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Slovak youth and the European identity

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ABSTRACT

What is the “Europe” for Slovak youth? What do young Slovaks mean when they say that they feel, or not, European? A raising literature by political scientists and scholars tries to evaluate the European identity. Several theories of political identities already exist, however none of them could be understood as affirmed. There is hard to find a study which would explain to the citizens the deeper signification of answers to questions who they are now and how they perceive their attachment to varying political communities.

Slovakia has come through difficult transformation process. After the fall of Communism in 1989, Slovakia became an independent state in 1993. Just eleven years after, the Slovak Republic entered the European Union and in 2008 joined also the Euro zone. What impact has these significant social changes on youth?

I try to uncover whether Slovak youth turn more to the EU level for their political or individual goals or their socio-political horizon does remain mainly national. In my thesis I aim at the correlation between Slovak national identity and Europeanization. I attempt also to find out whether the so called “shift of loyalties” is actually happening in Slovakia. To put it in a nutshell, I undertake to discover if the young generation in Slovakia has moved from the nation-state to Europe or not.

This thesis, therefore, presents an analysis of a questionnaire run in Slovakia from January 2009 on what Slovak youth mean by feeling “European”. They expressed opinions and attitudes about the European Union, its institutions, elections and relationships towards other nationalities. Slovak youth described also what matters to them in terms of their direct experience of the European integration and joining the Euro zone. And finally, what “European identity” means to them and whether they perceive themselves as Europeans.

Keywords: Slovak identity, Slovak youth, European identity, the European Union, Slovakia, national, Europeanization.

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Berlin, April 28. 2009

Motto

“Under the conditions of the independent Slovak Republic, a new creation of the Slovak identity has been immediately launched. It is connected with the founding of new civic political parties with more liberal orientation and with an unprecedented development of public society and the increase of political and civic participation of youth.”

(Ladislav Macháček 2004)

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INTRODUCTION

The core problem of this thesis may lie on individual nationality, its rights and the strong appraisal of popular traditions and of the mother tongue. Perception of a future peaceful world in which each nationality would live in freedom and in its own place has been already a vision for many years. “The belief of harmonious synthesis of the rights of the individual with his loyalty to the national community and its duties to mankind”, these were the words which Herder wrote long time ago about nationality and loyalty to the nationhood (Heater 1998:15).

One could claim that the European citizen is neither a subject nor an object in the discourses about Europeanization. Instead, the question is how to build Europe and who European citizens are. It has become a topic not only for EU experts but also for scholars. This thesis provides some insides about politics of identity building in Slovakia.

Slovakia has been depicted by many experts as an ethnic rather than a territorial subject. The state itself has declared the inclination towards the rejection of principle of territorial citizenship which would create a base for „civic nation“. „The key term around which Slovak domestic and international policy appears to revolve is that of ‘protection’: protection of religion and culture from Western liberalism, protection of language, protection of the Slovak ‘minority’ within the southern regions where ethnic Hungarians are in majority, protection of the national honour from the alleged efforts of critical journalists, protection of state property, protection of energy resources...“ (Heater 1998:8). This mirrors evident concern of the newly independent Slovak state of the detriment of effective control over the country escorted by the attempt to construct a strong Slovak ethnic-based collective identity. It seems that in the background of diversity of Central European history, Slovak national self-awareness was lost and found again and again. Furthermore, a talk about national identity was revived becoming a overwhelming feature of Slovak nationalism in the 1990’s. In order to understand Slovak national identity-building it is necessary to return back in time to the beginning of the Slovak nation. The attempts of the nationalism has been obvious through all Slovak history. For example in the nineteenth century there

was a strong effort for a supra-national Slovak identity. However, some signs of mental disappointment later appeared into Slovak national ideology and identity politics by blurring the political difference between conceptions of Slavic and Slovak, respectively Slavness and Slovakness. These ambiguities which were present around the Slovak national ideologies from their beginnings might be somewhat still linked to the identity dilemmas of today's.

We might claim that Slovakia is now on the top of thousands-years of development. It has become independent, strong enough to build a democratic and stable state. It has joined NATO and became a member of one European family. Not long time ago Slovaks gained back their national identity. Nowadays, Slovaks experienced to be in one political and economical area and so it might seem that Slovakia came again from one repression to another. The question is what about the Slovak citizens? How they feel about the European Union's identity? Do Slovak citizens feel as Slovaks or Europeans?

I aimed particularly at youth which is considered to be as a most active and pro-European oriented group in Slovakia. They already were actors of a big change in politics when in 1998 decided not to vote for corrupted and right-oriented party. Since then Slovakia make a significant headway. Slovak youth is, also according to previous studies, the most affected by changes and also the most influenced by the EU reforms.

My interest lies also in Slovak Europeanization and whether the European identity is already present among Slovak young generation. In my thesis I posed three research questions:

1. "Do Slovak youth feel European?"
2. "Do Slovak youth turn more to the EU level for their political or individual goals?" Or does their socio-political horizon remain mainly national?"
3. "Does the shift of loyalties from nation-state to Europe occur among Slovak youth?"

I set up also the work hypothesis:

“Slovak youth is pro-European oriented heterogeneous group in which remains strong national feeling”.

The thesis is divided into two main parts: the theoretical and the practical part. In the theoretical part I am writing about the identity. The personal identity has more levels such as intrapersonal or interpersonal. Further, I am elaborating information about the identity as affiliation to social groups and the process of shaping the personal identity.

The national identity has been built since beginning of the Slovak nation therefore, it is very important to mention also Slovak nationhood in the theory of citizenship. I am exploring the history of Slovak identity and also I tried to uncover the evolution of the Slovak identity. There were always differences between the East and the West Europe and I was curious what impact it had on Slovakia. The process of Slovakia's nationhood was very long and complex process and there is a question if Slovakia's nationhood remained strong enough and whether Slovak people feel more as Slovak or European citizens.

My main goal was to concentrate on Slovak youth. Youth is a very specific group which differs from country to country. They are very various inside the group too. They always set up new trends and are the “engine” of society. I was interested in their values and what they perceive as important in their life now. I brought some ideas from Czech study here¹ and I also mentioned other surveys in my thesis such as Euro barometer or Slovak study about youth².

In the practical part I am talking mainly about my research. I used the questionnaire to interview recipients. I posted it on Web to make it easier for the

¹ Sak Petr 2004

² Ladislav Macháček 2003

sample. In analysis I created four clusters in order to clarify results. In the end I am answering research questions and testing the work hypothesis.

THEORETICAL PART

1 THE PERSONAL AND THE NATIONAL IDENTITY

The personal identity is bounded with social roles. It is a point of intersection where personal and socio-cultural level is interconnected. To look for personal identity we have to find first the “real me”. In psychology, for instance, it is considered as the main idea that individuals create sense of who they are and where they belong to.

The individuals construct themselves and in the same time they build social reality, in which they live claims Bačová. The personal identity is very strong, especially in the times of crisis. The process of self-definition and decision-making can be conscious however, unconscious too. According to Bačová, it was the society which connected the personal level with social changes. The social changes allow to individuals act differently in various stages of life as for example in puberty or the adulthood. The puberty is constructed by society and makes individuals act in a way they are expected to (Bačová 1996).

The personal identity can be divided into three spheres (Bačová 1996):

- a. The deep sense of self-identity based on feeling of self-continuity,
- b. The identification of individual with his life-roles,
- c. The identity to the larger or smaller social groups.

In the first sphere the individual seeks for self-identity and asks question: “Who am I and why am I different from others?” The individual defines himself intrapersonal. In the second sphere person clarifies his thoughts and says: “Who am I in the relation to others?” The interpersonal level is here more present. In the third sphere the individual is interested where and to which groups he belongs to. It is also possible that he was born into concrete social group or he picks one identity, one social group, which is the most important for him. Therefore, he identifies himself in relation to the groups and institutions which create so-called social frame of personal self-identity of the individual.

1.1 Intrapersonal level

Intrapersonal level is the identity understood from the essence of one's personality. It contains the sense of equality. Bačová wrote that it could be compared to the notion of waking up in the morning when one can be sure that he is the same person as he was last night. Therefore, to the personal identity belongs mental continuity, which is seeking and finding the meaning of self-being in the world (Bačová 1996). The individual's identity embodies important values in which person believes and considers them as personal ideology.

1.2 Interpersonal level

The interpersonal level means that the individual defines himself mainly through roles and positions in the society. Stryker claims that whole identity of the individual consists from units which are smaller identities or so-called components of the personal identity (Bačová 1996). However, fact that our identities are made up from multiple identities is not very new in psychology. James already said that the individual has so many personal "me", so many groups he belongs to. According to James also, smaller personal identities are set up in a hierarchical structure. Somebody asks: "Who am I?", and it embodies processes as accepting of concrete role, dealing with new role, changing the role and using the role for self-presentation (Bačová 1996).

1.3 Identity as affiliation to social groups

The intrapersonal and interpersonal identities are usually marked as personal identities because they refer to individual characteristics. The part of individual's identity, which covers his characteristics as a member of concrete group, has very strong relation towards traditions- the social or collective identities. The individual considers himself as a member of smaller or bigger social group. According to Tajfel, the identity is a membership consists from emotional substance and importance to belong to the society. For example, whether he contributes to his society or not; whether he expects the acceptance or

respect from the society; whether his society awards him³ or on the other side, punished him⁴ (Bačová 1996).

1.4 Process of shaping the personal identity

There are two different procedures which allow formation the “meta-perspective”, wrote Bačová. First it is the self-definition when person compares himself with others. The second is the objective identity when the individual is compared by others. The “meta-perspective” is compounded from both processes simultaneously: the individual creates mental picture of himself where he defines himself. Bačová also said that the individual is able to correct or make changes of this picture in all three levels: in interpersonal, intrapersonal as well as social level (Bačová 1996). Therefore, the individual draws a comparison between identity he created and identity which is ascribed by the society and he tries to keep a balance between them.

On the first sign it is obvious that methods of shaping the personal identity vary due to various stages of human’s life. Also characteristics which describe the personal identity differ. Some are ascribed such as colour of skin, the age or gender. These components are relative stable and non-problematic because the individual does not have to use any power to change them. Other components of identity, as Bačová claims, could be learned (Bačová 1996). To become a personality, one has to try hard to achieve a success in society. To be a mother or father are identities which will never change however, to become rich for instance the individual has to work hard and be systematic.

And finally, there are chosen components in human’s life. It is when the individual can choose from more alternatives. There are clear and socially approved directives to that and one picks or refuses them. If he refuses some

³ In the positive sense

⁴ In the negative way

component that means he goes “up the river stream” so he goes against the society standards. However, is not compulsory for the person to chose. Moreover, there is always one “good” socially approved option, which is to be the same as others (Bačová 1996).

Each historical stage and every type of society is described by its characteristic values as well as the hierarchy of values. The social values influence the meaning and importance of ascribed, learned or chosen components of human’s identity. It is the society which determinates through institutions and ideologies which components of identity could be modified. It is again the society which creates the situation of choice for the individuals and defines conditions for selection. The society and social evolution specify which from the units of individual identity are becoming to be the obvious, actual or desired identities. G. Hofstede defines culture as: “Collective programming of human mind which varies from group to another” (Bačová 1996:256). According to Rohner, the culture is organised system of ideas where members of concrete group ascribe conceptions to the people and subjects. Bačová said that the society is the largest unit of territorially bounded population which is organised around common culture and social system. The society term is often used as a meaning for nation or state (Bačová 1996).

1.5 The national identity

Several authors discuss that the idea of national identity should match with ethnic identity. Since there is no qualitative distinction between ethnicity and nationality, argues Skobla, the nation could be seen as self-aware ethnic group. Then the intensity of national identity might be understood as modern manifestations of the historical phenomenon- the ethnicity (Skobla 2001).

Another study proves that national identity is very well understood as a combination of ethnic elements with those which are politically grounded. Since former political communities were bounded by ties of culture and solidarity, this approach claims that nations cannot be assimilated with ethnic groups. The base idea is about the subject-matter or so called “social identity theory” which was

introduced by Tajfel. He defines social identity as: „That part of an individual’s self-concept that derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Skobla 2001: 86). The national identity of the individual is appointed to just one of the several conditions of his or her social identity.

Other scholars dispute that the global and societal changes in the late twentieth century caused radical shift in manners of identity construction. These transformations are meant to take the shape of an increasing rejection of nations of fixed identities. Especially, it is said that understanding of national identities is challenged by processes of globalization and emerging new identities (Skobla 2001).

Concerning the issue of the Slovak national identity, we could apply all mentioned approaches to discover and understand better this phenomenon. According to Kolakowski, the national identity consists from five elements: national substance, memory, anticipation, territory and national mythology (Skobla 2001). We could understand that the national substance is in the same time a national spirit. In particular cultural life forms and in unusual ways of collective behaviour the national substance represents the national spirit, especially in the moments of crises. Historical collective memory also might be essential for creation the national identity. In this case it does not play any role what in collective memory is true, half-true or legendary. There are known some examples of lately emerged nations, which fabricated false, mythological linking with the past. The mythology represents a number of legends and meets the purpose of the identifiable start which is necessary for the national self-awareness. Expectancy for the individual is more than needful because it gives the notion of tomorrow’s interests. And last but not least, is the territory what is a special countryside form which offers the vitality for national identity (Skobla 2001).

In my opinion, significant theoretical issues lie somewhere in the middle of „essentialist“, and „constructivist“ position, in the direction of identity. Some writers often doubt about the unclear concept of identity. In their opinion what have to be improved, when speaking about the national identity is, „the cognitive

use of the concept, referring to the way in which individuals guided by cultural norms, perceive social entities and their own place within a world of such entities and it is more emotive use involving some conception of identification or belonging” (Skobla 2001: 89). Others argue that the „constructivist“ position of identity is, „the attempt to soften the term, to free it of the charge of essentialism by stipulating that identities are constructed, fluid and multiple leaves us without a rationale for talking about identities“ (Skobla 2001: 89). Therefore, as so-called identities generate, „the term loses its analytical purchase-if identity is everywhere, it is nowhere” (Skobla 2001: 89). Moreover, „if it is constructed, how can we understand the sometimes coercive force of external identifications? “(Skobla 2001:89). Because the national identity indicates the identification of mutual binds, official scheme of classification or categorization cannot be connected with its assumed outcome- the identity. According to Skobla then, „categorical group denominations, however authoritative, however pervasively institutionalized cannot as indicators of real groups or robust identities“(Skobla 2001: 90). What is consequential for the next deliberation is a postulate that there is obvious identification among idea of ethnic identity and national identity.

I believe that national identity is a social construct that should be materialize only to restricted amount. On the other side, even if national identity is fabricated its creation is formed by „objective contemporary phenomena such as globalization and regionalism“(Skobla 2001: 90). Finally, there is a finding which I consider to be important. The analytical effect is actually the tie between national identity and identity politics. Moreover, this bound is present at both - on national and supra-national level. Skobla further assumes that the fellowship between national identity and politics is determined by two hypotheses (Skobla 2001):

- There is a tangible correlation between national identity and practical politics of the nation-state,
- The basic mechanism of „identity politics“is mechanism of discursive construction of identities.

National rhetoric, a specific discursive framework, helps to stimulate people of broad various scopes of social and historical backgrounds to acknowledge their basic identities as national more than as grounded on gender, employment, social class, place or residence. And building of opponents of the nation was an essential part of entire verbose scope. This politics may drive citizens to identify themselves as addressed by calls to join the national motive. Coming back to the constitutive elements of the national identity, as formulated by Kolakowski, the important question to be asked is: „What are the substance, memory, anticipation and mythology of the Slovak nation“(Skobla 2001: 95)?

The Slovak national identity has been built mainly on collective links of heritage what means that Slovaks consider themselves to be offspring of the original ancient Slovak community. Some scholars argue that Slovak roots get to fifth century and Samo Empire, others, as also Skobla claims, says that Slovaks were present as a nation during the Great Moravian Empire of the ninth century. Therefore, the Slovak nation dogma holds the Slovaks as an ethnic nation (Skobla 2001). On the other side, Slovak language composes a basic and essential symbol of the Slovak ancestry. This might mean that to build spirit of the Slovakness somewhat emphasizes an inclination towards ethnic rejection.

2 THEORY OF CITIZENSHIP

The theory about citizenship is complex and brings more to explore. If we want to make an effort and to agree on a compromise between conventional and post-modern conceptions of citizenship, scholars as Baldwin-Edwards, Baubock, Heater and Meehan treat citizenship as a “bundle of rights and obligations which link an individual with society” (Papp 1999:119). Although the replacement of a society for a nation-state in this definition creates opportunities for unused conception of the connection between citizenship and individuals, the definition fails to clarify how and by who the rights are guaranteed. The rights tied up in the citizenship of the European Union, for example, are given to every person holding the nationality of a member state. Moreover, they are guaranteed by the agents of participating states rather than EU enforcement mechanisms. According to Papp, there are seven rights listed in the Citizenship of the Union. They are (Papp 1999):

1. Free movement
2. Residence
3. To vote and stand in local elections
4. To vote and stand in European Parliament (EP) elections
5. To consular assistance in countries where one’s member state is not represented
6. To petition the EP
7. To appeal to the Ombudsman

More important now is to realize that this idea of citizenship does not help to form a connection between citizenship, nationhood and democracy. It does not include all fitting components these conceptions have in common. Papp argues, that it takes a procedural or substantial approach rather than an appropriately relational one (Papp 1999). Another scholar, Charles Tilly, built new ideas which might explain more the problem of citizenship. Tilly together with Hanagan mentioned following concepts (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999):

- State is an organisation controlling the means of coercion within a delimited territory and exercising a priority in some respects over all other organisations within the same territory,
- Polity is the set of relations among the agents of the state and all major political actors within the delimited territory,
- Rights are enforceable claims, they are the reciprocal of obligations,
- Citizenship is right and mutual obligation bounding state agents and a category of persons defined by their legal attachment to the state,
- Nationhood and citizenship are linked in that a state establishes a category of persons who by virtue of membership in a specific group acquire rights and obligations vis-à-vis the state. Citizenship is considered broad insofar as it extends membership to persons living within the state's bounded territory, and equal insofar as its rights and mutual obligations apply to these persons.

Furthermore, Tilly and Hanagan claim that citizenship might vary along two dimensions:

- 1) From exclusive to inclusive,
- 2) From primordial to learned.

Where primordial and exclusive variety of citizenship is "Folk or Ethic Model" (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). It means the declaration of a moral homogeneous society where citizenship is acquired by heritage. Slovakia also fits to this model.

Another type then is the primordial and inclusive group of citizenship. This type will create so-called "Imperial Model", which advances integration of different people under the command of one national group. Tilly and Hanagan used in his study as an example the Ottoman and British Empire (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999).

The learned and exclusive variety of citizenship could be considered as "Republican Model". According to Tilly and also Hanagan, it is the case where

“citizenship is acquired by birthplace and naturalisation by cultural assimilation” (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999: 126) the example here could be France.

Finally, the learned and inclusive variety is “Multicultural Model”. In this model citizenship is acquired by birth and naturalisation through adherence to norms and rules. Canada and Australia are countries which belong to the last model (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999).

2.1 East versus West

Distinctions between contemporary West European and Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) states are still present. Differences among CEE states as well should be considered as a fact by those who set EU accession standards. First I can claim that EU members from Western Europe such as France, Germany or Great Britain are older states. They have well-established bureaucracies, accepted institutional rules and well-settled rule of law. Their understanding of citizenship developed gradually and mirrors a deeply rooted comprehension of nationhood. Then I should not forget to touch a problem that the volume of EU member states, as for example France and Germany, is relatively high. That means that they are able to form inter and intra-state relations more easily. They have advantage to extract incomes and preserve low levels of violent crime too. Therefore, Western states are better positioned to do transformation required by the assessment clauses in the Treaties of European Union. Finally, according to Papp and Hanagan, the citizenship procedures of EU states are to a large extent governed by the mutually accepted policies of harmonisation or so-called convergence (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). Because the harmonisation indicates correlative compromises between states it might confront political opposition toward further moderation of citizenship laws. In Britain and France, for instance, legal immigrants demonstrate openly for the required degree of cultural adaptation. It is because in Western countries these laws are somewhat inclusive and are expanded already so people feel freer to express their minds. On the other side in Germany where citizenship is relatively exclusive and derived from the principle of primordial, political opposition toward the relaxation of these laws

appears less salient (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). All this causes that the Western states are well positioned to do and implement alterations required by the assessment conditions of the EU.

Concerning the CEE states, which are still relatively new in their national origin, were institutionally unstable from beginning. Their understanding of citizenship has being shaped to match the concurrent demographic, political, cultural, social and international environment. In CEE states, the notion of citizenship is therefore rarely rooted in a fully-developed comprehension of nationhood. Besides, the capability of CEE states have been usually low in that they were not often able to plan and implement strategies that structure inter and intra-state relations, exact revenue and maintain low levels of violent crime (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999).

2.2 Process of Slovakia's nationhood

The process of Slovakia's nationhood has been a long and complex procedure. Especially, Slovakia on the way into European Union had to come through difficult transformation which affected Slovak citizens at the first.

Slovakia in its development process has been always compared with the Czech Republic. The explanation might be that Europe and the rest of the World see Slovakia as a former Czechoslovakia and, according to news and magazine articles people from abroad do not fully understand that there are actually two different nationalities with two different identities. That was also one of the main reasons why Slovaks decided to become independent. Therefore, I would like to point out the main significant differences between the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

A comparison between the Czech Republic and Slovakia shows that for example after fall of Communism in 1989, the Czech state could enjoy a more soundly established governmental and economic infrastructure of the Czechoslovak state. Slovakia was kept all that years, from the end of World War II., as a purely agricultural area. However, Czech state was built as an industrial part which was richer and stronger in economy and politics. So that the Czech

lands were the more industrially developed region of the federation displays also the fact that everything was strongly centralised during Communism from the Czech Republic where the centre was the capital – Prague town. Therefore, if the aim of EU accession strategies is to develop stable institutions that guarantee democracy, the rule of law and the protection of human and minority rights should be assured: “West European standards should serves a point of orientation rather than as absolute requirements” (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999:147).

All these circumstances made that Slovakia was more difficult case then the Czech Republic to achieve development and improve major political and societal areas. As an actor, it was struggling to design the institutional arrangements which would grant it immediate benefits. In Slovakia’s political scene there were mainly zero-sum games and the gain of the party was automatically the loss of the other. The nationhood in the Czech Republic developed in response to state-seeking nationalism, wrote Papp and Hanagan, while in Slovakia this development had a state-led character (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). They also think that during the process of state-seeking nationalism the Czechs developed a deeply-rooted ethnic understanding of nationhood and a moderate conception of citizenship. Since in Slovakia both nationhood and citizenship aware evolving, both were shaped by the bargaining process between domestic political actors and external third parties (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). Slovakia was after 1989 a new separate and also less stable state. Moreover, its population varied ethnically. Slovakia had more heterogeneous population engaged in a much more thorough-going process of state and nation-building. Activities aimed at the construction of Slovak nationhood were primarily state-led. Papp and Hanagan wrote that the process of nation-building includes competing conceptions of Slovak nationhood (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). The comprehension of Slovak nationhood was ambiguous from the beginning and the idea of Slovak citizenship was malleable and often inconsistent with governmental policies. Under these conditions, the EU’s role was shaping the understanding of Slovak nationhood and the conception of citizenship could be significant. The EU’s influence was likely to increase with the flexibility of accession criteria, argues Papp and Hanagan (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). However, this

clear identification of its achievements in the sector of citizenship policy should be advantageous for both Slovakia and the EU.

As I already pointed out before, the early Slovak state was built on the ruins of the former federation. After the separation, the Czech state inherited most of federal state's infrastructure. Slovakia therefore naturally lacked the option of constructing a new state on a pre-existing paradigm of liberal democracy. Slovakia also lacked political figures such as Masaryk or Havel⁵ who could shape the democratic character of the new state. Papp together with Hanagan said that the early Slovak state was also relatively weak in its capacity to extract revenue, control, violent crime and corruption, and structured internal relations (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). All of these defects created favourable conditions for institutional instability which was reflected in discontinuous decisions-making processes in domestic and foreign policies in general. Furthermore, Slovak nation felt lack of citizenship policy in particular.

As I can assume, both the early understanding of Slovak nationhood and the conception of early citizenship therefore, had deficit of cohesion. Slovakia experienced successful national revival in the nineteenth century when the early phase of national rebirth in Slovakia was similar to Czech experience. Papp and Hanagan see a problem in the Slovak revivalists who lacked a "hereditary enemy" against whom to identify (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). The Slovak national revival was repressed after the 1848 revolution and the Slovaks needed scholars as Czechs had. For instance, I have to mention Palacky icon. Palacky basically framed the Czech nationhood. Slovakia also missed a group of intellectuals. Most urban centres in nineteenth century were flourishing however Slovakia was occupied by Hungarians and Germans. Therefore, no centre was established in Slovakia. Even worse time occurred after the 1866 Ausgleich, when the Slovak-speaking population of the monarchy was subordinated to "Magyarization" (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). Official Slovak

⁵ Strong political leaders in the Czech Republic

language was oppressed and Slovaks were forced to study at Hungarian schools. In 1918 the Slovaks were again “effectively” incorporated into a so-called Czechoslovak nation where their national identity was repressed again. Slovaks did not have even their own political leaders until the late 1930’s when finally the Slovak National Party (SNS) was able to gain some significant electoral support. During these times all efforts to create and authenticate new sources of identification were controversial and fragile.

I would like to mention a significant moment long after Czechoslovakia split into the Czech Republic and Slovakia because I believe it can help to understand the position of Slovakia in their national history. In spring 1996, Milan Ďurica, a Slovak history professor at the University of Bologna, published a controversial book financed by the way by PHARE. Ďurica’s book, *Dejiny Slovenska a Slovakov* (The History of Slovakia and the Slovak People), which depicted the 1939 Slovak Republic as liberal, and the treatment of Jews during the World War II. as lenient, was intended to serve as a supplementary high school history textbook. Before, there were no textbooks in Slovakia which would cover Slovak history and connects it with Slovak identity. This pioneer piece of work however met with huge wave of criticism. After censure from the Slovak Academy of Sciences, teacher’s associations, Jewish organisations, and the EU, Vladimir Mečiar⁶ was forced to make a public announce regarding the removal of the textbook from all schools in Slovakia. Ďurica defended his book by publishing another one where he wrote that he wanted to show the truth of the Slovak nation history that the reality was always put to silence by oppressors (Ďurica 1998).

Another case occurred when the revived Slovak National Party (SNS) proposed projects of law that would allocate state funds for a travelling exhibition of Slovakia’s Written Heritage, or would shift competences over history, language and literature curricula from the Ministry of Education to Matica Slovenska. Both initiatives were rejected under pressure from the media and teachers associations.

⁶ Prime minister of the Slovak Republic in 1996

Inflammatory speeches of Slovak nationalists about the role of Hungary in Slovak history were immediately publicly analyzed and disproved.

Difficult period of transformation was not very positive for Slovakia in the beginning. Slovakia was rejected in enlargement process first, however the Slovak government⁷ proclaimed to the EU: “Developments in the Slovak Republic show that democratic institutions are firmly anchored and that despite various political changes the constitutional system is stabilized” (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999:151).

There was also a problematic part about the Slovak Constitution. The 1993 Constitution was written in “the name of the Slovak nation”, which provoked an outcry from the Hungarian and other minorities. However at the same time, the 1993 Citizenship law had a civic character. The law permitted any person who by 31 December 1992 was a citizen of Czechoslovak federation to claim Slovak citizenship and permitted also dual citizenship (Pynsent 1994).

Attempts to establish positive situation for broad and equal citizenship were probable to face impediments in new, multi-ethnic, and institutionally unstable states such as Slovakia. Papp and Hanagan summed the problems up (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999):

- First, the state’s inability to structure internal relations opened opportunities for political entrepreneurs to forward ambitious claims,
- Second, in such circumstances political entrepreneurs were likely to make claims on behalf of the respective ethnic constituencies,
- Third, such claims, more often than not, were bear on the interests of other ethnic groups, and could lead to ethnic discord and polarization.

Neither the understanding of nationhood nor the conception of citizenship achieve clear contours therefore the EU strategies played an important role.

⁷ Vladimir Mečiar as Prime minister

Furthermore, in the EU desires to maintain its influence over Slovakia was mention not to isolate Slovakia and to avoid statements and policies that could be exploited by Slovak nationalists, who opposed integration and should set criteria that take into account the limits of change (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). According to this, it is clear that the EU sets less demanding standards for the integration in the Slovakia case. The reason was that they thought that EU's insistence on high standards in Slovakia might empower the nationalists. Jan Slota, the leader of the SNS (Slovak National Party), was that time against EU integration when he argued: "The single aim of the Western countries is to rob Slovakia of its wealth" (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). Flexible criteria and country-specific strategies of eastward enlargement were therefore more appropriate.

2.3 European citizenship

A citizenship is a term used to point out the affiliation with statehood. Everybody has a clue about what a citizenship is because everybody automatically belongs to some nation. Therefore, state citizenship is very clear and well-used term. But what means the European citizenship?

The Europe is not a state even the European Union do not have the state's features. Therefore, the European citizenship might sound a bit odd while citizenship of nation-states is more normal. The European citizenship is extraordinary in more ways. In comparison with citizenship of most European states, it gives few rights and requires few duties. Another significant difference is that what Holford mentioned: "It is conferred not by the EU itself, but only indirectly by virtue of the nationality laws of member states" (Holford, 2007:86). Scholars as Tibor Papp who understands citizenship as a "membership of a nation state" sees European citizenship with scepticism (Papp 1999:110). Raymond Aron believes that European citizenship is impossible for structural reasons because it would have to involve the transfer of political and legal powers from the national level, and such a transfer would require a sustained popular demand for European Federation. Rogers Brubaker argues that citizenship is likely to remain a bastion

of national sovereignty because its definitions continue to reflect a deeply rooted understanding of nationhood (Papp 1999). Both views are supported by Charles Tilly and Michael Hanagan. They think that “citizenship is one of the underlying organisational features of modern nation-states and concludes that it is unlikely to shed its close relationship to nationhood, because the construction of new organizational relations entails substantial transaction costs” (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999:178).

The second group of scholars dismiss the contemporary idea of citizenship as merely membership of a nation-state. Yasemin Soysal and David Jacobson refer to the changing conventional characterization of citizenship. Papp wrote that these scholars mainly argue that international migration, supranational associations and the nearly universal acceptance of basic human rights constitute an alternative space for legitimating of individual and collective rights. From their point of view, citizenship of the Union is a formal extension of rights to free movement of goods, services, capital and people. Therefore, it cannot be considered a major obstacle to European integration (Papp 1999).

The third stream of explanations agrees that the contemporary conception of citizenship in Europe has inched away from the conventional, national understanding, presents Papp (Papp 1999). Although these authors, in no way share the optimism of Soysal and Jacobson, concern the irrelevance of the conventional conception of citizenship for European integration. Some of them point to the rising fortunes of European nationalist parties at the ballot box. Papp added then: “They suggest that many individuals wish neither to abandon national citizenship as traditionally understood, nor share its benefits with foreigners” (Papp 1999:114). Consequently, integrative pressures from the EU actually contributed to the rationalization of citizenship policies and even threaten the well established inclusive and non-ethnic principles of national citizenship laws. Papp says that this view is supported by empirical research that points to a correlation between cycles of economic decline in the member states with instances of rising resentment towards foreigners and a declining support for European integration (Papp 1999).

Finally, Baldwin-Edwards, Baubock and Meehan argue that citizenship of the Union has had little impact on the legalization of migrant and guest workers of non-member states. It continues to limit the movement of unemployed and young people and has not yet provided the anticipated stimulus for the much desired harmonisation of voting and naturalization laws of the member states (Papp 1999). At the same time, according to Meehan, “the new citizenship is neither national nor cosmopolitan but multiple in that identities, rights and obligation associated with citizenship are expressed through an increasingly complex configuration of common Community institutions, states, national and transnational voluntary associations, regions and alliances of regions” (Papp 1999:114). Moreover, the new rights and obligations in most cases overtook the conception of European Citizenship, making it a post hoc construction with false legitimacy and credibility. Countries which characterize the moderation of naturalization laws in traditionally strict countries like Germany or the trends towards a growing acceptance of dual citizenship by West European countries to the citizenship of Europe are therefore missing the point (Papp 1999). Fortunately, the consensus remains that the conventional understanding of citizenship as a membership of a nation state endures and thus the legitimization of European citizenship remains problematic.

According to Marshall, citizenship is a status which is bestowed by those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed. Citizenship in a Marshall’s vision is thus related to democracy in that balance in the utilization of rights and duties first assist to end the class hierarchy of medieval England and then challenged the inequalities of twentieth century capitalism (Marshall, Thomas Humphrey 1976). Marshall’s theory is criticized by Papp on several grounds. First, since the evolution of citizenship rights was taken place in England, it was affected by relative isolation and by a culturally homogenous society (Papp 1999). His model demands adjustment when it is applied to states where these requirements do not acquire. Second, the teleological model according to which citizenship rights progressed from political, through civic, to social, assumes the culmination of this process in a full welfare state (Papp 1999).

Nowadays, welfare states are under permanent tension from an increasing global competition. Third, citizenship rights in the former Communist states of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) such as Slovakia too, seem to have taken a reversed evolutionary trend: the social rights inherent in the socialist economic systems, the civil rights via the increasing challenge to authoritarian regimes from dissidents in the 1970's and 1980's and finally the acquisition of political rights after the 1989 revolutions. Finally, the relatively new states, for instance states that became independent in the aftermath of Soviet empire, have neither the time nor the need to go through the similar evolutionary process. They can emulate the Western model, and make adjustments that best fit their present demographic, social and economic conditions (Papp 1999).

Another option to Marshall's explanation was presented by Tilly. According to Tilly, modern citizenship can be traced to the 1792 French Constitution which granted voting rights to wage-earning males who took an oath to defend the nation and constitution (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). In Tilly's interpretation, the expanding military movement of the revolutionary state extent the need for conscription and revenue and forced state agents to strike bargains with the reluctant subjects (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). They defined citizenship as a, "tie entailing mutual rights and obligations between categorically defined persons and the state which was established through accords between the state and its subjects" (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999:42). Then the increasing demands of the state and the subsequent inclusion further groups in the bargaining process made democracy possible.

Studies mentioned above do not prove that all new states fit into the same model. Also it does not mean that the bargaining was ended with the founding of a welfare state. Oppositely, the accessibility of the Western model makes imitation not only possible but relatively easy. But then, as Tilly adds, contemporary citizenship rights seem to hinge on the extent to which globalization disables the capacity of states to fulfil their commitments (Charles Tilly, Michael P. Hanagan 1999). The growing momentum of European integration therefore for Papp, might weaken the bond between the nation-state and the citizens but only if it can offer a

viable alternative to the rights and benefits provided by contemporary nation-states (Papp 1999).

For the conclusion we might see the process of integration as a movement which implicates critical costs to the member states. Then the East enlargement would request extra resources in aid and low interest loans. The promise to establish a connection between the nation-state and its self-interest, citizens might most likely endure as a grand obstacle to European integration.

3 THE HISTORY OF SLOVAKIA

Slovakia is a small country in the middle of Europe. It borders on Poland in the North, Ukraine from the East, Hungary in the South and Austria with the Czech Republic surround Slovakia from the West. Slovakia is a sovereign independent state from 1993 and from 2004 it is a part of the European Union. Slovakia has come through long and difficult process of transformation since the fall of Communism in 1989.

The area where Slovakia is located used to be oppressed by many nations so that Slovaks, as a nation, has hardly shaped its national identity. Slovaks were long under Magyars for instance. To find an identity of a concrete nation, for example Slovakia, is not an easy process. One might say that Slovakia does not have its own traditions and that its heritage is adopted from nations who occupied Slovaks centuries before. Some scholars see Slovakia as a former war-time puppet because it belonged to the stronger or to the winner. To seek for Slovaks' identity might be a hard case. I would have to look for specific characteristics such as that Slovaks were occupied by Habsburgs Ottomans, Magyars; or that Slovaks might not have particularly own traditions; and finally, that Slovaks used to be very largely an agrarian people.

Furthermore, the geographical location plays also very important role. I found important to know that Slovaks were mainly mountain and valley-dwellers. Robert B. Pynsent wrote in his book that Slovaks have always been more vociferous in their nationalism than for example Czechs. He said that whatever Western newspapers wrote after 1989 to their readers, it was nothing new about strong Slovak nationalism (Pynsent 1994). Slovaks gained their independence and finally they felt free so that nationalism increased after 1993 in power. Especially the political party SNS (Slovak National Party) was that time one of the leading parties in Slovakia. However there were times, even with very short duration, when Slovakia was strong and independent state. There is still present nostalgia for the first Slovak state created after World War I. Slovak State was present even when Communists banned to mention it in the public. This nostalgia and praise could frequently be heard even now.

More suggestions from scholars are that there is no Slovak saint. They were disproved by the execution of the president of the Slovak State, the priest Jozef Tiso, who was sentenced to death as a war criminal on 14 April 1947 (Pynsent 1994).

In the Slovak history we can find a lot of evidence how hard Slovaks had to struggle to recognize themselves in the eyes of other nations. Before Štúr succeeded, in 1843-1844 in creating a workable Slovak literary language, the means of patriotic literary communication had been Czech, otherwise German, Latin or Hungarian. It took some years before the small Slovak intelligentsia were all persuaded to reject Kollár's "Czechoslovak" ideas and accept Štúr's. Therefore, big national disappointment came when during the second half on the nineteenth century the forces of Magyarization expanded. Magyarization was simple said an oppression by Hungary when Slovaks had to learn and speak Hungarian and Slovakia "belonged" to Hungary. The fact that Magyarization was largely inspired by Hungarian liberals who wanted to make sure that all the "nationalities" of Hungary had an equal chance to enter state service and so forth was, quite naturally, unpersuasive for Slovaks. Although the Slovaks had been promised some autonomy in the new state, when the creation of Czecho-Slovakia⁸ was declared, it was met with nothing like the enthusiasm that was seen in parts of the Bohemian Lands⁹. Slovak became an official state language but the Slovak intelligentsia was small and so a large number of teachers at all levels was imported from Bohemia Lands. Much of the industry had been built up by Hungary in Slovakia from previous era. This failed during the First Republic because it could not compete with the advanced industry of the Czech areas. It is then not surprising that many Slovaks began to feel that the entire republic meant for them that Czech overlords had replaced the Hungarian. However, that feeling

⁸ Which became Czechoslovakia a bit later

⁹ Previous name for the Czech territory

was not so evident among intellectuals, who tended to do their studies in Prague anyway.

During the War, although the Germans sustained it for some time, the Slovak economy suffered immensely on account of the government's keen implementation of anti-Jewish laws (Pynsent 1994). After the World War I., Slovaks did not vote for the communists and so again, the Slovaks had a government imposed to them. Nevertheless, the Slovak nationalism was sometimes encouraged by the socialist state, especially in the wake of the 1964 anniversary of the Uprising¹⁰. The most evident expression was vocal in the form of books, poems and essays written by Slovak scholars. After the Soviet occupation in 1968 the repression of Slovak writers was minimal in comparison with for example Czech. The different circumstances in Slovak cultural life in the 1970's might also well contribute to the fact, that so few Slovak writers joined Charter77 (Pynsent 1994). I may claim that all these matters increased the Slovaks sense of a distinct national identity.

In 1989 was a step in encouragement of Slovak nationalism which was based on a sense of being always left out. That year was very important for Slovak nation. Successful Slovak anti-communist stream VPN (Public Against Violence) did a lot to free Slovakia. The Slovaks, according to Pynset, emerged to have enough self-confidence to fight for freedom and democracy (Pynsent 1994). Even Slovaks do not have the long self-defining stories of national history or strong and leading heroes they proved that the national identity remained strong.

However, there were several brake points in Slovak history which changed the course of history. Essentially, Štúr was one of the national leaders. He defined Slovaks as a nation and modified Slovak language according to West Slovak dialect. Štefan Polakovič, another important personality in Slovak history, was a nationalist who immigrated to Argentina in 1947. He wrote soon after: „No

¹⁰ The second strongest uprising was against Germans- the Slovak National Uprising in 1944

Slovak question has ever existed for the Slovaks. For our nation has never questioned its existence and independent, individual, specific identity...It was always the Czech founders who questioned the existence of Slovaks as a nation“(Pynsent 1994:43). Even Macura, a Czech writer, made a similar point:”...our closest neighbours, the Slovaks, with whom we shared a state for three quarters of a century, have no problems with their identity. They are Slovaks, because they are Slovaks“(Pynsent 1994:43). Havel, who became a Czech president after 1989 pointed out:”Slovaks represent Emotion and the Czechs Reason; the Slovak Republic will be a republic of love and pride for all citizens and the Czech Republic will be a republic of wisdom and tolerance for all its citizens“(Pynsent 1994:45). Macura also later said:”There is something perceptibly female in the Czechs image of Slovakia. In contrast to the Czech world which appears almost every „rational“, almost „calculating“, „combative“, the Slovak world appears to be linked with roots, nature, irrationality, feelings, spontaneity. Slovakia is loved for her „beauty“, „charms“, „sweet song fullness language“, „virtue“, „honour“, „naturalness“, but one also speaks of Slovak „volatility“ and „capriciousness“ (Pynsent 1994:45).

It stays very obvious that the Slovaks perception of themselves has a lot of common with important persons. I would like to use as an example some key characteristics by which Štúr let the Slovaks. His starting point is that the Slovaks are Slavs and thus share the Slav vocation. That vocation had been to provide the moving-power for whole nation. And, according to Pynsent, the West of Europe supplied the wisdom in the foundation of the modern civilisation (Pynsent 1994). The West used to have their crusades but from the time that the Ottomans had started expanding, it had been the Slavs calling to serve the blooming civilisation of the Christian West as a wall against the Eastern barbarians. Pynsent stated that there were Slovaks themselves who had in their historical role primarily been civilizers. For instance, they learned the Magyars how to plough and how to build houses (Pynsent 1994). In well-known movie “Tisicročná včela“, from popular Slovak director Juraj Jakubisko was shown that there were actually Slovaks who built Budapest.

I would like to come back to Štúr and the Slovak national evolution. During Štúr existence, in nineteenth century, Slovakia was considered as a natural dwelling place of the Slovaks who had once their own state (Pynsent 1994). Later on, Slovakia remained ethnic rather than territorial denominator until the founding Czecho-Slovakia. That the Slovak government from beginning of Slovak Republic in 1993 considers the Slovaks as an ethnic nation and Slovakia as essentially designating of the Slovaks' birth-right place is clear from the Preamble to the Slovak Constitution. It says: "WE, THE SLOVAK NATION, mindful of our ancestors, political and cultural legacy and of centuries, experience of struggles for national existence and our own statehood, ...in accordance with the Cyrilo-Methodian spiritual legacy and the historical heritage of Great Moravia, ... on the basis natural right of nations to self-determination, ...together with members of national minorities and ethnic groups living on the territory of Slovak Republic, ...in the interests of permanent peaceful cooperation with other democratic states, ...in the endeavour to implement a democratic form of government, guarantees of a free life, the development of spiritual culture and economic prosperity, ...we, the citizens of the Slovak Republic..." (SR 2009).

These words of national self-determination also include statements relating to four periods in Smith's model mentioned by Pynsent. They note that national minorities have more or less the same status as foreign powers. Smith may emphasize the desire of the politicians to make Slovakia an ethnic, not civic, nation state (Pynsent 1994).

3.1 Evolution of the Slovak identity

The first period of the national evolution of the Slovaks¹¹ refers to Slavs coming into the area which had previously been abandoned by German tribes, and previous to that, Celtic tribes in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. The foundation myth talks about the Frankish merchant Samo. It is very probable that

¹¹ According to Smith's four models

he was an arms dealer (Pynsent 1994). The very important moment was when Slavs elected Samo to be their king. Most likely they did so because they needed his help in fighting against the Avars during 623-658. Nowadays, the modern historians explain why the Slavs took a Frank as a leader: „The peaceful farmers were at the evident disadvantage, faced with the Avar who were a very skilled and professional warriors“ (Pynsent 1994:52). The fact that the Slavs chose Samo as their leader, according to the chronicle named Fredegar, clearly demonstrates that Slavs were democrats by nature. Besides, Samo was not only an ordinary merchant but he belonged into an „ancient minority“. Pynsent mentioned that for his name he clearly betrays that he was a Celt (Pynsent 1994). Moreover, Kučera, a Slovak historian, is convinced that Samo's power-centre, a Wogastisburg, was located where today's Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak Republic is (Pynsent 1994). Therefore, it is evident that the period of Samo's empire is the deep foundation of today's Slovakia and Slovaks.

The second stage comprises the Great Moravian Empire and the arrival of the Greek brothers, Cyril and Methodius (Pynsent 1994). We know that Slovak people remained in the same area where Samo constituted his empire. They established their settlements in the region between the river Danube and mountains called Tatras. “They cut their ploughs into the soil, drove their livestock onto the hillsides” (Pynsent 1994:63). Early Slovaks have found a „promised land“, their new home, and set down roots there that none of the subsequent gales of history managed to tear up. Cyril and Methodius spread the language and did the translations of books in Great Moravia. The biggest heroes of that time in around 902 were princes of Moravia and Nitra, especially Pribina, Rastislav and Svätopluk. The Great Moravia has been recalled as the „golden ages” of the Slovak history. Later on, during the National Awakening in eighteen century, the Great Moravia times were used as a national idea for many poems and books. The two main writers in time of Romanticism, Bernolak and Holly, mentioned the „golden ages” in national poem “Svatopluk and Cyrillo-

Metodiada”. For Štúr too, Great Moravia was the Slovaks’ “one great moment” (Pynsent 1994:53). For Kučera it is important, that by 833 the Slovaks and Moravians clearly had some stable state organization when the Bohemians¹² were still split into the clans. The language which Cyril has brought and in which he wrote was the Bulgarian or Macedonian dialect of old Slavonic. “Slav Apostles”, as Chaloupecky called Cyrill and Methodius, determined which from Slav groups should remain linguistically independent of the Germans. „They created basic linguistic education not only for Bohemians, Moravians and Slovaks, but also the Poles, Serbs and other Slav tribes. Thank to them, Slavs retain their national individuality and did not submit to Germanization”, stated Pynsent (Pynsent 1994:54).

A third period, according to Anthony Smith’s model, is the period often seen as decline. This was the epoch of weakening for the Slavs and therefore Slovaks too. After the Magyar destruction of Great Moravia, the area between Donau and Tatras became oppressed by Hungarians. They called it Upper Hungary. This period lasted from the beginning of the tenth century until 1918 (Pynsent 1994). However, some nationalists would say until 1939, others until 1 January 1969¹³, and the Slovak Constitution says until 1 January 1993 (SR 2009). The Upper Hungary time had two stages. The first took from the fall of Great Moravia to the National Awakening and the second from the Awakening to sometime in the twentieth century (Pynsent 1994).

Štúr’s perception of the first stage of the third period is straightforward. He sees Slovaks simply as the civilizers of the Magyars. On the other hand, the Slovaks had lived, worked and fought side by side with the Magyars for centuries. He wrote “At the time when nation-states were being created all over the Europe and the historical foundations of modern nations were being laid, the Slovaks

¹² Czechs

¹³ When federation was created

were unable to become involved in this natural historical process; they were falling behind. That is why their path to national independence and freedom was so slowly, complicated and frequently thorny” (Pynsent 1994).

The second stage in the third period began with the late Enlightenment. Bernolák was the most influential figure at this time. He was a philologist, who attempted to codify a literary language on the basis of Western Slovak. Another important person in Slovak history was Jozef Ignác Bajza¹⁴, who invented his own literary Slovak for his novel “René mláďenka príhodi a skusenosti”. Štúr, the very important person in the Slovak national history, was a man who led his students not only to adopt his codification but also to follow him into an uprising in 1948-9. The first poet who was writing in Štúr Slovak language was Janko Kráľ. He remains the most original of all Slovak poets. However another poet, Andrej Sládkovič, has even greater impact on Slovak national history. Every Slovak schoolchild even today know by heart the opening lines of the both of his narrative cycles „Marína“ and „Detvan“.

In Slovak poets, authors usually depicted a hero. The hero fights against unfair treatment and poverty. He loves the life and his fated girl. In the end he dies for his love and for country. Another typical Slovak hero was a bandit who rebelled against the kings. Jánošík is one of the most popular. He was a strong young Slovak man who “takes money from the rich and gives to the poor”. Next strong personality was Matĕ Csák from Trenčĕn. He was a baron who rebelled against the Hungarian king in 1301. Csák amassed, often by violence, huge estates. And land, what is now Slovakia was that time under his sway. Matĕ and Jánošík represent freedom-fighters with romantic souls who have no choice but to be bandits because they sought the independence of the Slovak nation.

¹⁴ He lived 1755-1836

In Anthony Smith fourth period, Slovaks gained their independence and started becoming a modern nation. Without Štúr's intervention the biological essence of Slovak nation would have passed partly into Czech and partly into Magyar waters, where it would have dissolved without leaving a trace. The Hungarians closed three Slovak grammar schools in 1874 and also the Slovak cultural organisation, Matica slovenská in 1875 (Pynsent 1994). The Matica, according to the constitution, belonged to the Slovak nation. That was the result of Magyar strong dominance over Slovaks.

In Czechoslovakia, Masaryk and Beneš saw a renewal of the Czech state which was territorially expanded by Slovakia and they saw in the Slovak population simply a biological amplification of the Czech nation. According to Pynsent, they even did not consider Slovaks as a nation (Pynsent 1994). On the other side of perception, Slovaks especially during the Slovak Awakening called the Czechs „our brothers“. This unequal recognition came from obvious reasons. One of them is that it was the Magyars who were demonized. We can find a proof in Ján Botto's famous poem *Smrt' Jánošíkova*¹⁵ from 1862. It is the Magyars who are the „savage Asian nation „and with that savagery comes a dullness of mind (Pynsent 1994:51). That is probably why Slovaks were able to survive the disintegration of Great Moravia. Although they had fallen into servitude, the Magyars were not such destructive as they could.

Another important finding is that Slovaks always felt to be a part of big Slav's family. So too, Štúr claims in his poetry that Slav's idea was purely spiritual and collectivist. „Among the Slavs, the individual cannot love only himself, but he serves the true commonality“ (Pynsent 1994:55). Macura strengthened the idea of Slav nation: „We Slavs, a great power that not only is party to decisions, but in a certain measure, determine the situation in Europe“

¹⁵ The death of Jánošík

(Pynsent 1994:55). Pynsent's conception of Slavs is a peace-loving nation recurs in the fighting for peace, however it is well known that almost all Slavs had been involved into fights with Russians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Croatians, Serbs and Bulgarians in their defence Europe from Huns, Avars, Mongols, Tatars, Turks and others (Pynsent 1994).

And finally it comes the Communist era, which has more parts. First, Communism was not so strong, however later after 1968 began the total repression of politics, media and all state or public activities. It was the time of stagnation, where Slovaks lived in so-called „in peace and stability“. Then it came the post-Communist era when socialism itself became a suffering myth. Macura expressed it by these words:”In the last century two hundred years suffering was spoken off; from the beginning of the twentieth century we have been groaning under the Yoke for three hundred years; since November 1989, speculation has been fostered on half a century's oppression by two forms of totalitarian system. All Czechoslovaks shared the semiotic construct called that world of socialism“(Pynsent 1994:37). Interesting is, that this idea reminds the same meaning of suffering of the Slavs by Štúr hundred years ago.

4 YOUTH

There exist many legends about youth. Since Aristoteles, every older generation tends to complain about youth's behaviour because they see it as more perverted. On the other side, youth perceive older generation as conservative and unable to understand up-to-date events and news.

Another myth about youth is that they are considered to be as "chosen" to be the "prosper future". People tend to believe in youth because they think that they are better, more energetic, powerful and maybe more intelligent. Youth represent a group of people who, in the eyes of older, do not have negatives which previous generation had. Evolution of youth supposes to be in ideas of growth, the positive aspects in the society and ideological visions.

Youth could be also taken as the most delicate group of society. They react very sensitive on changes and social conditions. Therefore, contemporary youth differ from youth in 60's or 80's. Current youth cannot be the "better 80's youth" because it copes with positive and negative effects of today's society. This generation faces many challenges, more than ever before. For example, the issues as globalisation, computer's age, European integration. They have had to come over technical, cultural, economic, spiritual and ecological changes. The young generation chooses between good and bad; drugs and school; cyber world and normal life; hedonism and parenthood; authentic and consumerist society.

The main important stays the fact that now, more than ever before, that Slovak youth have a chance to enrich new European society by values and culture so typical for Slovakia. The new European society has been created and Slovak youth should cultivate the importance and fresh sense of reality. This is the crossroad where Slovak youth stand now. But what do they think about it?

I did a research about youth to know more about this group. I saw that there is an influence from society as a whole. Pressure in a form of social

conditions make youth more responsible. In this relationship of society and youth, I consider Slovak youth as a whole complex- the object of a social act. In the process of social events youth might become from object to a social subject. Therefore, it is important to consider this side of research too. Nowadays, especially youth is changing to be a subject of observation when Slovakia joined European Union and youth generation has the power to say yes or no to integration, new government, president, or Euro.

4.1 Values

The youngest generation is considered to be the main subject of changing values in the society. Therefore the research, analysis and knowledge of values among young people might uncover values of whole society too. Stimulus with which society influences an individual has different effect in various age stages in the human's life. A young socializes, an adult re-socializes (Sak Petr 2004). The same values could be perceived positive by young person and negative by older. For example, "love" is very important for the individual who has high motivation to have a family and children. On the other side, person who is a "pleasure seeker" does not consider "love" as the most important in his or her life.

Some years ago in the Czech Republic was made a research about how values affect the Czech youth. Very interesting findings were to see which concrete values were the most important. The highest ranking got "health", "love" and "peace". Very interesting finding is that "political involvement" belonged with "God" to the lowest values among Czech youth (Sak Petr 2004). The lack of interest for politics showed also previous surveys from 1989, before the Communism broke down. Sak analysed that it could be caused by the disappointment form political development after revolution in 1989 (Sak Petr 2004).

One of the important sign of the integration to the European Union is interaction of our-national value's system with European identity values. According to Sak, we can expect strengthening of European values towards our-national ones (Sak Petr 2004). This might happen through socio-cultural groups

which are euro enthusiastic. Sak tried to search for these groups among the Czech society. The population is differentiated according to level of Europeanization. Under the Europeanization he understands, “a level of real participation in communication from citizens towards the EU” (Sak Petr 2004:11). There is also important that the communication flow is not just one-sided, however interaction is needed. The nation-state level should be widened to the European dimension.

Sak measured also the level of Europeanization. He discovered that more higher is the index of Europeanization, it is also bigger the interest in protecting the nature and social responsibility. Lower levels of economic prosperity show that people who are Euro-enthusiastic do not care so much about material values (Sak Petr 2004). Moreover, people worry about security and quality of life for themselves and others too. Sak also discovered that young Czechs prefer studies before having fun; spiritual thoughts before sensual experience; ideas and plans for future before the wealth; interpersonal relations before career (Sak Petr 2004).

All these preferences in values have same ground. American sociologist, R. Inglehart, investigated that in modern society is occurring now the “quiet revolution”. Its sense is to shift from material values to post material (Sak Petr 2004:12). Sak later defines:” With Europeanization grows shift from material values towards Inglehart’s post material values. In other words, feeling of European identity among people proves changes in preferences of values towards progressive Western European societies” (Sak Petr 2004:12). This interesting research proved that to feel European means also to have post material values. This relationship between values and Europeanization affects the individual as well as the whole society. Sak made a conclusion: “Today, the post material orientation of society is growing due to European integration” (Sak Petr 2004:13).

4.2 European integration

The end of 90’s and the beginning of 21th century have been plentiful of changes. In 1993 Czechoslovakia split up in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. It was the first time in modern era that Slovakia, which is nationally homogenous, has become an independent state. Since 90’s there were many political and

diplomatic activities to prepare Slovakia to join the European Union. Slovak young generation could observe strong political discussions about Slovak nationhood, nationalism, patriotism, chauvinism, xenophobia, national identity and European identity. Sak observed that the specific for Czech nation is that during peaceful times they remain lukewarm towards nation matters however in times of crisis Czech citizens act as strong nationalists (Sak Petr 2004). This might be considered as common sign among Slovaks too.

New political situation after November 1989 signified the end of Cold War and bipolar world. Arising political changes modified also social terms. It was needed to change Slovak history and point out important points which create the national history. Slovak youth finally could learn at school the truth about Slovak history. Before, many of the historic events were hidden and nobody could talk about it. Suddenly, the young generation became more national-confident. In 1996 Milan Ďurica, a Slovak writer and professor of history, published very controversial book about Slovak nation and its land. This book supposed to be first distributed to all schools so that students could find out more about Slovak history which was so many years covered up. As author wrote: "The aim of my book was to correct historical facts which were before written by non-academic state-party. The state censorship suppressed true data about Slovak nation and Slovak territory. Information was falsified so I wrote this book for teachers who want to teach their students how it really was that time"(Ďurica 1998:5). The book had a great response- positive and negative. First there were critics in Slovak newspapers later Slovak Academy of Sciences announced negative position towards the book in where they asked Minister of culture to take the book back from schools and libraries. Strong arguments as that information in book is the "pure authors' imagination" led to withdraw writings. According to author," the Slovak society was still not ready to face the truth. After so many years, Slovaks lived under repression and in lie so they were not ready to cope with the reality" (Ďurica 1998:6).

For Slovak national identity, Ďurica's book would be very contributing, mainly for young generation which need to know about the past to be able to

negotiate about the Slovak future. It is very important to know who are you in a way to understand national values and not to feel lost in the middle of the European continent. Therefore, the education of youth should be done more precisely so that perception of the Slovak history will be helpful in creating the European identity. Man cannot understand the European identity without knowing its own identity.

Since 90's the Slovak society has been coming through important transformation process. Sak sees three kinds of transitions steps. They have their core in (Sak Petr 2004):

1. Society- changes inside the society,
2. European integration,
3. Globalisation.

The second source has been happening in many forms already several years in Slovakia. Slovaks took the challenge to integrate formally in 2004. Big task stand in front of youth too, because they were the first generation who experienced big change. They witnessed when Socialism and Communism started and ended in Czechoslovakia and saw also the birth of brand new European society. The European integration process is very important for the quality of this young group of people, so is the European Union depended on quality of contemporary young generation (Sak Petr 2004). Therefore, it is significant to map and analyse attitudes, values, opinions, social competences, goals and various abilities of Slovak youth.

In practical part of my thesis I will uncover what mindsets have Slovak youth on the Slovak integration and the EU. But first, I would like to mention survey which was held in the Czech Republic. Since Czechs and Slovaks are different in their nationalities, there remain still several common features. Therefore, I might assume that Czech youth might have similar characteristics.

In the year 2000, Czech youth¹⁶ had the most positive attitude towards European integration, wrote Peter Sak in his study. Older or younger group is less positive about EU matters. The young generation in the Czech Republic is the most significant pro-European oriented group (Sak Petr 2004). Very common dependence we can observe between perception of Czech nationhood and European identity. In Sak's study the young population from 15 till 30 years old feel positive about European identity which they perceive as "higher level" of Czech nationhood (Sak Petr 2004:43). Older or younger citizens do not sympathise so much with the European feeling so much also groups with lower social education believe in Czech nationalism more. Interesting thing about Sak's research is that higher level of Czech nationhood influences citizens' attitudes towards higher entities. That means that higher importance of Czech nationhood signifies more positive position to entities as Europe and humanity (Sak Petr 2004).

Youth are considered to be the specific group in society. Young people have to overcome social maturation what might be long and difficult process. Usually it closely depends on youth's adaptation and the social surrounding. The adaptation process starts from the most intimate relations to broader units: from family to regional and from local community to European identity. It is a process of stages which connect to each other. Therefore Sak claims, that the individuals who identify themselves as Europeans have to first recognize themselves as Czechs or Slovaks with their own culture and nationhood (Sak Petr 2004).

The European Union itself believes that young generation is the source and they create the new European identity. For that reason, it seeks for mechanisms to integrate young citizens to European politics. We can find in the White Book of the European Commission project called "The new impulse for European youth" where they write about importance and the need to increase youth's participation on European decision-making. This approach was taken

¹⁶ From 15 till 30 years old

forward on European Governance where it was written that today political leaders throughout Europe are facing a real paradox (Sak Petr 2004). On the other hand, European Union wants them to find solutions to the major problems confronting our societies.

Furthermore, people increasingly distrust institutions and politics or are simply not interested in them (Sak Petr 2004). Local governments with the help of the EU should, for that reason, continue with democratisation of institutions. Moreover, they might try to improve the communication canals with citizens. The representation, at both national and European levels, can and must try to connect Europe with its citizens. This was the starting condition for more effective and relevant policies (Holford 2007). The White Papers proposed open up policy-making process to get more people and organisations involved for shaping and delivering European policy.

The importance of growing participation of youth is crucial in Slovakia too. One of the impulses could be improvement of democratic mechanisms. Democracy should not be taken as just electoral act which occurs once in four years. By improving the system, people would get closer to decision-making processes even between elections. Slovakia puts effort to make politics more transparent however, there is still much to do. Eventualities when citizens cannot participate directly, it would be right to put politicians under the public control. The second condition of youth's growth on political participation is to understand current youth; their way of thinking; their needs; fears and joys. Sak talks about the increasing popularization of information technologies among youth. Therefore, he sees the main communication channel between EU institutions and youth right here (Sak Petr 2004). Nowadays the communication flow became much faster since the digitalisation of young modern life changed. Also perception of social and political life has got different direction. Especially chats, blogs and discussion forums have become very popular among youth. Here they can speak openly about matters and express their minds towards all world. Through these new information channels it is possible to enter into dialogue with Slovak youth and evoke the interest on political decision-making.

Media, of course, plays irreplaceable communication line. Television, newspapers, radio and magazines are mainly just one-way dialog. There is very little change of feedback from respondents. Anyway, media are significant influence sources and politicians use them very often. Broadcast from European countries are specific and people are aware of it. Slovakia in the process of transformation and integration into the EU needed to see how other countries dealt with same circumstances. The idea has been to create one European identity and media have helped in this process. Sak sees two lines in reaching this goal. First is the European identity built up on homogeneously unit in which the most important and strongest members will have the main world in decision-making. The second alternative is to see the Europe as diversity in unity and that protects the uniqueness of cultures, values and languages (Sak Petr 2004).

Media broadcast had also great impact on Slovak citizens between and during referendums. For example, pools about joining the EU were extra important for the future of Slovakia. However, these issues occur every time when elections are in run. It was also the case when people had to prepare for new currency- the Euro.

4.3 Trends among youth

Trends which youth consider as flossy differ from country to country. There are, however some common features which Sak explored in his study. In context with beginning of new information and communication technologies we can observe additional phenomenon (Sak Petr 2004):

1. Generation inversion

Younger generation learn to use newer technologies faster than older. Experience and knowledge is in higher level among young people. Therefore, communication problems between youth and older people are obvious. The generation gap in 90's was deep in computer literacy. Nowadays the difference is diminishing.

2. Life transformation

The lifestyle of young generation varies in the fields such as mental and social. We cannot observe the same characteristics among all youth too. To the mental and social field of young person penetrates media and virtual products. Life of young person has shaped and become digitalized. This process occurs among youth and then it is spread to wider and older people.

3. Cyber culture

Cyber culture arises as a result of digitalisation and modern technologies. Cyber culture brings implementation of the new information. Communication technologies affect separate life spheres of the individuals. Cyberspace is the interaction between man and new technologies which can share various subjects.

4. Shift in demands

Demand is changed among youth and it shifts into digital needs as an addiction on internet and PC.

5. New structure of society

Concerning computer literacy, whole society has got a new structure. In the bottom are people who spend much time by watching TV and do not use computer often. This group of young people is on the digital periphery what means that they are disadvantaged on the label market and in the society compare to youth who use computers frequently.

Youth is very diverse group in the society. Young generation differs in a way of spending free time; in cultural level; computer literacy; education and socio-cultural level. We can see a great separation inside the group which has been deepening during last decade. As an example I can mention trends such as free-time activities. One part of the group demands hard, dangerous and expensive spending of free time, other group likes to sit home in front of computer or watch TV. Sak sees that this split up comes simply from the socio-cultural level of the family in which young individual grows up. It is the family first which has to adapt to new social conditions and use new modern opportunities (Sak Petr 2004).

5 THE EURO BAROMETER STUDY

The start of Euro barometer surveys is dated from 1973 when the Directorate of Information of the European Commission launched a research of public opinion among the members of the European Union. Thus since then, every year two thousand respondents from each country are interviewed on topics connected to the European integration, EU policy and institutions. That is how Euro barometer, a survey of public opinion, began.

The results and summaries are first announced by the Commission in French and English. Later then, they are translated into all other official languages of the European community. The Euro barometer introduces results and statistics by every state individually. Also information about the community is represented as a whole. The survey seeks for public opinion in each country what means in fact that it explores the European opinion. To a large extent the Euro barometer counts on the presence of European citizenship because at the same time there are questions trying to search for how bounded are different nationalities within the EU. Moreover, some of the questions in the surveys are more bilateral what means that it is expected that both sides will cooperate for the sake of the future of the community. Possibly the most exciting thing on it is, that the Euro barometer indicates the separation of results- public opinions between the divers member countries.

Concerning the results of sequential publications of the Euro barometer it demonstrates, that in most EU countries only a very small percentage of people declare having only European identity. According to Open Learn, it is around 5 percent. However, more than 50 percent do not have any sense of European identity (Open Learn 2008). Just among the founding members of the community such as France or Italy the feeling of Europeanism, could be claimed, is developed the most. Unfortunately, it is quite common that the surveys are criticized. Open Learn mentioned that the criticism concerns mainly the methodological assumptions and categories used in most opinion surveys. It may include for example the dubious assumption that European identity and national identity are

the same type of identity. But none the less there is little doubt that the sentiment of belonging to an entity called Europe is rather limited (Open Learn 2008).

Ashcroft and Timms discovered in their study of European values that there are two different moments in time: 1981 and 1990. They later concluded that perhaps there is no such thing as “European values” or in other words that there is more disagreement than consensus (Open Learn 2008). It is reality that in some spheres like in family life; gender issues; and attitudes towards the state and the economy it could be seen some broad similarities. However, concerning, for instance, the role of the individual and religion, the differences are astonishing and do not seem to pass away (Open Learn 2008).

There could be drawn a preliminary conclusion from the information published by the Euro barometer: European political identity is fragile and there is a large alteration among states. It is maybe not right to compare national identities and European identity and claim that the previous is natural and the later is artificial. It might be reliable that nowadays national identities can be conceived as given, while European identity exists only in its juvenility. Therefore, it has to be built. Open Learn published that it is a well-known historical fact that national identities are also the result of a centrally-engineered process of nation-building which in many cases is relatively recent (Open Learn 2008). The important question stays now how far the EU is able to go to in forming the European identity.

Measuring the level of European unity might call for seeking the help to accumulate European community over a long period of time. However, according to the Euro barometer, a number of general points can be made:

- At the affective level, support for European integration seems to be powerful between the primary founders of the community (between 70 per cent and 80 per cent); among the other countries, Spain stands as high as the original six and Denmark is the lowest of all (with less than 50 per cent).

- At the utilitarian level, support is still strong among the “old guard” (with figures between 60 per cent and 70 per cent) and rather low for the UK (37 per cent) and Denmark (38.8 per cent); the other countries are somewhere in between.
- Between 1973 and 1992 support for membership of the EEC/EU increased in all individual countries.
- Support increased when the national economy performed well and it decreased when the economy dropped. In the oldest communitarian states this correlation is less relevant, that means that people do not realize their membership of the EU in economic expressions (Open Learn 2008).

It is good to mention that support for the Eastern European Countries (EEC) reached high levels in the 1970s and 1980s, although, as I wrote above, during this period Denmark displayed a minor interest. Concerning surveys carried out in the late 1980s that was before the Maastricht Treaty, 87 per cent of the EEC citizens were in favour of the unification of Europe and only 11 per cent against (Open Learn 2008). Nevertheless, when it brought issue about the formation of a European government which would be in a charge of a European Parliament, the outcome was quite different: 49 per cent were in favour versus 24 per cent against, with 26 per cent of don't know (Open Learn 2008). But these numbers do not show the truth that there was strong opposition to the conception in two countries: Denmark (with 64 per cent against it and only 13 per cent in favour) and the UK (45 per cent against and 31 per cent in favour). Open Learn commented these results that it would appear that for the British the main reasons were economic (a perceived “bad deal”), while for the Danes they were political¹⁷ (Open Learn 2008).

¹⁷ Concerning about further national erosion

The Euro barometer has been following the extent to which citizens of the EU have opportunity to define themselves as sharing a European identity since 1992. The questions asked in the surveys are:

In the near future do you perceive yourself as:

1. Nationality only?
2. Nationality and European?
3. European and nationality?
4. European only?

The results from spring 1992 to spring 1998 are shown in Table 1 (Open Learn 2008). The European Commission processes these results solely informatively. It might be more helpful if it could be done more in communication to maintain stronger European-identity feeling.

All over the years that the survey has tracked the progress of a European identity, there have always been higher amount of people who sense to some extent to be European than people who identify themselves as only having their own nationality. Yet, as the table proves, the feeling of sharing a common identity does not seem to have become more far-reaching over the years.

The range order among countries that had been fixed in former surveys has modified little nowadays. Although Luxembourg residents are at 13% still by far the most likely to feel European only, the number of people who now feel Luxembourgish only has increased significantly (+8), so that Italians (67%) are now most likely to feel to some extent European. In Portugal (62%), the UK (60%) and Sweden (59%), people are still most likely to see themselves as their own nationality only (Open Learn 2008).

The awareness of feeling to some extent European had grown in some countries such as Belgium, Denmark, Spain and Italy. On the other side, the sense of identifying with one's own nationality had also increased in Portugal, Ireland, the Netherlands and the UK. To demonstrate the results by age: people over 55

were less likely to feel European than other age groups (42 per cent, while the average was at 52 per cent). Concerning the gender differences were smaller: 54 per cent of men and 50 per cent of women felt to some extent European. Among those groups who felt more European than average were: well-educated people (69 per cent) and students and managers (66 per cent). Furthermore, worth is to touch the fact that 70 per cent of those who supported the EU felt European (Open Learn 2008). In the Euro barometer 50 which was published in 1999, there was a question which had direct impact on the issue of European identity. It was set up in the following way: “Is there a European cultural identity shared by all Europeans?” (Open Learn 2008). It was clear from the answers that Europeans classified among the feeling of being European and the problem of whether or not there was a European cultural identity. The acquired responses might not always obey the patterns that happen in other parts of the survey.

Open Learn declared that by the beginning of the twenty-first century identification with Europe in its three modalities:

- Nationality and European,
- European and nationality,
- And European only.

That was at an all-time low (50 per cent) when compared with the 1990s (Open Learn 2008). Therefore, it was no wonders that the European Commission indicated a growing interest with this problem. The question remains whether this issue occurs was due to excessive centralisation¹⁸ or to the inability of the EU to offer an appealing European agenda.

The conclusion of the results of sequential editions of the Euro barometer is not very positive. Results clearly showed that in most EU countries only a very

¹⁸ the “Brussels syndrome”

small percentage of people, around 5 per cent, felt to have a single European identity. While around 50 per cent of the European citizens do not have any sense of European identity. Therefore, the European political identity is very weak. We cannot generalize outcomes since there is a great variation across states in the EU.

PRACTICAL PART

6 BACKGROUND

In the theoretical part of this thesis I already mentioned several surveys which consider the national identity as a subject for studies and discussions. Some of the studies point out that the national identity should correspond with ethnic identity. Skobla sees the nation as a self-aware ethnic group (Skobla 2001). On the contrary, another survey talks about the national identity as a combination of ethnic elements with political components. Therefore, it is probably difficult to adapt identity with ethnicity. In Tajfel's social identity theory develops a self-concept of knowledge of membership to a social group (Skobla 2001). Bačová adds that the society creates the situation for individuals and defines conditions for selection (Bačová 1996). It is up to the individual then to choose or not. The society is therefore a chosen group when a citizen has an option to choose his or her social identity.

Some scholars claim that globalisation and modern technologies have changed the character of construction the identity form. They see the shift from traditional identities to new and modern forms (Skobla 2001). We could consider the European identity as an example of a movement of emerged new identity. The Slovak national identity is certainly a phenomenon which is needed to study deeper. According to Leszek Kolakowski, national identity consists of five components. They are: national substance, memory, anticipation, territory and national mythology (Skobla 2001). In Slovak case the national substance could mean the sense of nationality which has always been enough present among Slovak citizens. The memory element represents history of the Slovak identity. Slovaks as a nation used to be oppressed by other nationalities for centuries. They were occupied by Habsburgs, Ottomans, and Magyars and even we could consider Czechs as a nation which was superior during the federation in earlier Czechoslovakia. Therefore, somebody could claim that Slovaks does not have any identity. That is, of course, not true.

Slovaks were in their beginnings very proud nation. Around fifth and sixth century they belonged to Slavs and they already built up a democratic empire. During their "golden times" of Great Moravia Empire they codified their own

language and opened the university¹⁹ which was one of the oldest in Europe. Slovakia used to be territory compounded from present Moravia²⁰ to Ukraine. Scientists who studied Slovak history express that Slovaks have never doubt their origins. There were always other nations such as Czechs or Magyars who questioned the Slovak national identity (Pynsent 1994). However, from the fall of Communism in 1989, Slovak nation started to feel more awake and demanded for its own territory, culture, language and other national symbols. Successfully in 1993 they created the independent Slovak Republic. From this moment there was a huge effort to form a mature, democratic state which could join first NATO and then the European Union. Slovakia succeeded and proved that Slovaks are ready to be a part of developed European family when just five years after they entered the European Union, Euro was introduced as a valid currency.

As a Slovak citizen, I can feel that last fifteen years have renewed and strengthened the Slovak self-confidence. Slovaks are proud to bear their nationality. The question is now how do they cope with the new created identity which they experienced just recently? Do they feel as Europeans? Do they trust European institutions after so long time of repression from others? Or do they consider the EU as a pact which tries to exploit the Slovak nation again?

As the title of my thesis indicates, I aimed my research at young generation of Slovak citizens. Youth represent usually “new blood”. They are the power and intelligence which gives hope. There are several stereotypes depicting youth as a “successors of the future” or “positive part of society”. In spite of all superstitions about youth the truth is that young generation will soon or later replace older. They vote and chose the right representatives. They are the ones who have the power of whole nation in their hands.

¹⁹ Academia Istropolitana in 1465

²⁰ Eastern part of the Czech Republic

A very new study about Czech youth influenced my work²¹. For foreigners Czechs and Slovaks might appear as similar nations but it is not true. My research is a proof of it. Therefore, I am very glad that I have the opportunity to compare Czech youth with Slovak. Peter Sak explored that lack of political participation around 1989 among young generation in the Czech Republic has increased last years. He also expects strengthening of European values towards Czech national ones. He sees the Europeanization as a level of real participation in the way of communication flow from citizens towards EU institutions (Sak Petr 2004).

Youth in Sak survey seem to have higher sense of social responsibility more they participate of the process of Europeanization. Very important finding is the shift from material values to post material. Therefore, he concluded that to feel European means to have post material values (Sak Petr 2004). The group of young people in study made by Sak were from 15 to 30 years old what is considered to be the most pro-European oriented group among Czech society. Moreover, they perceive European identity as “higher level” of Czech nationhood (Sak Petr 2004). Czech youth are not homogenous group. They vary in what they consider to be valuable in life and what not. Psychologists claim that approving values comes simply from socio-cultural level of the family in which young individual grows up (Bačová 1996). It is the family first which has to adjust to new social conditions and get use new modern changes.

Another very important survey comes straight from the source- the European Commission. The Euro barometer deals with public opinion. It brings a sample which is reliable to answer questions related to the European Union matters. Euro barometer asks every year citizens from all member states for their opinion. The last founded results prove that in most EU countries only a very small percentage of people proclaim having only European identity. According to Open Learn, it is just 5 per cent. While more than 50 per cent do not have any sense of European identity (Open Learn 2008). The European identity is very

²¹ Sak Petr 2004

weak among member states and it differs from one country to another. Under the detailed surveillance of EU opinion, EU citizens expressed to feel more “national”²² than European. From the other side of view it could also show that EU citizens have always been to some extent more Europeans than only having their own nationality. In addition the awareness of feeling to some extent European had grown in EU states, however the notion of identifying with one's own nationality had also increased. Therefore, the European Commission suggested higher concerns with this issue (Open Learn 2008).

All above mentioned studies are talking about the European identity and youth. It will be very interesting to find out what Slovak youth understand by notion “the European identity”. According to Sak, to feel European one has to first recognize himself as a Slovak with his own culture and nationhood and just then he is ready to accept a new identity – the European identity (Sak Petr 2004).

6.1 My study

In my study I aimed at investigating the Slovak youth. Through a questionnaire I tried to gain new knowledge and information which will contribute to answer my research questions and validate my work's hypothesis.

First, I tried to obtain more details about the Slovak youth. What characteristics do they have? Where does she or he lives? Do they already work or still attending the school? Through the empirical study I attempted to explore more about the demographical features of the young generation in Slovakia.

I undertook to find out what is the relationship between Slovak youth towards other countries and nationalities. Do they consider it as friendly relationship? Would they possibly be able to marry a foreigner? Since the fall of Communism and enter the Schengen area, people have much broader freedom of movement to many European and also non-European countries. I am, therefore,

²² Slovak, Czech or Italian

very curious how present youth use this advantage. Do they travel abroad? If yes, then where do they travel? How often? Young people have enormous opportunities today. Hence I asked them for what purpose do they travel abroad.

The core idea of my survey is the questions related to identity. In my questionnaire I posted inquiries what European citizenship means for young people and whether they see themselves living in Slovakia in 15 years. I wanted to find out whether they feel European or more Slovak. I also searched for political involvement. How many of young Slovaks are planning to vote for the European Parliament in July 2009?

From previous studies, there is very little engagement of people with Euro-matters. They do not perceive themselves as just Europeans. These characteristics differ of course from country to country. I tried to explore what is the situation in Slovakia and how the new-comer country copes with economical, political and social changes. In Slovakia since 1989 were two very significant streams. One has been building national identity and forming democratic and economic stable state. People have been creating Slovak nationhood and reinforcing their ideologies. The Slovak conscious has built just recently so I have to ask a question how do Slovak young citizens feel about having European citizenship?

The second stream is the European integration which has been in process since 1993 when Slovakia gained its independence. Slovakia has been working hard in its way of transition into the European Union. Especially, after Dzurinda came to his power as a Prime Minister²³ and did many state reforms. Fico, who is the current Prime Minister helped Slovakia with flat taxes and stabilized economy so it could enter the last stage, the Euro zone. Young people are usually flexible for changes and in last fifteen years they experienced a lot:

- Change of regime from totalitarian to market-oriented,
- The independent Slovak Republic,

²³ In 1998

- State reforms (fiscal, economical, agrarian, school, pension and many more),
- Joining NATO,
- European integration and entering the European Union,
- Euro zone.

Slovak youth expressed their opinions about changes in their country in my research. I present results where we are being able to see if they are satisfied with mentioned turns or not.

The last type of questions set in the questionnaire is related to the European Union. It is exciting to know if youth consider EU membership as positive and see new currency as negative shift which caused just increased prices.

In my study I decided to find answers on questions which might be unclear and interesting for researchers, students, journalists and public. Topic about the European identity is nothing new. Euro barometer and other surveys may seek for the same answers, however I tried to concentrate on specific group of people- the young Slovak citizens who are considered to be the most active and reliable sample. From my point of view, last fifteen years have become crucial for Slovakia and therefore, I am eager to know the young public opinion on matters which occurred.

7 METHODS

This thesis seeks to answer the research questions and test the work hypothesis. I utilized qualitative methods in order to collect necessary information. For that data which cannot be observed and results have to be gathered numerically I use quantitative method. Therefore, this thesis combines qualitative with quantitative methods. According to Priest, the study may use quantitative data on content and on opinion and qualitative reconstruction of the sequence of events as demographical data, data concerned about time and so one (Priest 1996).

In my survey I used questionnaire as a tool to collect relevant data. I made up the questionnaire in form of a Web based survey to collect the data for this thesis. Survey is the term of a group of methods for structured data collection based on questions and answers (Priest 1996). Data collection is gathered up in limited time on a random selected sample. It is necessary that the sample fulfils arranged criteria first. Questionnaire contains various types of questions.

7.1 Questionnaire

Questionnaire is an efficient way of reaching a large number of respondents at relatively low cost. According to Bertrand, the questionnaire is appropriate for media research as: demographic surveys; rating surveys; attitude and opinion surveys; and surveys of behaviour (Bertrand 2005). In my questionnaire I tried to combine all types of above mentioned surveys.

I found an inspiration for my questionnaire from a previous survey run in 2002 and 2003 in Slovakia. Several scholars used questionnaire and face to face interviews to collect quantitative and qualitative data for research project called EYI -The Orientations of Young Men and Women to Citizenship and European Identity. They attempted to examine young people between the ages of 18 and 24, in 10 European cities and in 6 European countries. All this roofed ASA what is the Agency of Social Analysis in Bratislava (Ladislav Macháček 2003).

According to results of EYI study I tried to form my questionnaire to look deeper into youth's minds and I specified questions directly to Slovak citizens.

I also had the opportunity to be inspired from my supervisor's previous research study about relations between Europeans and Turks. I was able to make up questionnaire with the motivation from Euro-Turks questionnaire and the sampling method.

To collect data I utilized questionnaire in form of a Web based survey. Compared to other studies I regard it as a best form how to receive answers on my research question and to test work hypothesis too. I used Survey Monkey²⁴ programme to construct my survey. There are several advantages of using the Web based survey. It's quite cheap²⁵ and the respondents are able to choose time and place to answer. Moreover, a researcher has huge range of opportunities how to create the survey as attractive as it is possible for the respondents. For instance, you can choose a colour, a style and a structure of your template. When you make your survey you can pick a type of font which you prefer. There is an unlimited amount of questions you can insert into the survey.

I sent out questionnaires to a carefully selected sample by e-mails. Bertrand wrote that questionnaire allows a large sample over a widespread geographic area to be reached. It is relatively cheap method (Bertrand 2005). Questionnaire permits to reach respondents even they are not home. However, it needs time to wait for returned answers. Bertrand stated that questionnaires usually produce a low response rate, which can skew results (Bertrand 2005).

I divided the questionnaire into three parts²⁶:

1. The introduction

²⁴ www.surveymonkey.com

²⁵ It costs 13 EUR/month

²⁶ Please see the questionnaire in Annex

2. The body
3. The acknowledgement

First part opened the survey. I said “hallo” to respondents and I informed them about time they might spend with questions. I asked them also to answer all questions truthfully. The body contains 30 questions together. They vary by type and style and I will talk about them later in thesis. The last part is the acknowledgement which I find very important. I thank all bloggers for their time and endeavour to answer my questions.

First time I sent out a link to selected sample of respondents on 23 January 2009. I mailed to first group of bloggers who were supposed to click on the link and filled out the questions. I picked the green colour for the questionnaire and an Arial font.

Since after first round I did not have enough answers and my research would not be reliable enough I collected the second group of respondents and sent them link out on 31 January 2009. I kept the style so I did not change colour or type font. I got several reactions on my questionnaire that some questions were unclear or did not fit to everyone. I did not change anything because I do not think that it would be necessary. There was no important problem occurred within the questions or questionnaire.

7.1.1 Developing research questions

In the questionnaire I produced two types of questions:

- Closed
- Open

I used the closed questions when I wanted to acquire limited possible responses. For example I asked “What gender are you?” And there were just two possible

answers “Man” or “Woman”²⁷. When sensitive information is being sought, closed questions are usually more acceptable for the respondents and more likely to be honestly answered. Closed questions are generally easier to answer and the answers are simpler to process (Bertrand 2005). From closed questions I used:

- Limited choices such as: “Have you born in Slovakia? “ Answer: “Yes”/ “No”.
- Multiple choices: “If you have a partner, is he or she Slovak?” Answer: “Slovak”/ “Other European countries”/ “Somewhere outside Europe”.
- Attitudinal questions. They provide a scale on which the respondent may indicate level of agreement or disagreement with a statement. For example: “To which extent are you positive or negative about Euro currency?” The respondents have to tick a number on the scale from “Very negative” to “Very positive”.

Open questions are those which allow the respondents to answer in their own words. According to Bertrand, they are most appropriate when the researcher cannot reasonably anticipate the range of likely answers (Bertrand 2005). I used open questions, because I sought for more exact information. There are more types of open questions I used in the survey:

- Finding questions: “In which town do you live now?”
- Opinions questions: “What does the European Union mean to you?”
- Specific questions: “Which one of those below defines you the most?”
- Follow-up questions: “Have you ever travelled abroad?” “If yes, where?”

²⁷ Please see the questionnaire in Annex

I carefully drew up the questionnaire which contains thirty questions. I inquired first about the age of respondents; gender; highest level of achieved education; current occupation; and then questions related to Slovakia, as for example whether respondents were born in Slovakia. I also asked if they live in Slovakia and where exactly.

The second part of questions I devoted to relations between the individuals and foreign nationalities. For example I asked what kind of requirements should follow somebody who seeks for Slovak citizenship. Sample could choose from former prepared questions such as: that he or she was born in Slovakia; to have Slovak ancestors; to be working in Slovakia or to pass an epistemic test about Slovak country.

The third variant of questions I set up to find out more about identity. I posed these queries to seek for answers to my research questions and hypothesis. Respondents had to give straightforward answers whether they would vote if there will be elections next week; or they had to express their opinion if they would like to have grave in Slovakia or if they would be able to marry a foreigner. The most important question in identity section is whether they consider themselves Europeans; Slovaks; first Slovaks then Europeans. In analysis I will discuss it more in deep this issue so I we will be able to see how much Slovak youth feel European.

The last set of questions is aimed at the European Union and relations towards EU institutions. I was interested in opinion of youth if they see the European Union positive or negative. More specific, what the EU means for them and what positives or on the other side, negatives the EU brings to them or their families.

Beside certain questions I left space for comments. I find this idea very helpful because through comments from respondents I could better understand their way of thinking and also point of view on problematic issues. Since my questionnaire is anonymous, people are more open to express their opinions and discuss about topic more in deep.

Through these questions, I believe, I found the answers to my research questions and I tested my work's hypothesis. Since there hasn't been recently made any research about Slovak youth and identity common to mine, I tried to cover all questions which might be interesting for other researchers.

7.1.2 Participants

I had chosen the sampling method before I collected my respondents. Sampling is a positivist term for selecting a smaller group to represent a larger group, allowing generalisation from the results, presented Bertrand (Bertrand 2005). During my research I had problems with volume of the sample because questionnaires recoverability was not as big as I expected. Therefore, I had to divide the process of collecting respondents into two parts.

The first part lasted from 23. January 2009 till 31. January 2009. I decided to use Face book as a primary source of contacts. Face book is a webpage where you can connect with people and create a group of friends. At once you know one person, you can see her or his friends and so you may ask them to add you as a friend too. Moreover, you see everyday what are your friends doing, who posted new comments or uploaded pictures. In my case I found there all friends even from primary school who live in all around the World. Thanks to Face book I can be connected with people who I might never meet personally anymore.

So at Face book everybody has a small profile where you can see his or her name, age, school, work and e-mail address. I used this advantage and selected young Slovak boys and girls who are more than 15 and less than 30 years old. In the end from 243 contacts I could use 62 respondents who passed through my requirements. I wanted to keep the harmony in my sample so that I would have 50 per cent of women and 50 per cent of men represented however, unfortunately I was not possible. To have even more reliable results I added seven more people, who were not from Face book but I got them known through friends of my friends and they fit to my survey as well.

The second period I launched from 31. January 2009 and stopped 21. February 2009. This day I also closed my survey so people could not anymore

click on link and fill up the questionnaire. The second sample consist 20 more young respondents from all around Slovakia. This time I did not utilize Face book to collect e-mail addresses and information about recipients however, I found a map of Slovak bloggers on blog portal Sme.sk²⁸. Since last year I already used this way for seeking the sample, I knew it will be safe, fast, cheap and efficient. Bloggers are very friendly people who are always open to help with research. They are spending hours in front their computers so you do not have to worry that you bother them by asking to fill something up on Internet. I selected manually sample from the map, contact by contact. It was not easy since not all people show their profile at first page. Sometimes you have to spend a lot of time by searching for age and then you find out anyway that a person does not have an e-mail contact.

Participants from both periods were chosen randomly from whole Slovakia. I tried to combine citizens from big cities with people from smaller towns so I might avoid the problem that my respondents could have similar features. If all of them would be just from the West part of the Slovak Republic for instance, it might bring similar answers to the questionnaire. I did take into consideration the age and other characteristics of course too, since I had to pass into 15-30 age boundaries.

All together, I collected 89 people who fitted to my research. I sent all of them former prepared e-mails and ask them to complete the questionnaire. After one month I got back more than 140 questionnaires from which 113 I was able to use for my academic survey. The rest was not reliable because there were missing important information so I could not process all data.

²⁸ www.blog.sme.sk

7.2 Procedure

After I gathered the sample, I created a database of all participants. I archived each name and e-mail address. I constructed the text of e-mail so I could use it for all participants. While I was sending out e-mails, I changed just names and grammatical genders.

The first sample was a combination of people who had an e-mail address on Face book webpage with ones who I had to contact through Face book mail service. However, text remained the same. Since I was speaking to young people, I tried to write it in friendly way for example I started with:”Hi Eva, how are you?” I also put emoticons such as “smiley” in the text. Then I continued with introducing myself when I mentioned what and where I am studying. The main body of the e-mail asked person if she or he can join us- a group of young Slovaks- to fill up questionnaire²⁹. I mentioned that it will not take long time and that it she or he will for sure contribute to great academic work. In the last paragraph was about the core strategy of whole research procedure. I asked respondents to re-send the e-mail at least two his or her friends. That means that I used a word-of-mouth strategy to spread e-mails with links to my questionnaire. I used phrase: “More we will be more reliable results we will get”. I tried to talk as “we” so that mentally people would have sense of solidarity and that they could do something good. In one month I got from 89 respondents 140 questionnaires. I have to mention that according to scholars, there is just max.30% recoverability of the questionnaires. So I believe that 113 useful respondents is a good result. In the end I thanked for her or his time and I wished them a nice weekend³⁰. I asked them also to contact me if they would have any questions or comments.

Some respondents were unreachable through their e-mails, some never answered back. But the majority did and that was important. It was very nice that

²⁹ Please see the e-mail form in Annex

³⁰ since 21.January was Friday

I got a feedback straight after I sent out the links. One young man wrote: "Hi, I already completed it and I am sending it to my colleagues at work". Another said: "Thank you for adding me to your sample. I like your questionnaire very much and I cross my fingers for your thesis! Good luck!" I had also funny comments such as: "I did not trust the link, I was afraid it was a virus!" I got also a criticism: "Hi, you should fix your questionnaire, I guess. I cannot mark good knowledge of English and good knowledge of German at the same time".

For the second period, from 31. January till 21. February I used a bit different text for e-mail but same form of questionnaire. Since I spoke to bloggers, I added sentence where I explained how I found them. Also I introduced myself and my work more detailed so they could gain the trust easier. Face book had an advantage that people already "know" each other. But the second period I was a stranger for people so I had to choose my words very carefully to make them sound credible.

Also after the second e-mails I received posts from recipients on my e-mail address what surprised me. I did not expect that the communication between us can begin so easily. I got some positive reactions, when people gave thanks to me and wished me a good luck: "Beautiful questionnaire. But do not say to anyone...I hope you are not a spy...and continue with reading my blog!" Another man expressed: "Thank you Katarina, for your endeavour and trust. It is very nice that you think I am a young person. Actually, I am ☺ but in that age limit which you require, I cannot fit. I am over 30...I am praying for your research and so Jesus blesses you and your work!" The last one was a priest from middle Slovakia.

Between first and second period, when I had 69 relevant questionnaires ready I found out that my sample is not in balance and that I have to change it:

- I had more women who completed survey than man,
- There were very little representation of the youngest group (people born between 1989-1994),

- Majority of the sample were people who live in big cities and in the West part of Slovakia (which is the most developed area).

Therefore, the second group I created mainly from young men from 15 to 20 years who live in the East or middle parts of Slovakia.

After the respondents filled out questions in the questionnaires I started to gather results. From the questionnaires I had to work very hard to gather the results. The closed answers usually brought quantitative method of the proceeding. The results had to be counted and divided into clusters. The open-ended questions were probably even harder to collect, because every person had different answers. I had to find out similarities among respondents so I could come to results. I also had to include comments to answers which sometimes were in contrary to results.

8 RESULTS

This study uses mixed methods: qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative method is utilized where I cannot process the results numerically. For instance, I reached the results by qualitative method in part of the questionnaire where I asked open-ended questions. The quantitative research method is applied for data which I collected numerically from the questionnaires. Data contains mainly demographical or time information from respondents.

There were 89 participants in the survey who were contacted by e-mail. I archived all e-mail addresses of the respondents. I sent out 89 e-mails with legends to the survey and links to the questionnaire. From them, one e-mail returned back to me because of invalid address. One recipient could not answer because his age was more than 30. It is hard to say how many respondents were reached by e-mail in the end because I used the so-called “word-of-mouth strategy”. So I was not able to count my total sample. People were asked to re-send e-mails to at least two their friends, so I can just guess that the total reached sample might be something around 178 recipients. I collected more than 140 questionnaires overall, from which 113 were reliable to use for analyzing the results.

To sum it up, more than 140 young Slovak citizens opened my survey. The IP addresses of all responses are recorded and accesses from computers with the same IP addresses are viewed as accesses from the same respondent. In my survey I will not use or mention any name or contact address of the individual.

8.1 Demographic data

To analyse data I divided results into four measurement scales: demographic data, relationship towards other countries and nationalities, identity and question related to the European Union.

Respondents were first asked to choose from three clusters which each represent another group of age. First cluster are people from 26 to 30 years. The

second is for those who were born between 1984 and 1988. And the third are the youngest from 15 to 20 years old. The results were:

1. The biggest group from 1984-1988 is the second cluster with 53, 1 per cent,
2. Youth from 1979-1983 were represented with 33, 6 per cent,
3. The youngest population from 15 to 20 was represented only with 13, 3 per cent,

Talking about the gender representation there were,

1. Women with 54,5 per cent,
2. Men with 45, 5 per cent.

The sample completed education as following:

1. The University-Master Degree 33,6 per cent,
2. Gymnasium 27,4 per cent,
3. High school 18,6 per cent,
4. University-Bachelor Degree 16,8 per cent,
5. Primary school 2,7 per cent,
6. PhD. 0, 6 per cent.

Respondents could also add comments or to fill in “other” column if they wanted. However, there is nothing significant important for the outcome. There were students who replied “I am still studying at the university”, for example.

Another demographical question was related to present employment where:

1. Student was the most denoted group with 52,3 per cent,
2. Regular salaried worker had 42.3 per cent,
3. Self-employed people were with 11,7 per cent,
4. Temporarily waged worker had 4,5 per cent,
5. 1,8 per cent respondents are “Presently unemployed”,

6. And 0.9 per cent was “Housewife”.

In this question recipients could tag more than just one answer. Therefore, it could be misleading that total amount gives more than 100 per cent. Also here youth could express their opinions and write comments. I had several young people who work as au-pairs in the USA.

The next demographical question aims at the place where he or she was born. Here are the results:

1. In 98,2 per cent they answered “Yes, I was born in Slovakia” ,
2. In 1, 8 per cent, “No I was not born in Slovakia”.

I also got comments related to the born place. In most of them, Slovak citizens were born in the Czech Republic.

On question “do you live in Slovakia now?” recipients answered:

1. Yes in 80,2 per cent and
2. No in 19, 8 per cent.

From those who replied “yes” in previous question I wanted to know the exact place where do they live now in Slovakia. So,

1. There are 46,2 per cent of youth who are from the Western part of Slovakia, in the most cases, from the capital town Bratislava or the capital’s surrounding,
2. Another 27,3 per cent represent citizens from the eastern part of Slovakia of Košice, Poprad, Prešov, Bardejov and other smaller cities,
3. The next group is living currently abroad however, still in Europe. It was 11,3 per cent from European cities as Prague, London, Zlin and more,
4. 7,5 per cent is living out of Europe for instance in the USA and Australia,
5. Only 6, 6 per cent were people from the middle part of Slovakia.

Concerning the marital status,

1. 57,5 per cent are young Slovaks who are single and have never been married,
2. 34,5 per cent are in relationship,
3. 7,1 per cent are married and
4. 0,9 per cent are divorced.

8.2 Relationship towards other countries and nationalities

In this type of question I tried to uncover how respondents feel about other nations and also how they perceive their relationship with foreign countries. Therefore, I set up questions as for example whether he or she is married and if her or his partner is Slovak. In 77,6 per cent the respondents have a partner who has Slovak nationality. 15,5 per cent have a partner who is European but not Slovak and 6,9 per cent have partners with different nationalities but not Europeans and Slovaks.

The next question was whether they ever travelled abroad. In 99,1 per cent the answer was “yes” and in 0,9 per cent “no”.

Subsequently I wondered where they travelled in last five years and there were more than three times more people travelling to European countries than to the rest of the World. From the countries were the mostly represented:

1. Europe: the Czech Republic, Austria, the United Kingdom, Poland, Hungary, Spain, Portugal and others.
2. The rest of the World: the United States of America, the Ukraine, Croatia, Egypt, Tunisia, Norway, Serbia, Montenegro, Morocco and others.

I also attempted to discover the main reason for young Slovak citizens to travel abroad. From five options they chose:

1. Holidays 79,1 per cent,
2. Travel 53,6 per cent,
3. Work 39,1 per cent,

4. Visit 29,1 per cent,
5. Study 28, 2 per cent.

The sample could tag more than just one answer. The “other” choice was left for comments. Here recipients indicated that they travel abroad also to shop clothes, food and electronics or to attend summer camps.

In the next question I asked if young Slovak generation has any family members who do not live in Slovakia. The majority answered:

- Yes in 74, 3 per cent and
No in 25, 7 per cent.

In the consequence to this, I was curious where their relatives live,

1. In European Union countries – 85,5 per cent,
2. Not in Europe – 36, 1 per cent.

The political involvement varies from country to country and therefore, I tried to uncover if Slovak youth is active in decision-making processes. The question was:” Are you up-to-date with current events in Europe (other EU countries)?” The answers:

1. Yes with 66, 1 per cent,
2. No with 33, 9 per cent.

More complex answers came with question:”How likely is the possibility that in your age 35 you'll be living”:

1. In Slovakia, where 54,5 per cent expressed that they will live there “very likely”, 43,6 percent “maybe” and just 1,8 per cent “not at all”,
2. In another European country, when 78,5 per cent answered “ maybe”, 25,9 per cent “very likely” and 5,6 per cent are sure that “not at all”,
3. Outside of Europe, respondents think:”maybe” they will live there in 64, 5 per cent, “not at all” in 31, 8 per cent and 3, 7 per cent said “very likely”.

There were very interesting comments related to this issue. Somebody wrote: "It is possible that I will be working in Vienna but for sure not further from Bratislava, the place where I was born." Or another comment: "I admit the chance to work abroad but not permanently." More people feel to go out from the country, but then they plan to come back: " ...I want to come back to Slovakia after couple of years living abroad." And: "It would be very difficult to live abroad forever☹."

The Czech Republic is still popular among Slovak youth what shows note: "I would like to work in the Czech Republic." Others claim: "Closer to the family is better." And: "I do not feel desire for travelling but who knows what will be in one year☺."

In another question participants had to fill in the most suitable expression for them. I posted a sentence: "I feel that my connections with people in Slovakia are _____ than the connections I have with people who live outside Slovakia." 37,8 per cent consider the relations "the same", 33,3 per cent as "stronger", 26,1 per cent "very much stronger", 2,7 per cent weaker and nobody thinks his or her relations with foreigners are "very much weaker".

The last question in the section about relations towards other countries and nationalities is to express estimation: "In your opinion, how important should be the following as requirement for somebody seeking for a Slovak citizenship?" The reactions were for young citizens:

- Not important that they were born in Slovakia (64, 8%),
- Important that he or she has at least one parent from Slovakia (51, 9%),
- Not important to have Slovak ancestors (58, 9%),
- Important to have lived in the country at least for 5 years (79, 4%),
- Important to be actively working in Slovakia (79, 4%),
- Important to speak Slovak (75, 9%),
- Not important to pass an epistemic test about Slovakia (54, 7%),

- Not important to take an oath of allegiance to the country (83, 2%),
- Not important to feel that they belong somehow to the country (54, 2%).

8.3 Identity

The identity cluster contains ten questions. They suppose to show how the individual sees him or herself in political, social and national issues.

I found important to know how many languages young Slovaks speak:

- “Good” English speak 41, 5 per cent of young Slovaks. 31, 1 per cent talk “excellent”, 21, 7 per cent “medium” and “little” English know 5, 7 per cent.
- 39,8 per cent speak “little” German or French, 23,9 per cent “middle good”, 18,2 per cent “good” and 18,2 per cent speak “excellent”.

From other languages there are the most used Czech, then Spanish, Russian, Hungarian, Polish and Turkish.

There were also matters about political involvement. Young Slovaks answered on: “Are you up-to-date with current events (political, social) in Slovakia?” “Yes” was tagged in 83, 6 per cent and “no” in 16, 4 per cent.

The very core question of my survey was to ask recipients to identify themselves with statements such as: “I am first Slovak and then European”.52, 4 per cent expressed “yes”. Then “I am Slovak” said 34 per cent. After comes “I am European” with 7, 8 per cent and the last “I am first European and then Slovak” with 5, 8 per cents.

Comments are very helpful for my research here too. “I am a human” or “I do not define myself according to nationality”, were opinions which were mentioned many times. Some people still consider themselves as “Czechoslovaks”. Others see their nationality as dual “I am both- Slovak and European”. So there is no superiority among terms. One young woman feels as

“Bratislavčanka” what means that she feels affiliation to a capital city of Slovakia, Bratislava, more than to any nation.

Related to this, respondents were also asked what they usually answer when they are questioned in a non-European country (US, Canada, South America, Africa, Asia) about their country of origin. The majority says “I am from Slovakia” with 86, 9%. Then the rest with 13, 1 per cent answered “I am from Europe”.

The comments connected to issue when it goes about explaining “from which country are you” vary a lot. One girl said “I always say Slovakia, but foreigners think it is Slovenia so I have to explain where Slovakia is located and that it is a different state!” Another reaction: “I say from Slovakia, Central Europe, but anyway I have to explain more because they do not know.” And more: “I am from Slovakia, it is in Europe, near Austria and Germany.” “...for those who do not understand I say Czechoslovakia.”

Slovak youth consider as very important “certain values and traditions” (50, 9%). They are very satisfied also with the “geographical location of Slovakia” (40, 9%). A bit sceptically they talk about “the Euro currency” (38, 2%) and at the last place they situated “the membership of the European Union” (34, 5%).

The next questions where my young Slovak sample had to express its opinion prove or disprove their feelings of identity- national or European. Many people strongly manifested that they want to be buried in Slovakia (74 %). They also agreed in 80, 2 per cent that if they would speak more languages they could find easily a job in other EU countries. Exactly 66, 7 per cent of young Slovaks wish to work in one of the EU countries (except Slovakia). Respondents have nationalist feelings in 86, 2 per cent when they say that they are proud to be Slovaks. Also they feel happy to live in Slovakia in 73, 5 per cent.

On the other side, youth in Slovakia do not agree that Slovak students who study abroad should come back home and find a job in Slovakia (65%). 61,5 per

cent will not move abroad to live in another EU country and 84,3 per cent think positive to marry a foreigner.

There have been always discussions and public polls about involvement into politics. Youth especially are considered to be a problematic group in society because it is very hard to predict whether they will give a vote and if they will the question is to whom. In my survey they indicated strong involvement into voting process and elections in general. 84, 5 per cent of the sample would go to vote if there will be Parliamentary elections next week. Not less than 72, 7 per cent would do the same but for the European Parliament elections. Exactly 70 per cent would be ready to vote if there would be elections to autonomies.

Comments from youth about elections were also mainly positive:”Who does not vote is a fool!” Many expressed their regrets that they cannot vote from Slovak consulates abroad. For example according to Slovak institution, nobody can vote for new President from other country than Slovakia. “I wish I would have the opportunity to vote from abroad”. Or, “It would be great to vote online since I live abroad and I cannot travel home just because there are elections.” Another, “If I would be home I will attend every election!” I had one reaction when a person was wondering:” Could I vote for the European Parliament?”

8.4 The European Union

The European Union questions suppose to indicate what European Union, the EU institutions and transformation process mean for young Slovak citizens. Furthermore, it might show what the sample thinks about new currency.

People were asked for example what the European Union means to them. In 79 per cent they think that it is the “economic integration”. Also “the common politic” reached high percentage – 49%. Then 13 per cent of youth see the EU as “democracy”. Surprisingly 12 per cent expressed that the EU for them means “the bureaucratic community isolated from public.” Another 9 per cent consider the EU as “political and military superpower” and for 4 per cent the EU appears as “exploitation and imperialism”.

I opened a space for comments about this very important issue. Youth could say what they really think about the EU. "It is a status which was created... I think the EU is something uncontrollable and soon it will collapse due to loss of national identity and traditions". Another young man posted: "So far it looks like progress however, I am afraid it will end soon. The success of the EU is depended just on very few people who created it and I do not think that we, ordinary citizens, know the truth." Recipients sent me ideas such as: "On one side it is integration and simplification of trade, currency, also transportation. But on the other side bureaucracy has increased." "It is just business of those who created it." "The EU is socialism of the 21th century." Or someone said: "It is nothing for me."

After these reactions I would have impression that youth do not perceive the EU much positive. However, numbers show that 51, 8 per cent of all 113 respondents see the EU positive. 27, 7 per cent think that the EU brings together positives and negatives. Very positive experience has 17 per cent of asked and negative 2, 7 per cent. The very negative impression have just 0, 9 per cent of Slovak youth.

In January 2009 Slovakia introduced new currency, the Euro. I was wondering how young generation sees this big step further in the European integration. A bit less than half (46, 4%) consider it as a positive shift forward. Moreover, 25, 5 per cent think it is a very positive change. 17 per cent are more rational and answered that it means for them "positive and negative" changes. 7.1 per cent of asked sees Euro as a negative step and 3, 6 as very negative.

"What does it mean for Slovakia to participate in the EU?" it was exactly what I asked my sample almost in the end of the questionnaire. It means "more democracy" think 52, 3 per cent. 92, 8 per cent see more job opportunities. It means better human rights in 80, 2 per cent and "greater times" in 67, 6 per cent. My respondents also claim that the EU does not mean for Slovakia the "end of sovereignty" (65, 1%); loss of national identity (85, 3%); exploitation (92, 5%). Half of the sample thinks that "the migration of more people from Slovakia to West" is negative effect of being in the EU.

And finally, do Slovak youth think that the Slovak membership in the European Union has impact on:

1. Them personally (94,5 per cent),
2. Older generation (61, 1 per cent).

One respondent said: "Older generation feels every change as a step backward." Another agreed: "Older generation adapts harder to everything new." Somebody wrote: "I think that older people do not know how to integrate into a new European society. I see the problem in foreign languages too. For example, my grandma does not understand a word in English. Everywhere now there are English words: on billboards, in TV, radio. Therefore, she feels excluded from the society." Then one young lady expressed: "The older generation differs. Some of them try to acclimatize, others do not want to." Another person sees the change positive for older: "Even for them it is a positive change. They just do not realize it anymore." Another opinion has more supporters: "I can travel but they cannot." "Older people always seek for a culprit to excuse why they cannot do this and that. So now it is the European Union." "I think old people do not see any significant changes except the Euro." The positives were mentioned too: "The EU membership has a big impact on youth who travel abroad to earn money and to settle down. For older generation the EU does not mean so much." The last comment is from man who feels positive about Schengen: "For me personally the positive is the membership in Schengen".

8.5 Validity and reliability of the sample

Naturally, I have to analyse the validity and reliability of my respondents and questionnaire to prove that my work and results are trusty. Concerning the sample I selected it very carefully. As I already mentioned I used Face book community in order to seek for respondents who would fit. There were important criteria such as young age and Slovak citizenship. I also decided to pick up 50% of men and 50% of women. Furthermore, I wanted to have young people from whole Slovakia represented in my survey so I had to select the same number from

West, East and middle of Slovakia. I also had a lot young people who are currently living, studying or working abroad.

Since Face book is community of “friends” there could be the same type of people portrayed. For example what I found out later, on Face book many young Slovaks are Euro-enthusiastic. The majority live in big cities in Slovakia and abroad such as Bratislava, Prague, London, New York, Sydney and so one. Therefore, results after first period could lead to false assumptions.

During the second period I aimed at youth from small cities and villages mainly from the East and middle Slovakia. I also directed at the youngest group who were respondents from 15 to 20 years old because from the first period there were a lack of them. I missed the balance between women and men so the second selection contained mostly men.

This artificial forming of sample might cause that results are different. For example with gender balance it could show that women are more active in joining research. In the beginning I had half men and half women represented so maybe if I would leave it, overall outcome will not be the same.

I might have worries about the number of response rates on e-mails. The e-mail unfortunately belongs to a medium which does not have high reliability among people. Even when I sent each e-mail separately with salutation of each person thus it did not look as a spam, many people did not react at all. They might not use their e-mail addresses anymore or they might not open my e-mails because they did not trust me.

Also chosen method “word-of-mouth” could not work properly. It might happen that when I asked a respondent to send it to at least two other his or her friends who are under 30 and have Slovak citizenship, he or she may not respect my requirements. They may send it to older friends, friends who are not Slovaks or they might not re-send the e-mails at all.

Since I did all research just by myself, I could not allow a bigger sample. In the end I had 113 finished responses what might be not enough for validity of the survey. The sample might not meet the truthful characteristics of the Slovak

youth population. It would be needed to repeat the survey with larger sample and compare results.

The quantitative Web based survey was used in this thesis. The problem underlying here is that it is not possible to know who did fill out the survey. The person receiving a questionnaire may not be the same person filling out questions. It would have been conceivable to develop a deeper insight by having an additional qualitative survey. In addition, I cannot assess if the answers are truthful or not. It is impossible to verify results or to prove that someone lied or filled out the answers just for fun.

8.6 Validity and reliability of the questionnaire

There were also problems with questionnaire. Some recipients were complaining that they cannot tag the same rating “excellent” in both English and German/French columns. Therefore, they had to mark lower option and this might bring false results. There was one type of questions when recipients could mark more than a one answer. This could be misleading when counting results.

Another problem popped up when some from the sample wrote instead of a meaningful answer a sign or an emoticon or other “funny” thing such as: “x”, “-“, “☺”, “uff” and so one. Their answers counted to the survey’s results because the Web programme is set up that since there is something written in the column it considers it as a relevant answer. This can mislead results of the survey.

To come to analysis I had to count numbers, especially in the qualitative part of the survey. I might make a numerical mistake somewhere, even though I was very careful and I verified the outcome twice. In addition, I had to round off every number, thus the results might be biased. This could skew analysis of the survey.

9 ANALYSIS

In analysis I utilized the same clusters in order to make results more understandable. In this part of the thesis I put together the quantitative and qualitative data to discover more about youth. I also process intensely the results. I am seeking here more deeply for information about demographic data, the relationship towards other countries and nationalities, the identity and the European Union. In analysis I try to find the answers on my research questions too.

9.1 Demographic data

According to the results from questionnaire, more women (54, 5%) sent back answers than men (45, 5%). Group of young people from 21 to 25 years old were represented the most (53, 1%). They obtained University degree with Master or Engineer in 33, 6 % or Grammar school in 27, 4 %. That correlates with age and also occupation status which shows that the majority of youth in my survey are still students (52, 3 %). The other big group are those who work and have regular salary (42, 3 %). It was very predictable that most of respondents were born in Slovakia (98, 2 %) and also 80, 2 % live currently in the Slovak Republic.

Many of respondents live in big cities in the West part of Slovakia (46, 2%) then the rest is from East (27, 3%) and surprisingly from other European countries (11, 3%). Youth around 25 years old who already finish their university degree work abroad, what correspond also with a number of people who are currently employed.

A lot of young Slovaks do not have any partner or have never been married (57, 5%). Less than 35% expressed that they have a boyfriend or girlfriend. Moreover in more than 77% they have a partner who has the Slovak nationality. However, more than 84% of respondents will not have any problem to marry a foreigner. I could say that young generation still feels that they have time for a serious relationship. This group of people may still like to enjoy their lives and

studies while they are free, without partners. Marriage comes late for young people nowadays, they want to travel and relish from single life.

9.2 Relationship towards other countries and nationalities

More than 99 per cent of recipients have already travelled abroad. Among the most visited places belong countries which are the closest to Slovakia. Neighbouring states as the Czech Republic, Austria, Ukraine and Poland are on the top of the list. People said that they often go abroad for vacation (79, 1%) or for travelling (53, 6%). Many of them expressed that they travel often for shopping, what might explain why they go to the states which border with Slovakia. Among youth more than 39 per cent work abroad and just 28% study. More than 29% travel to other countries to visit relatives (74, 3%) from more than 85 per cent live in Europe. Therefore, respondents expressed that they have in more than 38 per cent the same relations with Slovaks than with people from abroad. Very interesting is the fact that a good relationship “Slovak-foreigner” has tendency to increase. Further, more than 33% said their relations are stronger with people living out of Slovakia and more than 26 per cent claim their relationships are much stronger with foreigners than with Slovaks.

Also Slovak youth are very interested in politics in other European countries (66, 1%). However, Slovak political matters still dominate. If we compare youth who expressed that are up-to-date with Slovak political issues (83, 6%) we can see that respondents feel much more interested in Slovakia than in Europe. On the other hand, it is a positive sign because there is more than a half of all youth who really pay attention towards Europe and the European Union.

The sample showed that youth will like to stay to live in Slovakia when they will be older. Even they are working or studying now abroad they think that they will come back to Slovakia (54, 5%). In addition they wrote that they might be living abroad in one of the European countries (78, 6%) or other non-European countries (64, 5%). Here comments proved that youth value highly the family, home and traditions so they want to return to their country and live there.

According to results, young Slovak generation has very positive attitude towards immigrants living in Slovakia. More than 79 per cent youth think that a person who asks for Slovak citizenship should live in Slovakia for at least five years and have a permanent job there. They also see very important (in 75, 9%) that he or she speaks Slovak. Respondents expressed that they do not agree that in Slovakia could be less immigrants (70%) furthermore, they are very positive and open towards people coming to work and live in Slovakia.

9.3 Identity

The interpretation of identity belongs to the essence of my thesis. The young Slovaks characterized themselves first as the Slovak citizens and then Europeans (52, 4%). It says that they feel both, Slovaks as a state belonging and Europeans as a continent's affiliation. However, more than 34 per cent of youth perceive themselves as just Slovaks. Therefore I assume that there is still very strong national feeling among Slovaks. Especially smaller cities and villages incline more to have strong nationhood.

Comments from respondents are very helpful to understand what the individuals mean by saying "I am Slovak and then European" or "I am Slovak." They marked "both nationalities" because, as they claim, „Slovakia is in Europe. Since we are Slovaks that means we are Europeans too." Many wrote that they feel to be first the human beings. This group does not feel any connection with national or European citizenship. Some of them they even have stronger local than national affiliation and say, "I am Bratislavčanka," or "I am Východniar". That means that they admit to be a part of Slovakia, they feel belonging to a concrete town or part of country.

Also more than a half of asked people wrote that they respect Slovak national traditions and values. Further, more than 40% see as very important Slovak geographical location. Few people consider important entering the Euro zone and even less the membership in the EU. This numbers pointed out that for Slovak youth is very important to be Slovaks and to share Slovak traditions and

values. Even this group belongs to the pro-Europeans the most from all society, the national feeling plays big role.

9.4 The European Union

Concerning the positive or negative perception of the European Union and European transformation I can claim, according to results, that more than a half young Slovak citizens see the EU positive. One third of the sample has mixed feelings and thinks that the EU has positive and also negative impact on Slovakia and its citizens. I assume that this bunch of people (27, 7%) is in the same time group above 25 years old (33, 3%). It might be older youth who think more realistic about trends and prognosis. Very good sign, in my opinion, is that just 3% of my sample feels negative about the EU. To compare my results with the Euro barometer, there is approximately fifteen per cent less of people who think just positive about the EU. However, the number of “positive pragmatics” matches with my sample almost identically (Commission 2001).

It is also very interesting to discover what exactly the European Union means for young Slovaks. In the Euro barometer the “economic integration” was placed as third with 34% however, in my survey respondents expressed that the “better economic situation” for Slovakia is the most important (79%). Slovak youth seem to be much more positive about seeing the EU as a “better future for the state” than the Euro barometer showed. 34 per cent of all Europeans feel that the EU brings better future. In Slovakia more than a half of youth think the same. For 29 per cent of Europeans the EU means also “more job opportunities”. For more than 92 per cent of young Slovaks open job market is very important. The European Union as a “better future” consider 64% of Slovaks and 34% of all Europeans. Slovaks appreciate very much the increased attention about human rights (80%). The Euro barometer discovered that it is just 13 per cent among Europeans who perceive humans right as improved (Commission 2001). Thinking about comments from respondents, some of them said that the EU might help Slovakia in economics. But on other side, it might harm Slovak nation due to loss of traditions and national values. Some people think that just few individuals who

created the EU really understand what is going on there. This shows that young citizens are not enough informed about the European Union's activities or they do not know where to search for these information.

Concerning the positive inclination for common currency, in the Euro barometer study more than 75 per cent of Europeans were in favour (Commission 2001). Among Slovak youth there is 46 per cent who are positive and 25 per cent who are absolutely in favour. Just 17% considers Euro as positive and also as negative feature.

Difference between older and younger generation in Slovakia seems to appear as not so big. Slovak youth are very much influenced by the European matters (94%) and they think that also their parents and grandparents feel the impact of changes (60%). However, they expressed that older people tend to criticize more and that they do not understand enough express changes and information. Older people could be discriminated by language since English has become often used in public. To know better the European Union, one has to be also computer literate and old people after fifty can hardly catch this knowledge.

9.5 Profile of the young Slovak

I decided to create a profile from the sample according to the results to see some kind of "prototype" of young Slovak citizen. Important is to know how he or she thinks and what attitudes and values he or she respects towards Slovakia and the European Union. It might also help to understand better the behaviour of youth and clarify results of the survey.

My young Slovak person is a woman in her twenties. She is a student. This woman lives in the West part of Slovakia in a bigger town. She travels to other European countries for a vacation. Some of her relatives moved abroad and now they live somewhere in Europe. The typical Slovak young individual is still single. She speaks excellent Czech, good English and she also has basics from German or French and Spanish. Her wish is to improve her language skills so that she could find a job abroad easier. She has friends living abroad who are different nationalities. This woman expresses that she has the same strong relations (or

maybe even stronger) with foreign friends than with those from Slovakia. The typical Slovak young person is highly up-to-date with current internal political, economical and social issues. Moreover, she is very well informed about what is happening in other countries too. She thinks positive about the European Union. About the integration process, she values the economical progress of Slovakia the most. Especially introducing new currency she finds as a positive step.

The young Slovak individual has strong national feeling even she is Euro-enthusiastic. She definitely considers herself as a Slovak citizen and then as the European. Comparing this finding with the Euro barometer, 34 per cent of Slovak youth does not feel as Europeans at all when in the Euro barometer it is more than 50 per cent. Most of the Europeans think about themselves first as Italians, French or Latvians and then Europeans (Commission 2001). My prototype stresses on national values and traditions first. Further she finds Slovakia's strategic geographical position in Europe as the luck. She perceives Slovak integration process into the EU as successful especially she likes that there are more job opportunities and that she can travel and work abroad without any permission. She feels influenced by changes during last fifteen years however her identity affiliation has not changed. She is happy that she lives in Slovakia and even she would travel abroad to work, she wants to come back to her country. Very likely she will be living in Slovakia in her 35 and maybe somewhere else in Europe. The Slovak "prototype" knows that many foreigners, for example from America, do not know where Slovakia is located so she always says to them "I am from Slovakia" instead of "I am from Europe". She likes to explore new cultures and nationalities and she does not feel xenophobic. However, she thinks that an immigrant who asks for Slovak citizenship should speak Slovak and work in Slovakia for more than five years.

My young Slovak "example" is active in politics and attends elections for Slovak Parliament but also the European Parliament. She is more or less satisfied with current political environment within Slovakia and Europe but she knows that her vote is still very important. It is not so far away when state was robbed by some individuals held in power and when media were under censorship. Now

things have changed and she knows that it is due to young active generation who is not passive, on the contrary, they want Slovakia to be strong, stable and democratic state.

10 DISCUSSION

I undertook to write a thesis about Slovak political identity. I aimed at youth and created questionnaire to discover more about politics and identity building in Slovakia. From previous studies I had some know-how however, it was hard and long process. I started in November 2008 with thesis' outline and ended up in June with analyzing my research questions.

Slovak youth is a specific group which is not homogeneous inside. I belong to the young generation who “survived” Communism, Violet revolution, new Slovak Republic with corrupted government, transformation process and joining NATO, the European Union, Schengen and the Euro zone. Honestly said, I am confused what was good and what was bad, whether it was right to join the EU or to change currency just ten years after the revolution.

These questions and answers are for analytics besides this is not the subject of my thesis. My target was to examine youth in Slovakia and find out how they feel about Slovakia and the EU. My goal was to seek if youth turned more into the EU level after many successful shifts in economy, politics and social life. Or whether has their socio-political horizon remained mainly national. So-called Europeanization is the shift of loyalty of the citizens from nation-state to Europe. I aimed to explore if this has been actually happening in Slovakia and if, how much Slovak youth respect their political and individual goals.

I picked up this topic myself because it has always been interesting for me to question the national or European identity. In Slovakia there are not many studies about national or European identity. To be more specific, I found just one study about Slovak youth and identity. To touch other European states I used the Euro barometer survey which I consider to be very reliable and useful source of inspiration. I created questionnaire which I posted on Web. I find it as the easiest and cheapest way how to do research for Master's thesis. One could claim that the recoverability of such questionnaire is very small however thanks to “word-of-mouth” method I got enough answers to finish my Master's thesis.

In the beginning I introduced three research questions:

1. "Do Slovak youth feel European?"
2. "Do Slovak youth turn more to the EU level for their political or individual goals?" Or does their socio-political horizon remain mainly national?"
3. "Does the shift of loyalties from nation-state to Europe occur among Slovak youth?"

I set up also the work hypothesis:

"Slovak youth is pro-European oriented heterogeneous group with strong national feeling".

So now, after analysing the results I shall answer my questions:

1. "Slovak youth feel first affiliation with their own nation, traditions and values thus they consider themselves to be proud Slovaks and then Europeans."
2. "Slovak youth is very active group who takes care about national as well as international politics. Their individual goals moved towards EU level because they like to benefit from advantages of the EU membership. However, their political goals stayed at national level because they feel important to preserve their own Slovak national expression."
3. "There is no direct answer for this question because Slovak youth feel patriotism to the country, traditions and values which they respect. They do not feel loyalty to the political parties which they see just as a tool to gain more for the Slovak Republic- the wealthy, stable and democratic state."

According the research answers, I can claim my work hypothesis as veracious. The young Slovak generation is aware that also thanks to the integration into the European Union Slovakia has transformed from developing to developed state. They are profiting now from opened borders, great job opportunities and strong currency. Nevertheless, they remain national-oriented. Maybe it comes from Slovak history that even after hundreds of years of oppression they kept own

identity, language and symbols. This national identity might be so strong that young generation is identified as “Slovaks in Europe”.

10.1 Limitations and directions for future research

Although we have already the results which might help us in understanding the Slovak youth and European identity, this study has known limitations. Overcoming them can be a direction for future research.

First, there is almost no literature, documents or studies about European identity connected to Slovak youth yet. Therefore, I couldn't draw on experiences which would fit my thesis the best. Instead of that I used mainly literature from other parts of Europe. Compared to Slovakia, other cultures and people may differ in basic features.

Second, there were 113 respondents who answered correctly and I have included them to the survey. I would prefer to have larger sample to acquire more relevant results. I also felt a time pressure when I had to concentrate on daily lectures instead of doing research. I would appreciate to have time to seek for more information and discover more about politics of European identity building in Slovakia among youth.

Third, I would appreciate some help to better understand numbers in quantitative data proceedings. I am not a skilled researcher and I might make some mistakes. There would be necessary to have the help with English grammar, spelling, syntax and vocabulary too.

Moreover there is lack of scholars in Slovakia who would explore more about problem of European identity among youth in Slovakia. Nowadays, there is known one study from Slovak scholars who work and live abroad. There is need to explore this issue more closely. In other European countries problem of European identity is increasing on its popularity, thus I believe that soon there will be more studies from Slovakia too.

For the future research I would have some ideas such as to have much bigger sample of respondents. There could be national sample with more than

2000 people. Then it would be possible to concentrate on more specific questions. It would be very interesting to find out more about politics of identity building in Slovakia. Or it might be a good idea to specify on older generation instead of youth and see if they are loyal to nation-state or to Europe. Since this area is still unexplored there are plenty of research ideas which could be investigated.

CONCLUSION

The Slovak national identity could be compared with a Slovak national ice-hockey team in the period from 1993 till 2003³¹. Slovakia success in the integration is considered as a result of many years effort to acquire professional performances and career as well as result of the whole nation's struggle for independency, international recognition and respect from other partners after 1993.

The European Union has been similar challenge for the Slovak Republic. After fall of Communism and creation of new independent republic, election results in 1994 cut all possible processes of acceptance the Slovakia Republic as a suitable partner for NATO as well as for the EU. Fortunately the situation changed in 1998 especially thanks to young generation who realized that Slovakia dropped already very deep and stopped corrupted politics to continue in parliamentary agony. The new government received a mandate to accelerate the process of the European integration of the Slovak Republic what was supported by young Slovak nation. There were made many reforms and luckily in 2002 Slovakia became a member of NATO. Soon after, in 2003 along with the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, Slovenia, Estonia and Malta successfully concluded pre-accession negotiations for the EU membership. Slovakia officially became a member in 2004, just one year after. This high enthusiasm about independent successful Slovak Republic does not mean a lower eagerness about the EU. On the other side, Macháček claims that young citizens from the capital city Bratislava considered being European citizens as more important than young generation from Prague (Ladislav Macháček 2003).

The idea of national and political identity has always been very interesting for me. Also nowadays we could observe that Slovak youth is very progressive and rapacious group who changes Slovak's history. Young and educated Slovaks

³¹ In 2003 they won gold in World Iced Hockey Championship.

care about their land. The identity remains still Slovak and even they enjoy travelling and working in the European Union's countries they always come back home- to Slovakia where they have families and friends.

I can claim that during writing this thesis I became more proud of my nation and country. Seeking for history and information which nobody learned me at school because it was forbidden or hidden, opened my eyes and mind. First I had to come through a lot of literature since there is no single special book about Slovakia and its political identity. I slowly gather up information I needed, and in the same time I launched online research. I had an idea and a plan how to move ahead and my previous experiences helped me a lot.

In the very beginning I started to think about topic for my Master's thesis in November 2008. The idea of political identity in Slovakia sounded very excited. Especially the fact that I had specified my target on young Slovak citizens made me very enthusiastic. I decided to run the research from January 2009 and I collected together 113 completed and reliable questionnaires. I created 30 questions which, I believe, met the requirements for the thesis. That time I also searched for literature and from March, when I had the research done I started to write the theoretical part of my thesis. I aimed at the personal and social identity among youth in Slovakia and whether their socio-political horizon remained stable or moved from nation- state to European, after the European integration. The practical part I began to write in April. Analysis was the most difficult part because it took very much time till I discovered the outcomes from questions posted in the research. In the end I answered research questions and verified my work hypothesis. I found out that Slovak youth are national-oriented but very pro-European because they value home, family and traditions. On the other side they also profit from stable currency, free travelling and other advantages.

I can say that I enjoyed working with empirical data and international literature very much. I hope that this work has contributed not just into my personal academic progress but I believe that also other students, scholars and wider society may find many interesting discoveries in this Master's thesis.

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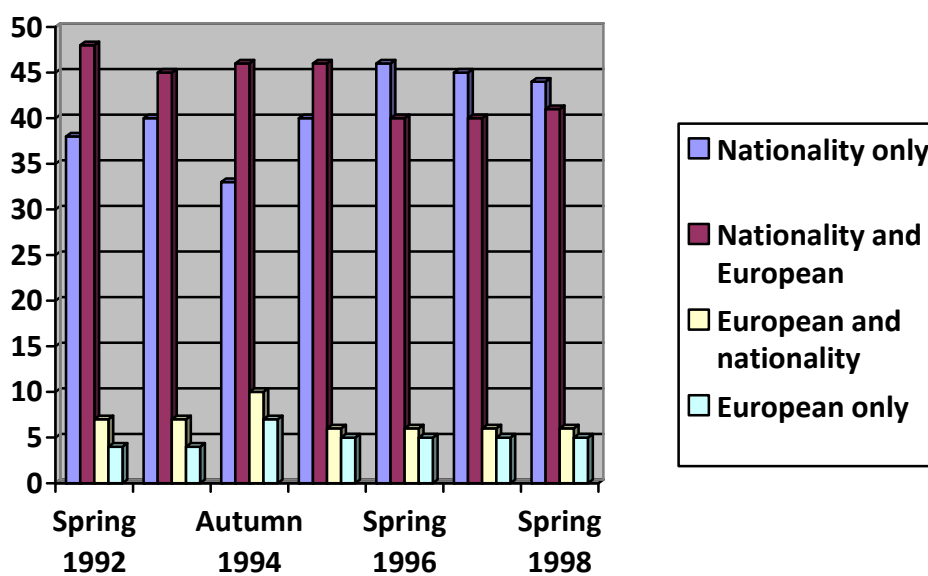
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LIST OF CHARTS

**Table 1: Responses to survey question, spring 1992 to spring 1998
(in percentages)**

| | Spring 1992 | Autumn 1993 | Autumn 1994 | Autumn 1995 | Spring 1996 | Spring 1997 | Spring 1998 |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Nationality only | 38 | 40 | 33 | 40 | 46 | 45 | 44 |
| Nationality and European | 48 | 45 | 46 | 46 | 40 | 40 | 41 |
| European and nationality | 7 | 7 | 10 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| European only | 4 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |



(Source: Open Learn 2008)

LIST OF ANNEXES

ANNEX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

„Do Slovak Youth Feel as European?“

Year of birth

1979- 1983

1984-1988

1989-1994

Gender

Male/Female

What is the highest level of education which did you complete?

High school

Gymnasium

University- Bachelor Degree

University- Master degree

PhD.

Present job status

Regular salaried worker

Temporarily waged worker

Self-employed

Presently unemployed

Student

Housewife

Have you born in Slovakia?

Yes/No

Do you live in Slovakia now?

Yes/No

If yes, where do you live in Slovakia?

..... .

Have you ever travelled abroad?

Yes/No

If yes, where did you travel during the last year?

..... .

For what purpose did you travel there?

Studies

Work

Travelling

Holidays

Visit

Other..... .

Do you have family member/members who doesn't/don't live in Slovakia?

Yes I do have/ No I don't have

If yes, where?

In EU countries

Not in Europe

Are you

married?

cohabitating?

single?

widow, divorced?

(If married or cohabitating) Is your partner Slovak?

Slovak

Other European countries

Somewhere outside Europe

Please rank the languages you speak:

A) English

Little

Middle

Good

Fluent

B) German/French

Little

Middle

Good

Fluent

C) The other language you know the most (fill in).....

Little

Middle

Good

Fluent

Please fill in the most suitable expression for you:

„I feel that my connections with people in the Slovakia are _____ than
The connections I have with people who live outside from Slovakia. “

- A., very much stronger
- B., stronger
- C., same
- D., weaker
- E., very much weaker

Are you up-to-date with current events in Slovakia?

Yes/No

Are you up-to-date with current events in Europe (other EU countries)?

Yes/No

What does the European Union mean to you?

- () An Economic integration
- () A common cultural policy
- () A democracy project
- () A Christian Club
- () Exploitation, Imperialism
- () A Political and military super power
- () A bureaucratic community detached from public

To which extent you are either positive or negative about the EU?

- () Very negative
- () Negative
- () Positive
- () Very positive
- () Both positive and negative

To which extent are you positive or negative about the EURO currency?

- Very negative
- Negative
- Positive
- Very positive
- Both positive and negative

Which one of those below defines you most?

- I am Slovak
- First Slovak and then European
- First European and then Slovak
- Only European
- Other.....

How important are the following in what Europe means to you?

(From 1 to 4; where 1 is not at all and 4 is very important)

A, Membership of the European Union

1 2 3 4

B, The Euro currency

1 2 3 4

C, Geographical location

1 2 3 4

D, Certain values and traditions

1 2 3 4

What does it mean for Slovakia to participate in the EU?

| | Yes | No | | |
|------------------------|------|------|--|--|
| More democracy | 1() | 2() | | |
| More job opportunities | 1() | 2() | | |
| More human rights | 1() | 2() | | |

| | | | |
|--|------|------|--|
| Better times | 1() | 2() | |
| End of sovereignty | 1() | 2() | |
| Loose of national identity | 1() | 2() | |
| Exploitation | 1() | 2() | |
| The migration of more people from Slovakia to Europe | 1() | 2() | |

Do you think that our membership in the European Union has had much impact on:

A, You personally
Yes/No

B, Older generations (your parents, grandparents)
Yes/ No

Have the impacts been mainly positive or negative?

A, You personally
Mainly positive/ Mainly negative

B, Older generations (your parents, grandparents)
Mainly positive/ Mainly negative

Express if you agree or disagree with the following statements:

| | Yes | No |
|---|------|------|
| I hope my grave will be in Slovakia. | 1() | 2() |
| Slovak students who study abroad should come back home and find a job in Slovakia. | 1() | 2() |
| I would like to speak more languages because then I could find a job in other EU countries. | 1() | 2() |
| I would like to move and live in other EU country. | 1() | 2() |
| I would like to marry a foreigner. | 1() | 2() |
| I would like to work in the other EU country. | 1() | 2() |
| I am proud to be Slovak. | 1() | 2() |
| I am happy to live in Slovakia. | 1() | 2() |

If you are asked in the non-European country (US, Canada, South America, Africa, Asia..) where do you come from, you answer:

() I am from Slovakia

() I am from Europe

How likely is it that when you are aged 35 you'll be living:
(from 1 to 3; where 1 is not at all and 3 is very likely)

A., In Slovakia
1 2 3

B., In another European country
1 2 3

C., Outside of Europe
1 2 3

Express how much you agree or disagree with the following statements that people say:

A., Some say „It is better for our country if everyone shares the same traditions and customs.“
Agree/Disagree

B., Some say „Ethnic minority cultures are good for the culture of our country.“
Agree/Disagree

C., Some people say „There should be fewer people of different nationalities living here.“
Agree/Disagree

If there were the following elections next week would you vote in them?

A., Local Election
Yes/No

B., Slovak Parliamentary Election
Yes/No

C., Election for the EU Parliament
Yes/No

In your opinion, how important should be the following as requirement for somebody who is seeking for a Slovak citizenship?

A., He was born in Slovakia
Not important/ Very important

B., At least one parent from Slovakia
Not important/ Very important

C., Slovak ancestors
Not important/ Very important

D., He has lived in the country for at least 5 years
Not important/ Very important

E., He is actively working in Slovakia
Not important/ Very important

F., He speaks Slovak
Not important/ Very important

G., Pass a test about country (Slovakia)
Not important/ Very important

H., To take an oath of allegiance to the country
Not important/ Very important

I., To feel that he belongs somehow to the country
Not important/ Very important

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR ANSWERING ALL THESE QUESTIONS!

ANNEX 2

E-MAIL 1

Title:

Europska identita mladych Slovakov

Text:

Ahoj.....,

Ako sa Ti dari?

Ja studujem europske a medzinarodne vzťahy a robim prave vyskum europskej identity slovenskej mladeze.

Kedze aj Ty patris medzi mladych Slovakov ☺, chcem Ta velmi pekne poprosit, aby si si nasla/nasiel cas a vyplnil/vyplnila moj dotaznik. Je to velmi jednduche a zaberie Ti to max. 20 minut. Po kliknuti na tento odkaz http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?sm=ZhMAM_2fogiye9TLc3t5SOZQ_3d_3d sa Ti otvori stranka s otazkami. Tym, ze odpovies na vsetky otazky, prispejes ku kvalitnym vysledkom.

Este jedna vec. Prosim Ta preposli tento e-mail minimalne dalsim 2 Tvojim znamym, ktorí maju do 30 rokov a slovenske obcianstvo. Cim viac nas bude, tym hodnotnejši bude aj prieskum!

Uz vopred Ti velmi dakujem za ochotu a Tvoj cas.

Ak by si mal/mala akekolvek otazky ci pripomienky, prosim Ta napis mi.

Prajem Ti pekny vikend,

Katarina

ANNEX 3

E-MAIL 2

Title:

Europska identita mladych Slovakov

Text:

Ahoj.....,

Som studentkou medzinarodnych vzťahov a robim prave vyskum europskej identity slovenskej mladeze. Tvoju e-mailovu adresu som nasla pri citani tvojho blogu na sme.sk.

Kedze aj Ty patris medzi mladych Slovakov ☺, chcem Ta velmi pekne poprosit, aby si si nasla/nasiel cas a vyplnil/vyplnila moj dotaznik. Je to velmi jednoduche a zaberie Ti to max. 20 minut. Po kliknuti na tento odkaz http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?sm=ZhMAm_2fogiye9TLc3t5SOZQ_3d_3d sa Ti otvori stranka s otazkami. Tym, ze odpovies na vsetky otazky, prispejes ku kvalitnym vysledkom.

Este jedna vec. Prosim Ta preposli tento e-mail minimalne dalsim 2 Tvojim znamym, ktorí maju do 30 rokov a slovenske obcianstvo. Cim viac nas bude, tym hodnotnejši bude aj prieskum!

Uz vopred Ti velmi dakujem za ochotu a Tvoj cas.

Ak by si mal/mala akekolvek otazky ci pripomienky, prosim Ta napis mi.

Prajem Ti pekny vikend,

Katarina

ANNEX 4



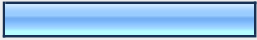

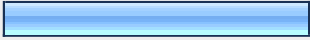

SUMMARY OF THE SURVEY

Európska identita mladých ľudí na Slovensku

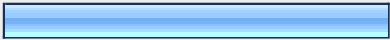





| 1. Rok narodenia | | | Response Percent | Response Count |
|------------------|--------------------------|--|------------------|----------------|
| 1979-1983 | | | 33.6% | 38 |
| 1984-1988 | | | 53.1% | 60 |
| 1989-1994 | | | 13.3% | 15 |
| | answered question | | | 113 |
| | skipped question | | | 0 |

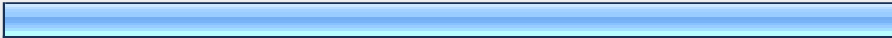

| 2. Pohlavie | | | Response Percent | Response Count |
|-------------|--------------------------|--|------------------|----------------|
| Žena | | | 54.5% | 61 |
| Muž | | | 45.5% | 51 |
| | answered question | | | 112 |
| | skipped question | | | 1 |



3. Tvoje najvyššie dosiahnuté vzdelanie?

| | | Response Percent | Response Count |
|---|---|--------------------------|----------------|
| Základná škola |  | 2.7% | 3 |
| Stredná škola |  | 18.6% | 21 |
| Gymnázium |  | 27.4% | 31 |
| Univerzita-bakalár |  | 16.8% | 19 |
| Univerzita-magister/inžinier/iné |  | 33.6% | 38 |
| Doktorát |  | 0.9% | 1 |
| | | Iné | 2 |
| | | answered question | 113 |
| | | skipped question | 0 |

4. Tvoje terajšie zamestnanie:

| | | Response Percent | Response Count |
|------------------------------------|--|--------------------------|----------------|
| Pracujúci/a s pravidelným platom |  | 42.3% | 47 |
| Pracujúci/a s nepravidelným platom |  | 4.5% | 5 |
| Živnostník |  | 11.7% | 13 |
| Nezamestnaný/á |  | 1.8% | 2 |
| Študent/ka |  | 52.3% | 58 |
| Žena v domácnosti |  | 0.9% | 1 |
| | | Iné | 3 |
| | | answered question | 111 |
| | | skipped question | 2 |

| 5. Narodil/a si sa na Slovensku? | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------|----------------|
| | | | Response Percent | Response Count |
| Áno |  | | 98.2% | 110 |
| Nie |  | | 1.8% | 2 |
| | | | Ak nie, napíš kde: | 2 |
| | | | answered question | 112 |
| | | | skipped question | 1 |

| 6. Žiješ teraz na Slovensku? | | | | |
|------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------|----------------|
| | | | Response Percent | Response Count |
| Áno |  | | 80.2% | 89 |
| Nie |  | | 19.8% | 22 |
| | | | answered question | 111 |
| | | | skipped question | 2 |

| 7. V akom meste teraz bývaš? | | | Response Count |
|------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------|
| | | | 106 |
| | | | answered question |
| | | | 106 |
| | | | skipped question |
| | | | 7 |

| 8. Už si niekedy cestoval/a do zahraničia? (inej krajiny ako je Slovensko) | | | |
|--|--|------------------|----------------|
| | | Response Percent | Response Count |
| Áno | | 99.1% | 112 |
| Nie | | 0.9% | 1 |
| Ak áno, kam si cestoval/a za posledných päť rokov? | | | 99 |
| answered question | | | 113 |
| skipped question | | | 0 |

| 9. Aký bol hlavný účel Tvojej cesty? | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|------------------|----------------|
| | | Response Percent | Response Count |
| Štúdium | | 28.2% | 31 |
| Práca | | 39.1% | 43 |
| Cestovanie | | 53.6% | 59 |
| Dovolenka | | 79.1% | 87 |
| Návšteva | | 29.1% | 32 |
| Iný (vpíš): | | | 7 |
| answered question | | | 110 |
| skipped question | | | 3 |

| 10. Máš rodinu/príbuzných, ktorí žijú mimo Slovenska? | | | |
|---|--|------------------|----------------|
| | | Response Percent | Response Count |
| Áno | | 74.3% | 84 |
| Nie | | 25.7% | 29 |
| answered question | | | 113 |
| skipped question | | | 0 |



| 11. Ak áno, kde? | | | Response Percent | Response Count |
|------------------|--|-------|--------------------------|----------------|
| V krajine EÚ | | 85.5% | 71 | |
| Nie v Európe | | 36.1% | 30 | |
| | | | answered question | 83 |
| | | | skipped question | 30 |

| 12. Aký je Tvoj rodinný stav? | | | Response Percent | Response Count |
|--|--|-------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Slobodný/á (Nikdy som nebol/a ženatý/vydatá) | | 57.5% | 65 | |
| Ženatý/vydatá (alebo po druhý raz ženatý/vydatá) | | 7.1% | 8 | |
| Mám priateľa/priateľku | | 34.5% | 39 | |
| Rozvedený/á | | 0.9% | 1 | |
| | | | Iné | 1 |
| | | | answered question | 113 |
| | | | skipped question | 0 |

| 13. (Ak si ženatý/vydatá alebo máš priateľa/priateľku) Je Tvoj partner/ka slovenskej národnosti? | | | Response Percent | Response Count |
|--|--|-------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Slovák/Slovenka | | 77.6% | 45 | |
| Inej európskej národnosti | | 15.5% | 9 | |
| Inej národnosti mimo európskej | | 6.9% | 4 | |
| | | | answered question | 58 |
| | | | skipped question | 55 |

| 14. Aké cudzie jazyky momentálne ovládaš? | | | | | |
|---|-------------------|------------|-------------------|------------|----------------|
| | slabo | stredne | dobre | výborne | Response Count |
| anglicky | 5.7% (6) | 21.7% (23) | 41.5% (44) | 31.1% (33) | 106 |
| nemecky/francúzsky | 39.8% (35) | 23.9% (21) | 18.2% (16) | 18.2% (16) | 88 |
| Iné jazyky, ktoré ovládaš výborne (vpiš aj predchádzajúce, ak je potrebné): | | | | | 24 |
| answered question | | | | | 113 |
| skipped question | | | | | 0 |

| 15. Dopln výrok, aby Ťa charakterizoval čo najviac: | | | | | |
|---|-----------------|------------|-------------------|----------|---------------|
| Vyber: | | | | | |
| | oveľa silnejšie | silnejšie | také isté | slabšie | veľmi slabšie |
| Moje kontakty (vzťahy) so Slováckmi považujem za, ako vzťahy (kontakty) ktoré mám s ľuďmi mimo Slovenska. | 26.1% (29) | 33.3% (37) | 37.8% (42) | 2.7% (3) | 0.0% (0) |
| answered question | | | | | 113 |
| skipped question | | | | | 0 |

| 16. Sleduješ aktuálne dianie (politické, spoločenské) na Slovensku? | | | |
|---|--|------------------|----------------|
| | | Response Percent | Response Count |
| Áno |  | 83.6% | 92 |
| Nie |  | 16.4% | 18 |
| answered question | | | 110 |
| skipped question | | | 3 |

17. Sleduješ aktuálne dianie (politické, spoločenské) v iných krajinách EU?

| | | Response Percent | Response Count |
|--------------------------|--|------------------|----------------|
| Áno | | 66.1% | 74 |
| Nie | | 33.9% | 38 |
| <i>answered question</i> | | | 112 |
| <i>skipped question</i> | | | 1 |

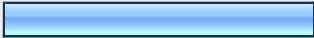
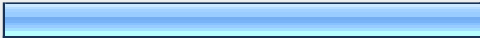


18. Čo presne Európska Únia pre Teba znamená?

| | | Response Percent | Response Count |
|---|--|------------------|----------------|
| Ekonomickú integráciu | | 79.0% | 79 |
| Spoločnú politiku | | 49.0% | 49 |
| Demokraciu | | 13.0% | 13 |
| Kresťanskú úniu | | 1.0% | 1 |
| Vykorisťovanie a imperializmus | | 4.0% | 4 |
| Politickú a vojenskú super veľmoc | | 9.0% | 9 |
| Byrokratickú komunitu izolovanú od verejnosti | | 12.0% | 12 |
| | | Iné: | 14 |
| <i>answered question</i> | | | 100 |
| <i>skipped question</i> | | | 13 |

19. Vnímaš EÚ pozitívne alebo skôr negatívne?

| | Veľmi negatívne | Negatívne | Pozitívne | Veľmi pozitívne | Pozitívne aj negatívne | Response Count |
|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------------|----------------|
| Vyber z možností: | 0.9% (1) | 2.7% (3) | 51.8% (58) | 17.0% (19) | 27.7% (31) | 112 |
| <i>answered question</i> | | | | | | 112 |
| <i>skipped question</i> | | | | | | 1 |

| 20. Ako vnímaš zavedenie Eura na Slovensko? | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------------|----------------|
| | Veľmi negatívne | Negatívne | Pozitívne | Veľmi pozitívne | Pozitívne aj negatívne | Response Count |
| Vyber z možností: | 3.6% (4) | 7.1% (8) | 46.4% (52) | 25.9% (29) | 17.0% (19) | 112 |
| | <i>answered question</i> | | | | | 112 |
| | <i>skipped question</i> | | | | | 1 |

| 21. Ktorý z nasledujúcich výrokov Ťa charakterizuje najviac? | | | |
|--|---|------------------|----------------|
| | | Response Percent | Response Count |
| Som Slovák/Slovenka |  | 34.0% | 35 |
| Som Slovák/Slovenka a potom Európan/Európanka |  | 52.4% | 54 |
| Som Európan/Európanka a potom Slovák/Slovenka |  | 5.8% | 6 |
| Som Európan/Európanka |  | 7.8% | 8 |
| | | Iné | 13 |
| | <i>answered question</i> | | 103 |
| | <i>skipped question</i> | | 10 |

| 22. Akú dôležitosť majú pre Teba nasledujúce tvrdenia? (kde 1=najmenej a 4=najviac dôležité) | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | Response Count |
| Členstvo v Európskej únii | 7.3% (8) | 29.1% (32) | 29.1% (32) | 34.5% (38) | 110 |
| Zavedenie Eura | 15.5% (17) | 27.3% (30) | 38.2% (42) | 19.1% (21) | 110 |
| Geografická lokalita Slovenska | 11.8% (13) | 24.5% (27) | 40.9% (45) | 22.7% (25) | 110 |
| Hodnoty a tradície | 6.4% (7) | 19.1% (21) | 23.6% (26) | 50.9% (56) | 110 |
| | <i>answered question</i> | | | | 110 |
| | <i>skipped question</i> | | | | 3 |

23. Čo znamená členstvo v EÚ pre Slovensko?

Vyber:

| | Áno | Nie | Response Count |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|------------|----------------|
| Viac demokracie | 52.3% (57) | 47.7% (52) | 109 |
| Viac pracovných príležitostí | 92.8% (103) | 7.2% (8) | 111 |
| Viac pozornosti pre ľudské práva | 80.2% (89) | 19.8% (22) | 111 |
| Lepšie časy | 67.6% (73) | 32.4% (35) | 108 |
| Koniec nezávislosti | 34.9% (38) | 65.1% (71) | 109 |
| Stratu národnej identity | 14.7% (16) | 85.3% (93) | 109 |
| Vykorisťovanie | 7.5% (8) | 92.5% (99) | 107 |
| Migrácia Slovákov na Západ | 50.0% (54) | 50.0% (54) | 108 |
| | <i>answered question</i> | | 111 |
| | <i>skipped question</i> | | 2 |

24. Myslíš si, že členstvo v EÚ má hlavne vplyv na:

Vyber:

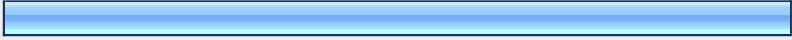
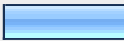
| | Viac pozitívny | Viac negatívny | Response Count |
|--|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Teba osobne | 94.5% (103) | 5.5% (6) | 109 |
| Staršiu generáciu (Tvojich rodičov, starých rodičov) | 61.1% (66) | 38.9% (42) | 108 |
| | Komentár: | | 17 |
| | <i>answered question</i> | | 111 |
| | <i>skipped question</i> | | 2 |

25. Vyjadri svoj názor k nasledujúcim tvrdeniam: (Súhlasím/Nesúhlasím)

Vyber:

| | Áno | Nie | Response Count |
|---|--------------------------|------------|----------------|
| Dúfam, že budem pochovaný/á na Slovensku | 74.0% (77) | 26.0% (27) | 104 |
| Slováci študujúci v zahraničí by sa mali vrátiť späť a pracovať na Slovensku | 35.0% (36) | 65.0% (67) | 103 |
| Chcel/a by som ovládať lepšie cudzie jazyky, lebo potom by som mal/a väčšiu šancu sa zamestnať v EÚ | 80.2% (85) | 19.8% (21) | 106 |
| Chcel/a by som sa presťahovať a žiť v inej krajine EÚ | 38.5% (40) | 61.5% (64) | 104 |
| Mám problém sa oženiť/vydať za cudzinca | 15.7% (17) | 84.3% (91) | 108 |
| Chcel/a by som pracovať v jednej z EÚ krajín (nie SK) | 66.7% (68) | 33.3% (34) | 102 |
| Som hrdý/á na to, že som Slovák/Slovenka | 86.2% (94) | 13.8% (15) | 109 |
| Som šťastný/á, že bývam na Slovensku | 73.5% (72) | 26.5% (26) | 98 |
| | <i>answered question</i> | | 110 |
| | <i>skipped question</i> | | 3 |

26. Ak sa ťa niekto opýta v nie-európskej krajine (Amerika, Kanada, Afrika, Ázia,...) že odkiaľ pochádzaš, normálne odpovieš:

| | | Response Percent | Response Count |
|--------------------|--|------------------|----------------|
| "Som zo Slovenska" |  | 86.9% | 93 |
| "Som z Európy" |  | 13.1% | 14 |
| | | Iné: | 12 |
| | <i>answered question</i> | | 107 |
| | <i>skipped question</i> | | 6 |

| 27. Aká je pravdepodobnosť, že v Tvojich 35 rokoch budeš: | | | | |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| | v žiadnom prípade | možno | veľmi pravdepodobne | Response Count |
| Žiť na Slovensku | 1.8% (2) | 43.6% (48) | 54.5% (60) | 110 |
| Žiť v inej EÚ krajine | 5.6% (6) | 78.5% (84) | 15.9% (17) | 107 |
| Žiť mimo Európu | 31.8% (34) | 64.5% (69) | 3.7% (4) | 107 |
| | | | Komentár: | 9 |
| | | | answered question | 111 |
| | | | skipped question | 2 |

| 28. Vyjadri svoj súhlas/nesúhlas k nasledujúcim komentárom: | | | | |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|------------|
| Vyber: | | | | |
| | Súhlasím | Nesúhlasím | Response Count | |
| Niektó povedal: "Je lepšie, keď zdieľame rovnaké tradície a zvyky". | 37.6% (41) | 62.4% (68) | 109 | |
| Niektó povedal: "Kultúra etnickej menšiny je prínosom aj pre našu kultúru". | 80.4% (86) | 19.6% (21) | 107 | |
| Niektó povedal: "Na Slovensku by mohlo byť menej prisťahovalcov". | 29.9% (32) | 70.1% (75) | 107 | |
| | | | answered question | 110 |
| | | | skipped question | 3 |

29. Ak by boli budúci týždeň voľby, zúčastnil/a by si sa?

Vyber:

| | Áno | Nie | Response Count |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------|----------------|
| Voľby do štátnej správy/samosprávy | 70.0% (77) | 30.0% (33) | 110 |
| Parlamentné voľby | 84.5% (93) | 15.5% (17) | 110 |
| Voľby do Európskeho Parlamentu | 72.7% (80) | 27.3% (30) | 110 |
| | | Komentár: | 15 |
| | answered question | | 110 |
| | skipped question | | 3 |

30. Podľa Tvojho názoru, akú dôležitosť by mali zohrávať nasledujúce požiadavky pre človeka, ktorý žiada o slovenské občianstvo?

Vyber:

| | Dôležité | Nedôležité | Response Count |
|---|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Že sa narodil/a na Slovensku | 35.2% (38) | 64.8% (70) | 108 |
| Že má aspoň jedného rodiča Slováka | 51.9% (56) | 48.1% (52) | 108 |
| Že má slovenských predkov | 41.1% (44) | 58.9% (63) | 107 |
| Žiť na Slovensku min.5 rokov | 79.4% (85) | 20.6% (22) | 107 |
| Aktívne pracovať na Slovensku | 79.4% (85) | 20.6% (22) | 107 |
| Že hovorí po slovensky | 75.9% (82) | 24.1% (26) | 108 |
| Mal/a by prejsť testom znalosti o Slovensku | 45.3% (48) | 54.7% (58) | 106 |
| Mal/a by prisahať vernosť Slovensku | 16.8% (18) | 83.2% (89) | 107 |
| Byť citovo spojený so Slovenskom | 45.8% (49) | 54.2% (58) | 107 |
| | answered question | | 109 |
| | skipped question | | 4 |