

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

Tatsuya Nakazawa

Introduction

1-1 Details regarding survey implementation, sample composition

The primary purpose of this study is to analyse the structure and dynamic nature of the identities and lifestyles of Hungarians living in Slovakia past and present, thereby providing one form of objective (albeit limited) source material for possibly predicting the future status of Hungarian society in Slovakia.

This paper consists of an analysis of the results of a questionnaire survey given with the aid of a grant from the Toyota Foundation between March 16-21, 2011, to students at the Faculty of Education at Selye János University in Komárno, Slovakia. This university was founded in 2004 to serve students from the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, and is the first Hungarian-language university in Slovakia. The subjects represent an excellent resource to grasp the attitudes of one facet of Slovakia's young Hungarian population. Before the survey, the author created an English-language questionnaire comprising 53 items, on the basis of questionnaires and methods used in opinion surveys of minorities around the world (Zimmer 2004; Kim et.al., 2006 (in Japanese); Brubaker et.al.,

2008; Wimmer 2013) and made adjustments tailored to the state of affairs in Slovakia and Hungary. Before starting the survey, the author sent a written request to Professor Szarka László, Dean of the Faculty of Education. His consent was obtained in a subsequent meeting, and he assisted in the distribution and collection of the questionnaire to students.

The questionnaire was distributed to 120 second- and third- year students in four humanities departments at the Faculty of Education of the Selye János University. 101 samples were collected (28 from the English department, 22 from the Hungarian department, 16 from the Slovak department, 11 from the History department, and 24 from the Pre-school and elementary school education department), a response rate of 84.1 percent. English language surveys were distributed to students in the English department, while the same questionnaire, translated by Professor Szarka into Hungarian, was distributed to students in other departments after it was confirmed that the translation was exact. Gender was not taken into account.

This paper examines the ‘national identity’ of those students in the Hungarian language department. The author has previously completed an analysis of survey results from the English language department (Nakazawa 2012:106-121), according to which there is an explicit ‘mechanism’ for delineating the boundary of ‘national identity’ in the students of the English language department, as opposed to those in other subject areas; the symbolic resources which determine the ‘identity’ have also been established. The Hungarian language department survey results are fundamentally similar to those for the English department, except that the results are more ‘complex’ and as such are worthy of examination as a discrete ‘national identity’ study.

1-2 A summary of the perceived national identities of the students of English department

	Daily language	Contact with Slovaks	Experience of discrimination	Economic sufficiency	Ability of Hungarian	Official language or dialect	Symbolic resources: area
Hungarian in Slovakia exclusive identity 11 students	Hungarian	not so much	No	No	advantage	official language	home-country (Hungary and Slovakia)

Hungarian in Slovakia+α composite identity 13 students	Slovak and Hungarian	much	No	No	disadvantage	dialect	hometown
Hungarian exclusive identity 1 student	Hungarian	little	Yes	Yes	advantage	dialect	home-country (Hungary and Slovakia) and hometown
Hungarian+α composite identity 3 students	Hungarian	much	Yes	Yes	disadvantage	official language	home-country (Hungary)

As represented in the table above, the identity of the students in the English department is divided into two. One is the exclusive identity of ‘Hungarians in Slovakia’. This type is predicated on the notion of the neighbouring Slovaks communicating with Hungarians in Hungarian, and the notion serves as the mechanism that forms the boundary from the second type of identity. The salient characteristics of this type include the following;

1. They have no experience of national/ethnic discrimination.
2. They have not experienced financial hardship.
3. They are emotionally attached to the Slovak Republic and equally to the Republic of Hungary (there is a strong state-national consciousness).
4. They do not feel that the ability to speak Hungarian presents a particular advantage in Slovakia (being greatly influenced by an environment where the Slovaks use the Hungarian language in their everyday lives)
5. As for the language of the Hungarians who live in Slovakia, 50% believe that they must speak the official language of the Republic of Hungary (there is a strong state favouritism).

The second type has the characteristic of a composite type of identity, with an awareness of many others, with ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ at its centre. This type is predicated on the notions of the Hungarians themselves communicating with neighbouring Slovaks in Slovak, and this notion serves as the mechanism that forms the boundary from the above-mentioned exclusive identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’. The characteristics of this type include the following;

1. They have no experience of national/ethnic discrimination.

2. They have not experienced financial hardship.
3. They are emotionally attached to the regions where they were born and brought up, not to the Republics of Slovakia or Hungary as such.
4. They feel that the ability to speak Hungarian is advantageous in Slovakia (and, in Hungary, to be able to speak Slovak), and that there is value in being bilingual (as being greatly influenced by the environment where they speak Slovak every day).
5. As for the Hungarian language of the Hungarians in Slovakia, they believe that it should be preserved. Rather than being concerned with the state, they are more interested in regional issues, extending sometimes beyond the border.

Although few are represented, there is the exclusive type of identity of 'Hungarian'. This type of student speaks in Hungarian and has only Hungarians neighbours. The characteristics of this type include the following: 1. He/She has experienced national/ethnic discrimination. 2. He/She has have suffered from financial hardship. 3. He/She has a strong emotional attachment to the Republics of Hungary and Slovakia as well as to the local region. 4. He/She feels that the ability to speak Hungarian is advantageous. 5. He/She believe that he/she must speak the official language of the Republic of Hungary.

In the English department, there were a few students of composite identity centred on Hungarian with an awareness of many others. This type of student speaks Hungarian in daily life and has only Hungarian neighbours. The characteristics of this type include the following: 1. They have experienced national/ethnic discrimination. 2. They have suffered from financial hardship. 3. They have a strong emotional attachment to the Republic of Hungary but not the Slovak Republic. 4. They do not believe that the ability to speak Hungarian is advantageous. 5. They believe that they must speak the official language of the Republic of Hungary.

This paper compares the abovementioned questionnaire results of the students of the English department with those of the students of the Hungarian language department.

Analysis

I. Pre-conditions

According to Questions 1, 20 and 21, 77.3% of the students in the Hungarian language department were unmarried and born after 1988, belonging to a generation that has not experienced the socialist system or the Czecho-Slovakian era. 10 of them were born in Komárno (Komárom), three were born in Dunajská Streda (Dunaszerdahely), and one each in Rožňava (Rozsnyó), Bratislava (Pozsony), Veľký Krtíš (Nagykürtös), Kosice (Kassa), Štúrovo (Párkány), Podunajské Biskupice (Pozsonypüspöki), Nové Zámky (Érsekújvár), Lučenec (Losonc) and Šahy (Ipolyság). Thereafter, six were brought up in Komárno, and one each in Kameničná (Keszegfalva), Dunajská Streda, Nová Stráž (Ózsújfalu), Kosice, Štúrovo, Mostová (Hidaskürt), Kečovo (Kecső), Gbelce (Köbölkút), Nesvady (Naszvad), Lučenec (Losonc), Čičov (Csicsó), Svätý Peter (Szentpéter), Plášťovce (Palást), Nárada (Csiliznyárad), Kľúčovec (Kulesod) and Madak. That is to say, almost all of the Hungarian language department students were born and brought up in the border area

Distribution Map: Hungarian minority in Border Land in Southern Slovakia



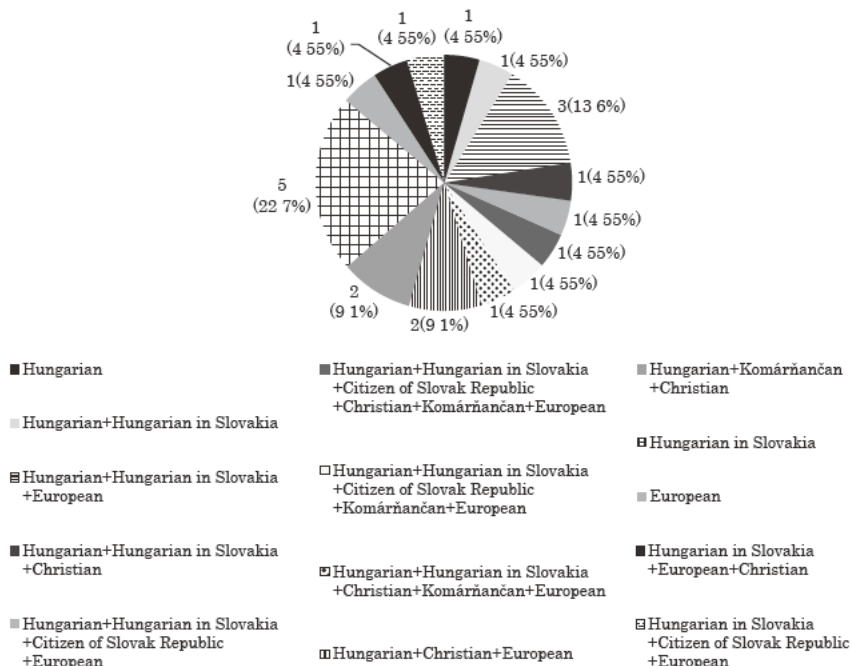
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in southern Slovakia next to Hungary (See below Map). Of the 22 students, nine were born and brought up in the same place, while 13 were brought up in a different location. According to Question 16, 86% (19 students) are from gymnasiums, and the others from vocational training schools (2 students) and a musical college (1 student). The next section examines the ‘identity’ of those students.

II. Variations in national identity

Question 4 allows the students to select as many identities as they believe they have, and also to insert new alternatives freely in case they are unable to define their own identity from the provided options. The graph below represents the identities as selected by the students. As mentioned before, in the English department (28 students), the major-

The detail content of the result of Question 4



ity includes 11 with the exclusive identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ and 13 with the composite identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’. In comparison, those with ‘Hungarian’ exclusive/composite identities were an extreme minority (Nakazawa 2012:107-108). In contrast, in the Hungarian language department, only 7 of the 22 students are characterised with ‘exclusive identity’, including 5 with ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ (H1, H9, H14, H19, and H21), 1 ‘Hungarian’ (H16), and 1 ‘European’ (H4). The others include 13 that stated a combination of ‘Hungarian’ with ‘different identities’. In contrast to the English department, there are fewer students with exclusive identity.

The list of ‘Hungarians’ that stated a combination of different identities (13 students) includes three having the identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European’ (H6, H15, and H18), two ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Komárňančan + European’ (H13, H22), one ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia’ (H17), one ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Christian’ (H7), one ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of Slovak Republic + Komárňančan + European’ (H11), one ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Christian + Komárňančan + European’ (H12), one ‘Hungarian + European’ (H2), two ‘Hungarian + European + Christian’ (H3, H8) and two ‘Hungarian + Komárňančan + Christian’ (H2, H5).

It is notable that, of the 13 students, the 10-person majority (76.9%) have the ‘composite identity’ of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’. On the other hand, only three students have the composite identity of ‘Hungarian + α ’ (with no ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ awareness). In the English department, of the 28 students, only four have the identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’ (Nakazawa 2012: 108). This category is hardly present in the English department, and so can be identified as being associated with the Hungarian language department. There is no variety of age or regional area in the category.

Moreover, there are only two having the ‘composite identity’ of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’ (with no particular ‘Hungarian’ identity) (H10, H20); one ‘Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian’ (H20), and one ‘Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of Slovak Republic + European’ (H10). This is in contrast to the English department, which includes 13 of this type (Nakazawa 2012: 108).

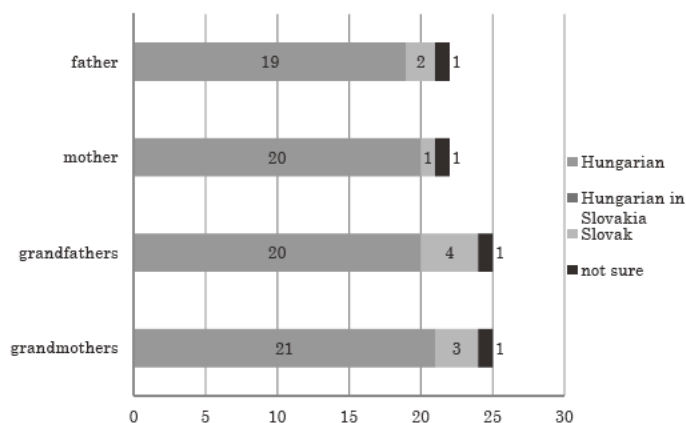
As mentioned above, there are many who have the ‘composite identity’ centred on the concept of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’. Here it is important to clarify the meanings of ‘Hungarian’ and ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ that belong to the composite identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’, and also, the boundary mechanisms that separate a particular identity from the others. There are 5 students with exclusive identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’, the second largest group in the Hungarian department, which will now be compared with those who have a composite identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’. The boundary mechanisms which separate identities will be examined below.

III. The boundary mechanisms between ‘Hungarian’ and ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ identities

(1) The identity of parents and grandparents

Question 5: What kind of identity do/did your parents and grandparents have?

Please leave blank if you are not sure.



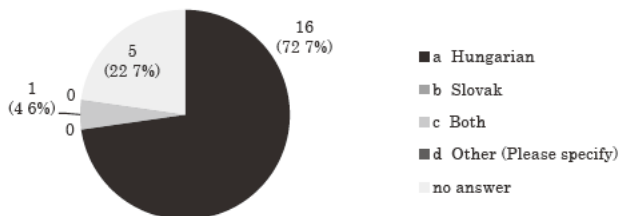
It is interesting that many of the students believe their parents and grandparents to be ‘Hungarian’. This view is shared with the students of the English department as well. It brings about the question of whether the

identity ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ is a new and unique characteristic to the younger generation after Slovak independence in 1993 (it is not clear whether there was the identity of ‘Hungarian in Czechoslovakia’ before independence). The notable difference between the English and Hungarian departments is that none of those from the Hungarian language department identify their parents or grandparents as having the identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ (in the English department, there are eight cases where the parents/grandparents are believed to be ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’). The results from the Hungarian language department may suggest that the identity of parents/grandparents is simplified in the understanding of younger generations. In fact, all but three of the students did not distinguish between paternal and maternal grandparents in their answers. This indicates that the students were envisioning one set of grandparents or the other.¹

To sum up the questionnaire results so far, the identities of parents or grandparents have no influence on the formation of the students’ perceptions of identity. The connection between the daily spoken language and the identity will now be examined.

(2) Daily spoken language and identity

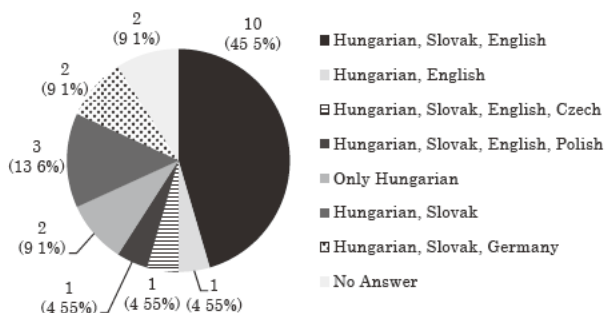
Question 7: What language do you use on a daily basis?



¹ There are 3 cases which separate the identity of the father from that of the mother (H1, H4, and H11). There are 4 cases which separate the identities between the grandparents (H4, H11, H15, and H21) and 2 cases which distinguished the identities among the parents as well as the grandparents (H1, H4, and H11).

As shown here, in the Hungarian language department, 16 students (72.7%) use Hungarian language in their everyday lives, while only 1 student (4.6%) speaks both Hungarian and Slovak. 5 of the 16 students who use Hungarian on a daily basis answered they identify themselves as ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’ (H7, H15, H13, H18, and H22), 4 ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ (H1, H9, H14, and H21), 3 ‘Hungarian + α ’ (H2, H3, and H8), and so on. In other words, the questionnaire results seem to indicate that the language used on a daily basis is not necessarily correlated with identity. However, with reference to Question 8, it has produced significant results which differ from Question 7.

Question 8-1: What languages can you speak?



In decreasing order, 10 students answered ‘Hungarian, Slovak and English’, 3 students answered ‘Hungarian and Slovak’, 3 students left this question blank, 2 students answered ‘Hungarian, Slovak and German’, and one each answered ‘Hungarian’, ‘Hungarian and English’, ‘Hungarian, Slovak, English and Czech’, and ‘Hungarian, Slovak, English and Polish’. In other words, there are 3 students who are unable to speak Slovak.

The identities of the 3 students who are unable to speak Slovak include a ‘Hungarian + Komárňančan + Christian’ (H5), a ‘Hungarian’ (H16) and ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European’ (H18). Of these, H18 states that he/she understands Slovak in conversation in Question 8-2, and therefore is different from H5 and H16. As a result, the

Hungarians who speak (or understand) Slovak always have the identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’, whereas the Hungarians who do not speak Slovak do not identify themselves as ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’; this is similar to the findings for the English department.

There are other examples that support the results above. Of the 17 students who speak Slovak, 13 have the exclusive identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ (H1, H9, H14, H19, and H21), the composite identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’ (H6, H7, H11, H12, H13, H15, and H22), and the composite identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’ (H20). Therefore, it is concluded that the Hungarians who speak Slovak in Slovakia have the identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’. More significantly, of the 13 students, more than half of them (7 students) identified themselves as ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’, including 3 students who specify the ‘ α ’ to be ‘European’. That is to say, the identity of ‘Hungarian’ tends to be combined with that of ‘European’.

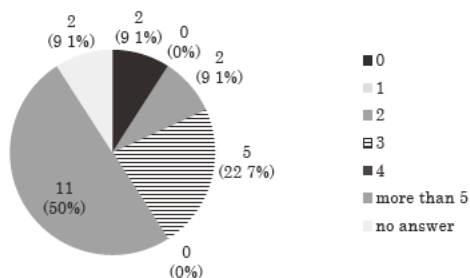
To summarise Question 8: the students who speak (or understand) Slovak tend to have the composite identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ or the exclusive identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’. On the other hand, students who find speaking or understanding Slovak difficult have the exclusive identity of ‘Hungarian’ or the composite identity of ‘Hungarian’. In other words, the boundary mechanisms between ‘Hungarian’ and ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ identities seem to be determined by whether one is able to speak or understand Slovak as a factor.

In the Hungarian language department, there are 5 students having the exclusive identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’, the second most common identity after ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’. As indicated previously, these students understand Slovak. Next, the boundary mechanisms between ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’ and ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ identities will be examined.

IV. Boundary mechanisms between ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’ and ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ identities

There are many remarkable characteristics forming the boundary mechanism between the two identities, apart from the daily spoken language.

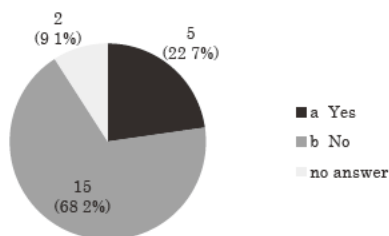
Question 21: This is a question about day-to-day socializing and helping each other. How many relatives live in your local area with whom you are on extremely close terms and help each other out just like you would an immediate family member?



Question 22: This is a continuation of Q. 21. Are there any Slovaks among these people?

a. Yes

b. No



(1) Interaction with neighbours in border areas

There are 11 students (50%) who have close communication with 5 people or more daily. 18 students (81.8%) have communication with 2 people or more. The Hungarian language department students are mostly from regions of 'close community'. Let us now look at what the next questionnaire response points out.

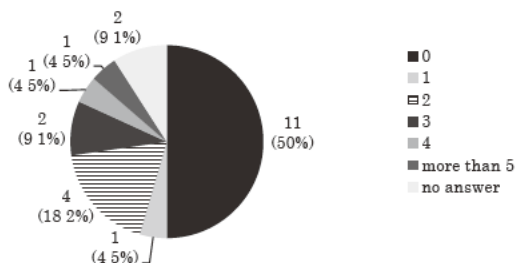
Of the 22 students in the Hungarian language department, 5 of them have Slovak neighbours (H2, H7, H12, H14, and H21), which is rather less than those of the English department (7 students out of 28). Of the 5 students, none speaks Slovak on a daily basis (Question7). That is to say, those 5 students only speak Hungarian in everyday life, and communicate with Slovaks in Hungarian. They come from Kameničná, Štúrovo,

Komárno, Lučenec and Klúčovec respectively. In contrast to the English department, clearly the Hungarian language department students have less opportunity to communicate with the Slovaks or to use the Slovak language.

The identities of those 5 students include ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ (H14, H21), ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Komárňančan + European + Christian’ (H12), ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Christian’ (H7), and ‘Hungarian + Komárňančan + Christian’ (H2). For the students in the English department, those who have Slovak neighbours and who speak only in Hungarian normally have the exclusive identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’. In contrast, the identities of the students in the Hungarian language department having Slovak neighbours and speaking only in Hungarian are not necessarily the same.

In summary: even if the students are able to speak Slovak, in cases where their Slovak neighbours speak in Hungarian for communication, the students tend to have the exclusive type of identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ or the composite type of identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’. Question 4 clarifies that ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ means ‘Hungarians who are able to speak Slovak’; this theory is pertinent to the result of Question 22. The students with the exclusive type of identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ belong to the area where their Slovak neighbours speak in Hungarian daily; that is, Hungarian is used for communication. Furthermore, the students who have the composite type of identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia and other identities’, mostly live in areas where their Slovak neighbours speak in Hungarian daily, and where Hungarian is used for communication. In the English department, students with the composite type of identity mainly belong to the area where they speak both Slovak and Hungarian in daily life (Nakazawa 2012: 109-110), which represents the difference between the Hungarian and English departments. Thus, both identities of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ and ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’ are predicated on the notion of their Slovak neighbours using the Hungarian language for communication. In contrast, there is no student in the Hungarian language department who would speak Slovak for communication with Slovaks. So far, the ‘boundary mechanism’ between ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ and ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’ identities is not yet clear, however, the results of Question 23, following, provide significant further insights.

Question 23: How many relatives live in your local area with whom you are on extremely close terms and help each other out just like you would with a family member are there in the Republic of Hungary?



On the question of whether they have close interaction with neighbouring people from the Republic of Hungary (including the results of Question 24 about the relationship between the Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary), the students of the Hungarian language department split into two. The 11 students who have no connection with the Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary include 4 having the identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ (H9, H14, H19, and H21), 1 ‘Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian’ (H20), 1 ‘Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of Slovak Republic + European’ (H10), 1 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European’ (H18), 1 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia’ (H17), 1 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Komárňančan + European’ (H13), 1 ‘European’ (H4), and 1 ‘Hungarian + European + Christian’ (H8). Surprisingly, 4 of the 5 students with the exclusive identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ have no connection with the Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary at all.

The identities of the 9 students (41%) who have a Hungarian connection include 1 having the identity of ‘Hungarian + European + Christian’ (H3), 2 ‘Hungarian + Komárňančan + Christian’ (H2, H5), 1 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Komárňančan + European’ (H22), 2 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European’ (H6, H15), 1 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Christian’ (H7), 1 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Komárňančan + European + Christian’ (H12) and 1 ‘Hungarian’ (H16).

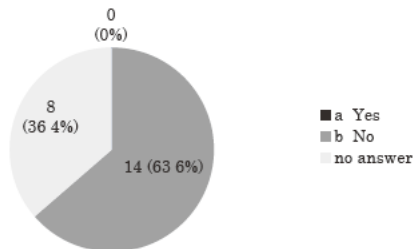
Thus, the characteristics of the identity of the students in the Hun-

garian language department are made very clear. The students who have no interaction with any Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary tend to have the exclusive type of identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’. On the other hand, the students with a connection with Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary tend to have the composite type of identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’. One boundary mechanism between the exclusive type of identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ and the composite type of identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’ constitutes ‘whether they have Hungarian neighbours in the Republic of Hungary’. In other words, this concerns environmental differences in everyday life. In case of the students in the English department, it was their relationship with the neighbouring Slovaks in the Slovak Republic that formed the identity boundary. It had no relation to any connection with the neighbouring Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary (Nakazawa 2012: 109-110). In contrast, almost all students of the Hungarian language department have few connections with the Slovaks in the Slovak Republic; their relationship with the Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary is a factor for forming their identity boundary. Now, can political activities, the sense of economic hardship, the experience of national/ethnic discrimination and cultural oppression be regarded as a part of the mechanism for forming the identity boundary?

(2) Political activities

Question 25: Are you at present involved in any political parties, national/ethnic organisations or study groups on national/ethnic issues and other related topics?

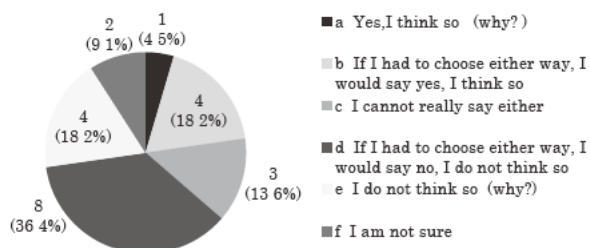
- a. Yes
b. No



None of the students are involved in political activities or study groups. Participation in political activities or study groups has no part in representing a particular identity of the Hungarian language department students, or in forming the boundaries between different identities; this is similar to the characteristics of the English department.

(3) Economic sufficiency

Question 34: In Slovakia, do you feel that Hungarians are not so well off compared with Slovaks?



The identity of the student who responded ‘a’ in the questionnaire is ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Komárňančan + European + Christian’ (H12), explaining that “it was a disadvantage to be a Hungarian from the start”.

The identities of the 4 students who have answered ‘b’ include 1 ‘Hungarian + Komárňančan + Christian’ (H5), 1 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European’ (H6), 1 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Komárňančan + European’ (H13), and 1 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European’ (H15). Of these, most are composite type of identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’. Considering the results of Question 23, those students who feel economic insufficiency in comparison with the Slovaks, and who have more connections with the neighbouring Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary, rather than with the neighbouring Slovaks in Slovak Republic are more likely to have the composite type of identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’.²

² According to Questions 17 and 18, the parents of those 4 students (H6, H12,

The identities of the 3 students who answered 'c' include 1 'Hungarian in Slovakia' (H21), 1 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European' (H18) and 1 'Hungarian + Komárňančan + Christian' (H2). They have no particular characteristics associated with each identity.

The identities of the 8 students who responded 'd' include 2 'Hungarian in Slovakia' (H1, H9), 1 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Christian' (H7), 1 'Hungarian + European + Christian' (H8), 1 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of Slovak Republic + Komárňančan + European' (H11), 1 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia' (H17), 1 'Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian' (H20), 1 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Komárňančan + European' (H22). There are 2 students with the exclusive identity of 'Hungarian in Slovakia' here.

The identities of the 4 students who responded negatively 'e' have a distinctive tendency, including 1 'Hungarian in Slovakia' (H14), 1 'Hungarian in Slovakia+citizen of Slovak Republic + European' (H10), 1 'European' (H4) and 1 'Hungarian + European + Christian' (H3). Here, there is no student with the composite type of the identity of 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α '. It is clear that those with this type of identity have a sense of economic insufficiency. On the other hand, as with the English department, there are a relatively large number of students having the exclusive type of identity of 'Hungarian in Slovakia' 'with a sense of economic satisfaction'; that is, feeling that they have a better life than the Slovaks.³ 'Living conditions' can be regarded as the second 'mechanism' forming the identity boundary.

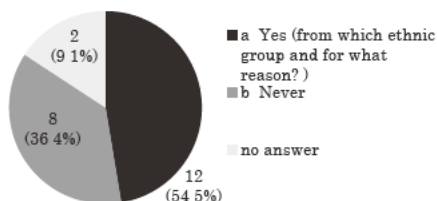
H13, and H15) are mostly self-employed, including 'a lawyer and an economics scholar', 'an interior decorator and an accountant', 'a vehicle painting technician and a salesman' and 'a car technician and a sales person'.

3 According to Questions 17 and 18, the parents of those students in H1, H9 and H14 have the occupations of the following in proper order; 'an engineering supervisor and a customs officer', 'a police officer and a seamstress', 'a seamstress (mother; father deceased)'. Many fathers of such students are public officials.

(4) Experience of national/ethnic discrimination

Question 32: This is a question about your experience of national/ethnic discrimination. Have you ever experienced any national/ethnic discrimination?

- a. Yes (from which ethnic group and for what reason?)
- b. Never
- c. No answer



The majority of students responded ‘yes’ to the question of whether they have experienced national/ethnic discrimination. The 12 students who answered ‘yes’ commented on the reasons for the discrimination, including the following in decreasing order: “by the Slovaks for no reason” (4 students, H1, H8, H20, and H21); “by the Slovaks due to problems with the gymnasium” (H19); “by the Romanies, black people or Muslims for no reason” (H18); “by the Romanies and Jewish for no reason” (H14); “by the Slovaks due to language problems” (H6); and “by the Slovaks due to the problem of the relationship between the Hungary and the Slovakia” (H2). Three students (H3, H12, and H13) did not provide a reason.

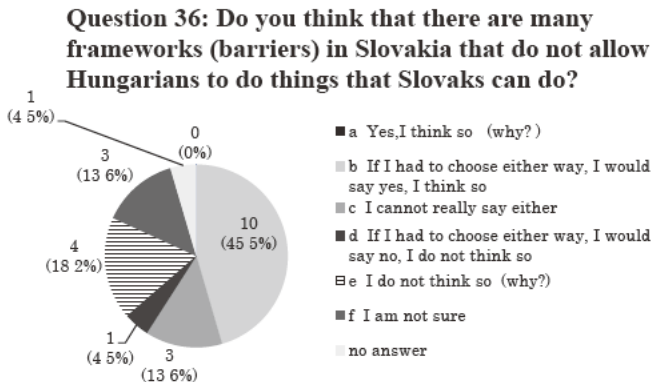
The 12 students who responded ‘yes’ have identities with distinguished characteristics, including the following in decreasing order: 4 having the identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ (H1, H14, H19, and H21), 2 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European’ (H6, H18), 1 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Komárňančan + European’ (H13), 1 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Komárňančan + European + Christian’ (H12), 2 ‘Hungarian + European + Christian’ (H3, H8), 1 ‘Hungarian + Komárňančan + European’ (H2), and 1 ‘Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian’ (H20). Thus, 4 of the 5 students with the exclusive type of identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ have experience of national/ethnic discrimination.

On the other hand, the identities of the 8 students who answered “never” include 1 having the identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slo-

vakia + Christian' (H7), 1 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of Slovak Republic + Komárňančan + European' (H11), 1 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European' (H15), 1 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia' (H17), and 1 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Komárňančan + European' (H22): the majority are bearers of the composite identity of 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α '. The others include 1 'Hungarian' (H16), 1 'European' (H4) and 1 'Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of Slovak Republic + European' (H10). Those students with no experience of national/ethnic discrimination have mostly the composite identity of 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α '.

Thus it is clear that the question of whether they have experienced national/ethnic discrimination determines the boundary between 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ' and 'Hungarian in Slovakia' identities, forming the third 'boundary mechanism'. In the English department, experience of national/ethnic discrimination makes no difference to a particular identity. The question of political and social oppression will be considered next, in relation to national/ethnic discrimination.

(5) Political and social oppression



There are 10 students who responded 'a' or 'b', and 5 students who answered 'd' or 'e'. Many have a sense of there being political barriers; however, the crucial observation here is that the bearers of the identity of 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ' have a strong feeling of incon-

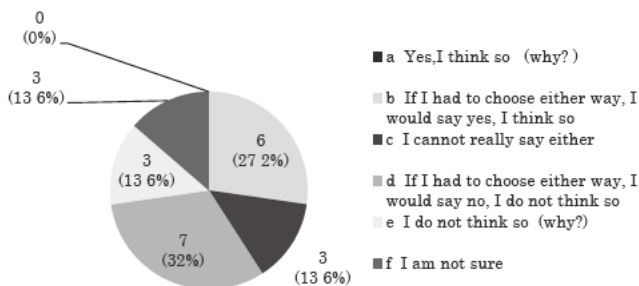
venience.

The identities of the 10 students who have a sense of inconvenience include the following in decreasing order: 3 having the identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European’ (H6, H15, and H18), 1 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Komárňančan + European + Christian’ (H12), 1 ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Christian’ (H7); the majority is ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’. The others include 1 ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ (H21), 1 ‘Hungarian + Komárňančan + Christian’ (H5), 1 ‘Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of Slovak Republic + European’ (H10) and 1 ‘Hungarian’ (H16).

On the other hand, the identities of the 5 students who do not feel inconvenience include 2 having the identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ (H9, H14), 1 ‘Hungarian + Komárňančan + Christian’ (H2), 1 ‘Hungarian + European + Christian’ (H3), and 1 ‘Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian’ (H20). It is significant that there are no bearers of the identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’ included here. Considering the results of Question 32, those who have experience of national/ethnic discrimination do not necessarily have a feeling of political and social oppression. More importantly, whether one has a feeling of political and social oppression (the 4th mechanism) determines the boundary between the ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’ (composite identity) and ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ (exclusive identity).

(6) Cultural oppression

Question 35: Do you feel that in Slovakia, people are pressured into not keeping their own culture?



Ten students responded 'd' or 'e' (45.6%) to this question, whereas nobody answered 'a' and only a third of all responded 'b' (6 students, 27.2%).

The identities of the 6 students who suggested 'b' include 2 having the identity of 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European' (H6, H15), 1 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Komárňančan + European' (H13), 1 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Komárňančan + European + Christian' (H12), 1 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + Christian' (H7) and 1 'Hungarian + Komárňančan + Christian' (H5). Thus, 5 of the 6 students who feel cultural oppression, have the composite type of identity of 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α '. The sense of cultural oppression is a defining characteristic of this type of identity.

The identities of the 10 students who answered 'd' or 'e' include the following in decreasing order: 4 having the identity of 'Hungarian in Slovakia' (H1, H9, H14, and H19), 1 'Hungarian + Komárňančan + Christian' (H2), 1 'Hungarian + European + Christian' (H3), 1 'European' (H4), 1 'Hungarian in Slovakia + citizen of Slovak Republic + European' (H10), 1 'Hungarian' (H16), 1 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + European' (H18), and 1 'Hungarian in Slovakia + European + Christian' (H20). This produces an interesting result: half of the students with the composite type of identity as 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ' have a feeling of cultural oppression, whereas the students with the exclusive type of identity of 'Hungarian in Slovakia' have no feeling of cultural oppression.⁴ Whether one has a sense of cultural oppression is the fifth boundary mechanism between the identities.

Finally, here are the conclusions with regard to the boundary mechanisms, separating the two main identities of the students of the Hungar-

4 The first boundary mechanism between the two identities is concerned with whether they have a interaction with the Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary (Question 23). The former have little connection, while the latter have close connections. Those students who have little Hungarian connection have no feeling of cultural oppression, whereas those students with close Hungarian connections are more likely to feel cultural oppression. It is not clear in this survey whether they value the connection with the Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary because of being oppressed, or they are more likely to be oppressed because of their close relationship; this will be examined as a future objective.

ian department:

(A) 'Hungarian in Slovakia' (exclusive identity) = this type consists of students who have little connection with the neighbouring Slovaks in the Slovak Republic, and who live in areas where neighbouring Slovaks speak in Hungarian for communication with Hungarians (there are few students in the Hungarian department who speak Slovak on daily basis for communication). The boundary mechanisms are:

1. They have few relationships with the Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary.
2. They have experience of national/ethnic discrimination.
3. They have experienced financial hardship in Slovakia.
4. They feel no political oppression.
5. They feel no cultural oppression.

In the following, this type is referred to as 'Type 1'.

(B) 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ' (composite identity) = this type also consists of students who have little connection with the neighbouring Slovaks in the Slovak Republic, and who live in areas where neighbouring Slovaks speak in Hungarian for communication with Hungarians. The boundary mechanisms are:

1. They have close relationships with the Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary.
2. They have no experience of national/ethnic discrimination.
3. They have no feeling of financial hardship in Slovakia.
4. They feel political oppression.
5. They also feel cultural oppression.

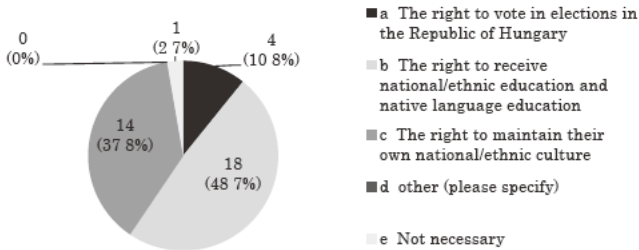
Students who hold this identity may be interested in maintaining their connection with the Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary while experiencing hardships from political, social and cultural perspective. I suppose that they not only have the identity of 'Hungarian in Slovak' but also have several other identities including 'Hungarian' in order to maintain a psychological balance in experiencing hardships. In the following, this identity type is referred to as 'Type 2'.

The factors 1-5 are the 'boundary mechanisms' between Type 1 and Type 2. Next, I will consider the symbolic resources on which these identities rely. This should reveal an image of both identities.

V. Symbolic resources

(1) Political rights and cultural rights

Question 39: Which of the following rights do you think are necessary in your daily life? Please select all that you think are necessary.



48.7% answered ‘the right to receive national/ethnic education and native language education’, followed by ‘the right to maintain their own national/ethnic culture’ (37.8%). Type 1 includes the political rights in Hungary (H21), the right to national/ethnic education (H9, H14, and H19) and that for national/ethnic culture (H1, H9, H14, and H19). In contrast but similar, Type 2 includes political rights in Hungary (H7, H12, and H13), the right to national/ethnic education (H8, H11, H12, H13, H15, H17, H18, and H22), that for national/ethnic culture (H8, H11, H12, H13, H15, H17, H18, and H22) and ‘not important’ (H6). That is to say, for both Type 1 and Type 2, symbolic resources supporting their identities are regarded as the ‘cultural rights’ to receive ethnic and native language education as well as maintaining their national/ethnic culture, and these are esteemed more significant than political rights. Next, we will consider the specific regions envisioned as the spheres where these cultural rights function.

(2) Geographic areas

The graph below represents the results of Question 38, in relation to Type 1 and Type 2.

Question 38-(1)a: How much attachment do you feel towards the following groups and regions? (in case of Type 1)

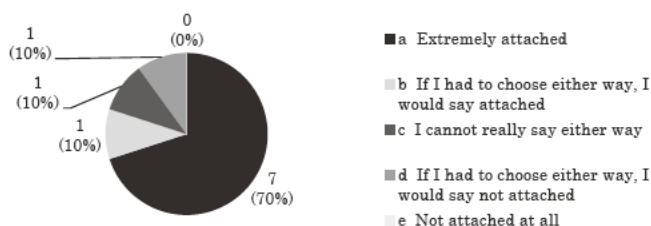
(1) reions where you were born and brought up



Almost all Type 1 students have a close attachment to the area where they were born and brought up. It is clear that the exclusive type of identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ mirrors regional identity, considering the geographic area for which the cultural rights apply is ‘the area where they were born and brought up’.

Question 38-(1)b: How much attachment do you feel towards the following groups and regions? (in case of Type 2)

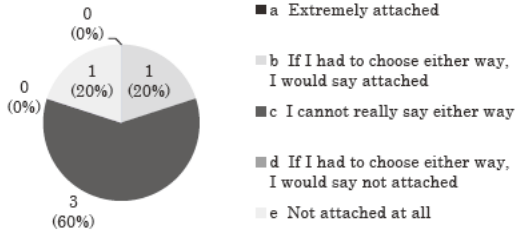
(1) reions where you were born and brought up



80% of Type 2 students have a close attachment to the area where they were born and brought up; this also overlaps with the regional identity. Their fondness towards the Slovak Republic will be examined next.

Question 38-(2)a: How much attachment do you feel toward the following groups and regions? (in case of Type 1)

(2) Slovak Republic

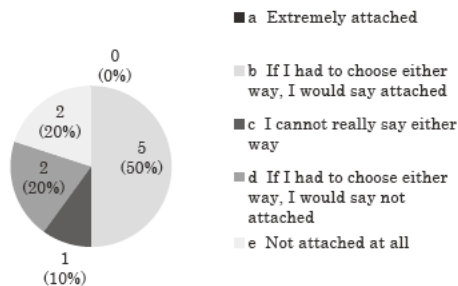


Of the 5 Type 1 students, one feels attached to the Slovak Republic. Another feels no attachment. 60% have answered ‘I cannot really say either way’.

Considering Question 38-(1) a, the Type 1 students are more attached to the area where they were born and brought up than to the Slovak Republic. In the English department, the bearers of the exclusive type of identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ have more attachment towards the Slovak Republic than to the area where they were born and brought up (Nakazawa 2012: 112-113), whereas in the Hungarian language department, it is concluded that the exclusive type of identity of ‘Hungarian in Slovakia’ corresponds to regional identity. What about Type 2?

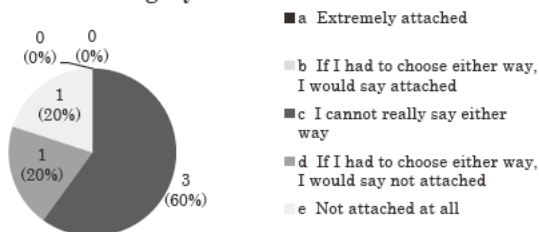
Question 38-(2)b: How much attachment do you feel toward the following groups and regions? (in case of Type 2)

(2) Slovak Republic



Half of the Type 2 students answered, ‘If I had to choose either way, I would say attached’; higher than for Type 1. In other words, they tend to be attached both to the area where they were born and brought up and to the Slovak Republic. They consider not only the area where they were born and brought up but also the Slovak Republic, for which the cultural rights can apply; a contrast to Type 1. The degree of attachment to the Republic of Hungary will now be examined with regard to both types.

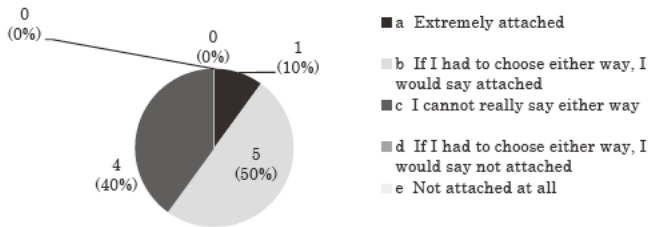
Question 38-(3)a: How much attachment do you feel toward the following groups and regions? (in case of Type 1)
(3) Republic of Hungary



Surprisingly, of the Type 1 students, 2 (40%) answered ‘d’ and ‘e’. The other 3 (60%) responded ‘c’. As for Question 38(1)a and (2)a, 20% of Type 1 students are attached to the Slovak Republic, and 60% to the area where they were born and brought up. Type 1 had no particular attachment to the Slovak Republic or to Republic of Hungary. They have attachment only to the area where they were born and brought up; clearly, they are locally oriented.

Question 38-(3)b: How much attachment do you feel toward the following groups and regions? (in case of 10 students having multiple identities of the 'Hungarian', 'Hungarian in Slovakia' and others)

(3) Republic of Hungary



These results are in contrast to Type 1. 6 Type 2 students answered 'a' and 'b'; none responded 'e'.

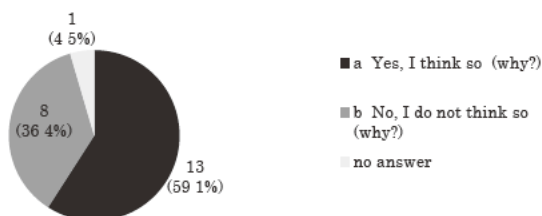
Whether Type 1 or Type 2, neighbouring Slovaks speak Hungarian for communication. However, the boundary of the two types is determined by 'mechanisms' 1-5, as mentioned above. Furthermore, according to Type, the geographic spheres as symbolic resources underpinning identities are different. Type 1 subjects consider only the area where they were born and brought up, whereas Type 2 subjects tend to consider not only the area where they were born and brought up but also the two countries of Slovakia and Hungary; in other words, the former are locally orientated, whereas the latter are orientated locally as well as state-nationally. This is suggested in the results of Questions 12 and 13, concerning their perceived employment prospects.⁵ As in the following Question 41, also, the local orientation of Type 1 and the local and state-national orien-

5 Of the Type 1 students, 3 have the intention of getting work in the area where they were born and brought up inside Slovakia (H1, H19, and H21), 2 have provided no response (H9, H19), and none anticipate taking employment in Hungary. In contrast, of the Type 2 students, 4 are interested in getting work in the area where they were born and brought up inside Slovakia (H3, H12, H13, and H17), and 3 may have employment prospects either in Hungary or in Slovakia (H6, H8, and H15). In the Hungarian language department, there are only two students who have employment prospects only in Hungary (H2, H5); They are neither Type 1 or Type 2, but have the composite identity as 'Hungarian + α '.

tation of Type 2 are highlighted in their valuation of the Hungarian language.

(3) Hungarian language

Question 41: Do you think that being able to to speak Hungarian is beneficial in Slovakia?

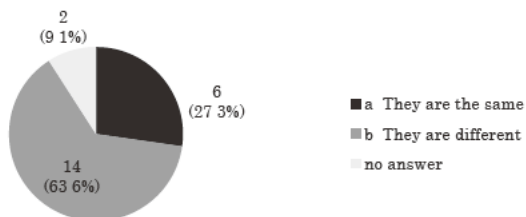


Slightly more students answered ‘Yes, I think so’. Of the 5 Type 1 students, 4 responded ‘Yes’ (H9, H14, H19, and H21) and one has answered ‘No’ (H1). In conclusion, 80% of the Type 1 students regard their ability to speak Hungarian as advantageous in Slovakia.

On the other hand, there are somewhat surprising results in regard to Type 2. Of the 10 Type 2 students, 6 responded ‘Yes’ (H17, H15, H11, H8, H7, and H6) and 4 ‘No’ (H22, H18, H13, and H12). 40% of the Type 2 students do not think that their ability to speak Hungarian can be advantageous in Slovakia. The main reasons for this include that ‘the Hungarian language can only be useful in southern Slovakia, not in the whole country’ (H18, H22). On the other hand, for other students it was considered ‘useful’ for personal reasons such as ‘getting work’ (H8), and for public reasons such as ‘translation or interpretation for those who are not familiar with the language’ (H15).

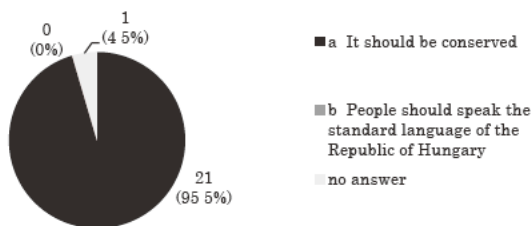
To summarise: Type 1 students think that the ability to speak Hungarian is useful in Slovakia (being aware of their strength as being bilingual). This may be closely linked to the fact that they have experienced no political inconvenience, financial hardship or cultural oppression. In contrast, fewer Type 2 students feel that their ability to speak Hungarian can be advantageous in Slovakia. It may be influenced by their experience of political deprivation, financial hardship and cultural oppression. The following will examine their awareness of the Hungarian language.

Question 45: What do you think about your Hungarian and the Hungarian spoken by people in the Republic of Hungary?



There are 6 students in the Hungarian language department who answered, “They are the same” (27.3%) and 7 (17.9%) in the English department. In contrast, 14 have responded “They are different” (63.6%) in the Hungarian language department and 23 (82.1%) in the English department (Nakazawa 2012: 113-114). Those from both departments agree that the Hungarian language in the southern region in Slovakia is a ‘dialect’; this is related to Question 47.

Question 47: What do you think about Hungarian spoken by Hungarians in Slovakia?



Almost all the students believe that the Hungarian dialect in the southern regions must be preserved. This differs in the English department, in which, of 28 students, 9 (32.1%) claim that the official Hungarian must be spoken, rather than maintaining their own dialect (Nakazawa 2012: 114). Thus, considering the results of Question 45, the students of the Hungarian language department have more interest in local matters and are locally orientated.

Conclusion

The graph below represents the remarkable characteristics of the Hungarian language department students' identities.

	Daily Language	Contact with Slovaks	Contact with Hungarians in Hungary	Experience of discrimination	Political liberty	Economic sufficiency	Cultural pressure	Symbolic resources :areas
HS exclusive identity 5 students	Hungarian	little	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	hometown
H+HS+a composite identity 10 students	Hungarian	little	much	No	No	No	if anything, Yes	home-country (Slovakia-Hungary) and hometown
H exclusive 1 student	Hungarian	No	much	Yes	Yes/No	No answer	Yes	Europe and hometown
H+a composite identity 4 students	Hungarian	No	much	Yes/No	No	Yes/No	Yes/No	home-country (Hungary) and hometown
HS+a composite identity 2 students	Hungarian	No	No	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes	No	home-country (Slovakia) and hometown

The exclusive type of identity of 'Hungarian in Slovakia' (Type 1) is predicated on the notion of neighbouring Slovaks speaking in Hungarian for communication. Their marked characteristics include:

1. They have little contact with the Slovaks and no connection with the Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary.
2. They have experience of national/ethnic discrimination.
3. They have no feeling of political deprivation.
4. They have no experience of financial hardship.
5. They have no cultural oppression.

Factors 1-5 constitute the core that determines this identity and also provide the mechanisms to separate them from the other identities. Furthermore, the symbolic resources which this identity depend on are 'cultural rights'. The specific sphere that is assumed to confer such cultural rights may be the area where they were born and brought up. They have more

attachment to their birthplace, rather than to the Slovak Republic or the Republic of Hungary (they are locally orientated). Thus, they anticipate taking employment in their birthplace, are interested in preserving the dialect of Hungarian in Slovakia, and think that their ability to speak Hungarian is advantageous in Slovakia (having the advantage of being bilingual). This is the identity related to those who have lived affluently in the Slovak Republic, and whose lives are stable.

The composite type of identity of ‘Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ’ (Type 2) represents the majority of the Hungarian language department, and is peculiar to the department while not being identified in the other departments. This type also is predicated on the notion of neighbouring Slovaks speaking in Hungarian for communication. Their characteristics include:

1. They have little contact with the Slovaks in the Republic of Slovakia but close connections with the Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary.
2. They have no experience of racial discrimination.
3. They feel restrained politically.
4. They have experience of financial hardship.
5. They have a relatively strong feeling of cultural oppression.

Factors 1-5 constitute the core that forms this identity and also provide the mechanisms to separate them from the other identities. As with Type 1, ‘cultural rights’ (symbolic resources) also determine their identity. The areas for which the cultural rights apply include the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Hungary as well as their birthplace. Their employment prospects are equally diverse. Type 2 students are orientated locally as well as state-nationally. They are interested in preserving the dialect of Hungarian in Slovakia; however, they do not think that the ability to speak Hungarian is necessarily advantageous in Slovakia (they also have some doubt about the strength of being bilingual).

In addition, although this investigation has touched on the topic only incidentally, I would like to summarize the distinguishing characteristics of the extreme minorities of ‘Hungarian’ (exclusive identity) and ‘Hungarian + α ’ (composite identity).

The marked characteristics of the exclusive type of identity of ‘Hungarians’ include: 1. He/She has no contact with the neighbouring Slovaks

in Slovak Republic but close connections with the Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary. 2. He/She has no experience of national/ethnic discrimination. 3. He/She cannot say whether he/she feels restrained politically. 4. He/She has no answer with regard to financial hardship. 5. He/She feels cultural oppression. The cultural rights (symbolic resources) are concerned with the area of Europe as well as their birthplaces. He/She has no attachment towards the countries of Slovakia or Hungary, and their interests extend beyond the state border, reflecting the fact that many students with the composite identity of 'Hungarian + Hungarian in Slovakia + α ' specify ' α ' as 'European'. The 'European' nature of this 'Hungarian' identity will be examined in the future in comparison with other departments. This type believe that the ability to speak Hungarian is advantageous in the wider area of Europe (using the strength of being bilingual), and that the dialect of Hungarian in Slovakia must be preserved.

The characteristics of the composite type of identity of 'Hungarians + α ' include: 1. They have no contact with the Slovaks in Slovakia but have close connection with the Hungarians in Hungary. 2. They feel restrained politically. 3 and 4. They cannot say whether they have experience of financial hardship or cultural oppression. The cultural rights (symbolic resources) can apply to the Republic of Hungary and their birthplaces only. As they have no attachment towards the Slovak Republic, their employment prospects are limited to the Republic of Hungary. Thus, they do not think that the ability to speak Hungarian can be advantageous in Slovakia; however, they strongly agree with the conservation of the Hungarian dialect in southern Slovakia.

Why do the identities of the students in the Hungarian language department have the characteristics mentioned above? There is the environmental factor whereby they have more contact with the neighbouring Hungarians in the Republic of Hungary than with the neighbouring Slovaks in the Slovak Republic. In contrast to the English department, also, they have less ability to speak in more than one language. Due to this, their communication is limited and may define the particular identity. More integral study is required here, however, through examining the comparison between the students in the Slovak language department or in the History department.

The above investigation has clarified that, in border regions inhab-

ited by people of mixed national/ethnic backgrounds, national identity is formed in accordance with the environment in which the individual is placed, particularly daily interaction and communication with neighbours (including neighbors of different national/ethnic groups) as well as through his political, economic or cultural ‘experience’. Most significantly, this investigation has demonstrated that differences in living environments or experience create boundaries between identities and require different resources (regions) for upholding identity. The conclusion arising from the previous survey of the English department seems to be realised also in this survey of the Hungarian language department. Thus, national identity is not necessarily constant, and may go through any number of changes in response to future changes in living environment or in individual experience. However, this needs further research, in comparison with the students of the Slovak language department or the History department.

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