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Willa Decius

The well-hidden burning issue...
How to become part of the core...

PhDr. Michal Vašečka, PhD.
Center for the Research of Ethnicity and Culture, Bratislava (www.cvek.sk)
Post-modern identities in V4

- Parallel existence of national, supra-national, territorial, and regional identities
- Strengthening of primordial national identity
- Strengthening of European and regional identities over national identity
- Creation of hybrid identities?
Constructed identities

- Social construction and re-construction based on myths
- De-construction of myths, re-construction of myths, and construction of new myths
- Attempts to fight collective amnesia?
Collective forgetting in V4

1. Repressive Erasure
2. Prescriptive Forgetting
3. Forgetting that is Constitutive in the Formation of a New Identity
4. Structural Amnesia
5. Forgetting as Annulment
6. Forgetting as Planned Obsolescence
7. Forgetting as Humiliated Silence
„It is the way you understand yourself, stupid…“

Attempts to integrate and accommodate „others“ failed in most of countries of Central and Eastern Europe due to structural reasons.

In fact, they will be remain unsuccessful without changes of a nation state character, constitutional changes, and precise definition of integration aims.
Constitutional codifications of a nation in Central Europe

- Modern national states create a “cocktail” of civic and ethnic traditions
- V4 countries are rather ethnically defined with many differences in constitutional codifications of a nation.
- Citizenship in V4 is a mixture of ius soli and ius sanguini principles, but understood rather in ethnic terms.
- Ex-patriots policies as a good example of going beyond modern understanding of a citizenship
Paradox of the globalized era

- Appearance and strengthening of new and particular identities, fragmentarization of class identities, „imaginative community“ is facing serious challenge

- But – banal nationalism and tribal understanding of citizenship are preventing to move toward de-ethnicized national citizenship
Integration in both social and civic terms rests on the concept of equal opportunities for all. In socio-economic terms, “others“ must have equal opportunities to lead just as dignified, independent and active lives as the rest of the population.

Equality. Is it enough?

Integration is successful when “others“ become part of the core in all aspects of life - social, societal, economic, cultural, and symbolic ones. Integration cannot be successful in situation when „minorities“ have problems to penetrate into the core of society.
Core and out groups - ideal type

People with permanent residence

Citizens of the country
Core and out groups in Slovakia - division of the out group

- People with permanent residence
- Citizens of the country
- Ethnic Slovaks
Core and out groups in Slovakia – complex analysis

- People with permanent residence
- Citizens of Slovakia
- People born in Slovakia
- Slovaks born in Slovakia, with multiple identities
- Slovaks not born in Slovakia
- Mythological „core“ Slovaks
Core and out groups in Slovakia – media coverage and simplification in every-day life

- Non-citizens (with permission to stay)
- Non-Slovaks (citizens)
- "Bad Slovaks" (cosmopolitan, with various identities, "de-mythologized")
- "Good Slovaks" (no matter of their citizenship)
What should be done? How to Overcome Historical Determinism in V4?

- Need of transfer from ethno-cultural to legal-political definition of a nation in V4, or to shift from cultural definition of a nation to voluntaristic one?
- Need of redefinition of the core solidarity based on ethnicity to core solidarity based on modern citizenship.
- Need to move toward de-ethnicized citizenship.
- Need to define clearly short-term and long-term goals of policies toward minorities.
- Need to understand inclusion multidimensionally, not only in its economic dimension.
- Need to support particular and universalistic identities that are in place.
- Challenge - how to „sell“ constitutional patriotism to people who are locked in the cage of banal nationalism?