irreversible*” (Vašečka, 2009, p.10).

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

Active approach towards diverse cultures and effects, which is based on the tolerance and communication among host and immigrant population seems to be the basic principle of conflict-free coexistence of humanity in the future. Since it is impossible to immune from differences it is inevitable to achieve a dialog between cultures. It is also necessary to keep this open dialog on all the levels, not only among politicians and businessmen, but also among regular people who lack information. People should be more interested in getting to know more about other cultures in order to enrich themselves.

A strategy of collective action therefore, is the only basis for the pursuit of certain basic needs and wants on both sides, the host society and the new emerging minorities: (i.g. increasing benefits). Unconditionally, this can be met only through collective action within schools, media and cooperation between organizations that enlighten collective perception. The new rising young generation takes its own initiatives.

Being aware of the fact that people lack information and experience, which affects the perception of minorities and cultural diversity as something new, undesirable, or even repulsive, the author emphasizes again that it is important to achieve intercultural dialogue. It is necessary to focus on the implementation of multicultural education of youth in the educational system, thereby arouse student's interest in the existence of other cultures and minorities living in Slovakia and thus generally increase the positive perception of diversity in Slovakia.

One of the other factors in order to move closer to a change in the process of successful integration of ethnic minorities must be open-minded (not biased) approach of the media and, in some cases, also the approach of foundations, which in most cases serve misstatement, which largely affects the perception of cultural diversity and ethnic minorities, whether indirectly to the failure in the process of integrating minorities into the society of the host country. There is hope that it will spread quickly enough, in course of few decades, even in country such as Slovakia.

7. RESUMÉ

INTEGRÁCIA MENŠÍN NA SLOVENSKU AKO ŠTRUKTURÁLNY PROBLÉM

V dnešnom svete neskorej modernity, migrácia, ktorá sa vyznačuje komplexnosťou a rozmanitosťou zásadne mení svoj charakter globálne. Počas desaťročí po druhej svetovej vojne došlo k významnému nárastu počtu migrantov v Európe. Migrácia sa stala jednou z najdôležitejších sociálnych otázok týkajúcich sa modernej európskej spoločnosti, formujúca dôležitú súčasť európskych dejín.

V dôsledku rastúcej globalizácie, rôznorodosť spoločností či kultúr ako celok prirodzene vytvára kultúrnu rozmanitosť. Migrácia spolu s narastom kultúrnej rozmanitosti, podľa Kriglerovej, spôsobujú zmeny v štruktúre spoločnosti, ktoré do istej miery vplývajú aj na jej sociálnu solidaritu a súdržnosť (kohéziu), čo takisto ovplyvňuje proces integrácie (2009, p.18).

Práca začína úvodným opisom hlavnej myšlienky, ktorá sa zaoberá témou integrácie minorít, v krajine pôvodu autorky, na Slovensku operacionalizáciou základných pojmov ako sú migrácia, minoritné skupiny, či následne proces integrácie. Práca sa zameriava na vývojové koncepcie a predstavy o integrácii imigrantov do sociálnej štruktúry hostiteľskej spoločnosti.

Pohyb v modernej spoločnosti je dôležitým status-vytvárajúcim faktorom, ktorý spája na jednej strane a rozdeľuje na strane druhej. Spolu s určením hraníc národných štátov, ktorý jasne definuje územia, v ktorých ľudia žijú, súčasne vyplýva ostré rozdelenie spoločností na endogénne "my" skupiny (občania štátu), a endogénne "oni" skupiny (občania iných krajín). V majoritnej host'ujúcej spoločnosti tak nastáva problém "kategorizácie" medzi "core" a "out" skupinami, čo má za následok stav inklúzie alebo exklúzie minoritných skupín (Barša, 2005, p.30).

Ľudia patriaci do "out" skupiny sa snažia integrovať do "core" väčšinovej skupiny. Prichádzajúci migranti teda prirodzene hľadajú spôsoby ako sa integrovať do "core" (jadra) host'ujúcej spoločnosti. Neefektívnosť integrácie a migračnej politiky spôsobujúce sociálne vylúčenie, ktoré nespočíva iba na základe politického procesu. Politický proces vyplýva z pozadia historicky vytvorenej národnej identity.

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

Rôzne spôsoby tvorby a introspekcie rôznych národov predurčujú jeden princíp nad druhým v prístupe k migrantom a prisťahovalcom - teda smerom k inklúzii (zaradenia), alebo naopak k exklúzii (vylúčeniu) (Barša, 2005, p.30).

Radim Morada (2006) tvrdí, že Inklúzia etnických „out“ skupín závisí na dvoch faktoroch: a) *Externý faktor* – ktorý vychádza zo štruktúry spoločnosti, ktorý obklopuje „core“ – jadro spoločnosti

b) *Interný faktor* – ktorý vychádza zo vzťahu medzi primordiálnymi kvalitami „core“ – jadra a „out“ skupín.

Problém neefektívnej integrácie teda nestagnuje na teóriách alebo zle nastavených integračných politikách, ktoré majú v praxi tendenciu neúspešnosti, ale na počiatocnom porozumení primordiálnej spoločenskej štruktúry národa. Minoritám, ktorým je dopredu odopreté právo integrovať sa (vychádzajúc z rozdielnej národnej identity), tak bojujú v procese integrácie do hostujúcej spoločnosti danej krajiny.

V práci autorka posudzuje ako sa teoretické definície a pojmy odrážajú v jednotlivých dimenziách integračnej politiky, zahŕňajúc problematiku udeľovania občianstva (a jeho zložiek) prisťahovalcom z rozvojových krajín sveta, na základe troch princípov- *ius soli* (právo zeme), *ius sanguini* (právo krvi), *ius domicilii* (občianstvo získané naturalizáciou).

Autorka pokračuje v opise ako je verejná sféra na Slovensku etnizovaná v dôsledku formovania etnického národa. Otázku ktorú si kladie, či je proces integrácie na Slovensku možný a potenciálne úspešný, autorka zodpovedá porovnaním medzi "core" a "out" skupinami na príklade Slovenska a USA, použitím modelu Jeffrey Alexandera, doplnené o grafické znázornenie priepustnosti spoločenskej štruktúry.

V spoločnosti založenej na občianskych princípoch, *Schéma č.1(p.27)*, zobrazuje štruktúru spoločnosti, kde je jadro "core" tvorené občanmi a "out" je tvorené obyvateľmi s povolením na pobyt, ktorí sú z princípu schopní integrácie do jadra, "core", po splnení určitých podmienok. Avšak nemusia čeliť prekážkam etnizácie. Opísaná štruktúra spoločnosti vytvára ideálny stav, ktorý je nastavený v krajine občianskeho národa, akou je USA.

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

Naopak, etnický národ, v krajine akou je Slovensko, ma za následok nepriepustnosť vrstiev medzi “core” a “out” skupinami. Podľa obrázkov 2 (p.28) a 3 (p.29), je jadro “core” tvorené výslovne iba etnickými Slovákmi, do ktorého je nemožné preniknúť. Verejná sféra na Slovensku je etnizovaná do takej miery, že ani po obdržaní slovenského občianstva je nemožné stať sa “pravým-pokrvným” etnickým Slovákom, podľa princípu *ius sanguini*.

Vychádzajúc z diskurzu, ktorý panuje na Slovensku, majoritná populácia vníma kultúrnu rozmanitosť ako neprirodzenú a nežiaducu, čo dokazuje aj názor väčšiny: *“Slovensko je krajinou Slovákov, a tak by to malo ostať”*². Autorka hodnotí, že process úspešnej integrácie, v homogénnej krajine akou je Slovensko, je štrukturálny problém, ktorý nemožno riešiť bez zásadnej zmeny, seba-vnímania dominantnej skupiny a zmeny “slovenskej národnej štruktúry”. Na fakt, že ide o vzťah medzi “nimi” a “nami” sa častokrát zabúda, naopak sa musí stať kľúčom záujmu a výskumu, čo bude mať za následok pozitívnejší vývoj do budúcnosti.

Uvedomujúc si fakt, že ľudia disponujú nedostatkom informácií a skúseností, čo má vplyv na vnímanie kultúrnej diverzity a minorít ako niečo nového, nežiaduceho, či dokonca odpudzujúceho, autorka konštatuje, že je dôležité dosiahnuť multikultúrny dialóg. Je nevyhnutné zamerať sa na implementáciu multikultúrnej výchovy mládeže do vzdelávacieho systému, tým vzbudiť záujem študentov o existenciu iných kultúr a minorít žijúcich na Slovensku a tým zvýšiť pozitívne vnímanie diverzity na Slovensku.

Jedným z ďalších faktorov v snahe bližšie sa priblížiť k zmene v procese úspešnej integrácie etnických minorít musí byť nezaujatý prístup médií a v niektorých prípadoch aj nadácií, ktoré vo väčšine prípadov servírujú skreslené informácie, čo do značnej miery vplýva na percepciu kultúrnej diverzity a etnických minorít, či nepriamo na neúspešnosť v procese integrácie minorít do spoločnosti hostujúcej krajiny.

² Výsledok výskumu spracovaný Centrom pre Výskum Etnicity a Kultúry, CVEK

8. REFERENCES

- Alexander, J.C. (1988): *Core Solidarity, Ethnic Out-group, and Social Differentiation* In: Alexander, J.C. (ed). *Action and its Environment. Towards a New Synthesis.*: Columbia University Press, New York
- Allport, G. (1979) *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus books
- Baar, V., (2000) *Nacionalismus versus multikulturalismus*. In.: Šrajbová, O., Formovanie multikultúrnej spoločnosti v podmienkach ČR a v zemiach strednej Európy. Zborník z medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie konanej v dňoch 14. A 15. Novembra 2000 v Sliezskom ústave, Slezské muzeum, Opava
- Bade, K.J. (2000) *Evropa v pohybu. Evropské migrace dvou staletí*. Nakladatelství lidové noviny. 7, Praha
- Barša, P. (2003/2005), *Politická teorie multikulturalismu*. 2nd edition., CDK, Brno
- Bauman, Z. (2004) *Individualizovaná společnost*, Mladá fronta, Praha
- Bayer, I., Šafr, J., Sedláčková, M., (2005) „*Sociální koheze. Teorie a empirické přístupy, projekty a používaná data*“, SDA Info 7 (2), Sociologický ústav AV, ČR, Praha
- Berry J.W (1996) : *Social and cultural change* , hand book on cross cultural psychology . 5 , In H.C. Triandis. , R.W. Brislin (Eds) , Boston
- Brass, P.R (1991) : *Ethnic groups and Ethnic Identity Formation* , *Ethnicity and Nationalism* , Sage Publications, New Delhi/London
- Cultural Incorporation* , <http://multiculturalcanada.ca/Encyclopedia/A-Z/s8/3>
- Castles, S., Davidson, A., (2000), *Citizenship and Migration. Globalisation and the Politics of Belonging*, Houndmills: Macmillan Press
- Cheong, P.H., (2007) *Immigration, Social Cohesion and Social capital* : A critical view. Critical social policy, Vol.27, No.1, s. 27-49

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

- Divinský, B (2009) , *Migračné trendy v Slovenskej republike po vstupe krajiny do EÚ (2004 – 2008)*, IOM Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu , Bratislava
- Fleras, Kunz (2001) *Media and Minorities: Representing Diversity in a Multicultural Canada* : Thompson Educational Publishing, Toronto
- Geist, B., (1992) , *Sociologický slovník* , Victoria Publishing , Praha
- George de Vos (1975), 'Ethnic Pluralism' in George de Vos and Lola Romanucci-Ross (edt.), *Ethnic Identity : Cultural Continuities and Change* (Palo Alto , Calif.: Mayfield Publishing CO.
- Gerhard Casper, (2008) *The concept of Nationalized citizenship in the contemporary World: Identity or Volition?* , Hamburg
http://www.stanford.edu/group/gcasper_project/cgi-bin/files/papers/National%20Citizenship%20Identity%20or%20Volition.pdf
- Glazer, N., (1994) *The emergence of an American Ethnic Pattern*. In Ronald Takaki (ed) From different shores. Perspective on Race and Ethnicity in America, New York
- Goldwin, Kaufman, Schambra, (1989) , *Forging Unity out of diversity*, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington , D.C
- Hartl, P., 1994 , *Psychologický slovník*, 2nd ed. , Budka, Praha
- Hooghe, M., Reeskens, T., Stolle, D., & Trappers, A. (2009). Ethnic Diversity and Generalized Trust in Europe. A Cross-National Multilevel Study. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(2), pp. 198-223.
- Horáková, M., (1997) *Trendy v zahraničných pracovných migráciách v Českej republike v letech 1995-2004*, Výzkumný ústav práce a sociálních věcí , Praha
- IOM , International Organization for Migration , Bratislava
- > <http://www.iom.sk/en/about-iom/iom-in-slovakia> ,
 - > <http://www.iom.ch/jahia/Jahia/about-migration/managing-migration/integration-of-migrants/integration-measures/cache/offonce;jsessionid=EFCD68752983B25BFBACF37795CB5A86.worke02>

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

- Janata, J., (1999) , *Agrese tolerance a intolerance*, 1st ed., Grada Publishing, Praha
- Joppke, C., Morawska, E., (2003) Integrating Immigrants in Liberal Nation States : Policies and Practicies“ In : Joppke, C. , Morawska, E., (eds.) *Toward assimilation and citizenship : immigrants in liberal nation-states*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan , New York
- Kamin, T., 2000, „*Affirmative action“ jako prostredek formování multikultúrní společnosti* , Slezské muzeum , Opava
- Kadlečíková J. , Kriglerová E , (2009) *Cultural diversity* , Open Society Foundation , Bratislava
- Koncepcia migračnej politiky Slovenskej republiky, zdroj MV SR
<http://www.employment.gov.sk/index.php?SMC=1&id=17421>, access - 03.03.2010
- Kriglerová E., Kadlečíková J. , (2009) *Cultural diversity* , Open Society Foundation , Bratislava
- Kymlička , (2001) *Multiculturalism : „Minorities“*
<http://socgeo.ruhosting.nl/html/files/geoapp/Werkstukken/Kymlicka.pdf>
- Lajčáková, J., (2009) *Migranti, Nový Pohľad na Staré Problémy, Multikulturalizmus a Kultúrna Integrácia Migrantov na Slovensku*, CVEK, Bratislava
- Lancee, b., Donkers, J. (2008) *Ethnic Diversity in neighborhoods and individual trust of immigrants and natives: A replication of Putnam*. Pracovný materiál prezentovaný na medzinárodnej konferencii Teoretické perspektívy sociálnej kohézie, Brusel 3
- Malá, E. , (1998) *Policy proposals for a better integration of minorities in Slovakia* , Final report presented by NATO, <http://www.nato.int/acad/fellow/96-98/mala.pdf>
- Mareš, P., (2006) , „Social Exclusion and Social Inclusion : the Czech Perspective“. In: Sirovátka, T. et al. 2006 *The challenge of social inclusion : minorities and marginalized groups in Czech society.*, Společnost pro odbornou literaturu- Barrister&Principál , Brno

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

- Matejček, Z., (2003) , *Dyslexie , školský vek* , Praha
- McAll Ch. (1990) *Class, Ethnicity & social inequality*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Quebec
- Morokvasič M. (2004). *Settled in mobility: Engendering post-wall migration in Europe*, *Feminist Review* (77): 725.
- Modráková, (2009), *Reflexe konceptu integrace a promítnutí jeho definice do přistáhovaleckých politik státu na příkladu České republiky*
- Morada, R. (2006), *Etnická různost' a občianska jednota* , Centrum pre studium demokracie a kultury (CDK) , Brno
- Nedelsky, N., (2003)“*Constitutional Nationalism's Implications for Minority Rights and Democratization : The case of Slovakia*”, 26 *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 102
- Norman , W. (2000) *From nation-building to national engineering: on the ethics of shaping identities* , chapter 4.
- Redfield,R., Linton, R. &Herskovits , M.J. (1936). *Memorandum on the study of acculturation*, cited in *American Anthropologist*, 38, 149-152
- Robinson, (1998) *Minority right groups*, London
- Petrozza, Collage (2002) *Critical Multicultural education and the Media*
<http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/papers/media.html>
- Putnam,R.D,(2007) *E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and community in the 21st century*.
The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture, *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol.30, No.2
- Schermerhorn, (1970) *Comparative Ethnic Relations A multidimensional Model : The internal and External Axes of Inclusion* , Random house, New York
- Šafr, J., Sedláčková, M., (2006), „*Sociální kapitál. Koncepty, teorie a metody měření*“.
Praha
- Šišková, T., (1998) , *Výchova k toleranci a proti rasizmu*, 1st ed., Portál , Praha

Hayek, Integration of minorities in Slovakia as a structural issue

- Skořepa, H., (2000), *Rozdielnosť prístupu niektorých európskych štátov a Austrálie k integrácii kultúrnej a etnicky rôznorodých prisťahovalcov*. In. Šrajbová , O., Formovanie multikultúrnej spoločnosti v podmienkach ČR a v zemiach strednej Európy. Zborník z medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie konanej v dňoch 14. A 15. Novembra 2000 v Sliezskom ústave, Sliezské muzeum, Opava
- Smith, A., (1991) *National Identity*, London :Penguin Books, New York
- Spoločné základné princípy integračnej politiky prisťahovalcov v krajinách Európskej únie*, <http://employment.gov.sk/index.php?SMC=1&id=17188>
- Takaki,R., (1993) *From different shores*. Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America. 2nd ed., New York, Oxford University Press
- Tóro T. (2007): *Defining Concepts “Nation” and “National Minority” and “National Minority”*“85
- Vašečka , M (2008): *Nationalized Citizenship In Central European countries*. Nation Uber Alles In: *Processes of redefinition and reconstruction of the term nation in Central Europe*.: Center for the Research of Ethnicity and Culture, Bratislava
- Vašečka , M (2009). *O vzťahoch k iným a k sebe: O diverzite v krajine pod Tatrami*. In: Bútorá, Martin - Kollár, Miroslav - Mesenikov, Grigorij Bútorová, Zora (eds): *Kde sme. Mentálne mapy Slovenska*.: Intitút pre verejné otázky & Kalligram, Bratislava
- Vondráková , J.,(2000) *Podpora multietnických akcií- prioritná úloha stratégie účinnejšej štátnej podpory kultúry*.In.: Šrajbová,O., Formovanie multikultúrnej spoločnosti v podmienkach ČR a v zemiach strednej Európy. Zborník z medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie konanej v dňoch 14. A 15. Novembra 2000 v Sliezskom ústave, Sliezské muzeum, Opava
- Wimmer,Schiller (2003). *Methodological nationalism, the social science, and the study of migration*: An essay in historical epistemology. In *International Migration Review* Volume 37 Number 3