



ERUDITIO  
MORES  
FUTURUM



Ústav etnológie  
Slovenskej akadémie vied

**Editors:**

**Alexandra Bitušíková and Daniel Luther**



**CULTURAL AND SOCIAL  
DIVERSITY IN SLOVAKIA**

**IV. Social change and adaptation**

# **Cultural and Social Diversity in Slovakia IV**

## **SOCIAL CHANGE AND ADAPTATION**

Editors  
Alexandra Bitušíková  
Daniel Luther

Bratislava 2013

## Editors

© Assoc. Prof. PhDr. Alexandra Bitušíková, PhD., Univerzita Mateja Bela Banská Bystrica, 2013

© Daniel Luther, PhD., Ústav etnológie SAV Bratislava, 2013

## Reviewers

Professor Viera Feglová, PhD.

PhDr. Peter Salner, DrSc.

PhDr. Peter Slavkovský, DrSc.

This publication was published with the financial support of the VEGA Grant Agency (Project No 2/0099/11 Adaptation of urban inhabitants in the processes of social changes; and Project No 1/0738/13 Cultural and social diversity in the city in the context of sustainable development) and of the Institute of Ethnology of Slovak Academy of Sciences (Project 27/2010 The Holocaust reflections and Jewish identity)

## Authors

©

Assoc. Prof. PhDr. Alexandra Bitušíková, PhD., Univerzita Mateja Bela Banská Bystrica, 2013

Assoc. Prof. PhDr. Jolana Darulová, PhD., Univerzita Mateja Bela Banská Bystrica, 2013

Mgr. Miroslava Hlinčíková, PhD., Ústav etnológie SAV Bratislava, 2013

PhDr. Katarína Košťalová, PhD., Univerzita Mateja Bela Banská Bystrica, 2013

Daniel Luther, PhD., Ústav etnológie SAV Bratislava, 2013

Mgr. Soňa G. Lutherová, PhD., Ústav etnológie SAV Bratislava, 2013

Mgr. Ivan Souček, PhD., Univerzita Mateja Bela Banská Bystrica, 2013

PhDr. Monika Vrzgulová, PhD., Ústav etnológie SAV Bratislava, 2013

Mgr. Vendula Wiesnerová, Ústav etnológie SAV Bratislava, 2013

© Ústav etnológie SAV v Bratislave, 2013

© Inštitút sociálnych a kultúrnych štúdií FHV, Univerzita Mateja Bela v Banskej Bystrici, 2013

## Translator

Judita Takáčová

JT LINGUA, s. r. o.

First published 2013

Printing Zing Print

ISBN 978-80-88997-52-8

EAN 9788088997528



Ústav etnológie  
Slovenskej akadémie vied



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## Introduction

Daniel Luther ..... 5

## Transformation of Micro- and Macro-Worlds in Postsocialism

Soňa G. Lutherová ..... 8

## CHANGES IN LIFE AND WORK STYLES

### Changes in the Working Life: The Story of a Company and Its Employees

Katarína Košťalová ..... 20

### On the Way to Sustainable Lifestyles: Changes in Food Practices

Alexandra Bitušíková..... 31

### Adaptation of Vietnamese Migrants to Social Changes

Miroslava Hlinčíková..... 44

## NEW CULTURAL FORMS

### Acculturation of Traditional Indian Medicine in Slovakia

Ivan Souček..... 54

### Acceptation of LGBTI Movements in the Current Socio-Political Context

Vendula Wiesnerová..... 64

## FACING THE PAST

### The Holocaust in Slovakia: The Perspectives of Observers. Coping with the Past?

Monika Vrzgulová..... 73

### Adaptation of Families Forcibly Displaced under Action B: The Past and the Present

Jolana Darulová ..... 83

## SUMMARY

Daniel Luther ..... 93

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliography is included in the Slovak version of this publication

The papers are shortened versions of the papers written in the Slovak language and published in this publication

## INTRODUCTION

The publication hereby presented to the public focuses on the processes of adaptation of individuals and groups of urban inhabitants in the period of social changes after 1989. From the outside, the collapse of Communism in Czechoslovakia was a simple act of formal resignation by which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia admitted its inability to further lead this country. The subsequent changes, however, affected almost all aspects of everyday life. The developments in this unstable and heterogeneous political situation was reflected in social relationships; the restructuring of ownership had positive effects on some people, and negative ones on others; the changes in the labour market and employment weakened the life securities, and changed the work habits inherited from the time of socialism. The period after 1989 was characterised by the arrival of foreign companies and their managers, and proven ways of advertising and goods from all over the world, changing the culture of work, clothing, housing, catering, etc. The mass media crossed the borders of the “socialist camp” and brought new ideas, ideals, cultural models or ways of behaviour. The “global world” penetrated lives of the citizens in many ways. The free market destroyed the long-preserved cultural models and became the determining criterion of values for many. The norm our society places in front of its members is the norm of ability and willingness to play the role of a consumer (Bauman 1999: 98). Commercialisation and globalisation are the accompanying phenomena of these processes.

These and many other more-or-less non-enumerable changes have their origin in the transformation of the political and economic systems. The processes of change affecting the society in the period of postsocialist transformation represent a step-by-step shift from the past to the presence (Hann 2002). The introduction of a new legal system with the establishment of the rights of individuals, their personal freedom and private property represent the start of the disintegration of a uniform society and its individualisation. In the spirit of post-modernity, communities homogenised by socialism got fragmented along individual possibilities and strategies. The social structure of the population started to get largely diversified. The revival of national and religious minorities, as well as the emergence of new communities based on non-conform ideological fundamentals is perceived as part of a process which formed the internal diversity of towns and cities (Hannerz 1980). A. Bitušíková describes it in her chapter as follows: “The rapid growth of diversity could be immediately observed in all spheres of life: in the diversification of the economic structure and property relations; deepening social and economic stratification; changing ethnic and religious structure of the population; development of alternative types of education, art and culture; dissemination of new technology and ways of communication; as well as



a wide offer of goods and services. This fast occurrence of changes in the society, caused by postsocialist transformation and subsequently by globalisation, had an impact on the growing plurality of lifestyles and demands, and contributed to the enhancement of the consumer way of life” (Bitušíková 2010: 5).

Hence, political and economic change led to social and cultural changes. While social changes concerned the transformation of the social structure and of models of social behaviours and cultural patterns of behaviour (for more details see Kapferer 1997: 428-429), cultural changes meant the transformation of socio-cultural systems, cultures or their parts (for more details see Hatch 1997: 94-96). The consequences of such changes are therefore reflected in the system of values, including changes in attitudes to social phenomena (loyalty, conformity, resistance), in the transformation of identities (ethnic, social, religious, gender, etc.), lifestyles, and cultural models. For the authors of this publication, these changes represent the framework for the study of adaptation of individuals and groups to social changes. From the anthropological point of view, adaptation is perceived as increased similarity, and is accompanied by a series of social interactions (Glick 2008: 1). It does not necessarily mean identification. Adaptation strategies can entail completely contradictory concepts responding to the changed social development (for example, a tendency to local culture in the era of globalisation).

Many things changed in people’s everyday and festive lives after 1989, but ethnological research has so far captured just a few things from what has changed or is new in the lives of the inhabitants of Slovak cities. This statement does not have a critical connotation. Anthropological literature about the postsocialist period is rich, and there have been many books published in Slovakia which form the basis for the studies in this monograph. However, as stated by Michael Burawoy and Katherine Verdery (1999: 1), in the conventional pictures of postsocialist transformation, the micro-level is determined by the structures of politics and ideology of macro-character with a small theoretical generalisation of unplanned local consequences of political and cultural impacts interlinked with economic struggles. The analytical parts of the publication deal with micro-levels (local and individual). The more detailed descriptions of the postsocialist development in the introductory chapter written by Soňa G. Lutherová on the basis of published works represent an introduction to the topic of postsocialist social changes and the general social context for the topics of the other chapters.

Sustainable development has become a reaction to the rapid and sometimes controversial modernisation of the society after 1989. Globalisation has brought along not only global products, but also models of alternative lifestyle. Through anthropological concepts of the study of food practices, Alexandra Bitušíková deals with people’s adaptation to the globalisation changes of economic institutions and socio-cultural forms, norms and values. She studies the application of new cultural patterns in Banská Bystrica and its surroundings.

The restructuring of the ownership of many state companies was an important phenomenon related to changes. Changes of owners and the entry of foreign companies and their managers, layoffs of employees, the emergence of new technologies and work culture affected the working lives of many people. This topic was studied by Katarína Košťalová in the region of Zvolen. Vietnamese immigrants who had settled in Slovakia back to the period of socialism faced a similar problem. They lost jobs in the period of transformation, and had to seek new life strategies. Miroslava Hlinčíková also deals with another new social phenomenon – the migration of new Vietnamese immigrants to Bratislava.

Immigration is interlinked with the penetration of new cultural forms. Ivan Souček focused on traditional Indian medicine practiced by Indian migrants in Slovakia. The way of expansion and adaptation of this cultural phenomenon forms part of the category of acculturation processes, as noted by Soňa G. Lutherová. The same applies to the expansion of the LGBTI movement which is also a new (or newly discussed) phenomenon in our country. The problem of acceptance and adaptation of this movement in the Slovak society also has a political dimension, as described by Vendula Wiesnerová.

The last thematic area deals with the coping with the past, which also forms part of the transformation processes of the society changing to a democratically open space. The wrongs of the past committed by totalitarian regimes started to be publicly discussed, opening topics which were formerly a taboo or were ideologically misinterpreted. The common feature of the presented contributions is the fact that these grievances were committed “against our citizens by our citizens”. These issues are even more sensitive due to the fact that their actors or direct descendants live among us. Monika Vrzgulová deals with the witnesses of the war period events marked by the persecution and deportations of the Jewish people. Jolana Darulová interviewed the people who were considered enemies after the Communists came to power and were forcibly displaced from their towns under Action B, and deprived of their trades, property and social positions. She describes the circumstances of their adaptation to the new environment, as well as their attitudes and decisions after 1989 when the law enabled property restitution.

This publication is the fourth one from the series Cultural and Social Diversity in Slovakia. The contributions in this publication illustrate the differentiated society and culture that emerged in the transforming society. Since social changes affected almost all areas of life in towns, this monograph is considered a survey of selected topics, though not inevitably a comprehensive one, which opened the new area of urban ethnological research.

## TRANSFORMATION OF MICRO- AND MACRO-WORLDS AT THE TIME OF POSTSOCIALISM

*Soňa G. Lutherová*

The recent period of over twenty years since the Velvet Revolution has seen, in the Central-European and specifically in the Slovak context, a rapid change of living conditions – socio-cultural, economic and material ones. This transformation had its specific forms not only when comparing the different postsocialist countries, but also across regions and social segments (Podoba 2007: 6). Social changes have occurred from the micro-level up to the macro-level. People in the role of actors and bearers of transformations, or vice versa, of their passive observers “driven” by external circumstances were more or less able to adapt themselves and their acts and strategies to the new living conditions. This contribution deals with the fundamental features of the social change defined by the period of postsocialism in the context of changes in the urban environment in Slovakia. The key issue of this chapter is the question in what way was the transformation of society reflected in the everyday lives of individuals.

As the anthropologist of postsocialism Chris Hann pointed out, the sudden and many times rapid transformation of a society at the macro-level is usually accompanied by slower transformation of people’s thinking (Hann 2007). In spite of the unavoidable upswing of interests and relations at different levels of the society resulting in changes in the social system, the standards, values and ideas of people remain the same to a large extent. After the collapse of the socialist regime and the more or less sudden, traumatising and painful period of the 1990s (Lipták 2008) connected with the economic crisis and various internal political and wider social pressures, the transformation of the society inevitably lead to the initiation of adaptation mechanisms by individuals and groups that adapted to the dynamically changing conditions. The transformation of the everyday life was also influenced by a gradual generational exchange; the last personal observers of socialism and of the fall of the regime are in their 30s today, and the next generations have only mediated representations of the past, preserved and (re)constructed in collective and individual memories (Lutherová G. 2010). The period of socialism, as well as its traits and residues do not form the “topic of the day” at present, and are becoming rather an abstract narration about the remote past. At the same time, the character of the society is changing – the countries of Central and Eastern Europe opened to the world, thus changing their rules, form and the way of life of their inhabitants.

Immediately after the change of regime, people in the postsocialist context for Western anthropology became anthropological “other” for a while (Humphrey 2002:

14). As Caroline Humphrey described, the focus of the anthropological mainstream is currently directed to other parts of the world, further to the East and to former European colonies. More and more voices within the academic discourse question the term postsocialism, which corresponds just to a certain degree to the different conditions and circumstances in the different countries of the former Eastern Bloc. Humphrey also states that there can be never sudden and dramatic change in social reality to such extent that the new conditions and way of life would fully replace the previous ones. Socialism penetrated the entire functioning of society, from acts of actors up to ideologies and their public (and to a certain degree private) manifestations (Humphrey 2002). In this sense, it was an internally consistent political and economic system whose depth, size and duration have inevitably left common features in the countries of the Eastern Bloc or only certain limited possibilities for subsequent development after the collapse of the regime (Bunce 1999: 757). Though postsocialism can be considered an academic construct, it remains the mark and the representation of the period in which people lived and still live.

### WHAT IS THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY?

In order to understand the patterns of the period after the fall of the socialist regime, it is necessary to at least briefly describe the society from which it stemmed out. According to Katherine Verdery, the basic integration mechanism of socialist societies was the monopoly of the redistribution of goods as the central legitimisation principle of the bureaucracy apparatus. In this sense, what was more important than the maximisation of goods was their control, especially the control of key goods that increased the capacity of the apparatus for its further allocation. Emphasis was therefore put on, for example, heavy industry which was systematically supported to the detriment of the consumption industry. The reason behind is that heavy industry produced centrally controllable resources unlike consumption goods which are easily released from control by the state apparatus to get under market influences (Verdery 1991: 420). The consumption behaviour and people’s strategies were influenced by limited access to goods that were primarily available to the state. According to Búriková, socialist modernisation was based on the underestimation of the role of demand in the organisation of production and consumption which were defined from the point of view of forced social savings and limitations. “The socialist system in its efforts to plan production subordinated the population’s needs to bureaucratic planning – consumption was sacrificed to the benefit of production and control of products,” (Búriková 2006: 85). However, the winning of control over the means of production and the disruption of traditional sources of subsistence and of the self-supply economy re-oriented people’s focus from production to consumption.

The central control of goods was associated with the principle of soft budget constraints (Verdery 1991: 422). Unrealistic expectations concerning production by

firms, companies and entire manufacturing sectors, accompanied by low sanctions for (from a capitalistic perspective) “ineffective” management, (de)formed the nature and the structure of the state’s economy. Such conditions created an “economy of shortage” (Kornai 1980) which inevitably motivated the actors to search new – legal or illegal – strategies to obtain scarce goods. In the socialist context, along with the centrally planned economy, more or less disregarded shadow economies were also functioning, which, on one hand, posed a risk to the allocative monopoly of the centre, but, on the other hand, formed a necessary platform to satisfy people’s needs. All actors – from individuals to communities – tried to use their position as platforms to obtain access to sources. In the environment of the culture of scarcity, what was becoming more important were social networks accompanied by nepotism and exchange of services and goods which formed part of various levels of “informal” economy (Možný 2009: 43).

Yet, these processes disrupted the position of political centres. According to Verdery, a state apparatus that has usurped power in a society to the detriment of other social actors is usually weakened by any social obstacles it faces. The political and economic direction and strategic plans are defined by the centre, but their implementation is executed in the local context. Such conditions easily result in the loss of control of the centre and uncontrollable disintegration of power (Verdery 1991: 423). And last but not least, the state can only be as strong as the relation of its citizens to the state. This moment was reflected in the socialist society in the way socialist countries and their symbolic power were present in people’s everyday lives. As a result of the disruption of these relations, the bureaucratic apparatuses could not do other thing than to choose alternative ways of controlling their own citizens. The immediate consequences included, for example, the politicisation of culture and the effort to unprecedentedly dominate cultural production. In this case, also, action provoked a reaction: a cultural equivalent of a shadow economy represented by alternative culture, from samizdat literature to informal movements and social initiatives (Verdery 1991: 420-431). However, there were certain differences among the individuals socialist satellites in this regard; from the macro-economic point of view, the situation in Czechoslovakia was better than in other countries of the Soviet Bloc (especially since the end of the 1960s), which had a “demobilising” impact on the dissemination of dissident ideas (e. g. Holý 1992; Možný 2009).

Life in the enclosed economic area east from the Iron Curtain developed in its own historic time and tempo controlled by specific criteria for the assessment of the population’s needs (Lipták 2008: 63). The causes of the collapse of socialism can be sought in the parallel effect of several – national and also global – political, social and economic factors. One of the reasons was the gradual disruption of visible and invisible relations between the macro- and micro-levels of the society’s functioning and between description (propaganda) and reality which resulted in the collapse of the system at its different levels. According to Ivo Možný, the historic overturn was the implementation

of “...the vector of crossing and usually non-reflected long-term interests of various individuals and entire social groups“ (Možný 2009: 113).

#### CONTRADICTIONARY SOCIAL CHANGE

The features and patterns of a social system are eventually more legible upon its gradual disintegration during a transition period (Verdery 1991: 420). The change after the collapse of the socialist regime was not formal, and as such it cannot be easily demarcated in terms of time. This change was connected with fundamental transformations of political, social and also property relations which survive until the present, just as their impacts. The dominant aspect of this social change was primarily a change in the monopoly control by the Communist Party over the bureaucratic apparatus and the political sphere, and the related rise of competing political parties and non-state organisations. At the same time, the emerging private sector started to suppress the institute of public ownership in particular through privatisation processes and restitution of property. These processes were linked to the decentralisation of the economic and political life and to efforts to install capitalist market principles (Verdery 1991: 432). The year 1989 was also accompanied by the profound destruction of political institutions, economics, strategic elites, and by a degradation of the cultural capital the likes of which, according to Lipták, had only be witnessed before in the Communist coup in 1948 (Lipták 2008).

Postsocialist transformation was not easy and straightforward, as it comprised contradictory processes intervening in the lives of individuals. In general, the political and economic system elements and institutions were not introduced with regard to some aspects of the socialist past, and they worked in a different way than expected by the political actors in the postsocialist reality (Hann 2000). For example, in connection with the restitution of agricultural lands the issue of morale related to the re-installment of the institution of private property often collided with the economic rationality and the efforts to effectively use the lands. Specific solutions thus had often tragic consequences at the micro-level and changed the life paths of many people, not necessarily in a positive sense (Verdery 2004).

Some elements of the postsocialist transformation resulted from the very change of the social and political system. It should not be ignored, however, that some other elements were the consequence of wider processes at the global level. The period after 1989 opened the Slovak society to global changes. After the fall of the Iron Curtain and the defeat of real socialism, (neo)liberalism became the new ideological monopoly (Harvey 2007). At the same time, Central and Eastern Europe got strongly influenced by globalisation processes with constantly growing flows of capital, goods and information. The analysis of the postsocialist environment should therefore not privilege phenomena that are specific to former socialist countries and alongside lose sight of elements concerning all developed industrial countries (Hann 2002: 9).



As Bitušíková and Luther stated, globalisation as a process raises contradictory attitudes in the academic discourse. On the one hand, it is pessimistic attitudes linked to the economic destruction and subsequent disintegration of local communities in various parts of the world, related to the deepening of social differences and decimation of lower social classes or unavoidable loss of control over more and more spontaneous global economic processes (Bitušíková – Luther 2010: 19). These lead to economic crises which exacerbate the social insecurity of large parts of the population. The global economy and social relations are beyond social control. One of the specific consequences of globalisation is the suppression or extinction of local social and cultural phenomena. In other cases, such processes encourage revitalisation or the creation of special, innovative local forms. The processes are characterised by growing inequalities between centres and peripheries, which is manifested among different countries and their regions (Kalb 2002: 317). However, the opening of the country to the global world also involved the infusion of capital, goods, services and investment opportunities. Globalisation is a world of new possibilities for interaction, communication, work and travel in time and space by merely pressing fingers on the keyboard. Yet, the availability of such a “lightness of being” is largely limited – it is determined by the possibilities of individuals, especially by their access to capital. The new social conditions brought great benefits to certain parts of the population, especially educated young people often from urban environments that benefit from the acquired availability of information, and have the possibility to move and interact in a global context.<sup>1</sup>

According to Bunce, the postsocialist environment as a whole, leaving out the specific features of individual countries and regions compared to other countries at a similar level of socio-economic development, is to a certain degree characterised by a special socio-economic profile (e.g. relatively balanced distribution of income among the population). The other specific features also include persistent political and economic problems resulting from privatisation processes and corruption related to revitalisation and the introduction of new forms of property relations. The postsocialist context is in general defined by weak enforcement of law and related mistrust of the population in political leaders, as well as political and economic institutions involved in the running of the state (Bunce 1999: 758–759). Don Kalb explains this (to a certain degree homogenous) development in postsocialist societies by inevitable causality which results not only from the common socialist past, but rather from related changes in relations, practices, social processes at the macro- and micro- levels in the transition period, and from current ideas of political actors about further directions. According to him, the analytical emphasis on the interconnectedness of the developments of social phenomena explains the knowledge, habits and networks from the past used as tools in the present conditions. It also explains why many actors in the

<sup>1</sup> The social group that primarily benefitted from the change of the regime was, at the end, the already existing elites that were able to quickly adapt to the dynamically developing rules and patterns.

postsocialist context did not favour the transition, and on the contrary, have developed their own, ambivalent strategies (Kalb 2002: 323). From the point of view of political actors, the economic relations in postsocialism are to a large degree the consequences of economic interventions – in this sense, the transition primarily derived from privatisation, price liberalisation, inflation or manipulation of interest rates. When such interventions are confronted with everyday life, the reaction to them is always based on non-economic practices, activities and acts of actors (Burawoy – Verdery 1999: 14). An example are contradictory relations and processes arising from the transformation of ownership relations in connection with the renaissance of private property or people’s specific attitudes to collective ownership in postsocialism (Lutherová G. 2012).

### THE POSTSOCIALISM OF “SMALL” WORLDS

How was the social change at the level of macro-processes reflected in the so-called “small transformations” (Róna-Tas 1997)? To what degree were individuals able to adapt to the dramatically changing social conditions and in what way have they been involved in them? This issue is interlinked with the problem of adaptation, perceived according to the classical definition of Redfield, Linton and Herskovits as a phenomenon linked to acculturation. Acculturation is the result of a direct meeting of groups of individuals with differing cultures causing cultural patterns to change on one or on both sides. The specific elements can constitute the basis for a functioning cultural unit perceived and lived as harmonic and meaningful. Yet, they can lead to a series of contradictory and conflicting attitudes and perspectives faced by individuals in their everyday lives (Redfield – Linton – Herskovits 1936). The classical perception of acculturation and adaptation processes is inspirational also with regard to changes in the postsocialist context. The opening of markets accompanied by the penetration of cultural phenomena from the West, strengthened by the pressure of the neoliberal ethos and constantly growing possibilities for mutual communication brought a rapid change in the living conditions at all levels of the society.

According to Burawoy and Verdery, the conventional analyses of the social transformation perceive the micro-level exclusively as a platform for the expression of macro-structures, approaches and ideologies. Such an approach very rarely considers the importance, influence and consequences of the local political, economic and cultural contexts, as well as the behaviour of individual actors in particular life situations (Burawoy – Verdery 1999: 1-2). The relation between macro-structures and the everyday lives of individuals in postsocialism was determined by the collapse of the single-party political system and of the centrally planned economy. The economic and political transformation brought along new social conditions such as the opening of the market and processes such as privatisation or restitution. The transformation of the societies “...in the context of changes in the global regime of accumulation has radically shifted the rules of the game, the parameters of action within which actors



pursue their daily routines and practices” (Burawoy – Verdery 1999: 2). The disintegration of the system after the fall of the Iron Curtain enabled individuals to create to a larger extent strategies and behaviour patterns in their own micro-worlds. Individuals orient themselves harder in the new context, but on the other hand, they have a certain opportunity to make their autonomous strategies that can bring unexpected results. In some cases, their behaviour looks innovative, in other cases rather rejecting or passive, bearing the heritage of socialism. The apparent reproduction of phenomena or models of behaviour from the period of the former regime can also be considered as a reaction to the new conditions of the environment, for example, to its market changes. Such behaviour can appear as a relic of socialism also because it is named and expressed by a vocabulary and symbolism used during the pre-revolution period (Burawoy – Verdery 1999: 1-2).

People’s adaptation mechanisms and strategies have been defined by standards and values, as well as by the patterns of systems from which the society evolved. Burawoy and Verdery compared the social change after 1989 to the analysis of the social resistance against the market boom in the middle of the 19th century. According to them, we can observe similar processes in the postsocialist environment, characterised by selective acceptance and appropriation of new opportunities by actors, and by improvisation or explicit opposition against the transforming living conditions and circumstances. The key factor at the end of the 20th century, just as in the middle of the 19th century, was the rapidly developing capitalist economy in an ever wider global framework (Burawoy – Verdery 1999: 15-16). In the postsocialist context, dramatic changes occurred in the structure of the economy and production. Along with the emergence of multi-national retail chains and brands, we can also observe development of small and medium-sized enterprises. Small shops selling traditional products and brands up to innovative or exotic goods started to form part of the local nature. A good idea and motivation, however, are not enough to maintain an enterprise; private business must cope in a rapidly changing competitive environment. While the adaptation of some actors to new conditions has represented new, wider possibilities and fields of action, others have become marginalised or have found themselves on the verge of poverty. Their action was a form of adaptation to the new conditions and living context, and an expression of the persistence of old habits and approaches (Burawoy – Verdery 1999: 15-16).

And last but not least, social transformation has developed not only in the public space, but has also been reflected in the intimate worlds of actors, comprising changes in the family environment which affected the very structure of family relations. Since the collapse of the socialist regime, the age of contracting marriage has moved to a later age, and the number of contracted marriages and the birth rate have both decreased (Filadelfiová – Guráň – Šútorová 1999). At the micro-level of family relations, the so-called Slovak family, as opposed to the traditional model, seems to have become gradually individualised and democratised, and new forms of co-existence and family

units appeared (Chorvát 2002). New life models have found ground in the context of gender roles, and the strategies of the individual members of families have changed, too. The society started to talk about the phenomenon of new fathers, and the double burden of women has declined in terms of equality in the division of labour (for example, Filadelfiová 2008; Majerčíková 2002; Bútorová et al. 1995; Bútorová et al. 2002).<sup>2</sup>

#### POSTSOCIALISM IN THE URBAN CONTEXT

In spite of the fact that the above-mentioned processes affected both urban and rural environments and communities, cities and towns have been their driving force and fertile ground (Bitušíková – Luther 2010: 24). The urban environment in Central Europe was affected by important political, economic and socio-cultural changes (for example, Musil 1993; Steinführer – Haase 2007; Kostinskyi 2001). The postsocialist development of towns was accompanied by the internationalisation of the urban environment, economic restructuring, and by significant functional and spatial changes (Sýkora 2007). Postsocialist towns are characterised by elements of major demographic transition that resembles the situation in Western Europe (birth rate decline, ageing population, higher average age for contracting marriage, new forms of cohabitation connected with fundamental changes in the value systems of people reflected in the transformation of their life paths and styles), and also arise from processes related to the regime change (Steinführer – Haase 2007).

The social environment of postsocialist towns is created by various social, economic, cultural, ethnic, and age groups of citizens. According to Hannerz, those remembering their form from the period preceding the socialist era meet with those whose experiences were formed by several decades of socialism. Yet, the age group of people who were young adults or children during the system change plays an ever increasing role. Some of them have their own personal experience with events that lead to the regime change, but organise and realise their adult existence in postsocialist conditions (Hannerz 2010: 14). On the other hand, the new generation, without direct recollections of the period before the collapse of the regime, is coming forward with a perception of socialism only as a foggy memory or as a mediated abstract representation. The young people of today therefore seem to reject the postsocialist “label” as something generalised or derogative (Humphrey 2002: 13). However, they also grew up in life conditions defined by the dramatic change in the social system. All these age groups assign a very different local meaning to a postsocialist town, and their inter-generational relations are to a certain degree influenced by their own special approach and attitudes to the everyday reality (Hannerz 2010: 14).

The character of postsocialist towns is further enhanced by growing tourism which has changed towns from the material and economic points of view and specifically

<sup>2</sup> Though one could object in this regard that the transformation sometimes occurs rather at the declaratory level than in everyday life.

from the point of view of the availability of services and goods. New social groups and layers represent a special group of inhabitants of postsocialist towns which arose or started to be more visible after 1989. Although Slovakia has long faced the problem of a closed legal system which complicates the entry and long-term residence of immigrants in the country (especially some specific groups), the involvement of the population in inter-continental mobility has been intensified since the collapse of the socialist regime, and migration from/to the country has increased. What are the attitudes of the Slovak general population to the “new” ethnic minorities? They are more favourable to certain groups, especially those which, in general, explicitly relate to economic development or increased employment (for example, in connection with the opening of foreign car plants). On the other hand, the attitudes to immigrants from the “Third World” are more closed, which corresponds to the country’s legislative system (for example, Filadelfiová – Gyárfášová – Sekulová – Hlinčíková 2011; Hlinčíková – Lamačková – Sekulová 2011). Moreover, many involved actors consider the cultural assimilation of immigrants the prerequisite for their undisturbed life in the Slovak environment (Bitušíková – Luther 2010).

#### “REAL” POSTSOCIALISM

Katherine Verdery, a prominent representative of the anthropology of postsocialism, reflected on possible social developments in the next period in her study published immediately after the collapse of the regime: “How will persons privileged under the socialist order fare under the new circumstances, and how will the older forms of inequity continue to constrict people's chances? To what extent have socialist ideas about classlessness and equality entered into people's thinking, despite their categorical rejection of socialism overall, and what effects will this have?” (Verdery 1991: 432). As was later observed, “real” postsocialism has primarily been a period of inter-community conflicts.

The pressure on the consumption behaviour of the population is increasing more and more, but the society has been also marked by crises which to a large extent resulted from developments in the global financial markets: on one hand, by market and economic crises, and on the other hand, by social and cultural crises, and the crisis of values (Gindl 2008). The postsocialist environment is characterised by social dependence of large parts of the population (Lipták 2008: 67). In this respect, the change of the social system has not satisfied the (unrealistic) promises and expectations that people had during the Velvet Revolution (see, for example, Nosková 2005; Lipták 2008). Many problems relate to the weakened position of the demoralised and internally disintegrated class of workers (Bunce 1999: 759). The consequence is a resentment by a certain part of the population towards the former regime and its specific approach to ensuring social security. In a society where public goods are scarce the ambitions of individuals become illusions, creating collective feelings of

disillusion (Kalb 2002: 318). The persistent macro-economic crises thus deepen social inequalities, and increase tensions among large groups of the population. The public discourse then turns against the socially weaker classes, often on ethnic grounds. As Verdery affirmed, such an approach of the majority population is not only the consequence of pre-war ethno-national relations within the region. During the period of socialism, inter-ethnic tensions were supported by the economy of hardship which preferred any social tools to reduce competition for hardly accessible goods, including the aspect of dividing the population into “us” and “the others”. The ethno-national resentment can therefore be perceived as an unavoidable consequence of the collapse of socialist regimes in Central Europe (Verdery 1991: 433).

In addition to that, the civil society started to develop. From the point of view of social sciences, it is one of the most interesting aspects of the postsocialist transition. According to Verdery, the set of phenomena considered as expressions of civil society has evolved in the framework of volunteering or expert associations, training institutions, as well as various groups, from professional organisations to neighbours’ groups or those with a specific purpose. These are social relations in the interspace between households and the state, at the level of societies and organisations which are not directly controlled from above (Verdery 1991: 432). Many social scientists criticise the treatment of the concept of civil society as such, since it can easily become a generalising, pleasing, and especially ideological category (Hann 2002: 9). In the social practice, what could be increasingly observed throughout the past years is the stimulating impact of transformation on people’s involvement in public affairs. During socialism, this space was rather vacant, or replaced by institutions in the hands of the state political apparatus. In parallel, illegal, shadow groups conducted their activities at various levels of the social life, but the reach of their activities was largely limited by the nature of their functioning. Atomisation, alienation and loss of personal motivation or capacities of actors were the predominant experience of Eastern Europeans in the context of collective civil and political activities (Verdery 1991: 432-433).

The building of the civil society after the collapse of the socialist regime was therefore a very long and demanding process. One of the fundamental contexts of the post-socialist everyday life is to a large degree the persistent “gap” between citizens and the state (Giordano – Kostova 2002). On the other hand, the voice of the public can be “heard” more and more in the public discourse. Sometimes it seems to work through depersonalised expressions in the virtual internet space, but citizens’ participation also increases through various civil campaigns and initiatives, especially among young people (for example, Brozmanová – Gregorová 2012; Gallo – Lenčo 2009). These expressions seem to relate to the diversification of the population and also to increased civil awareness. The majority is confronted with the ever stronger voice of minorities, and new – mainly local forms and expressions of activism arise. Changes influence the way of life of individuals, and transform their mental worlds, as well. Many of these

phenomena are linked to the wider European and global developments, but acquire their specific, local forms determined by the postsocialist context. It is a question, yet, whether open market conditions bring along sufficient social security and prosperity which are the prerequisite for the development of a civil society (Kalb 2002: 326). Moreover, certain frustration from the enforcement of neoliberalistic principles as a “panacea” to the macro-societal ups and downs has been present not only in the Central European region.

### **POSTSOCIALISM IS NOT OVER**

As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, postsocialism remains a problematic analytical tool that social scientists would rather avoid in their reflections (Humphrey 2002). It is an ambiguous concept which is hard to grasp when analysed, often ideologised, and hard to define in social practice. The research of social changes must therefore analyse the phenomena profoundly and in a complex way, while taking into consideration the relations, conflicts and ambivalence between the macro- and the micro-levels. A detailed examination of social processes and their reflections in the lives of individuals therefore requires a focused qualitative field research (Hann 2002: 7).

What is postsocialist reality like today? The change of the regime in 1989 was connected to the democratisation and diversification of the society. It also resulted in fundamental economic and political changes which brought a higher standard of living to large groups of the population. On the other hand, it involved economic crises – from the post-revolution crisis of the 1990s up to the global financial crises of the present. These processes had consequences which deepen social and economic inequalities among people: degradation of human labour, intensification of global capital flows, increased impacts of the financial capital and multi-national companies as the central coordination mechanism of the global economy (Verdery 2003). The characteristic features of the environment also include corruption, clientelism, and social dependence of large parts of the population (Lipták 2008: 67). The new social system has changed the structure of the society, accelerated people’s migration, transformed the nature of labour migration, and enhanced tourism. The appearance of public spaces, especially of towns and suburban areas, has changed, as well. The society has become penetrated by global technology, internationally spread business articles and cultural forms that have influenced the everyday lives of inhabitants (Bítušíková – Luther 2010: 17). Commercialisation has affected diverse fields of people’s lives. The impacts and importance of marketing represented by omnipresent audio-visual smog of ads and the increasing availability of consumption goods stimulates the desire to adopt an own material world or authentic social relations, and a healthy and sustainable environment (Lutherová G. 2012).

Individuals stand in the middle of the social change, and social transformation is reflected in their everyday lives, changes in lifestyles, paths and perspectives. The task of urban ethnology or anthropology is therefore not only to immerse in social processes, but also to know better both the parallel and contradictory relations and tensions. The efforts to understand the contradictions and patterns of the present should not be abandoned, since the society is inexorably moving forward through a constant and variable movement.



## CHANGES IN THE WORKING LIFE: THE STORY OF A COMPANY AND ITS EMPLOYEES

*Katarína Košťalová*

The working life of most people usually takes place in bounds of an institution, a company or an organisation. Even starting working, one already has to adapt to the new team, new skills, company culture or communicational and inter-personal relations. He/she is put in a certain hierarchical structure (professional and functional), works with specific levels of technology in different work and cultural environment. One adopts new goals, values and norms of the group and the institution (Rymeš 1998). For most people work is not only important in order to maintain an income, but also demonstrates other important aspects that are appealing but not always healthy. Examples such as socialising, cultural or identifying function, self-realisation or prestige (Košťalová 2009: 34). Except age, education, etc., a career path is also influenced by political, economic, technological, social and cultural evolution of society that an individual has to adapt to during his/her professional life.

During the time of Zygmund Bauman's solid modernity, the employees regularly met at the same address and neither the workers nor the capital could move elsewhere. "The capital and the workers were united in wealth or poverty, sickness and health until death do them apart." The factory was their mutual home – but also a battleground of trench war and a natural home of hopes and dreams... Everyone who started working at Ford as a young apprentice could be almost certain to also end their working life there. The time horizons during the era of "solid modernity" were long-lasting (Bauman 2004: 31). As Zygmund Bauman further states, during the time of "liquid modernity" when we are open to free circulation of capital and commodities, anything that happens at any one place has an influence on the lives of people. We cannot certainly say "this does not concern us" about anything (Bauman 2008: 15). Companies, factories, organisations and people have to consider and react to these facts. It is possible to talk about the adaptation process at a macro and micro level.

### GOALS

Adaptation is viewed as a result of changes in the structure of social groups, organisation, culture as well as behaviour. It contributes to the survival, functioning or maintaining the balance with the social and natural environment (Petrušek 1996: 40).

Changes in our society that occurred during the social transition as usually dealt with at macro-level and are mostly related to political and economic factors. Sociologist Marian Kika warns that researches and papers on the transformational changes in factories are scarce. Furthermore, both local and foreign authors focus mainly on the

economic aspects. The economic view of the transformation is also supported by corporations that present in their annual reports financial and economic information but disregard what Hutchison<sup>1</sup> calls "the human side of transformation" (Kika 2011: 392).

Outside influences and changes during the last 20 years are so distinctive that there occurred fusions, lowered productions and even bankruptcies.

The focus of this chapter is on transformation and adaptation of a wood processing plant Bučina in Zvolen and its employees. The company is one of the oldest in the region. It underwent privatization and is now a member of the national group. The aim of the case study is to describe the changes and follow the adaptation of the company and its employees to the new political, social as well as economic situation. It also pays attention to the influence of globalisation and technological elements incorporated into the lives of the people. I will attempt to answer the question how Bučina and its people adapted to the new ownership, manufacture, business, personal as well as social changes and how they adapted to the new company culture.

The field work and the topic were developing slowly. To observe the process of adaptation with all its causes, forms and outcomes is not easy and is a real inspirational challenge for current ethnologists. Field work was carried out by observation and interviews with the employees. The interviews were conducted with employees working at different positions in the company and they all took place on the premises. I appreciated with the willingness and open heart of all interviewees from the top management to the assistant who co-ordinated my appointments and visits of the company.<sup>2</sup>

I also interviewed the employees that no longer work for Bučina. All the respondents will remain anonymous throughout my paper.<sup>3</sup> The research is a combination of field work, literary research, study of regional history and the press from the period. I also gathered materials and information from the memoirs of Július Jackuliak<sup>4</sup> as well as books and periodicals from the Slovak forestry library in Zvolen.

### THE STORY OF THE COMPANY I

The origins of Bučina were influenced by several inter-linked geographical, natural, historical, political as well social and cultural determinants. Slovakia was rich in trees and the forests of Upper Hungary, especially central Slovakia, were perhaps the greatest royal hunting territory in Europe. The oldest historical sources mention the area around Zvolen as "the great king's forest" (Jackuliak 1942: 33). The make up of the trees was mainly deciduous rather than evergreen. The most common tree of

<sup>1</sup> Hutchison 2002.

<sup>2</sup> Thank you A.J; D.B; M.K and other employees for their time and willingness to share their views and experiences with me.

<sup>3</sup> I only refer to gender of my respondents (F or M) and age vek: 20 – 40 (young), 40 – 60 (middle aged), over 60 (senior).

<sup>4</sup> Jackuliak, Julius. 2005. *Bučinári. Spomienky*. Bratislava: FEELING.



the Slovak forests is beech that is only rarely used in lumber industry. Great supplies of beech wood were used as fuel which was economically ineffective. The opportunity to complex process beech for socially required products with high user value became very much the focus from the economic, industrial and sustainable development of the country point of view. During the time after WWII, it was necessary to revive the industry. Railroads were damaged or destroyed and there was a need for mechanical, mass production of railroad ties and branch processing units. New furniture also had to be produced for the new and reconstructed houses and so beech wood became an important commodity during this time. Preparations for starting a wood processing plant began in Zvolen under a great initiative of the representatives. Zvolen is situated among forests rich in beech and was already an important junction. New track could be connected to already existing ones which was crucial for such a company to function. Furthermore, there was the vision of new workplaces, profits, education as well as the certainty of perpetual growth of the standard of living (Mrník 1996: 1066).

A committee in charge of building the lumber industry in Zvolen was appointed before the end of WWII. By May 1945 it had already drafted a memorandum presented to Slovak national bodies. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1945, the ministry of agriculture and forestry of the Slovak National Council and the Headquarters of State Forestry in Bratislava made a decision from which it is evident that citizens and inhabitants of the area actively participated in the negotiations. The result was the establishment of a wood processing plant named Bučina. The initial general assembly of the corporation took place on the 28<sup>th</sup> January 1946.

ONV (The District Municipality) in Zvolen privatised the land in the territory of the village Môt'ová and the building work began on the 9<sup>th</sup> May 1946 (Horský 1993: 117).

“...it needs to be said what conditions the building started..., the foundations were dug manually, the concrete was made in classic mixers and wheelbarrows were used to carry it around” (Jackuliak 2005: 27).

Eventually, halls, production lines, a firehouse, a kitchen with a dining room, an ambulance etc., were raised. After the February 1948 (the Communist *coup d'état*), the management changed according to the regulation of the Ministry of industry. Bučina was nationalised and became a national corporation.

The initial production was focused on rail ties and lumber. Eventually the manufacture was broadened to production of chipboards, floors or furniture prisms. Parts of the manufacture were wooden structures such as newsstands, wooden houses, kindergartens, administrative buildings and accommodation pavilions.<sup>5</sup> These structures were exported as far as Libya, Yemen or the extreme Siberian countries. Their functionality helped with the adaptation to harsh natural and climatic conditions. They could be transported far and their insulation qualities and windows could withstand temperatures up to  $-50^{\circ}\text{C}$ . This quality is also mentioned in the following citation:

<sup>5</sup> During building the Orenburg gas pipes, Bučina was a producer of temporary buildings for workers and storages.

“...I don't know whether Bučina still exists...But I hope, that regardless all the changes it still makes its products. Why do I write? Maybe because I want to thank the workers of Bučina for helping me to feel good at the edge of the world...I was doing a research in the region of polar Urals in Russia. I lived in a wooden house VACHTA of Bučina, Zvolen. I would like to say that the house served me well and I admired its functionality. In the north, I could see everything destroyed by the people and the climate. But your house survived everything. It was warm, insulation was well done and even the WC worked, which is a miracle in Russia. I was also happy with the kitchen. I always came back to my VACHTA as if I was coming home. It stands in the tundra on the ever-frozen ground and serves as shelter and a haven for travelers. Close by around it are the polar wastelands...So thank you that I didn't feel so very alone...” (ibid. 2005: 35-36).

Because of the structure of the manufacture, quality of the products and its economic prosperity, Bučina became one of the most important lumber corporations in Czechoslovakia as well as abroad.<sup>6</sup> New production lines were built and the equipment was modernized and mechanized. Bučina was the first in the lumber industry to introduce mechanical processing of the data. But automatization of information systems was also necessary.

There were 27 km of railroads in the facility and until 1989 the inbound and outbound presented some 100 wagons a day. One of the respondents stated: “...the company was big, we had more kilometers of railroads than the whole of the people's republic of Albania” (m., senior).

Fires caused by high temperatures of the technologies or by flammable materials were a frequent problem. The fires always required new investment stimuli and the fire brigade of Bučina employed some 40 people. A canteen where the employees could buy hot food was built in 1948. In 1973 a new dining room was opened in the administrative building and food was served not only at lunch but also at breakfasts, dinners and during the night shifts. As the company was big, there were also small buffets in some of the production buildings.<sup>7</sup>

Before 1989, Bučina employed about 3000 people. There were several generations of families working there and during the course of the years, it also saw a fair number of marriages (according to the respondents around 70). City transport was in accordance with the working hours in Bučina. There was a larger bus station at the main entrance and there were buses waiting before as well as after hours. The first employees of Bučina came from Zvolen and from the surrounding villages, and it was necessary to provide quality transportation for them.

The timber industry contributed also to the educational system in the city: there was

<sup>6</sup> Bučina exported its products to almost fifty countries Európy across the globe.

<sup>7</sup> In the 1980s, side production was growing pigs (around 40) that were fed by food waste.

a vocational school, a high school specialised on wood industry and the University of Wood Industry and Forestry (Vysoká škola drevárska a lesnícka: VŠLD). The Faculty of Wood Industry was the only faculty in Czechoslovakia that provided education for both Czech and Slovak students. Several employees of Bučina guaranteed quality education for the student due to their high level of expertise. Zvolen became the centre of the timber industry and the nurturing specialists in wood manufacture.

A problem with accommodation of its employees arose soon after the opening of Bučina. During the years of 1949-1986, a significant construction of modern buildings and apartments at the Sekier neighbourhood took place. In addition to a thousand new apartments, Bučina had accommodation facilities in their own dormitories and it also established nurseries and kindergartens at Sekier.

Employees' health care was also very important. The employees working in difficult conditions had the right for rehabilitation in a nearby spa of Kováčová. Furthermore, Bučina also constructed its own recreational-rehabilitation facilities such as the Rehabilitation institute in Dudince, bungalows in Štúrovo, Dolná Strehová, etc. Work benefits included extra holidays, educational tours, spa recreation, cultural and sporting events, fairs or the possibility of further education, etc.

Sekier can be considered "Bučina's neighbourhood". In 1961, people also built a company Trade Unions Club (ZK) here. It was used for all kinds of cultural and social events, balls or work meetings. ZK also hosted a theatre group, dance ensembles, bands, amateur photography course, etc. The Bučina brass band contributed to the rich musical tradition in Zvolen.

Sport plays another important role in the life of a city dweller. Active involvement and necessary financial aid was provided by the employer in order to maintain sporting of employees. In order to improve the sporting life in Zvolen, two biggest clubs, Lokomotíva and Bučina merged into "TJ Lokomotíva – Bučina". Bučina financially contributed also to the construction of the Zvolen winter stadium and for many years supported Zvolen's ice hockey.

"...after the velvet revolution we had a few hockey players employed here. I mean they got their monthly pay here. Hockey sticks and all the gear was financed from the fund of cultural and social needs..." (m., senior).

#### CHANGES IN ECONOMY

One of the conflicts of communism was connected to the dominance of collective ownership and the dependence on The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance – Comecon (RVHP) – the economic organization of former communist countries under the leadership of the Soviet Union. Forced transfers of resources and the forced specialisation of production were only a few aspects of this dependence (Staniszkiš 2006: 29). After the fall of the Iron Curtain and the end of the Comecon, the long built business ties and planned partnerships were cut loose.

"After 1989, new economic things happened. Before, the priority was production because there was always someone buying. We thought we were the monopoly and everyone had to buy from us. Not true. Eventually, the selling became the primary economic target. And since people didn't understand this, this is how it ended" (m., senior).

Society of real socialism guaranteed everyone the right to work which ensured everyone a stable salary. Many people were employed "just to be employed", without proper work position or tasks. Many considered it to be the invisible line between work and rest, just as the invisible line between state, co-operative and personal property. Work became a game for many (Keller 2005: 87).

"Bučina was famous for its production. But many employees barely did what they were asked to do, and many did not do even that. Discipline was bad. Lot of people were spoiled" (m., senior).

The fall of communism in Czechoslovakia was followed by rapid economic liberalisation which included large privatisations of state property, corporations and institutions. Post-communist economy evolved in several phases. It was particularly the shift of the means and the capital into the private sector and the phase of transformation. Privatisation in Slovakia started in 1991. It was non-transparent and brought with it corruption and quick privatisation. It was a problem both in Slovakia and the Czech Republic (Ross 2009). As a member of the EU (since 1<sup>st</sup> May 2004), Slovakia had to form a functioning market economy, eradicate the elements endangering life and economic processes and facilitate the transfer of products, services, people and capital (Okáli 2004: 14).

A capitalist corporation requires production for commercial markets and the prices equally signal the investors, manufacturers and consumers (Giddens 2003: 55). Similar opinion is also presented by Jan Keller who claims that without finance you cannot invest, innovate and therefore cannot make it in the competition. Faster growth means bigger change and that again means more profit. The imperative of growth economy is: when change comes, no one has the option to embrace it or not. Those who do not do it, lose the market and die economically (Keller 2005:19).

One of the structural changes in the economy of postsocialist countries has been the trend to split big corporations into smaller companies with fewer employees. Except spontaneous changes of economy (shift into private sector, breaking down of corporations), there were some attempts to reach into politics. The process of privatization was such an example. According to Marian Kika: "transformation of state corporations is not only economic, but more importantly a complex system change which influences both people and the employees" (Kika 2011: 392).

**CHANGES IN THE COMPANY**

After the changes in the social system in 1989, Bučina became a joint-stock company in 1992 as a result of the transformation of economy and privatisation. Rapid transformation followed. At the beginning, the company conducted identical activities as Bučina, but these were soon stopped (vocational school, recreational facilities, the kitchen, buffets, traffic...). Several production lines were closed and the company was forced to cut jobs, stop divisions and empty production halls. The number of warehouses was reduced and entire productions were being stopped. ZK ROH (Trade Unions Club) at Sekier slowly decayed, the interior was robbed and its exterior was eventually demolished. In the end it was replaced by Tesco.

According to Josef Charvat, every living thing can adapt and the success lies especially in the ability to adapt to the environment (cited according: Petrussek 1996: 40).

The need or the necessity of adaptation is often met with fear as adopting new ideas collides with fixed stereotypes. This change and subsequent adaptation to something completely new was unthinkable for the employees. It was a very difficult and painful time, especially because of the uncertainty and the fear of the future due to the lack of information.

“We had no idea what is going to happen and what the future holds. It was just a murmur. And a constant uncertainty” (w., young).

The employees not only missed the work but also their colleagues and the memories and times spent together and behind the machines.

“My heart almost cried when they dismantled the saw. We had such a saw, that the entire forestry world was jealous. We had the biggest and the most beautiful saw for beech. It dealt with those massive trunks like they were matches...” (m., senior). Many employees could not imagine that the company they devoted all their professional life could be stagnating and that they might have to leave.

“It was tragic to see husband and wife that worked here for 20 years leaving. Catastrophic...” (m., senior).

“I was worried they would let me go. It was stressful because there was someone leaving every month. It was worst when they stopped the production line I worked at” (w., middle age).

There were about 3000 people employed in Bučina Zvolen in 1989. In 2003, it was just above 600. The official website states that *BUČINA ZVOLEN, a. s.* underwent significant ownership changes in 2003-2006 and was in the category of small and medium enterprise.

**THE STORY OF THE COMPANY II**

The production of beech chipboards used to be the main activity of Bučina. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of October 2003, Bučina became a member of an international group Kronospan.

At present, *Bučina DDD (spol. s r.o.)* is the biggest producer of chipboards,

laminated chipboards and glued wood in Slovakia. With the presence of a foreign investor, Bučina has been transformed back into one of the most modern producers of chipboard in Europe. Kronospan invested about 133 mil. € into the modernisation of production. At the time it employed 185 people, which has now increased to 255. The average salary in 2012 was 1030 €. The turnover in 2012 was 85.42 mil. € where 55% of the production was exported abroad. The executive director of Bučina DDD since its formation is Ing. Antonín Juříček.<sup>8</sup> Because of the years of expertise, Kronospan only employs people who are local and know the mentality of the people into its management. The adaptation was not easy, but it presented a step forward.

“When people face something they don’t know, there are worries. What is it going to be like? Will they not let us go? Maybe they just want to make money and go” (w., young).

“The beginnings were hard. We had to work hard. And get used to everything new. New technology, new computers. So you had to adjust your thinking. But people were happy that Bučina survived. Without the foreign investor it would have gone bust. It is now modern and still keeps its original name” (w., middle age).

Kronospan is a global company based on advanced information technologies and quality products. Bučina DDD adopted all standards of Kronospan and follows their company philosophy of “best practices”. Certain activities are not concentrated in one place but are located in other countries. IT is in Germany, finance in England, technologies in the Czech Republic, education in Slovakia, etc.

Adaptation in itcans primal stages be also characterised as the adoption of new rules. The employees are required to work harder. “The company requires us to work 120%. 100% is not enough. 100% is the norm” (w., young). From the interviews it is obvious that the employees are well aware of working for a multinational company where they are tightly bound to deadlines and have no way of bending the rules. Working for such a company requires responsibility and discipline.

“When I compare it to 11 years before, the pace was nowhere near. Now, it’s dynamic. The responsibility is huge. It never was before and it was lost among all the people. Sometimes you now have the amount of work for five people before. So the responsibility is also higher” (w., young).

The employees who had the chance of working for both managements all agree on stricter rules, keeping the morale and safety. Cleanliness of the workplace is also much appreciated.

“The morale has changed. When I have to be at work at 6, it doesn’t mean I have to be on the premises. No, I have to be changed by the machine and take over the shift” (w., middle age).

“It completely changed. Anyone comes, anytime, it has to be clean. Workers in

<sup>8</sup> The company has a simple organsoiation structure. There are two executives and several heads of departments.



clean stuff. This is what Kronospan required and those that did not respect it are no longer here” (w., young).

The company tries to make adequate work teams at all levels. Education and proficiency is the basic requirement. The average age is 41.4 and the fluctuation of employees is minimal. It is not only important to adapt, but to adapt flexibly. Both company and the individuals have to react to the new changes and opportunities. New rules, social relations and the establishment of order help both the employer and the employee ease the entire process.

### **The Production**

Technology, assortment as well as the work routine changed much during the 65 year history of Bučina. It first started when the conditions after WWII required the manufacture of railroad ties, electricity poles and furniture.

Nowadays it focuses on its core business which is raw and laminated chipboards, massive glued boards or impregnated foils. It is the biggest chipboard producer in Slovakia and 70% of its product is exported elsewhere to Europe.

The change in the structure of the employees is closely related to modernisation. There are significantly less employees, but with much higher qualification. Work and its division is now much more specified and with the technology advancing ever forward there will be even more job cuts in the future.

### **The Education**

A modern company such as Bučina DDD is aware of cultural, social and economic capital it owns through its employees. Economic outcome to society would not be possible without qualified experts. The company regularly organises courses and educational programmes and the employees can also attend external seminars. Language courses are another advantage.

“The advantage of working for such a dynamic company is brilliant. It always gives you a chance to grow. You will be given everything provided you deliver. And it is always up to you” (w. young).

Adaptation to modern technologies and systems as well as the need for work meetings resulted in the need for a complex educational centre. The biggest educational institution in the city is *Technická univerzita Zvolen* (Technical University, TU) which is also the only higher education institution specialised in forestry in Slovakia. It is important to point out the close ties between Bučina and the TU, and the forestry faculty especially. The cooperation of Bučina with the TU is deeply rooted and some members of Bučina are also members of the TU. The company supports educational activities of students working in companies of Kronospan. Bučina DDD provides material and professional help for vocational forestry school.

### **The Company Culture**

The management of Kronospan strategically decided to continue using the name of Bučina. The roof of the administrative building is decorated by both the sign of Bučina and of Kronospan. The clothing of the employees is a part of the company culture. They have the right for working clothes. The administration workers can dress according to the casual dress code. Professional image is a crucial part of the success in the world of business. The presentation is one of the main steps in marketing.

One such an occasion is Hausmesse. It is a meeting of companies and consumers from Slovakia and abroad. The company presents its activities in front of the urban community. The third year of the open door day took place in 2013. During this day, everyone could visit the production halls and enjoy the rich variety of programmes.

Environmental issues were another aspect that the company had to take into account. Ecological thinking is one of the priorities. Environmentally healthy processes and procedures are encouraged. Bučina built a water treatment facility, they modernised and reconstructed the manufacture of chipboard and lowered the emissions by 50%.

### **CONCLUSION**

It is remarkable that at the end of the WWII the protagonists of the Zvolen region managed to build a corporation such as Bučina. Its beginnings are shrouded in a web of several determinants. The production started in 1946 and it is among the oldest in the region. The existence of such a company was detrimental for urbanisation of the region as well as its life and everything related to it. By establishing the university, Zvolen became an unofficial centre of forestry and lumber industry in Slovakia. It underwent turbulent changes after the 1989. The fall of communism in Czechoslovakia was followed by rapid economic liberalisation which included massive privatisation of companies and institutions. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, the long built economic ties were cut and there were radical structural and ownership changes.

The situation stabilised in 2003 after the division of decorative chipboard became a part of Kronospan. As a result, there were new foreign investments and the company became one of the leaders in its field again. Investments and improvements also led to other things such as the higher specialisation of employees. Social adaptation is a process of getting used to the social environment at the workplace. It is about the individual and about fitting into the structure of social relations in a workgroup (Rymeš 1998: 43). The company not only had to accept the technological or production changes, but also to deal with environmental challenges.

The present work motivation is to work in a dynamic, modern company that disposes with modern technologies, has a perspective, a vision and a strategic plan for the future. This all adds to the employee satisfaction. During socialism, entire generations of families worked for Bučina. According to the research, their ties are still very strong. Even now the old employees identify strongly with the company and consider



themselves a part of the metaphorical Bučina family. The change did not come easy, but the steps taken by the foreign investor are viewed positively among the former employees.

“Bučina as such was broken. Like my heart. It goes hand in hand. But now it is better, so I hope it will stay like that” (m., senior).

The interviews showed a strong loyalty of former Bučina employees to the corporation.

“I see the company as a modern and quality establishment and I have a chance to learn something. It is very good. Our production is quality. There is no funny business, only important stuff. If the whole state ran this way, all would be effective and fine” (w., middle age).

The website states:

Thanks to several decades in the timber industry in Zvolen and the cooperation with a strong partner, the company finally reaches the potential that offers several advantages:

- the know-how of the employees of an international company Kronospan
- academic base at the TU in Zvolen
- strategic geographic position in the centre of Europe.

The company identifies itself as closely connected to the forestry history in Zvolen, its educational and social capital within a multinational corporation.

## ON THE WAY TO SUSTAINABLE LIFESTYLES: CHANGES IN FOOD PRACTICES IN SLOVAKIA

*Alexandra Bitušíková*

The paper is an introduction to the study of local activism focused on practices leading to sustainable lifestyles, alternative food systems, food networks and foodways in Slovakia (on the example of the city and region of Banská Bystrica in Central Slovakia). New food and eating practices reflect the adaptation to globalisation and the trends associated with it. Import and consumption of foods from global food chains and the use of global pattern in eating (e.g. *fast food*) lead to seeking alternative and more sustainable forms of obtaining food. Globalisation therefore not only brought new products, but also new models of alternative ways of life. In the last two decades, the Slovak society underwent a rapid transformation from socialist economy to market economy and studying the adaptation of the people to the changes in political-economic institutions and socio-cultural forms, norms, values and customs is interesting yet complicated regarding the dynamics and the instability of the development.<sup>1</sup>

In numerous anthropological papers concerning food, eating habits and lifestyles in the era of globalisation, *food activism* related to production, consumption and distribution of food appears as a dominant topic. It is manifested by the interest in health and food safety, ecological impacts of globalised industrial agriculture, the improvement of conditions for farm-bred animals and fair trade (Winter 2003: 24). Even though the primary function of food is nutrition, it also has other important dimensions: cultural, religious-ceremonial, symbolic, social, psychological, ideological, political, economic and ever more environmental ones. The interest in food, its supply, consumption and distribution is rapidly growing, particularly in Europe and North America. Availability of foods from around the world, the speed of distribution and the spread of recipes through food channels or the internet make it possible for the privileged, richer “global North” to explore foods from every corner of the world. The price for this luxury is high and is reflected in higher risk in food safety as well as in climate change and the impact on the environment. There are, however, an increasing number of people that have decided to oppose consumerism by returning to local produce, local farming and a more active attitude towards sustainable way of living.

In this chapter, I attempt to propose possible new directions in anthropological research of food activism in Slovakia. Three examples of this activism are the first insights into the topic. The research was based on active participant observation, interviews with activists and data collection from daily press and internet sources.

<sup>1</sup> By instability of the development I mean constantly changing legislation that has a negative influence on both the public and the private spheres.

Not all forms of alternative approaches to food practices are the subject of my interest. I do not deal with the subject of organic products, bio-foods and fair-trade foods which is a slightly different (partly controversial) topic. I also do not pay attention to regular markets that have existed in Slovak cities for many decades because their connection to ecology and sustainability is ambiguous and there is no guarantee that the products sold there do not come from supermarkets (unlike farmers markets).

#### **HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS**

Postsocialist political, economic, social and cultural transformation and democratisation of the Slovak society brought about many changes in everyday life of the people. One of the impacts of the transformation was the opening of the society towards the outside world that has been reflected in economic and socio-cultural spheres. There is no longer a locality in Slovakia that has not been touched by the processes of globalisation. Cities are subject to globalisation more than smaller localities as they attract more international capital, companies and chains that bring with them new cultural forms, patterns and symbols that increase cultural and social diversity. Adaptation to these changes is a crucial element of globalisation. Before 1989, the society was not confronted by any outside and only limited inside diversity. Cultural, ethnic, religious and social diversity, plurality or variety had no place in a country under the Communist rule and were considered unacceptable or even hostile for the progress of the socialist state. Social homogeneity definitely ended during the postsocialist development. A rapid increase in diversity was immediately observed in all spheres of life: diversification of economic structure and ownership; expansion of socio-economic stratification; changes in ethnic and religious structure of the population; development of alternative ways of education, art and culture; spreading of new technologies and ways of communication; as well as the wide range and choice of products and services. Fast changes in the society driven by postsocialist transformation and increasingly also by globalisation had an impact on an increase of plurality of lifestyles and needs, and contributed to the growth of consumerism (Bitušiková 2010: 5).

Globalisation is often considered controversial. It can be seen as a process that leads to an uneven distribution of the capital, economic downfall of weaker or more vulnerable societies or communities, destruction of the countryside and rural communities, growth of cities, deepening of social differences, uncontrolled urbanisation, poverty, mass migrations, deterioration of the environment and homogenisation of cultures. On the other hand, globalisation can contribute to new economic opportunities, strengthening of local economies, cultures and identities as well as the rise of new cultural forms and identities (Bitušiková – Luther 2010: 18-19).

Food, its production, consumption and distribution, eating habits and practices present an excellent subject for the research of the society, its transformation as well as the globalisation and its penetration with localism. According to Marion Nestle,

the study of food makes it possible to observe social change. As everyone has to eat, the processes of transformation can be best understood through food and everyday practices connected to it. Food makes the political personal, it changes abstract concepts of globalisation and free market to concrete and live reflections of social change (Nestle 2009: xi). Similarly, James Watson and Melissa Caldwell that focus on the research of postsocialism emphasise that as the state industrial and distribution systems adapt to the investment requirements of global capitalism, food represents one of the best vehicles for understanding postsocialist cultures. It is because even if all else fails, people will always talk about food (Watson – Caldwell 2007: 5).

More than 40 years of state socialism in Czechoslovakia can be characterised in short as a period where the results of collective agriculture were ideologically praised as evidence of the victory of the socialist farmer fulfilling his/her plans at 120%. The real results, however, were reflected in empty shops and long queues in front of them. Melissa L. Caldwell stresses that stockpiling and improvisation became an everyday practice of the citizens of socialist Czechoslovakia and other countries of the “East Block” (Caldwell 2009: 10-11). The popularity as well as the need of growing vegetables in the countryside or in urban gardening colonies, various ways of food preservation, and reciprocal exchange of products among friends and family (including corruption practices) and smuggling of goods from other socialist states belonged to common ways of survival. Not surprisingly, the introduction of supermarket and fast-food chains after the “Velvet revolution” caused a rapid change in eating habits and culinary culture as such. Hamburgers, chips, pizza and espressos became the tools for social revolution after the fall of the Berlin wall (Watson – Caldwell 2007: 5). Global products and brands which were before only known from the very rare travels to “the West”, smuggled magazines or Austrian TV advertisement (that was only the case for the inhabitants of Bratislava where the geographical vicinity of Vienna made it possible to watch Austrian broadcast) became a reality. The sudden abundance and a wide range of foods led to consumer euphoria, but it also caused confusion and uncertainty. People had to adapt to the new situation, familiarise with the assortment of goods which were often entirely new to them. They were also not used to differences in quality, did not know how to read the labels and were not aware of their consumer rights.

Agricultural policies in the new Slovak Republic (1993) had to adapt to the global (and European) pressures of free market that led the disintegration of the majority of cooperative farms and the elimination of small farmers. Everyday availability of products and their financial accessibility caused that in the first decade after 1989 many small producers abandoned growing and preserving fruit and vegetables as they were easily accessible in supermarkets. The fact that consumers were purchasing potatoes from Poland, apples from France or carrots from Italy was overlooked. The most important factor was the price and that was usually lower on the products imported from abroad as a result of the global agricultural market, monopolisation of food production

and the policies of subsidies. After the first decade, Slovak consumers started to mature and became aware of differences in quality and food safety. This was a result of strict (yet highly criticised) European norms, but mainly of several food scandals, such as a number of cases of the contaminated salt, eggs and meat as well as the cases of E. coli infection or the mad cow disease from the surrounding countries. Foods that claimed to be produced in Slovakia but were produced elsewhere and did not meet the quality standards were also much discussed in media.

#### FOOD ACTIVISM

The above mentioned circumstances contributed to raising consumer awareness and the interest in what they eat every day. This trend has been observed in Western Europe and North America since the 1980s in a form of *food activism*. In other words, it is civil activism that focuses on food production, consumption and distribution. This type of activism supports different democratic alternatives to global food and agricultural systems. It is manifested in forms of social movements concerning food and eating, so called *food movements*. According to Marion Nestle, food movement focuses on different topics and shelters different groups that are linked by searching for the healthier alternatives to the current system but also moral, ethical and sustainable alternatives (Nestle 2007: x). In practice, this means that food activists try to support healthier and tastier eating without chemicals, ecological agriculture, more opportunities for small farmers and food producers, improvement of the environment, sustainable lifestyles and strengthening of social ties through food and intensification of rural-urban ties. It is about finding different alternative ways to global industrial food system. The aim is not to ruin this system, but to find numerous alternatives that are more environmentally friendly, reasonable and more sustainable both for the Earth and its inhabitants.

Food movement is considered a social movement with the aim to reach a social and cultural change. Social movements are usually those that have grown from “bottom up” – grassroots movements, formal as well as informal groups of citizens outside the official state institutions. According to David Snow and Sarah Soule, social movements have 5 main characteristics: 1. they are in opposition with the existing structures and authorities, 2. they are collective enterprises, 3. they act outside existing formal structures, 4. they are partially organised, 5. they have a certain degree of continuity (Snow – Soule 2006: 6, cited according to Guptil – Copelton – Lucal 2013: 163). Food movements seek to decommodify food, to define quality in a broader sense than the standardized criteria relative to price. Quality of food should reflect social and environmental impact of the production and delivery processes, called *food value chain* (Guptil – Copelton – Lucal 2013: 163). The overall aim is to gain *food democracy* which is defined by Neva Hassaneim as the idea where people can and should actively participate in shaping the food system, rather than remaining passive spectators on the sidelines (Haasaneim 2003: 79, cited according to Guptil – Copelton – Lucal 2013: 176).

The most common trends in food activism are: the support of local production, consumption and distribution of food (farmer's markets, city beehives, Slow food movement, different types of local food systems such as *The 100 Mile Challenge* – consumption of food produced within a 100 mile radius, *Food Swap* – exchange of local foods or *farm-to-table*, *farm-to-fork*, *farm-to-school*); community, school and prison gardens; agriculture supported by the community – *community supported agriculture* – CSA, food charity *Vypestuj dobro* (Grow the good), eco-communities and partly geographical food labeling. Since 2010, these trends have been growing also in Slovakia.

#### THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL OUTCOMES

New forms of behaviour in the use of food and in eating habits open the question of how to adjust research orientation and methods in anthropological research of culinary culture. Food and eating has been at the centre of interest of social and cultural anthropologists since the beginning of the discipline.<sup>2</sup> It is quite clear, since food is an everyday need but is also an important aspect of social life, an identification symbol from the viewpoint of religion, ethnicity, education, social status as well as a part of cultural heritage and cultural capital. Anthony Winson describes food as an intimate commodity that has the power to bring people together. Food preparation is a part of every important moment and milestone from birth till death (Winson 1993). What, where, when, how and why we eat depends on different psychological, social, cultural, economic and historical contexts which are dynamic and can change over time.

In the past years, the study of food and eating habits has undergone a fast progress and changed into a dynamic inter-, multi- and trans-disciplinary field which also encompasses anthropology, sociology, history, cultural studies, philosophy, political science, economics, biology, bioethics, ecology, human geography, agricultural sciences, urban studies, feminist studies and sometimes other disciplines. Food studies evolved into a unique trans-disciplinary field. According to James Watson and Melissa Caldwell, social science disciplines are artifacts of an outmoded intellectual Anglo-American tradition of the first half of the 20th century in which knowledge had to accommodate to undergraduate curricula (Watson – Caldwell 2007: 2). Current anthropology has to operate in different conditions and in close relations with other disciplines. Food studies are an excellent example.

If we have a closer look at the different theoretical approaches to the current study of food and eating habits, several concepts can be identified:

- The anthropological concept focusing on “traditional” themes, such as food in different cultures, food as a symbol, food as an identification factor (from the point of view of ethnicity, religion, social status, etc.), food and rituals, etc.;

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Deutsch in the interview with Carole Counihan calls anthropology the „most food-friendly discipline“ (Miller-Deutsch 2009: 172).



- The concept of globalisation and localism (globalisation theories about the production, consumption and distribution of food, influence of international chains and global agricultural politics on the eating habits in different cultures – cities – regions – localities – families, how global influences reflect in local practice);
- The concept of sustainability from the point of view of the theory of ecological, social, economic as well as cultural sustainable development (e.g. observing the development of sustainable lifestyles – the way of life, our choices from the point of view of the approach to material goods, energy, transport, eating, waste, communication and solidarity; the concept of sustainable cities which are greener and tolerant towards the environment, where the support of local produce and distribution of goods is considered an important factor for a sustainable city, etc);
- The environmental concept (observation of the impact of food politics and consumer way of life on the environment; research of the influence of global distribution of food and the carbon footprint; influence of the mass industrial agriculture on the local and regional development and the countryside);
- The economic concept (observation of consumer trends – according to what criteria do the consumers make a choice about the purchase/preference of foods; the impact of marketing and *branding and labeling, eco-friendly consumerism, green consumerism, etc.*)
- The concept of localism and cultural heritage (study of local produce and their branding, *terroir* – a French term linked to the Earth, climate, culture, wine tradition and other products; EU and national branding and labeling of the origin of products; urban – rural relationships; food as a symbol of culture);
- The concept of social movements (study of food movements in different cultural, social, political, historical and other contexts);
- The concept of agriculture (impact of agricultural policies, national and international, on the countryside and small farmers).

The list of possible theoretical approaches is not complete. From the anthropological point of view, it is important to realise that anthropological perspective can or should be present in all outlined concepts which result from different disciplines. The uniqueness of anthropological perspective lies in the primary methodology of the discipline which is always based on a face to face contact and a long term observation of ordinary and festive phenomena in the lives of people and the presentation/interpretation of “their” point of view. Interviews about food reveal much more than just the information about food. Carole Counihan names her main anthropological method *food-centred life history* – life story from the perspective of food, where food is in the centre of interest (*life history, oral history*), but it demonstrates much more (family, social, economic, cultural, political, environmental and other relationships) (Counihan in Miller – Deutsch 2009: 171-173).

### BIRTH OF FOOD ACTIVISM IN BANSKÁ BYSTRICA

Civil activities and non-government organizations whose activities relate to healthy and sustainable lifestyle and eating, environment and the support of community life have a strong history in Banska Bystrica ever since 1989. The most significant non-government organisations in the field are The EKOPOLIS Foundation (an institution supporting projects concerning social and environmental sustainability, founded in 1991); The Community Foundation Healthy City, which was the first community foundation in continental Europe (founded in 1993 as an initiative of the Rotary Club in Banska Bystrica) and The Centre of Volunteering (founded in 2000). These institutions have a great impact on the development of civil activism in the city as they thematically, financially (in forms of small grants) as well as by organisation of different events support activities of individuals and formal and informal associations. Long-term programmes of EKOPOLIS and the Community Foundation Healthy City mainly focus on the support of healthy living and lifestyle; building of strong and healthy communities; strengthening of active participation and interest of citizens in the events and in the state of the environment; support of volunteering, co-operation and mutual help in cities and the countryside; and overall the democratisation of civil society. Similarly, the Centre of Volunteering has a mission to increase human potential and improve the quality of life through the idea of volunteering and thus, contribute to building of civil society.<sup>3</sup> Support of the existing non-government organisations in Banská Bystrica directly and indirectly influenced the formation and existence of other citizen initiatives and groups that aim to support healthy eating, sustainable foodways, but mainly to support local agriculture and small farmers. More active and organised interest in the production, consumption and distribution of food in the city and region of Banská Bystrica can be observed since 2012, when a Slow Food Conviniun Banská Bystrica was founded as a second one in Slovakia.

#### Example 1: Slow Food

“Slow Food” is a non-profit, membership organisation that was founded in Italy in 1986 and as an international organisation in 1989 as the opposition to the “fast food” movement and the disappearance of local culinary traditions. Its aim is to educate and spread awareness about the origin, quality and taste of food consumed and its impact on world economy, culture and ecology. Slow Food now has (2013) more than a hundred thousand members in 1500 convinia (regional member groups) in 153 countries around the world. The founding member, a sociologist and a gourmet Carlo Petrini stated that Slow Food combines the pleasure of food with responsibility, sustainability and harmony with nature.<sup>4</sup> In accordance with this, the movement follows the idea that everyone has the right to enjoy food, but also has the responsibility to

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.centrumdobrovolnictva.sk/o-nas>

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.slowfood.com/?-session=query\\_session:59AD801813c753654BPg49CD7E50](http://www.slowfood.com/?-session=query_session:59AD801813c753654BPg49CD7E50)



preserve the heritage of biodiversity, culture and knowledge that make the joy from food possible. Food in Slow Food is *good* (fresh, healthy, seasonal food from local sources), *clean* (uncontaminated and safe towards the environment, life of animals and people's health) and *fair* (available to the consumer and providing fair conditions for small producers). The main principles are the availability of products and *food* democracy (access to “cultural” suitable local and sustainable food for everyone); concept “*chilometro zero – 0 km*” (ingredients and food for home cooking as well as restaurants should originate from the region, usually 50 km radius), local networking (building relationships between the distributor and the consumer – balance of social and economic values), as well supporting the rural – urban continuum. In its programmes, the Slow Food movement focuses upon several subjects: biodiversity, genetically modified crops, raw (non-pasteurised milk), food and taste education, farmers markets and others. The movement shows commitment to community and supports many food communities around the world in networks such as *Terra Madre network*, *Earth Markets network*, *Ark of Taste network* and *Food Presidia*. The movement also had an impact on other movements with similar philosophy, focusing on broader aspects of life: Cittaslow (Slow City), Slow Europe or Slow Fish.

There are three Slow Food convivia in Slovakia: Bratislava, Banská Bystrica and the Tatra Mountains. Everyone with similar philosophy can become a member after paying annual membership. The Convivium Banská Bystrica has currently 12 members (7 men and 5 women). The president is a food activist and an entrepreneur in the field of regional development, traditional culture and gastronomy. The other members are regional activists in NGOs, farmers, entrepreneurs, a veterinarian, a scientist and an American citizen living in the region. The main motivation is to support local farmers, to raise awareness of the citizens about the importance of local produce, to participate in the activities of the movement around the world and to celebrate local foods. The members meet several times a year at festivals dedicated to local gastronomy (*Oberačka po sebechlebsky*, *Tradičná chuť Hontu*, *Tradičná chuť Podpoľania*, *Čipkárskô v Brusne*), but they communicate on a weekly basis in a form of e-mails (with the aim to spread information about activities related to healthy, sustainable eating: information about new box schemes, small farmers, food activists, news from around the world, etc.). During the short time of its existence, Slow Food Banská Bystrica organised several events: information days about the significance of local produce, Regional farmers market as part of the Radvaň fair in 2012, regional farmers markets (Bánoš opening in April 2013, Terra Madre Day<sup>5</sup> connected to transregional championship in *zabíjačka*<sup>6</sup> at *Salaš Zbojská*; and participation of the Banská Bystrica region in the Ark of Taste (2013).

<sup>5</sup> Terra Madre Day is one of the Slow Food campaigns. Since 2009, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of December people all over the world celebrate local and home made food.

<sup>6</sup> Zabíjačka is a pig slaughter that used to be a traditional autumn or winter activity in rural communities of Slovakia in order to obtain meat for Christmas and the winter period. These days it has become more a folk custom although it is still common in some rural families and communities.

The Ark of Taste is one of the most significant global activities of the movement supporting biodiversity. It started in 1996 as an online database used for documentation and preservation of rare, unique regional foods, domestic species (animal breeds and plants), wild species, processed products or traditional recipes which are endangered as a result of modernisation, globalisation or changes of environment and climate. Currently, the Ark catalogues and preserves more than 1100 products in more than 50 countries. Conditions for the nomination for the inclusion on the Ark are clearly stated (the product has to show exceptional quality of taste, smell, colour and appearance; it has to be made by traditional local methods and has to be artisan (handmade); it has to be a part of a region/locality and the cultural heritage – it has to have an “identity” of the region from where it comes from, it is made in limited quantities and the danger of its disappearance is high).

A similar official activity of the European Union should be mentioned in association with the Ark. In an attempt to preserve agricultural products, food, wine, spirits, mineral water and other products associated with a particular region, tradition, a legend or good name, the European Union established a system of labeling.<sup>7</sup> There are three categories: *Protected Designation of Origin – PDO*, *Protected Geographical Indications – PGI*, *Traditional Speciality Guaranteed – TSG*. All three categories are referred to as “Geographical Indications – GIs”. Products with this label (presented by a logo) give the consumer the information about the local origin and the guaranteed quality of the product. “*Slovenská bryndza*” registered on the 16<sup>th</sup> of July 2008<sup>8</sup> should be particularly mentioned out of seven products registered under PGI. According to the EU PGI decision, this product should contain at least 50% of sheep milk. In relation with the scandals when products branded as “*slovenská bryndza*” contained much lower amount of sheep milk, the *Cech výrobcov ovčieho syra in Turiec* (The Guild of sheep cheese producers in Turiec) managed to gain a Slovak trademark for bryndza with 100% sheep milk, which falls under stricter criteria than PGI.

By this example, I wanted to point out the weak points in labeling exceptional local and regional products. It is also demonstrated by the latent tension between the official EU GIs and Slow Food Ark of Tastes. Katia L. Sidali et al. point out that the members of Slow Food consider the European norms for the GIs less strict and simpler than the norms in the Ark of Tastes, supporting rather greater producers and exporters (unlike the Ark). According to the respondents in 3 studied countries (Italy, Germany and Brazil), the Slow Food criteria for the inclusion on the Ark are more democratic, support smaller producers and unlike the GIs, they stress the importance of biodiversity (Sidali – Dörr – Zulian – Radic 2013: 4-5).

Labeling of these unique local and regional products also has a different cultural dimension. These products are considered a part of cultural heritage and help to strengthen local, regional and national identity.

<sup>7</sup> EU Directives in 1992, 1996, 2006, 2008, 2012.

<sup>8</sup> *Bryndza* is a unique creamy sheep cheese that is an old and typical product of sheep milk production in Slovakia and the main ingredient to *bryndzové halušky*, the national speciality.

**Example 2: Community gardens**

Community gardens usually use free (mainly urban) spaces which are cultivated by a group of people with the aim to grow their own crops, fruit or flowers and to build a community and reinforce inter-personal relationships. They use empty and often uninteresting and neglected public or private space (with the permission of the owner); they can have a “mobile character” which means that in case the site is sold, the garden has to move to another place. The concept of community gardens in advanced democratic countries has been well known and successful for several decades. It helps to stimulate the citizens (including immigrants that often come from rural areas) to build local communities, to grow healthy food and to improve the environment and climate in an urban setting.

Banská Bystrica is home to two community gardens. One is situated in the city centre in the area of the Centre of Independent Culture Záhrada, which started to flourish in April 2013 under the initiative of 10 families/couples and a few individuals. The second community garden opened in the same year in Sásová as an initiative of the Community Centre Sásová.

Gardening enthusiasts from the first community garden met first in April 2013. The group consisted of married and unmarried couples, some with small children (including a Slovak-Australian family) or university students, most without any particular experience with gardening. The initiative came from Saška and her family that had previous positive experience with community gardens in Prague. She presented the idea of a community garden not only as a place to grow vegetables, but also as a place for social contact. Janka who creates permaculture gardens took the steering.

In April, the first permaculture garden plots were created and first seeds were sown. A group e-mail address was created and after the first meeting other individuals joined the group including a kindergarten which has its own plot. The garden flourished and everyone was pleased, however, the contacts remained on the electronic level. The garden members looked after their gardens, yet could not all manage their time together because of their busy lifestyles. Nevertheless, even communication through e-mail helped to create atmosphere of community gardening.

In July 2013, a new project of school community gardens (*Naša záHRAdka*) started. The project was initiated by an informal group Community BB in the co-operation with several civil associations and volunteers. According to the description of the project “community gardening helps to build social relationships... It teaches our children that if we want to get something good in life, we have to do something for it”.<sup>9</sup> It is interesting to note that during communism, gardening was a compulsory subject at primary schools. Each school had a garden and an orchard, but these days most of them are devastated. The project *Naša záHRAdka* aims for their re-cultivation.

<sup>9</sup> [www.facebook.com/nasazaHRAdkaBB](http://www.facebook.com/nasazaHRAdkaBB)

**Example 3: basket scheme**

Basket scheme or box scheme is a community system where home produce – vegetables, fruits, eggs, meat, dairy products, honey and other products are delivered right to the consumer. The customer orders the desired product through an e-shop and gets fresh produce straight from the farmer. This system has worked well in the countries of Western Europe and since 2012 has been spreading quickly also in Slovakia. Much like the other alternative systems, the basket scheme is based on supporting local products and local producers. The main principles are: local products, seasonal products, freshness (usually 24 hours since the harvest) and quality (no chemicals, colouring or preservatives). By supporting the basket scheme, the customers build a relationship and show solidarity to “their” farmers, share the fruits of their labour and can also visit them. Products in the box are never guaranteed to be shiny, beautifully polished or without any bruises, but they guarantee excellent quality and taste. The customers demonstrate their support for healthy food, environment and the region where they live.

The first “basket scheme providers” which started business in Banská Bystrica have been three young men (Matúš, Zdenko a Tomáš). They are all university graduates, but they grew up in the countryside and their parents are farmers. Daily challenges their parents have to face as farmers motivated these young men to start their own company Lokapetit. “Lokapetit offers the possibility of simple and fast access to quality Slovak food. Our focus is the return to traditional values of eating with the comfort of online shopping”.<sup>10</sup> The main principle according to Matúš is to offer the customer quality without chemistry, freshness and local produce. He is aware that by supporting this type of business everyone helps to lower the ecological footprint. One of the main drivers of the company is to support the first hand producers: “...by choosing Slovak products, we show respect to our farmers, the work they do and the values they believe in. The reward is the smile on your face every time you smell one of our baskets”.

The company started in July 2013 and offers mainly fresh vegetables, fruit, honey, meat, dairy products and eggs, but is also expanding to other Slovak products (jams, apple juices, cereal, etc.). Customers can order every week until Monday and pick up their basket on Wednesday at one of two pick-up places in Banská Bystrica or straight at the farmer's place (depending on the preference). Most customers are young families and mothers that seek fresh and healthy food for their children. The biggest problem according to Matúš is the lack of trust in the products. After several scandals where people in the market were selling products bought in cheap supermarkets, people's trust has to be won back. This can only be achieved by honest and transparent work and close co-operation with suppliers whose contacts are presented on the website. Customers can visit the farms themselves to see how everything is conducted.

<sup>10</sup> [www.lokapetit.sk](http://www.lokapetit.sk)

Lokapetit started to organise also educational activities – lectures where people can taste samples from the local production.

The basket scheme has an increasing number of supporters. This is reflected on social networks and in other media that introduce a large number of companies offering similar services. “People have finally started to boycott imported food which is not only lesser in quality but also take many of our jobs. It has always been the case that people ate what grew around their homes and not whatever someone else sends them...”<sup>11</sup>

#### SUMMARY

Three examples from the city of Banská Bystrica provide a glimpse of a new, but fast developing civic activism concerning production, consumption and distribution of food, and alternative food practices that have to be studied in the context of sustainable lifestyles aiming at better and sustainable quality of life of individuals and the society. The new trend is on one hand a response to European and global policies of agricultural and trade subsidies that have a destructive effect on the countryside, small farmers and their production, on the other hand it is also a reflection of increasing awareness of citizens about the origin and quality of food they eat and about the impact of their eating practices on the environment.

From the first results of the research based on participant observation, interviews, newspapers, journals and social media it seems that that representatives of alternative and active approach to the choice of food and food practices are mainly urban dwellers of younger and middle-aged generation with higher education. Although it is not possible to make general statements from these observations, the results confirm what larger surveys in other countries demonstrate: the choice of green consumerism (preference of local farmers’ products to mass production) is connected with higher middle class and it is part of a broadly defined sustainable lifestyle and its values (for instance Gilg – Barr – Ford 2005). The local products preference in Slovakia (and often elsewhere) is closely dependent also on the price (that is higher than that of supermarket products), which means it is the choice of economically stronger social strata. The fact that alternative food practices develop mainly in urban environment is therefore not surprising. There is higher unemployment in the Slovak countryside than it is in cities, lower purchasing power and persistent self-supply of home-grown products.

An increasing interest in local food production in Slovakia is a reflection (or continuation) of trends in other developed countries of the world. People who prefer food produced in their region are called *locavore*. This term was in 2007 announced as “the word of the year” by New Oxford American Dictionary (Guptil – Copelton – Lucal 2013: 164). *Locavore* is a synonymus of high quality and ethical eating that connects factors of nutrition and health with values. Motivations of people to

<sup>11</sup> From Comments on [www.varecha.sk](http://www.varecha.sk)

select alternative food practices differ. For most, the main motivation is quality and freshness of food that is important for health, which may be also a result of numerous food scandals. Others are led by ethical principles and values such as not contributing to harming environment or to suffering of animals, or lowering carbon footprint. Some people show their social feelings and loyalty to farmers by buying fair-trade products or local products. Those who are well aware of all these trends are real “pioneers” that have decided to follow holistic way to sustainable living.

A brief analysis of the fast growing area of new lifestyles and food preferences in Slovakia demonstrates (among other things) the processes and ways of adaptation of citizens to globalisation. Further research is necessary in order to generalise the data and compare it with findings from other parts of the world. The study of food and eating practices has to be placed in broader local and global, economic, environmental, social and cultural contexts that have a strong impact on what we eat, but also on the environment and climate, economic growth, employment, local and regional development, identity of the countryside, rural-urban relations and cultural heritage.



## ADAPTATION OF VIETNAMESE MIGRANTS TO SOCIAL CHANGES

*Miroslava Hlinčíková*

Bratislava, one of the less globally interconnected cities before 1989, is being gradually transformed into a more cosmopolitan European city as a result of developing capitalism and Slovakia joining the European Union. The choice of restaurants and the offer of various foodstuffs and goods in Bratislava are much wider today than in the past. People can visit many “ethnic” restaurants, and we can also observe an increasing number and range of shops with “exotic” food from Asia and the Middle East. It is not a problem anymore to buy rice noodles, sushi, or spices from all over the world. Kebab fast-food, sushi bars, Asian snack-bars, and Chinese restaurants became a visible part of the public space. The transformation after 1989 and the subsequent social change affected to a various degree all layers of the population which adapted to the new living conditions. In this context, the change also affected migration between Vietnam and Czechoslovakia which was previously developing under the guise of friendly socialist countries. Even before 1989, Vietnamese citizens pertained to the group of migrants who could enter the territory of the closed socialist Czechoslovakia and their mobility was supported by both countries. The way the fall of socialism affected the lives and strategies of migrants living in Czechoslovakia in the breakthrough period are described in their individual stories that I sought to present in this study.

Since I have been systematically dealing with the research of migration and integration of migrants from Vietnam since 2009, I decided to make this study a probe, a view of the process of changes brought by the year 1989 and the Velvet Revolution. My study focuses on migrants from Vietnam who migrated to socialist Czechoslovakia and witnessed the transformation of regimes. The study looks specifically at entrepreneurs of Vietnamese origin in Bratislava, at how they adapted to the changing conditions after 1989, while their adaptation is directly linked to the process of incorporation. The prerequisite for the integration of migrants in the economic field, especially the labour market, is one of the basic and most important integrating social mechanisms. In the European Union countries, employment is considered to be an important and decisive factor and mechanism for the social incorporation of migrants in the receiving society (Rákoczyová – Pořízková 2009: 26).

Vietnamese citizens are visible in Slovakia and perceived by the general population as mainly retailers and shop assistants in clothes stores, Asian snack-bars and nail studios. A picture of how they are seen in Slovakia is well described in an extract of an article published by the conservative weekly *Týždeň* in which the author presents the Vietnamese in Slovakia as an exemplary minority because they do not

complain, they seek to adapt to the existing conditions, and are therefore an illustrative example of successful integration:

“The Vietnamese are my favourite national minority... They are kind, diligent, always smiling at you. Unlike some other minorities, the Vietnamese do not complain about presumed racism and seek to communicate with you in Slovak. They do not lament over not getting a job; instead they work hard in their restaurants and shops. Their children do not say that we segregate them in education, instead they excel in our schools and get to study at prestigious university departments, overcoming natives” (Krivošík 2011).<sup>1</sup>

The author from *Týždeň* weekly stroke the assumption and/or the presumed model of ethnicising public and political discourse about the “integration of others”, their “will”, and about the “open” approach of the majority Slovak population. This attitude does not reflect the actual mindset of the society which strongly influences the self-perception of the assumed minority and of the individual members of society in their self-identification with the country in which they settled.

The study is based on data I gathered during my doctoral research. I seek to describe in the text the business strategies of migrants in the period after 1989. I will explain for what reason they focus on certain labour market sectors, whether it is ethnic business, and what strategies can be observed among these entrepreneurs. The analytical perspective used in this work is based on a de-constructivist perception of national and ethnic collectiveness. The research group consists of females and males from Vietnam who came to Slovakia either before or after 1989. They came from a socialist country, and adapted themselves to the change from socialist to capitalist regime together with other inhabitants of Slovakia.

### RESEARCH SPECIFICS

The principal research approach chosen was ethnographic research using the method of in-depth ethnographic interviews and participative observation combined with keeping a reflection field diary. Through selected methods of ethnographic research, I sought to understand their way of life from the perspective of my informers, while I let myself be led by the environment and learnt from them in order to be able to explain their behaviour and strategies. This work is based on an ethnographic research that I conducted in Bratislava in several stages in the period 2009–12. I chose Bratislava as a research field on purpose, since the highest percentage of Vietnamese migrants in Slovakia live there. It is also the centre of civil life, and provides an interesting space for the research of the integration of migrants at the local level. The research group consists of seventeen informers who identify themselves as Vietnamese and have lived in Bratislava for at least five years. In the selection of informers I focused on adult individuals in

<sup>1</sup> Available at: <http://www.tyzden.sk/nazivo-doma/cas-vyvesit-vlajku.html>

productive age of over 25 years, and the most important criterion was longer period spent in Bratislava and experience with work and business activities in Bratislava. The youngest informer was 28 years old, and the oldest one 56 years old. Another important factor for me was that they had a family background in Bratislava – either their partners and children, or their parents. My seventeen informers of Vietnamese origin are from the middle or higher entrepreneur class in Bratislava. Some of them have university education (often completed in Slovakia), but none of them work in the area they studied.<sup>2</sup> The interviews were conducted in Slovak language. Out of seventeen informers of Vietnamese origin, I communicated with eight of them using the services of an interpreter, and with nine of them without interpreter assistance.

#### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: WITHOUT ETHNIC LENS

I do not consider migrants from Vietnam (and the majority population, too) to be a homogenous ethnic group, and I avoid viewing migrants exclusively through “ethnic lens” in the text. The view of migrants without ethnic lens is one of the key arguments of the social anthropologists Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Çağlar. They point out in their works that ethnic lens in research prefer a single form of identification and subjectivity as a basis for social interaction and as a source of social capital<sup>3</sup> over other forms (Glick Schiller – Çağlar 2007: 16-17). In other words, in the research of migration and the integration of migrants, big emphasis is often put on their ethnicity and origin, while their other social identities remain in the background. The concepts of ethnic group, ethnic community and nation are the key elements for understanding incorporation. As analysts, we should follow the ways and conditions under which the materialisation and crystallisation of group feelings can work, and how these categories are constructed, reconstructed and articulated. “Ethnicity, race and nation are ways of perception, interpretation and representation of the social world. They are not real things in the world, but a perspective of the world” (Brubaker 2004: 17), and should be studied “without groups”. It is a way people understand and interpret the world, a way they give a meaning to the world, making it predictable, and create positions that they allocate to themselves and to others in their cognitive “maps” of the social world (Karner 2007: 31). That means that I think about ethnic groups and nations as of “practical categories, cultural idioms, cognitive schemes, discursive frameworks, institutional forms, and political projects...” (Brubaker 2004: 11).

<sup>2</sup> The study quotes some direct statements by my informers; I sought to keep them anonymous as much as possible. I assigned invented pseudonyms to the names of my informers – Vietnamese names that I chose randomly, without providing the exact year of their arrival and age that could enable their identification. I do not consider this data important for the relevance of quotes. The text differentiates between migrants that came to Slovakia before 1989 and after 1989.

<sup>3</sup> *Social capital* “is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu 2001). In other words, it is a network of social contacts and relationships with other people which can be mobilised in order to achieve advantages or profits (Rákoczyová – Trbola 2009).

Further to this argumentation, I took a critical attitude towards ethnic group, and I did not reduce my research to exploring the ethnic group of the Vietnamese as a unit for analysis or as an object of research. I sought to perceive my informers primarily as agents, individuals, with their strategies and decisions, and I was interested in how they reflected upon their position and possibilities at the local level in Bratislava.

Migration means movement across the borders of national states, the crossing of virtual borders of different nations and cultures. I base my statements on the assumption that migrants usually live their lives simultaneously in more than one country (or within one nation state). They make their everyday decisions with a network of people involving both local and transnational actors (Glick Schiller & coll. 2004: 1). The hypothetical community is not the unit of analysis anymore; the research rather focuses on migrants – individuals and their descendants, and on their various social networks and social fields. The object of research can include various ways of incorporation which are not limited to ethnic communities and ethnic ways of incorporation (Glick Schiller – Çağlar – Guldbrandsen 2006: 614). Non-ethnic forms of incorporation bring migrants together in social relationships which are not built in relation to demands for common culture, origin or history stemming from ethnic forms of classification or self-identification. At places they work, in neighbourhoods they live in, and in political or religious organisations migrants form their social relationships both with their countrymen and with local inhabitants who are bearers of different ethnicities (Glick Schiller – Çağlar – Guldbrandsen 2006: 614) and social identities.

#### BRATISLAVA AS A PLACE FOR LIVING

Thanks to its infrastructure, organisations and higher living standards, Bratislava as a centre of civil life provides a diversified space for the research of the integration of migrants at the local level. The highest percentage of migrants in Slovakia lives in Bratislava. As of the end of 2012, Bratislava had 413,192 citizens. As of 31 March 2013, Bratislava had 16,301 migrants with alien status,<sup>4</sup> which constitutes approx. 3.95% of Bratislava’s population, and 23.80% of the total number of aliens living in the territory of Slovakia.<sup>5</sup> The majority of aliens are nationals of European Union Member States, and according to their country of origin, most of them come from the Czech Republic (1,465), Germany (1,034), Poland (754), Austria (720), and Romania (690). Aliens coming from third countries were represented as follows: Serbia (1,268),

<sup>4</sup> As for legislation, Vietnamese citizens in the Slovak Republic fall under the legal category of *third-country nationals*. Further to the Act on Residence of Aliens, *an alien* is anybody who is not the citizen of the Slovak Republic, and *a third-country national* is anybody who is not the citizen of the Slovak Republic or of the European Union, or is a stateless person.

<sup>5</sup> As of 30 June 2013, the number of aliens living in the Slovak Republic reached 68,405. (Source: *Statistical Overview of Legal and Irregular Migration in the Slovak Republic. 1st half-year of 2013*).

Ukraine (1,187), Russia (953), China (609), Vietnam (566),<sup>6</sup> Korea (486) (UHCP, 2013).

From the point of view of migrants, Bratislava as the capital city of the Slovak Republic is the centre of many major state institutions and international organisations. At the same time, it has a big concentration of various non-governmental and international organisations providing assistance to migrants.<sup>7</sup>

Bratislava is sought by migrants, as it offers the widest range of jobs, which is also the reason for having the highest concentration of migrants in Slovakia. One cannot find purely ethnic suburbs in Bratislava,<sup>8</sup> though in the context of migration from Vietnam it is possible to observe certain places where Vietnamese men and women usually gather. As of 30 June 2013, there were 2,069 Vietnamese nationals with the status of aliens with permanent or temporary residence in Slovakia.<sup>9</sup> 27%, which is 566 aliens with Vietnam citizenship, live in Bratislava, and the majority of them (469 Vietnamese) settled in Bratislava III district (Nové Mesto, Rača, Vajnory).<sup>10</sup> With regard to the place of settlement of migrants from Vietnam, “Dimitrovka” neighbourhood, located next to the former Istrochem factory, and Vajnory (also called “Little Vietnam”) are interesting in this regard. Bratislava also has the biggest open-air market “Miletička”<sup>11</sup> and other smaller markets (e.g. “Jedlíková”).<sup>12</sup> Bratislava is the centre of most active civic associations of the Vietnamese in Slovakia – The Vietnamese Community in Slovakia, and the Union of Vietnamese Women in Slovakia. Since July 2011, the Vietnam Embassy also has its seat in Bratislava.

<sup>6</sup> Total number of Vietnamese (i.e. citizens of the Vietnam Socialist Republic) in Slovakia...

<sup>7</sup> The most important international organisation in the field of migration is the International Organization for Migration (IOM) which runs the Migration Information Centre in Bratislava (and in Košice). Several non-governmental organisations working with migrant issues in various areas and at various levels also have their seats in Bratislava, such as Human Rights League (legal activities and counselling), Slovak Humanitarian Council (focusing on the integration of migrants granted asylum and subsidiary protection), Milan Šimečka Foundation (organising the festival of new minorities *Fjúžn*; focus on education and migrants’ children); Centre for the Research of Ethnicity and Culture – CVEK (research on migration, proposals for conceptual solutions); Institute for Public Affairs (research on migration and integration from different aspects). Some other organisations and migrant associations are also active in Bratislava, the most active being the Community of Africans in Slovakia, the Associations of Afghans in Slovakia, and the Islamic Cultural Centre Cordoba.

<sup>8</sup> Ethnic neighbourhood as space concentration of a group sharing the same ethnicity within a concrete part of a city – neighbourhood. Although migrants from some countries settle in certain streets and parts of Bratislava, these neighbourhoods do not represent absolute concentration of the given group of migrants.

<sup>9</sup> *Statistical Overview of Legal and Irregular Migration in the Slovak Republic. 1st half-year of 2013.* Police Force Presidium, Bureau of Border and Aliens Police.

<sup>10</sup> Source: *Statistics of the Bureau of Border and Aliens Police. 2013.*

<sup>11</sup> Marketplace at Miletičova Street 9, Bratislava

<sup>12</sup> This marketplace is situated at Jedlíkova Street, in the city centre with entry from Obchodná Street.

### 1989: THE YEAR OF CHANGES AND NEW STRATEGIES

Migration from Vietnam to the former Czechoslovakia could be observed back to the 1950s, and was regulated by the Agreement on Mutual Economic Assistance. This migration reached its peak in the 1980s with a total of 30,000 Vietnamese workers deployed in the Czech Socialist Republic, and approximately 6,500 Vietnamese citizens employed in the former Slovak Socialist Republic (Hruška 2011). The first generation of Vietnamese mainly studied at secondary vocational schools and technical universities, and worked in factories. Those who came to Czechoslovakia from Vietnam were mainly apprentices, students, interns, and workers who were supposed to be trained in various fields, such as mechanical engineering, metallurgy and consumer industry (Brouček 2006). Apprentices and workers worked in state-owned companies in Slovakia, for example, in Istrochem (former Plant of Juraj Dimitrov), Machinery Manufacturing Plant in Martin, or in Komárno Shipyards. The possibility to study or work abroad was a very prestigious issue, and students and apprentices got to Czechoslovakia usually on the basis of a selection procedure. Vietnamese had contracts for several years, and those coming to study were supposed to return to Vietnam with qualification. The majority of Vietnamese did so upon expiry of their contracts, but many of them stayed in Czechoslovakia and opened small trade licences.

The year 1989 was a turning point in migration from Vietnam to Slovakia. Many men and women returned back to Vietnam, or they migrated from Slovakia further to the West after the opening of borders, especially to the Czech Republic and Germany. However, they could still stay in Slovakia. After the change of the regime in 1989 and with the de-industrialisation of Czechoslovakia as one of its consequences, the Vietnamese were among the first ones losing their jobs in state-owned companies and plants, and had little possibilities to get other employment. The year 1989 brought along the restoration of capitalist economy. Many Vietnamese started to run business as retailers in the 1990s, since it was one of the few possibilities to stay legally in Czechoslovakia. This tendency of the Vietnamese (and other migrants) to run retail businesses can be considered a partially forced strategy of staying in the country. By obtaining a trade licence, they acquired a temporary residence permit for the purpose of conducting business, and hence the possibility to reside in Slovakia. At the same time, they sought to use a new chance and tried to succeed in a new field.

After the fall of socialism, the general population did not have enough business experience or access to suppliers and wholesale networks. However, migrants managed to respond to the local opportunities and successfully competed with the native population. The economic situation of the local population determined the parameters for the type of business that could be successful (Glick Schiller – Çağlar – Guldbrandsen 2006: 617). The postsocialist society and towns needed small shops with consumer goods to meet people’s needs. As Soňa G. Luther affirms in the introductory chapter of this publication, the consumer behaviour of Czechoslovak citizens was influenced



by limited access to goods. The transnational networks of migrants still present in the country were helpful in the launch of businesses. The Vietnamese like the rest of the population of Slovakia did not have previous experience in running business, and started on the same starting line. Hence, success in business cannot be explained through culture (“cultural talent to run business”). Since in the 1990s, the demand for consumer goods prevailed over supply, the retail sector represented a good source of earnings until the financial crisis in 2009. In this regard, both the majority population and Vietnamese had the same starting conditions which, however, differed from the point of view of knowledge, education and economic status of individuals. It is especially the first generation of migrants which is always strongly motivated to achieve economic success, which explains the higher share of entrepreneurs among them.

Migrants from Vietnam (and from other countries, like China) concentrated on retail and wholesale of clothes, footwear, and electronics imported from various Asian countries. Focus on the catering industry (Asian snack-bars) and nail studios have also become widespread in the recent years. Once moved to Czechoslovakia, individuals usually preserved and maintained their transnational networks and links to Vietnam which played an important role in encouraging further migration from Vietnam to Slovakia. After 1989, originally state organised migration turned into spontaneous migration which developed on the basis of existing social networks. Individuals coming to Slovakia continued concentrating on business<sup>13</sup> in order to obtain legal residence in Slovakia more easily. Mainly men (traders) came to Slovakia, and were followed by their families. They differed from the first wave of migrants in several aspects: they had a lower level of education, and came with the objective to run business (Baláž – Williams 2005: 251).<sup>14</sup> The business sector as part of the labour market is characterised by its flexibility which often turns into uncertainty (Iglicka 2005: 102), especially for individuals with the status of foreigners who are dependent

<sup>13</sup> Form of work – employment or business (or self-employment) (Hlinčíková – Sekulová – Lamačková 2011: 19) – is one of the basic categories which define the rights and obligations of migrants. Certain advantages and disadvantages, as well as rights and obligations are associated with both forms of work. *Employee* status (temporary residence for the purpose of employment) means mainly alien’s dependence on a particular employer where loss of job automatically means loss of the permit to stay in the territory of the SR. From this perspective, migrants prefer the status of entrepreneur (and hence residence permit for the purpose of business).

<sup>14</sup> The next specific period in the history of migration from Vietnam to Slovakia emerged with the entry of Slovakia to the European Union, which was followed by the opening of branches of many foreign companies and by the demand for qualified labour forces, which was, however, halted with the financial crisis in 2009. As a result of job recruitments, the number of employees from Vietnam in Slovakia increased from two persons in 2004 to 59 persons in 2006, and up to 949 persons in 2008, i.e. 6.4% of the total number of foreign employees in the country (Divinský 2009: 54). In 2008, Vietnamese nationals were employed by several companies in Western Slovakia (Hornonitrianske bane, Samsung, Sony, branch mining plant in Nováky) (Hlinčíková 2010: 52). This study does not deal with this type of migration in more details, as its specific focus are Vietnamese entrepreneurs in Bratislava.

on the residence permit granted by the Aliens and Border Police. Running business is one of efficient strategies of migrants to avoid the need to apply for a work permit in Slovakia. Flexibility and independence from employer can be an advantage and also a disadvantage on the labour market, where an individual accepts, together with the trade licence, relatively high administrative responsibilities and more activities.

Although most men and women from Vietnam did not seek jobs in the form of employment, the interviews with them implied disinterest of the majority population in employing them and ethnicisation of the labour market, since an ethnic Slovak is always preferred to individuals from other countries in the job competition even in cases where a foreigner has better or identical competences. Among Vietnamese migrants, running business is considered the simplest way of developing a work career. In this labour market segment, however, individuals are often bearers of precarious positions and have a blocked possibility of economic mobility.

I would like to emphasise that I avoid on purpose using the terms “ethnic business” and “migrant business” to describe their business activities. Migrants are socially established actors and have certain strategies, social networks and local opportunities that lead them to a certain type of business which is, however, not their exclusive field of action. Vietnamese living in Slovakia represent a very heterogeneous and internally inconsistent group with regard to business. Entrepreneurs – migrants as economic migrants share the opportunities for economic success or failure with other entrepreneurs in the economy of the given area (Glick Schiller – Çağlar 2007), i.e. in Bratislava, and they cannot be perceived as an ethnic “bubble” in the sea of the majority.

The core group of the owners of shops, restaurants and nail studios consists of individuals who completed their university studies in Czechoslovakia before 1989, or worked as interns in factories. This group of people keeps strong, friendly and professional relations. The structure of Vietnamese entrepreneurs in Slovakia is largely diversified, and usually depends on the time of their arrival to Slovakia, on their education, overall cultural and social capital, and socio-economic status. Among them it is possible to find small entrepreneurs operating a market stand or a small clothes shop, or bigger entrepreneurs focusing on a wider market, possessing warehouses, owning real properties offered for rent, or managing several restaurants. Some individuals with a higher social and cultural capital run business in the field of interpreting, language translations, or in completely different areas.

Those arriving in the former Czechoslovakia before 1989 came for a temporary stay of several years with the aim to increase their qualification, obtain new experience, get a better position at the labour market in Vietnam, and earn money for further investments. After 1989, those who stayed faced new opportunities for running business in a largely undeveloped sector.

Nhung came to Slovakia as a young, 27-year-old doctoral student. He met his countrywoman in Bratislava, and they decided to try luck after the change of regimes

and to launch business. In spite of hard initial conditions, they became successful entrepreneurs in Bratislava. Nhung is the owner of a restaurant employing the Vietnamese and the Slovaks, and also works on international business projects between Vietnam and Slovakia.

In spite of her developing career in Vietnam, *Nguyet* came to Slovakia with two children, following her husband who had lived there for more than three years (together with his siblings and their partners). *Nguyet* admitted in the interview the importance of social ties for her mobility. *Nguyet*: “If I hadn’t had my family here, I wouldn’t have come.” Those arriving after 1989 often came alone on the basis of existing social ties or migration networks, or because someone from their family or friends had lived in Slovakia. Such social ties and networks created the potential background for mobility and reduced migrants’ social, economic, and emotional investments into migration, which stimulated further migration (Kušnířáková – Plačková – Tran Vu 2012: 46-47). Social networks thus became the source of information, recommendations, and promise of helps, reducing the economic costs of their travels and increasing their security.

None of the business areas run by the migrants from Vietnam serve exclusively the customers of Vietnamese ethnicity or other migrants. The majority of shops and services operated by Vietnamese migrants target the local population, and the majority of customers are individuals who can be identified as “Slovaks”. Migrants and customers get to know each other on the basis of interactions in shops and other facilities. Clothes shops designated as “Vietnamese” or “Chinese” do not offer goods that would be marked as ethnic or exotic; it is rather about affordable products and services for the local population with lower incomes. My observations made during the research suggest that many individuals have their “own” Vietnamese or Chinese whom they visit while doing shopping, eating or using other services.

The Vietnamese community in Bratislava is relatively well-functioning.<sup>15</sup> They have a certain infrastructure providing space for meeting the basic needs of the Vietnamese migrants. The different groups of migrants from Vietnam created functioning economic ties which are directly linked to social “countrymen” ties of Vietnamese entrepreneurs. Small entrepreneurs and smaller Vietnamese shops and facilities are usually run on a family basis. Larger facilities often employ Slovaks.

## CONCLUSION

The study can be considered an exploration of the lives of entrepreneurs – migrants of Vietnamese origin who adapted to the new economic model in Slovakia after 1989. Migrants came to Slovakia from Vietnam in different contexts, and have had different stories and motivations for migration. Business became the main form of subsistence

<sup>15</sup> Community as an actively experienced network of relationships in which individuals actively participate within their social networks.

and work for them, and after the rise of capitalism they had the same starting conditions as the rest of the population and a big motivation to achieve economic success. They thus responded to the changing structure of career opportunities and barriers that they had to face after loss of job. Clothes shops, Asian snack-bars and nail studios became part of Bratislava (and other Slovak towns). Many of them are successful in business, others managed to ensure a relatively good living standard. In this way, they created a good basis for the arrival of others – their friends or family members from Vietnam. The main customer group of the business activities of entrepreneurs of Vietnam origin is the population with lower incomes. Hence, Vietnamese entrepreneurs also contributed to the restructuring of towns after 1989 by meeting consumer needs and by providing services, and are part of the resent character of towns. The success or failure of migrants’ businesses do not depend on the cultural otherness of entrepreneurs, but on the consequences of changing global, national and local restructuring processes (Glick Schiller – Çağlar 2013).

## ACCULTURATION OF TRADITIONAL INDIAN MEDICINE IN SLOVAKIA

*Ivan Souček*

Though there are many publications on traditional Indian medicine in the current book market,<sup>1</sup> many issues concerning the existence of this form of medicine still remain unanswered. Focus is therefore paid to the processes of penetration and adaptation of Ayurvedic (*Āyurveda – Āyurvedic*) medical science within the urban environment in Slovakia, collectively called acculturation. The structure of this contribution corresponds, in my opinion, to the complexity of this topic. The introduction presents basic information on complementary and alternative medicine; it is followed by a brief explanation of the concepts of global and modern Ayurveda, and by a transcript and interpretation notes on the field research that aimed to capture the current transformation of this phenomenon, examined in our environment.

### COMPLEMENTARY AND ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE (CAM)

The medical practices with origins other than European have become very popular in the past decades, especially in the urban environment of Europe and North America. This trend is partly related to the growth in the migration of people who bring along their traditional medical knowledge from their home country, and it is also linked to the phenomenon of new religious movements. Today, the frequently used term 'new religious movements' (NRM) means, in particular, groups and directions that emerged in the period of religious revival in the 1960s in the United States and subsequently in Western Europe. In spite of the controversial character and ambiguous theoretical definition of this term, the expression 'new religious movements' has found its place in expert literature, and, in general, it refers to movements which are in a certain manner different from the standard or from what is considered traditional and proven. The cultural phenomenon of new religiousness has many social parallels with the New Age medicine which represents part of a more broadly conceived sphere of complementary and alternative medicine. The attribute "alternative" is also quite controversial, as it has been applied mainly because of the dominant position of Western medical methods. It should be noted, though, that what we consider an alternative at a certain time and space does not necessarily apply in general. In their countries of origin, Indian and Chinese medicines have been considered part of a comprehensive medical

<sup>1</sup> From the big number of publications, see, for example, an older publication by the Czech author Miltner, V. 1986. *Lékařství staré Indie*, or the excellent work by Wujastyk, D. 1998. *The Roots of Āyurveda*.

complex, and it is rather Western biomedicine which can be perceived as an alternative form of treatment. The designation of alternative treatments therefore results from the personal perspective of an individual, but also from the cultural, social, and political context of the given period. The privileged position of allopathic medicine using exclusively biological knowledge is one of the products of modern secular rationalism. It was nothing uncommon in the past that several types of medical knowledge from different geographical origins co-existed next to each other. With the rise of the enlightening/rational paradigm, and most obviously with the start of the 20th century, the official representatives of biomedicine took a radical stand against other forms of treatment. In the context of historic events, the current situation is unnatural and atypical, which is one of the possible reasons for the increasing interest in complementary and alternative medicine. Like in the case of new religious movements, there are many established trends in the West connected with alternative medicine. In practice, every more developed form of medicine on Earth has its fans in the Western world, either in the form of immigrants, or supporters at home. In addition to that, there are medical forms that arose in certain countries of the Western world, but also various types of original European medical ideas that were until recently disseminated in the rural environment with more or less success. The multiform CAM phenomenon is therefore defined as a complex of phenomena related to individual convictions and resulting actions focused on the diagnostics and healing of ill people, or preservation of their health. Medical experts usually act as individuals or small groups of persons outside of officially accepted medical groups, and in their treatment they refer to a system of knowledge (in a comprehensive or partial form) which is incompatible with the official teaching. Hence, the term 'New Age medicine' refers to a concept used in expert literature and covering the globalisation processes of medical tradition and their expansion beyond the borders of their original occurrence. Their existence in the West is associated with the above mentioned phenomenon of new religious movements and with the idea of the expected arrival of the "New Age". Unlike NRM, the social functioning of the New Age groups has some specific features. What is absent in them is group experience, and it is therefore not a strictly perceived community bound by tight internal social rules and communication symbols. Also, there is no system of common lifestyle models or methods of ritual practice. It is interesting to observe that certain medical trends from the past resulted in the creation of religious groups, and that some new religious trends provide their supporters with alternative medical care as part of a complex care for individuals, for example, as in the case of Maharishi's Transcendental Meditation.

### MODERN AND GLOBAL AYURVEDA

Renowned experts conducting research of Ayurveda F. M. Smith and D. Wujastyk (2008) use two key terms in their work: modern and global Ayurveda. Modern Ayurveda is a complex of phenomena, geographically defined by the Indian subcontinent



and related to the cultural revival in the 19th century and subsequent process of professionalisation and institutionalisation of Ayurveda. This concept is characterised by the tendency to secularisation of medical knowledge and the adaptation of Ayurveda to the complex of biomedical sciences. At the same time, we can observe attempts to establish a single theoretical basis based on classical Ayurvedic texts. On the other hand, the term 'global Ayurveda' refers to medical knowledge that expanded beyond the borders of India. In this case, the authors talk about three main lines in the globalisation of Ayurveda. The first one concerns drugs production, and currently represents a fully developed professional discipline interconnected with the profit-making pharmaceutical industry. Hence, we talk about an intensifying emphasis on the scientific potential of Ayurveda and on the attempts to eliminate the signs of religiousness and spirituality in its teachings. The second line, suggested by K. G. Zysk (2011) in his works, relates to the re-interpretation or even re-creation of the philosophical and religious aspects of Ayurveda. Because of its efforts, this line became known as 'New Age Ayurveda', and, *inter alia*, it seeks to create a link between yoga and Ayurveda. Moreover, this form of Ayurveda was re-imported to India in the form of 'wellness tourism' used not only by foreign tourists, but also by the ever stronger middle class in India. By means of various trips, clients are provided with extensive services of healthcare, beauty, rejuvenating and slimming treatments in modern Ayurveda centres with a wide range of tools. The third line of the global Ayurveda concept relates to indological academic circles and its origins date back to the beginning of the 19th century when orientalist showed increased interest in the study of Ayurvedic literature. This interest led to scientific translations of medical texts of classic Ayurveda, and represented an important contribution to the dissemination of traditional Indian knowledge in the Western world.

#### AYURVEDA IN SLOVAKIA

In the past decades, Slovakia and also other countries of the “Western world” have been witnesses of an increasing demand for non-traditional medical treatments. Many people seek new medical forms because they feel a certain disillusion from classical biomedical treatment methods, and try to find a solution to their unsatisfactory situation in alternative fields. It is natural that people seek to have a better quality of life in a changing society, and are therefore willing to entrust their health into the hands of unofficial representatives of medicine. As A. I. Ross (2012: 1) suggests, the growing trend of using alternative health care is accompanied by some other phenomena, such as increased consumption and commercialisation of new medical practices, or the requirement to professionalise the practices and to include selected alternative knowledge into official biomedical teaching.

In the past, the theoretical concepts of traditional Indian medicine were disseminated in the Slovak territory only as part of literature primarily dealing with body and mind control techniques, known as yoga, or as part of philosophical and

religious tracts. It would be hard to find any practitioners using Ayurvedic therapy or diagnostics in the period before 1989 (with a few exceptions). At present, the practical aspects of Indian medicine in Slovakia are represented by some practitioners who carry out their practice under the auspices of specialised Ayurveda centres, or, according to my findings, who perform their work independently. The information provided below was gathered during a field research in one of these centres providing Ayurvedic health care services. The respondent (further referred to as “Ayurvedic practitioner”) whose statements are provided below is of Indian nationality, holds a degree in Ayurvedic medicine and surgery, and currently carries out his practice in Slovakia. The transcript of the interview with him and his comments do not aim to provide a comprehensive picture or analysis of the current situation in Slovakia. My qualitative research rather has an ambition to point out some individual and experienced aspects of the process of Ayurveda acculturation in our country through a chosen example, which otherwise would not be possible to capture in a plastic and reliable way in the form of a questionnaire.

#### AYURVEDA AND YOGA

As already mentioned, one of the observable manifestations of global Ayurveda is the emphasis on the spiritual dimension of the teaching. This is closely linked to the efforts to change the interpretation of some fundamental concepts. A good example in this regard is the interconnection of Ayurveda and yoga into a complex whole. This merge resulted in the emergence of a new cultural phenomenon with a characteristic name, 'Ayuryoga'. The establishment of a link between medicine and yoga also relates to the well-known fact according to which the recent interest in Ayurveda in Europe and the USA emerged in groups which practiced Indian yoga. According to some authors (Zysk 2001; Islam 2012), yoga represents an independent system with its own techniques, methods and philosophical basis oriented mainly towards the spiritual realisation of a person's potential. Traditional Ayurvedic representatives in India intentionally differentiated between medical practice and the theory of Ayurveda and yoga as a spiritual and ascetic discipline. During its existence in its country of origin, yoga acquired certain aspects of Ayurveda on purpose in order to preserve the health of the given person. However, according to K. G. Zysk (2001: 24), there was no opposite exchange of knowledge due to the distinct aims and focus of Ayurveda and yoga. The origins of the use of yoga as a tool to strengthen the physical and psychological health should therefore be sought in the West. The results of my research confirmed that yoga actually represents part of treatment recommended to patients on the basis of the assessment of the gravity of patient's complications and of relevant therapeutic approaches. It means in practice that yoga is not suitable for the treatment of every pathological condition, but is recommended in specific cases, as individually assessed by a therapist.

“We recommend yoga to our patients, because yoga facilitates the healing process, and provides some support in individual treatment, either in a diet or other kind of

treatment, no matter. It is a training of breathing, called *prāṇāyāma* in India. *Prāṇa* means breath, and *āyāma* is exercise. In Ayurveda, it is a combination of three or four methods: yoga, diet, massage. It sometimes diet that helps, or yoga, or the change of lifestyle, it depends on the person and the situation. For some people it is enough to give a massage to heal them. For others it is diet, because they eat and they don't know what's the problem behind" (Ayurvedic practitioner).

In the case of Ayuryoga which integrates the medical knowledge of Ayurveda and the philosophical and spiritual dimension of yoga, we can observe the existence of a specific syncretic phenomenon which emerged in the past decades in the Western world. It is a new cultural and social phenomenon manifesting the 'new life' of Ayurveda in the Western society environment.

#### AYURVEDA AND KARMA

The teaching on karma and its impacts on individual health problems are an indispensable part of Ayurveda. According to M. G. Weiss (1987), the idea of the *karmic* law can be identified back to the writing *Charaka Saṃhitā* which was incorporated into the etiology of Ayurveda in its initial stages, and was perceived as an important determining factor of the life of an individual. The origin of some incomprehensible diseases or the health condition of yet unborn children was explained through the effects of karma. In general, the sophisticated philosophical-theoretical elaboration on karma as a chain of causes and effects is attributed to Indian authors. Ayurveda as a medical system developed in India conceived organically this theory into its etiology. S. Dasgupta (1952: 403) suggested that the form of karmic teaching in the context of Ayurvedic medicine is truly unique, also with regard to Charaka's statement according to which only extremely bad deeds can be halted by efforts to do good ones. All other effects of actions can be eliminated through physical activity, such as balanced conduct or use of the right medicine. In order to simplify and bring Ayurveda closer to the Western cultural and social reality, the karmic concept has been modified.

"It is very problematic to speak to people about karma. Karma, in general, means acting. Anything you do would get back to you. But it is very general, and involves other factors, too, such as *artha kāma*, *dharma*, *mokṣa*. People wouldn't understand me if I used these words. People should feel these things on their own, no matter what's written in books. Though books teach about karma, it doesn't count. I prefer not to use the word karma; I rather try to explain people that they need to feel it. When I'm healing people I'm trying to describe them the idea of what they should understand under karma (...) I'm not able to convince them about the existence of karma. I can't show it to them (...) I want to show them what is the cause of their problems; if I were to compare it to karma, it would be very complicated. I can't give them explanations about what is karma, there's no time for that, and I'm not the person to talk about it, because I use it for my own needs in my way of treatment" (Ayurvedic practitioner).

Just as yoga, the idea of karma has also become very popular in the West. Karma as one of the key terms of Indian philosophy and religion has acquired a new interpretation dimension in the context of globalisation. The interpretation of karmic functioning, wide-spread in the Western society, does not take into consideration the traditional social structure of the Indian society, the different life stages of individuals, the circle of the rebirth of final liberation, and many other factors which are extremely important for a correct explanation of how the karmic law works. The original karmic teaching therefore appears to be not applicable to the Western way of life. As our informer affirmed, people are not able to grasp the concept of karma in the right way, and he is therefore trying to bring it closer to them in a modified form which is more suitable to his clients.

#### THE POSITION OF PRACTITIONERS

In the rural areas of India, strong emphasis has been traditionally put on family ties. The family is considered to be the strongest element of the Indian society, and has a firm role in the organisation of the every-day life in the countryside and in smaller towns. With regard to the general rules of social functioning, the family affiliation of a person is on many occasions considered as a guarantee of his/her professional and moral qualities.

"I don't need to be; I'll just say which family I come from, what's the name of my father, and everybody knows what he did" (Respondent 2).

Even today, appointments with practitioners are held in a traditional way at many places in India.

"If I want to heal people in my town, I'd just say that my father is a doctor, though not officially, and then I don't need any qualification. But if I want to live and heal people in Slovakia, I need some qualification; who would otherwise trust me? If I came without qualification, nobody would accept me as a doctor. Because you don't know my father, my family" (Ayurvedic practitioner).

Given the specific character of the rural way of life, it is not necessary to demonstrate the attained education and qualification for executing the medical profession. The reputation of the practitioner and his family is a guarantee. Naturally, the situation in the urban environment in India is more complicated. In her research of the current medical practice in the Indian town of Puna, M. Tirodkar (2008: 227) divided Ayurvedic practitioners into four groups. The first group includes "traditional" ones whose diagnostics and therapy is based on classical texts, such as *Charaka Saṃhitā* or *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, and who obtained their knowledge in a traditional educational form *guru-śiṣya*, i.e. from a teacher in an Indian *āśrama*. The second group is called "modern". The respective practitioners hold an academic degree in medicine, and use not only Ayurvedic knowledge in their practice, but also certain biomedical methods which are combined and used as needed. The third group consists of practitioners with the attribute "commercial"; they are most often concentrated in Ayurvedic health

centres where they apply oil massages or advise with menus. The last group, called “self-help”, is represented by persons who get their knowledge from secondary literature or from a broad spectrum of websites on treatment and diagnostics in line with the principles of Ayurvedic medicine. As Tirodkar’s research showed, no conceptually clear division exist here, not even at the theoretical level. In the urban environment, we can face various forms of practicing Ayurveda, and the characteristics of various practitioners usually overlap. In Slovakia, the position of Ayurvedic practitioners is much closer to the urban character than to the rural one. Further to this theoretical division, they could be classified between the categories modern, commercial, and partly traditional.

“I learn all the texts, *Charaka Saṃhitā*, *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, *Āṣṭaṅgaṛdaya Saṃhitā*, including combinations with modern medical science. You must study all the terms of classical medicine. You must also know the basic factors of classical surgery... The major part of diets that I recommend to people is not from Ayurveda, it is what my parents taught me. They told me: you must do this and that, it helps. Have this, or have garlic, or whatever else, it’s all from my family. The roots of my profession are in my family” (Ayurvedic practitioner).

#### PRACTITIONER VS. PATIENT

The research of patients in India using Ayurveda specialists showed that the main reasons for which they chose this medical form include the following factors (Tirodkar 2008): disillusion with allopathy; approach focusing on the cause of the problem; everything is in line with nature; there are no side effects; it works better with chronic problems; and the diagnosis is more correct. The former factor according to which the diagnosis is determined in a more precise or more correct way seems to relate to the traditional way of perception by an Ayurvedic practitioner. High moral and personal requirements have been put to traditional representatives in the Indian environment. A practitioner called *vaidja* (*vaidya*) was perceived by the society not only as a healer, but also as a wiseman, or even as a saint man. My informer confirmed this statement:

“When I come to my village, my position is something between a normal person and a supernatural force. I am someone standing in between. Something passes through me, and something comes out of me, this is how faith is. When I heal someone, it’s not my merit, there is something beyond me, this is how faith still is. I must come in peace and with a clear mind, and the way I act must be kind in every situation, even when the patient is annoying” (Ayurvedic practitioner).

A *vaidja* is expected to lead the right life, in line with the law of *dharma*, and to be able to advise patients not only on medical therapy, but also on religious issues.

The expectations of people in Slovakia who choose to use Indian methods of treatment depend on the particular experience of the respective person, and in many regards they do not differ from the expectations prevailing in the Indian society. The primary reasons for visiting an Ayurveda specialist include recommendations

from friends who have already had a similar experience with a positive impression. The other possible reasons are persistent health problems that cannot be treated by classical medicine, or inclination to the so-called natural way of treatment without any side effects.

“People visit us after having tried everything else. They have no other possibility, and are therefore sitting here, in front of me. I am the last possibility” (Ayurvedic practitioner).

The perception of alternative medicine practitioners in Slovakia, including Ayurvedic ones, is characterised by two contradictory tendencies. On one hand, in the context of the secular environment of Western medicine, they are predominantly perceived as studied, qualified experts; on the other hand, people ascribe them moral qualities and supernatural or even mystical powers.

“For me, these people are closer to a certain force because they have better properties than others” (Respondent 3).

#### REMUNERATION FOR SERVICES

Remuneration or payment for services to a practitioner in an Indian environment forms part of the overall reciprocal social dynamics between all parties. Some older researches<sup>2</sup> conducted in the Indian environment confirmed that the remuneration of practitioners did not have a direct monetary nature in many cases, but rather the form of a gift or sacrifice to be made by the patient. Our informer provided similar information.

“They come and give me, for example, rice or a coconut for my services, or they come with a plenty of bananas as a gift for having examined them. They have a lot of things from the society. But it’s not possible anymore” (Ayurvedic practitioner).

A very frequent way of accepting payment are cases where the *vaidja* receives money not for his work, but for prescribed drugs. In the Indian countryside, a medicine man is even today seen as an object of respect, as someone who provides services to the society. According to D. von Schmädell and B. Hochkirchen (2001: 208), the majority of traditional practitioners regarded their activities as charity, and had other jobs besides Ayurveda. Hence, they were not forced to ask financial donations to ensure their own existence and subsistence for their family. The authors state that fundamental changes in the relationship between a practitioner and a patient can be mainly observed in the urban environment where payment for services is related to the ever increasing secular nature of this profession, and to the professionalisation of medical practitioners. Our informer affirmed that the situation had changed and that it was not possible anymore to execute this kind of job without adequate financial remuneration.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, McKim, M. 1955. *Western Medicine in a Village of Northern India*. In: D. B. Paul, (ed.), *Health culture and community: case studies of public reactions to health programs*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 239-268; Schmädell, D. - Hochkirchen, B. 2001. *The results of an analysis based on a video of consultation in five āyurvedic medical practices*. In: G. J. Meulenbeld – D. Wujastyk (eds.), *Studies on Indian Medical History*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 207-214.



“Not anymore. When you meet saints, digambaras, priests, they provide their services for free, because they have no family and do not live within the society.

The situation has completely changed compared to the past” (Ayurvedic practitioner).

Payment for Ayurveda diagnosis and therapy services in Slovakia is a natural part of the global trend which is more and more present in the Indian urban environment. The increasing demand for professionalism of medical practitioners and the efforts to offer attractive “medical consumer goods” signalled the emergence of the final form of Ayurveda which seeks to take its place in the wide range of offered alternative medical practices.

#### CONCLUSION

Ayurveda as a traditional Indian medical system, and its teaching, concepts, procedures and especially rich experience have been adapted to the Western society environment in the process of global social changes. The form of Indian medicine which has found its supporters in the “Western world” has naturally penetrated the countries of the former Eastern bloc, including Slovakia. After the release of political pressures, this geographical area observed a revival of religious life and increased interest in new religiousness. This development was accompanied by the possibility to use non-traditional forms of health care. In Slovakia, the gradual boom of alternative and complementary medical forms started to be manifested in the beginning of the 1990s. A more intensive onset of Ayurveda can be observed in recent years, though it was also sought sporadically before. From the point of view of social and cultural-scientific disciplines, we have become witnesses of not only a transmission of a specific phenomenon typical to a certain geographical and cultural area, but also of a visible transformation of this phenomenon within the contexts of domestic societies. History showed us that the process of adaptation of foreign cultural phenomena is often accompanied by a change in the original levels of meaning, and also by the creation of syncretic forms where original and new elements are intermixed in a single consistent whole. The research of the Slovak reality confirmed that the philosophical and religious background of the New Age movement marked the character and the form by which the Indian medical theory and practice acquired their shape in our country. The picture of Ayurveda based only on classical literary sources or older ethnographic researches conducted in India would probably not correspond to the form we encounter in the West today. The most obvious differences have been identified in the figure of the medical practitioner, the way of conducting their practice, and in the overall social perception. It is proven that the current situation is best described by the theoretical concept of the global Ayurveda, typical for its re-interpretation of some basic ideological elements. With the gradual, continuous expansion of Ayurvedic practice, more and more questions emerge which are directly related to this phenomenon. One of them concerns the extent of authenticity of this tradition and its continuous functioning, which is questionable

in our environment. In this case, the existence of global Ayurveda, in my opinion, is a clear evidence of the fact that the medical teaching originating from the ancient history of India is still alive. It acquires forms which are understandable and acceptable to large groups of people. Its current form fully reflects the demands of the modern society. Indian teaching has not been uniform not even during its continuous existence in India. As affirmed in the text above, Ayurveda in the urban environment of India has also gone through several radical changes, and more seem to come in the future. It responds to the social and cultural needs of the surroundings in an organic way, and develops and is updated as a living organism. Our scientific mission should be to capture this process, be able to describe it in a meaningful way, and draw conclusions applicable to further research. It is assumed that the nature of traditional Indian medicine in the “Western world” will continue to change and acquire new dimensions in the years to come. It will therefore be an interesting task to follow this specific phenomenon and forecast the direction it will take in the future.

## ACCEPTATION OF LGBTI MOVEMENTS IN THE CURRENT SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

*Vendula Wiesnerová*

With the formation of a democratic society in Slovakia, some new social phenomena started to raise attention, including new models of co-existence, as well as non-heterosexual partnerships and relationships in general. This period is characterised by the emergence of new civil topics, successfully developed at a European scale, which have, however, provoked a whole range of reactions within the society, among the representatives of state institutions, and within the conservative circles of the Catholic Church. The civil society development after 1989 resulted in the creation of an activist network of organisations and associations which joined the process of raising public awareness and formulating requirements with the aim to achieve better acceptance of LGBTI people through the modification of civil rights. This prolonged process of adaptation of the society to the acceptance of new forms of gender expressions, coexistence, partnership and family, which are mainly disseminated by people identifying themselves with any of the categories referred to by the abbreviation LGBTI movement, has recently brought concrete results. The recent development in Slovakia is influenced, *inter alia*, by increased sensitiveness to human rights topics in the European society, and by the overall situation in the world which has been characterised in the past years by important changes concerning the equal status of non-heterosexual relationships (France, USA), and the adoption of legislation on gender identity (Argentina, Australia). As the recent surveys of FOCUS Agency conducted for Iniciatíva Inakosť (Otherness Initiative) suggest, this situation has an impact on the creation of a positive environment also within the Slovak society (Iniciatíva Inakosť 2012). Activists consider the establishment of the Committee for the Rights of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersexual People (LGBTI Committee) at the Government Council of the Slovak Republic for Human Rights, Ethnic Minorities and Gender Equality (hereinafter referred to as “Government Council”) in 2012 as an important move forward in the development of these issues in Slovakia. The creation of this Committee, however, cannot be viewed as a clear influence of bigger social tolerance and of a more liberal attitude to these issues.

As explained below, it is a complicated context of political conditions, pressures from the European Union, and strategic actions by activists which enabled the creation of this body in the given period. The Slovak society remains strongly polarised especially with regard to the position of the Catholic Church which still has a strong influence in Slovakia not only in politics, but also on the public opinion, and is largely

represented in the civil sector. The current problem of this ideological polarisation lies in the conflict with several civic associations led by the Life Forum (Fórum života) and the Institute of Leo XIII (Inštitút Leva XIII) whose representatives published an analysis Budget of the Government Office of SR for the Support of the Culture of Death in December 2012. This study aimed to analyse the expenditures of the Government Office of the SR for the activities of organisations concerning the so-called Death Culture policy,<sup>1</sup> divided by the authors of the study into four categories: abortion policy; feminism and gender mainstreaming; LGBTI policy; and sexualisation of the youth (Institute of Leo XIII 2012b). This analysis also aimed to appeal to the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic to consider, given the economic crisis, the state expenditures to activities which, according to the activists, contradict the Manifesto of the Government of the Slovak Republic. This move escalated the long-lasting conflict of two ideological streams which are, in spite of the different attitudes to human rights issues, an important part of the emerging civil society in Slovakia operating on the basis of common principles of competition under the grant policy.

The contextualisation of this conflict, as presented in this study, aims to point out the complexity of the current situation in Slovakia when it is necessary not only to reflect upon the ideological disagreements in the society (in connection with the influence of European Union directives vs. conservative voice of the traditional Catholic Church based on the legitimacy of the Vatican Treaty), but also to highlight the fact that the impacts of the economic crisis creates opportunities for new strategies for obtaining funds thanks to which civil society organisations can exist. One of these strategies is to highlight the “decline of traditional values” by one side of the conflict, which is allegedly manifested by the granting of financial assistance to “controversial” topics, such as LGBTI agenda according to the representatives of the Institute of Leo XIII. This argument is accentuated strategically at the times of the economic crisis, and it is also important to mention that criticism can also be heard from other civic associations which form part of the same network of applicants for grants awarded by the Government Office of the Slovak Republic. Hence, it is not only criticism of ideas, as both sides of the conflict compete for access to funds.

Given this context, the objective of this study is to offer a reflection of the recent development of LGBTI activism in the field of human rights in the Slovak society and politics from the point of view of the main actors of events, i.e. mainly from the perspective of concrete organisations (civic associations) dealing with LGBTI issues in Slovakia, and of their individual representatives who have either been initiators of actions, or direct participants to them. The study has the character of a contextual

<sup>1</sup> According to the definition by the Institute of Leo XIII, “Death Culture” refers to a political and ideological stream which is opposite to the Culture of Life: “These two political and ideological streams are in an antagonistic relationship. Their influence on politics is more and more decisive for the building of future coalitions and national policies” (Institute of Leo XIII. 2012a: 1).

probe, as the current Slovak situation is reflected exclusively from the perspective of LGBTI activists or experts in human rights issues on the basis of their perception of the processes and socio-political conditions in the country.

The study also aims to highlight the problematic media discourse which often entails implicit *groupism* (Brubaker 2004). The complex network of cooperation between civic associations promoting the LGBTI agenda is often homogenised in the Slovak mass media as a “homosexuals’ movement”, omitting the specific nature and diversity of organisations and their different programme objectives, while other than gay and lesbian policy remains completely ignored. The other topics are thus made invisible, which presents an incorrect picture of the situation in Slovakia and of efforts exerted by the network of civic associations and informal groups with the same LGBTI denominator. The LGBTI movement is very often viewed through collective identity, which is in many cases homogenised to the mere issue of sexual orientation<sup>2</sup> (hence, the problematic and misleading term “homosexuals’ movement”). This collective identity, however, should not be understood as identity shared by all participants, especially not in the case of a group of activists united in a support network of civic associations dealing with the human rights agenda. We can find many human rights experts among them who do not necessarily need to identify themselves with any of the LGBTI categories. LGBTI is mainly an umbrella term under which such aggregate is mobilised and recognised. As its name already suggests, the network of LGBTI organisations is often non-uniform regarding their programmes, interests and demands.<sup>3</sup> This study therefore analyses the LGBTI movement as a “wide network of organisations, independent groupings, informal groups (and other forms), and individuals united on the basis of the principle of certain common denominators” which enable the definition of these concrete common interests and demands (Wiesnerová 2013: 60). This definition of the network is based on organisation as a fundamental context according to Brubaker’s definition of organisation (2004: 14-16) as a more precise designation of an actor (unlike the wider concept of a group) which can be ascribed properties (organised approach, programme, aim, interest, consensus, agency) which are misleading in the case of a group and may result in the homogenisation of a compound of various aims and efforts. The study is the result of a year-and-a-half-long stage of the field research with participative observation as the principal method of data collection accompanied by media monitoring, taking into consideration the contextualisation of the socio-political conditions in Slovakia. For

<sup>2</sup> In general, the mass media put emphasis on the perception of sexual orientation as the only common denominator of the LGBTI movement. However, gay and lesbian policies are only a part of the comprehensive LGBTI field. Queer and transgender policies are thus completely left out, which largely disrupts the general system of classification of sexual orientation based exclusively on the binary (and hence limited) opposition male – female.

<sup>3</sup> The definition of the umbrella term LGBTI suggests that we always talk about all categories mentioned in this title.

the purposes of this particular study, data was also gathered from six semi-structured interviews with LGBTI activists and experts involved in the network of civic organisation working with human rights issues. Thematically focussed semi-structured interviews were conducted with the members of the new LGBTI Committee and with the members of the Committee’s working group. The interviews aimed to obtain data that would help to contextualise the actions related to the recent events in Slovakia, i.e. with the establishment of the LGBTI Committee at the Government Council for Human Rights, Ethnic Minorities and Gender Equality, and with the case of the Death Culture raised by the network of organisations acting under the Institute of Leo XIII as its umbrella organisation. Through the indexation of obtained field data and data from interviews, the main analytical frameworks, directly linked to the aim of the study and defined concepts, were identified for the purposes of this study. The data was afterwards organised into the structure of a coherent story according to the definition Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2011: 202-206), and compiled in the form of a thematic narration.

#### THE CURRENT CONTEXT OF LGBTI ACTIVISM IN SLOVAKIA

The issues concerning LGBTI activism in Slovakia cannot be grasped in a way other than in the context of the emergence and intensive development of the civil society since 1989. Prior to this period, this space was not grasped in any manner within the Czechoslovak context. The development of civil activism and the various forms of volunteering in connection with the voice of sexual and other minorities should therefore be seen with regard to the contemporary context. In the Czech and Slovak Republics, it is characterised by social transition in the post-socialist period from totalitarianism to democracy, and by the fact that the history of the civil society development has been full of discontinuities since 1989: “It is a history full of restrictions, control, and manipulation, interrupted by periods of relative freedom and boom” (Buerkle 2004: 33).

This shift brought along many issues and problems which related to the separation of the human rights agenda of new organisations from state institutions. This process reflected the transformation of social ideas, values and economic structures resulting in the democratisation and diversification of the society which is still on-going in connection with the individual transition milestones, such as the entry of the Czech and the Slovak Republics into the European Union. With this move, both countries committed themselves to adopt the common European directives on human rights policy, which gradually became the unifying concept of the new civic associations.

The already well-developed civil society in both countries and the interlinked network of activist organisations bear characteristic features of the development of civic associations in the post-socialist society, which goes hand in hand with the influences of the European environment, i.e. with the development and preservation of a functional open market on which the grant policy and the development of civil activities are dependent. According to Eduard Marček, the most significant trend in the



field of financing of the non-profit sector is the “dramatic decline of available sources from abroad – both public and private –, non-existence of suitable domestic compensation, and resulting structural sector changes” (2004: 129). Individual organisations thus seek not only to promote their programme objectives, but also to ensure their existence in the heavy competition, so characteristic for this environment. The recent economic crisis has also had a strong influence on the present situation. Maybe it is truer today than in the past that the financial situation of Slovak non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the chances to find new resources have become very complicated and “nobody knows precisely what would come next” (Bútorá 2004: 19).

Although the current political situation in Slovakia does not really favour full equality for citizens who would like to legalise their coexistence other than heterosexual given the present government of the SMER party and its Manifesto, the strong pressure by the European Union cannot be ignored anymore. It is these pressures that can hypothetically have an impact on two of the recent important efforts of LGBTI activism in Slovakia, the results of which, according to LGBTI activists, are closely interlinked: successful approval of the LGBTI Committee in July 2012, and rejection of the draft bill on registered partnership which was mainly criticised by deputies from political parties promoting conservative and Christian values.

#### **ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE RIGHTS OF LESBIANS, GAYS, BISEXUAL, TRANSGENDER, AND INTERSEXUAL PEOPLE**

The idea of establishing the LGBTI Committee emerged during the office of Prime Minister Iveta Radičová, but the negotiations of activists with the previous Government failed. This idea was surprisingly approved in July 2012 during the term of the SMER political party which was not really expected to support the LGBTI agenda. Immediately after the government was formed, the Office of the Vice-Prime Minister for Human Rights at the Government Office of the SR was cancelled, which was criticised by human rights activists as a very insensible decision at the time of the economic crisis. The entire agenda which was supposed to be managed by the Minister of Justice was transferred to the Government Council which is just an advisory body to the Government. The mass media published critical opinions of activists from various organisations who stressed that this office should rather be strengthened instead of being cancelled (Lajčák na mimovládke zapôsobil 2012). This idea was finally supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after the group of activists presented a call to establish the LGBTI Committee to Minister Miroslav Lajčák who favoured this proposal. The Government Council approved the establishment of the Committee, which was considered a success by the initiators of the call.

The establishment of the LGBTI Committee was accompanied by many uncertainties and problems. Some of its members had the impression that the work of the Committee, from its approval, was hampered by protraction which could be

observed at the first meetings. The creation of the LGBTI Committee was partly welcomed as a successful step forward, and the activists themselves and cooperating experts see it as a chance to improve the situation in Slovakia with regard to LGBTI issues. At the same time, they agree that the approval of this Committee is rather a political strategy of the Slovak Government than a progressive improvement of attitudes towards the LGBTI agenda, as the Government thus copes, at least partially, with the pressures by EU Commissioners to adopt certain measures that would comply with the European directives. According to LGBTI activists, the approval of the LGBTI Committee may appear, from the point of view of the governing SMER party, as a choice of smaller evil instead of adopting an act on registered partnership.

Hence, this development in addressing LGBTI issues in Slovakia cannot be perceived within the socio-political context only as the result of social changes with more and more tolerant attitudes of the society and political representatives towards the LGBTI agenda, for example, under the influence of legislative changes in EU Member States. According to activists' statements, the political conditions under the Government of Iveta Radičová seemed to be more favourable to these issues, though they failed to agree on establishing a committee given the disputes within the coalition. They managed to realise this idea within a suitable political context under the influence of strong pressures by the European Union and civic associations working in this field, which enabled successful negotiations between the two sides.

#### **THE DEATH CULTURE CASE**

The LGBTI Committee gathers in the building of the Ministry of Justice of the SR. Its aim is to meet always before the meetings of the Government Council for Human Rights, Ethnic Minorities and Gender Equality, and to adopt thematic resolutions to be presented to the Government Council for opinion. At its first meeting, the LGBTI Committee sought to adopt a recommendation for the Government Council to take a position on the opinions of the civic associations united under the umbrella Institute of Leo XIII which expressed its disagreement with the amount of subsidies granted to human rights associations in its analysis of the budget of the Government Office of the SR, designating it as Death Culture. The aim of their analysis was:

“[...] to provide an overview of funds assigned by the Government Office (GO) in order to promote the activities of lobby groups of the Death Culture (DC) in 2012. The study focuses only on those grant projects which were either presented directly by DC lobby groups, or whose contents promote the main objectives of the DC policy: Abortion policy, Feminism and gender mainstreaming, LGBTI policy, Sexualisation of the youth” (Institute of Leo XIII, 2012b: 2).

The network of associations united under the Institute of Leo XIII also protested against the establishment of the LGBTI Committee. The above-mentioned protest activity is important mainly because it shows the way the reactive opposition against organisations

dealing with LGBTI issues in Slovakia was formed. The action which raised much media attention in newspapers and in TV news voiced the strong anti-group formed from civic associations promoting the values of the Catholic Church in Slovakia, which, however, was mobilised not only on the basis of ideological views, but mainly in connection with the need to express disagreement with the approach of the Government Office of the SR to its grant policy. The Chairman of the Institute of Leo XIII Robert Máteffy expressed in the media his critical opinion on the Government Office of the SR and the amount of subsidies granted to human rights organisations designated in the study as those promoting the ideology of the Death Culture:

“We call upon the Prime Minister to stop financing the homosexual LGBT lobby. It is surprising that at times the state has no money for nurses, doctors and teachers, it gives hundreds of thousands of euros to support various homosexual lobbyists, gender activists, and feminists.”<sup>4</sup>

One of the reactions of LGBTI activists was the effort to appeal on the Government Council for Human Rights, Ethnic Minorities and Gender Equality to adopt a supporting opinion, which, however, could not be reached yet, as the Chairman of the LGBTI Committee did not agree with the proposal. In his opinion, “the Committee is not competent to give opinions on such issues” (MoJ SR 2013: 5). The LGBTI activists attending the meeting considered this rejection as an effort to influence the efficiency of the new body.

#### LGBTI AND MEDIA REPRESENTATION

LGBTI activists also criticised the way the media presented the case referred to above, without any reflection and without efforts to hear both sides. The protest event of organisations united under the Institute of Leo XIII created a conflict environment which, under the influence of media representation, supported a simplified perception of the problem as a conflict of the homosexuals’ movement vs. the church.

As far as the Catholic Church and its supporting network of organisations are concerned, these can be considered the loudest opponents of the LGBTI agenda in Slovakia at the political and legislative levels. As for the other side of the conflict which is often homogenised in the media as a movement or community of homosexuals, the problem is more complex. The LGBTI network composed of representatives of human rights civic associations does not represent only gay and lesbian policy issues, though what is primarily addressed is the question of missing legislation that would bring equality to unions of all persons. This fact is viewed by LGBTI activists as a problem that is given by the context: on one hand, missing human rights topics in the educational process at all school levels and among teachers, and on the other hand, media efforts to bring news that attract public attention, and politically influenced media.

<sup>4</sup> *Aktivisti odkazujú Ficovi, Topky.sk, 6. 2. 2013.*

The problem of unsuitable media representation is perceived by LGBTI activists as a fundamental one. Within internal networks, there are strategies defining the ways of responding to different protest events. Internal cooperation networks seek to find a consensus on the question whether such media attention would rather bring benefit or damage. This kind of discussion was also conducted in relation to the protest event of the Institute of Leo XIII, and the opinions differed because of fears from excessive media attention that could be paid to this case. The way of communication with the media is one of the key strategies of each organisation that seeks to ensure suitable media coverage of its agenda. It is therefore important to decide in specific cases what kind of reaction (if any) to choose, including in the case of protest actions which can be perceived by activists themselves as a direct attack. LGBTI activists also see the problem of media representation in the fact that all other topics except homosexuality are made invisible through the homogenisation of the LGBTI agenda, or are, rather, accentuated without a context in a sensationalist fashion (for example, transgender topics). LGBTI activists therefore try to find a way of approaching the media through education, but also by means of strategies aimed to influence the way of writing and talking about these issues.

#### SUMMARY

As for the support of the Slovak public for at least partial legalisation of non-heterosexual unions, the latest opinion polls conducted in July 2012 for the civic association *Iniciatíva Inakosť* by FOCUS Agency and with the support of Rosa Luxemburg Foundation on a representative sample of the Slovak population (1,026 persons) show that the public opinion largely shifted in favour of adopting an act on registered partnership, similar to the opinion polls conducted in June 2008 and September 2009: “In July 2012, the number of those in favour of the act was higher by 9% compared to the number of those against the act, which is an increase by 5% since 2009” (*Iniciatíva Inakosť*, 2012).<sup>5</sup> With regard to the increase in positive attitudes to the approval of registered partnerships in Slovakia, the on-going social changes in the structure of gender relations throughout the past twenty years should also be taken into consideration, as they certainly reflect increased divorce rates and the global decline of the institution of marriage.

The opinion polls also show that there are substantial regional differences within Slovakia: the highest support can be observed in the Region of Banská Bystrica, and the strongest negative attitudes, surprisingly, in Bratislava (*Iniciatíva Inakosť* 2012). This fact is explained by the activists with the fact that Bratislava is a city to which people move from all over Slovakia for the purpose of study or work, and the interpretation of the survey outcomes should take this fact into consideration. Human

<sup>5</sup> “The adoption of the act on registered partnership would definitely or probably be supported by 47% of respondents (no or rather no by 38%, and does not know – 15%). The survey also confirmed that the public has no objections to the actual contents of this act” (*Iniciatíva Inakosť* 2012).

rights activists and experts, however, consider regional influences to be one of the important factors that have an impact on the way of perceiving the LGBTI agenda within the Slovak society.

In general, activists and experts respond positively to the current state of addressing LGBTI issues in Slovakia, especially with regard to the pressures by the European Union for the adoption of relevant directives, which seems to be just a question of time. Hence, the current opposition by the conservative part of the public and of the political spectrum is considered rather unsustainable. There are, however, fears that the regulations that could come from the EU would not correspond to what the activists want to achieve with their efforts.

In spite of the positive development of Slovak human rights activism mainly in relation to the establishment of the LGBTI Committee at the Government Council for Human Rights, Ethnic Minorities and Gender Equality, the present context is still perceived as strongly polarised. In this situation, we should also observe the media influence which, given the context of this topic and the interests of all stakeholders, seeks to keep a conflict between the two sides. Too much attention paid to a topic raises resistance among those disagreeing with such development.

According to the statements of LGBTI activists, the Catholic Church also has a substantial influence on maintaining tension, as it has a strong position not only in the public, but also in politics. Though it is not that apparent at first sight, the influence of the Vatican towards which Slovakia is liable for compliance with concrete treaties is significant within the political context. The Catholic Church is regarded by the activists' network as more conservative and, hence, more problematic in respect of the LGBTI agenda than, for example, some other churches. It is therefore not only an issue of LGBTI topics vs. religion/faith, but rather an ideological issue and an issue of values, represented by particular churches and influencing the way their representatives approach the LGBTI agenda.

This study aimed to contextualise the current positions to the LGBTI agenda in Slovakia from the point of view of LGBTI activists with regard to the ongoing socio-political changes and influences. These efforts should be constantly reflected in connection with the changes happening at the EU and global levels, as mentioned in the introduction, but also in respect of changes in social values which have an impact on the public opinion in the form of more positive attitudes to LGBTI issues in the media, politics and society, and also on the way of accentuating and grasping “interventions” into the system of values as part of a strategy by civic associations in their efforts to obtain grant support. As highlighted in this study, the current situation is largely influenced by the mass media which, in the representation of individual cases, do not aim to present particular values, but rather promote their own interests that go hand in hand with the needs of the market society which should be reflected in the given context of the present situation.

## THE HOLOCAUST IN SLOVAKIA: PERSPECTIVE OF OBSERVERS. COPING WITH THE PAST?

*Monika Vrzgulová*

The social and political changes in Slovakia after 1989 opened many new challenges, tasks, and issues. One of the consequences of these changes was the fact that the public and expert discourse started to raise topics on the modern history of Slovakia – before taboo, overlooked, or ideologically interpreted by the Communist regime. A request and interest suddenly emerged to explore our own history without the dictate of ideology, independently and openly. The history topics which were previously taboo referred to the period of the wartime Slovak state (1939–1945) and its totalitarian regime,<sup>1</sup> and the forms of the Holocaust in Slovakia. Historians and social scientists started to explore these topics from the perspective of their science disciplines.

In order to contribute to a critical re-assessment of the ideologically burdened images of the past and to the overcoming of historic stereotypes surviving in our societies, the oral history method is primarily used in my ethnological research. It represents an appropriate tool for the capturing of subjective testimonies of experienced events at a certain historic period. Thanks to this method, it is possible to obtain an interpretation of historic events from the perspective of individuals who are part of the society. My research is based on the assumption that the affiliation of a witness to a certain social group or groups determines his/her testimony, and the memory processes depend not only on external stimuli, but also on the particular social context (Halbwachs 1980; Assman 1992; Ferencová – Nosková 2009: 21-31).

People's memories captured by the oral history method are examined as individual pictures of historic events or as their mental representations which can be, according to the theory of the epidemiology of representations (Sperber 1996), communicated and subsequently shared by a certain segment of a social group as cultural or public representations. A social group and its environment – in this particular case the group of non-Jewish citizens of Slovakia – are filled with representations of the past. Each member of the group has many own mental representations in his/her head which create his/her individual knowledge. Through the communication of such knowledge to the outside – disclosure – mental representations become public. But only a small part of mental representations, repeatedly communicated and disseminated within a group, becomes part of commonly shared cultural representations. Hence, cultural

<sup>1</sup> The slogan of the Slovak State (1939–1945) was: One country, one party, one leader! There was a single ruling party – Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (HSLS).



representations constitute a subset of an aggregate of mental and public representations which have long existed within the given social group (Sperber 1996: 32-33).

This work is based on the material obtained from a two-year-long oral history research which focused on non-Jewish witnesses of the period of the wartime Slovak state, and analyses the contents of their recorded testimonies. My research observes what representations of the life of the Jewish community in the territory of the former Slovak state in the period 1938–1945 have been disseminated through a sample of the oldest generation of the non-Jewish population of Slovakia at present.

#### **ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF THE HOLOCAUST IN SLOVAKIA**

The first oral history research conducted after 1989 and sponsored by Milan Šimečka Foundation (in 1995–1997) was of key importance for the ethnological research of the Holocaust in Slovakia. This research focused on the memories of the victims of the Holocaust – Jews. The results of this research were analysed and interpreted by several researches (Bumová 2010; Salner 1997; 2000, 2005; Vrzgulová 2000, 2005, 2011, 2013). Relevant knowledge about how the Holocaust events were lived, evaluated and interpreted by those who were not their victims but observers or executors were long absent.<sup>2</sup> This asymmetry has been poorly balanced by the biographic literature about, for example, the fates of the official representatives of the wartime Slovak state, or the representatives of the majority in the given period. The published texts represent materials of differing professional quality. The publishing of three volumes of Jozef Tiso's speeches and articles was an exceptional achievement in this regard.

The “silent majority” of the Slovak society, the population of Slovak villages and towns constituting the environment in which the individual stages of the Holocaust in Slovakia took place, remained unexplored for a long time.<sup>3</sup> The international documentary project of oral history “Crimes against Civilian Populations during WW2: Victims, Witnesses, Collaborators and Perpetrators”<sup>4</sup> with non-Jewish witnesses from Slovakia represents a qualitative move forward.

<sup>2</sup> This classification is based on R. Hilberg's work (2002).

<sup>3</sup> Partial results were brought by, for example, researches of tradesmen in the period 1918–1948, (Vrzgulová 2000).

<sup>4</sup> The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum <http://www.ushmm.org/> in Washington is the sponsor of this research project. The project aims to collect and make video-recordings of the testimonies of non-Jewish witnesses of World War II. The research has already been conducted in France, Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, Poland, Ukraine, Romania, Moldova, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and in the countries of the former Yugoslav territories. A total of around 1,400 interviews have been recorded in these countries.

#### **RESEARCH FOCUSED ON THE MAJORITY**

In 2011, the Slovak Republic joined the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which launched this kind of research back to 1996.<sup>5</sup> This research records the recollections of eye-witnesses of persecutions, bad treatment, humiliation, thefts, deportations, and murdering of civilians and of the Jewish population of the given country. It captures the testimonies about local aggressors and collaborators who helped perpetrators in committing crimes against humanity. In Slovakia, we mainly focused on documenting the fates of local Jewish people from the perspective of their non-Jewish neighbours – how they saw and remember their discrimination, imprisonment, deportation, and the fate of their property after deportation from Slovakia.

The research in Slovakia has taken two years so far. In the preparatory stage, a meeting with local researchers were held, informing them about the project objectives, research methods, and implementation. The people we visited and interviewed do not constitute a representative sample of Slovakia. The composition of the group of respondents was primarily dependent on the interest and initiative of local researchers. The project's success also depended on the fact whether the identified witnesses were willing to cooperate.

The principal pre-condition the respondents were supposed to meet was that they were eye-witnesses of the situation that can be designated as “implementation of anti-Jewish measures in practice”. Another condition was respondent's age at the time the described event was observed and lived. The minimum age of ten years was determined on the basis of practical experience in researches conducted in other European countries.

The implementation stage of the research ran at two levels. The local researchers identified forty-two persons during two years. The first round of meetings and preliminary interviews was attended by thirty-seven of them.<sup>6</sup>

The first level was a pre-interview which served for getting acquainted with the respondent, for detailed explanation of the research objectives, and for finding out whether the witness met the conditions of the research and whether he/she was willing to attend the interview. The pre-interview was audio-recorded (2011), or was recorded with a handy digital camera (2012), and represented a crucial moment on the basis of which we included or excluded respondents into/from further research.

<sup>5</sup> The chief coordinator is the Israeli historian and documentalist Nathan Beyrak who also conducted the oral history research “The Fates of Those Who Survived the Holocaust” in 1995–97. On behalf of Slovakia, the research was coordinated by Monika Vrzgulová who managed the Slovak team composed of ethnologist Eva Riečanská and local researchers from all over Slovakia. The project record can be found on the website of the USHMM in Washington: <http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn50682>.

<sup>6</sup> Two meetings did not take place because the respondents changed their mind and refused to meet with us. This happened upon intervention by their family members who did not wish their parents to give an interview on the wartime Slovak state. Other two meetings were not held due to a sudden deterioration of the health condition of respondents, and one witness died.

In principle, the structure of the interview was identical for all respondents, and depending on the age it contained four basic issues:

- Life in the first Czechoslovak Republic (CSR): the quality of relationships between Jews and non-Jews within the area; personal and family experience and relations with the Jewish community; the place, importance, and activities of the Jewish community, and its location;
- Disintegration of the CSR; birth of the independent Slovak state, and the impact of these events on the relationship between Jew and non-Jew people, and on the Jewish community; implementation of anti-Jew regulations within the area (wearing of yellow stars, prohibitions restricting movement, taking away of property, deportations, help provided to Jews, the fate of Jewish property after deportations);
- The situation after liberation: the return of Jewish neighbours home; the reactions of the majority population;
- The reflection of lived and observed events in the post-war period and at present, their communication and evaluation.

Before the next meeting, the pre-interviews were compiled in the form of a summary, designating the parts where it was necessary to complete or explain the information. Together with biographical information about respondents, the pre-interview served as a tool for the second interview.

During the second interview and its video recording by a professional team, the chronology and the structure of the first interview were followed. Each respondent had enough time to formulate his/her testimony, and could return to the events already described, provide further explanations, or complete his/her first version. The researchers intervened in the testimonies with additional, more detailed questions.

#### FIRST FINDINGS

The study of testimonies is at its beginning. The first findings concern the circumstances and the course of the research, description of the group of respondents, and responses to two questions: *why* they were willing to take part in the research, and *what* they remembered, what information their testimonies contained. Naturally, the contents and the extent of witnesses' memories, knowledge, and experience depended on their age.

With regard to age, the respondents formed three basic groups: 1. Adults in the reference period (single or married); 2. Teenagers at the age of 12–17 years; and 3. Children under 12 years. The group of respondents with whom we recorded the second interview consisted of twelve men and thirteen women born between 1920 and 1937. Fourteen of them came from towns, and the rest lived in the countryside. It is by coincidence that this group is balanced in terms of gender. On the other hand, *religion* seemed to be a serious reason why respondents decided to take part in the research, which was manifested in their statements during the interview and in the overall contents of their testimonies.

None of the respondents provided an explicit explanation *why* he/she decided to become part of our research. This information resulted from their narration. All respondents declared their close or even friendly contacts with their Jewish neighbours. Their co-existence was characterised by everyday contacts, help, spending of spare time, children playing together, or work relations.

The quality of co-existence with Jewish neighbours was the reason why they decided to provide testimony. They wanted to present information about people who do not live in their locality anymore. The decisive factor for their participation in the research was their religion. The majority of respondents claim affiliation to non-Catholic churches: evangelical, orthodox, and Greek-Catholic ones. This fact determined their lives in the wartime Slovak state, and motivated them to give testimonies. As members of religious minorities, they were the target of discrimination and intimidation by local political authorities, local organisations of the Hlinka Guards (HG),<sup>7</sup> and by the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church and part of their fellow citizens. The narrations contained formulations, such as: "...guardsmen told us: you'll be next after the Jews", memories of deceit by teachers and classmates at school, intimidation of parents by guardsmen, warnings against helping Jews, etc.

#### TESTIMONIES OF WITNESSES

Thanks to their friendly relationships with the local Jews, respondents provided detailed information on their co-existence, on the way of life of their Jewish neighbours, on their family ties and overall activities within the locality. The description of the situations depends not only on the age of the witnesses, but also on their personal dispositions. We can learn from their narrations about the names of Jewish families, the individual members of these families, their position within the area, professions. The memories vary according to the size of the settlement, size of the Jewish community, and also according to the confession of the majority. They bring a picture of villages where several Jewish families usually lived and were often relatives. Their economic situation was usually similar to the one of non-Jewish inhabitants – they earned money for living as farmers, door-to-door salesmen, or owners of often the only shop within the area. They differed from their non-Jewish neighbours by their attitude towards education and the way of life which was determined by their religion. The contemporary picture of towns presented in the testimonies highlights the importance of the Jewish middle class in Slovakia at the turn of the 1930s and 1940s.

The witnesses also remembered expressions of anti-Jew sentiments (the marking of Jews, taking away of their property, deportations, and auctions of Jewish property) at the local level. The characteristics of local guardsmen and their behaviour towards Jewish and also non-Catholic citizens were ambivalent. The members of the local HG,

<sup>7</sup> Hlinka Guards were a semi-military armed organisation of the HSLS, legalised in Autumn 1938. It was the power authority of the totalitarian regime.

designated as “local aggressors” by E. Nižňanský (2005), were direct executors of the anti-Jew state policy in Slovak villages and towns. They guarded public order, publicly demonstrated their power, were involved in the taking away of Jewish non-movable property, took Jews to transports, and assisted in the public sale of Jewish movable property after deportations. In some cases, the witnesses emphasise that it were new-comer guardsmen who behaved negatively, not the local ones. The picture of local guardsmen is quite ambiguous: on one hand, they are described as people from poorer Catholic families, or as people without scruples who were not hiding their interest in obtaining Jewish property. What we frequently hear is that thanks to their position in the HG the guardsmen received Jewish shops and houses. On the other hand, there are mentions of various forms of help by local guardsmen or state officers to persecuted Jews: on the way they organised escapes of Jews, supported resistance playing a double game, or left for the mountains and joined the Slovak National Uprising.

All recorded memories prove that the members of the local community *were aware* of who were active guardsmen, who took Jewish property, who executed deportations, who organised auctions of Jewish property, and who bought it. Respondents from smaller towns and villages mention the names of local guardsmen and their concrete acts. Deportations represent an important topic of witnesses’ recollections – the period before deportations, the last meetings with their Jewish neighbours, what they said, what were their ideas about their further fates. The parents of many witnesses provided friendly services to their Jewish friends – took into custody part of their property, or bought it so that they had money for travelling. Some testimonies contain information on helping Jewish neighbours to escape from the town or village, on providing them shelter in the village or outside of it, on getting false documents or certificates of baptism. The course of deportations was the turning point of the interview in many respondents. They personally saw how guardsmen (local or foreign) took their neighbours, classmates and friends away – by foot, on horse carriages belonging to local farmers, on trucks or buses – to the gathering point or to the closest railway station. Information about the direction of the route varied, and it is hard to figure out whether it was knowledge only obtained after the war.

The witnesses provide very detailed descriptions: the gathering of Jews at squares, and their escorting by armed guardsmen and also civilians from their homes. Many witnesses tell the names of the deported and deporting persons, but most of them refused the names of the guardsmen because their children and grandchildren still lived in their village or town.

The descriptions of the confiscation of Jewish property and of the robbing of Jewish houses and farms, as well as the descriptions of the auctions of Jewish property after deportations constitute an important part of respondents’ recollections. When asked about the confiscation of Jewish houses, businesses, or shops, the witnesses more or less agree that such property was in the majority of cases taken away by guardsmen and active pro-regime officers.

In their testimonies, the respondents sometimes state that they do not remember what happened with Jewish shops. With additional questions we found out that the respondents differentiated between “party” confiscation of property carried out by guardsmen of merit and confiscation of the property of “common” people. As stated in the interview by a son of a confiscator, Jewish shops were closed after deportations. At a later stage, Christians willing to run them could apply for obtaining such shops. His father did the same, at the initiative of the Jewish owner himself. It is evident that he did not consider such agreed procedure as actual confiscation. He fails to think about the relationship between the confiscation of property and the deportation of former owners. Other testimonies also suggest that the confiscation of property is fixed in witnesses’ memories as political games, and in their minds it frequently followed deportations, though in reality they preceded them.

The situation after deportations is remembered more often. Jewish homes and shops were sealed, but became the target of looting. This happened usually at night, and we therefore received only mediated information: what the inhabitants of the area told to each other.

The descriptions of the public sale of Jewish property are numerous. The auctions were called publicly, and happened at public places directly in front of Jewish houses. Employees of the tax office, with the assistance of local guardsmen, auctioned furniture, cloths, or kitchenware at plain sight. Respondents could see who was selling and who was buying the goods. They described and commented upon these situations in different ways, with smaller or greater understanding of those who were buying the items. According to some testimonies, the auctions were not attended by local people, but by people from the surroundings or socially weaker groups of people.

The period of return of Jewish inhabitants to their town or village after the end of the war is in most cases referred to with a statement that nobody from the local Jewish inhabitants returned to their homes after the war. According to some other witnesses, if anybody returned at all, they did not stay there for long. Jewish neighbours who survived the Holocaust usually started their new lives after the war in larger cities. Some respondents say that the Jews from their villages/towns emigrated to the United States or to Israel. Those who had had friendly relations with their Jewish neighbours before the war maintained contacts with them also after the war, mainly by correspondence. The fate of the confiscated property of local Jews remained unknown to our respondents. It was obscured by Communist nationalisation after February 1948.

The final part of every interview concerned the post-war fates of local guardsmen. The most frequent replies stated that “the guardsmen threw away their uniforms” and continued living in the same town or village.

According to the witnesses, some guardsmen joined the Communist Party and became active Communists. The respondents often state that the guardsmen – actors



of confiscations and deportations – were not punished for their acts and for their behaviour towards Jews and other citizens during the existence of the Slovak state.

The replies to the question on handing over the lived experience and events during the wartime Slovak state were more or less identical. Most respondents talk about their experience only with their contemporaries who lived in that period. A small number of respondents affirmed that they talk about their experience with their younger family members.

#### SUMMARY

The first research of the representations of the Holocaust in Slovakia among the oldest generation of the non-Jewish population by means of oral history method was launched in 2011. Partial results are brought by the contents presented by this generation – not in the form of spontaneous inter-generational communication, but through information about contemporaries or as part of the research; the eye-witnesses of the given period formulated their memories for the first time after decades.

An important finding of the research is the reason why the witnesses decided to give testimony. The group of interviewed people does not constitute a representative sample, but has something else in common – affiliation to non-Catholic churches (evangelical, Greek-Catholic, and orthodox). It is also people declaring their positive or even friendly relationships with their Jewish neighbours in the respective historic period. The following topics can be extracted from the testimonies as those described in a more comprehensive manner:

- Personal and family relationships with Jewish neighbours (including a comparison with the situation before 1939 in the case of the oldest age category);
- The expressions of anti-Jewish sentiments and the execution of anti-Jewish regulations at the local level (confiscation and auctions of Jewish property, deportations);
- Acts of the representatives of the state and political power and local elites;
- Situation after the end of the war – the return of Jewish neighbours, the fates of guardsmen;
- The communication of lived experience in the post-war period and at present.

The contents of the obtained responses undermine certain stereotypes concerning the period of the wartime Slovak state and the Holocaust in Slovakia.

Stereotype 1: The independent Slovak state represented an opportunity for a “Slovak becoming the master in Slovakia”. The recollections of non-Catholic people tell about intolerance, intimidation, and social discrimination. They often mention the unequal status of Catholics and non-Catholics in the Slovak society of that period.

Stereotype 2: Rich Jews impoverished Slovaks. Most witnesses present the pictures of Jews as small and middle peasants or as traders who played an important economic role in the local economy. The reflections of everyday communication highlight a higher literacy rate in Jews and their positive attitudes towards education.

Stereotype 3: The fates of Jews during the Holocaust were unknown to the general population; Slovaks did not know what was done to Jews and by whom.

The testimonies provide descriptions of the execution of anti-Jew regulations (the wearing of yellow stars, marking of shops, confiscation, deportations, and auctions of Jewish property after deportations) at the local level, i.e. detailed depictions of situations, actors, including dialogues between actors. Some of these situations could be observed at public spaces of towns and villages by actively or passively involved local non-Jew inhabitants. The local inhabitants were actors and executors – as local guardsmen, notaries, or state employees. The picture of local political authorities and top representatives of the state power and of common guardsmen is ambivalent; on one hand, there are cruel guardsmen confiscating and looting Jewish property; on the other hand, there were guardsmen warning against raids and transports, collaborating with the resistance. The age of the witnesses showed to be a handicap in this regard: as children or young people they watched the different situation as observers; they did not know the background of events in real time and the primary objectives of their actors.

The period after the end of the war and the return of Jewish neighbours home is described in an abrupt manner. The witnesses state that nobody or just a few persons returned. And those who returned did not stay long, and left the village or town after the Communist takeover (1948). Almost all of them agree that they did not stay at home, left for a larger city outside of the territory of Slovakia, and started to return to their home village or town with their descendants after the fall of the Communist regime. Only one respondent affirmed that he was in contact with the local representatives of the Jewish community.

The way of dealing with those who conducted confiscations and deportations by the successor Czechoslovak state after the war was not tackled in the recollections. The witnesses do not remember whether the local guardsmen or confiscators were punished. Apart from some exceptions, they make no spontaneous evaluations or judgements. From the overall group of respondents, only three explicitly and strongly condemned the acts of concrete guardsmen with a statement that they had not been punished for their crimes. The majority of witnesses did not name the guardsmen, though they knew them, respecting their descendants living in the given areas in two or even three generations.

The captured memories and the public representations of Holocaust events in Slovakia are characterised by ambivalent evaluation of the events and by symptoms of silence or even disinterest and elimination of memories. They also bring much evidence on active or passive involvement of non-Jewish inhabitants of Slovakia in these events. The nature of interviews, their course, and the formulation of sentences suggested that it was “hard recollections”. The respondents rarely admitted explicitly that what happened to their Jewish neighbours contradicted their own morale and values. The fact that they are aware (at present) that they were part of inhumane

processes leading to the genocide of Jews is apparent from the context of their testimonies and non-verbal expressions. Though the respondents involved in the research represent only one (very specific) part of the “silent majority” which formed the “Holocaust environment” (Nižňanský 2005: 7), these circumstances highlight the fact that also non-Jewish witnesses of the wartime Slovak state and the Holocaust in Slovakia are traumatised by this experience. Their memories of the period of the totalitarian regime of the Slovak state are also influenced by their experience with another – Communist – totalitarian regime, and by the present patterns and policies of remembering this historic period in our country.

If we base our assumptions on the psychological understanding of collective memory (where the past predestines the presence), the key role is played by the analogy between collective trauma and the trauma of an individual. A traumatic event – in our case confrontation with one’s own life at times of a totalitarian regime involved in the genocide of its Jewish population – shook the cognitive and moral frameworks which constitute part of the respondents’ identity and culture.

M. Halbwachs (Halbwachs 1992) remarks that collective memory always consists of concrete acts of individuals’ recollections which are defined by the social networks of memory. American sociologist Neil J. Smelser also affirms that the bearers of cultural (collective) trauma are individuals who form it with the language of commonly shared culture. If such trauma were to become public, it must become the subject of “public narrative work of authorities” wishing that such shared trauma acquire public importance. Hence, the transformation of private trauma to a public one is a long process full of conflicts where various groups fight for meanings attributed to the traumatic event. Such struggles are a natural part of what is called “the policy of memory” or “the policy of recollections” (Smelser 2004: 31-59).

When I observe the contemporary society of Slovakia from the perspective of the concept of collective/cultural trauma, I can affirm that the public discourse entails formalised procedures – policies of remembering the observed historic period of our history.<sup>8</sup> They affect the current form and contents of the representations of the wartime Slovak state and of the relationships between Jews and non-Jews in the testimonies captured by our research. It is evident that the coping with the past is a long process influenced by several factors. The change of the socio-political conditions in Slovakia after 1989 was just the beginning.

<sup>8</sup> Throughout the year, there are several historic dates in our calendar which represent an opportunity for the implementation of the “policy of memory” – dates related to the existence of the wartime Slovak state, Holocaust Remembrance Days – international (27 January) and national (09 September), etc. The reflection and representations of this historic period are not unambiguous, but are ambivalent (Vrzgulová 2013: 173-181). This fact also affects the contents of the recollections of non-Jewish witnesses captured in our research.

## ADAPTATION OF FAMILIES FORCIBLY DISPLACED UNDER THE ACTION B: THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

*Jolana Darulová*

The central topic of the paper is Action B which was aimed to implement the Communist idea of changing the social structure of the society and adapting it to the needs of the new regime. Action B was supposed to definitely cleanse towns from enemies, and help to solve the housing problem. It was carried out by means of violent displacement of whole groups of inhabitants from both big and smaller Czech and Slovak towns. Action B was carried out from 1952 to 1953, and formed part of controlled activities in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat when the foundations of the Communist regime were laid down (1948–1953). “The new regime was born with the denial, disruption, and liquidation of the principles on which it was built... the destruction of the society entered all fields of social life” (Kaplan 1991: 146). At the same time, it was a period which forced individuals to adapt to the new reality and seek their place in it.

According to Babál (2009: 22), “the displacements of people in the post-war period was nothing uncommon in the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CSR), and were executed back to 1938 (displacement of citizens of Czech nationality shortly after the birth of the Slovak State, or Slovak Republic; later displacement of the Jewish population, and of Germans and Hungarians after the re-birth of the CSR). After the regime change in February 1948, the displacement of persons smoothly followed the previous development, and targeted other groups of inhabitants. We could say that, in a certain way, the population ‘got used’ to displacements executed in the period 1938–1948. It affected farmers, churches (especially the Catholic Church), inhabitants of bordering areas, and others – individuals and their families.”

The atmosphere of fear was enhanced by police arbitrariness, lawlessness, and political processes against individuals or entire groups of people. It was manifested, for example, by the persecution of churches, or was targeted against all believers, and its diverse forms affected the middle class. Private entrepreneurs, owners of factories, and small tradesmen were all liquidated. Those designated as “enemies of the regime” became the target of persecutions. Similar actions were undertaken against private farmers. Collectivisation was the means to re-group the society in rural areas. Cleansing also affected the intelligentsia, called “old or bourgeois intelligentsia”; many officers and teachers lost their jobs, and were moved to remote villages. Action B was preceded or accompanied by three persecution measures: purge of big towns from reactionary forces (from 09 September 1948 to 29 October 1949), Action T-43 (from 03 October 1949, halted after several days; it was supposed to keep people in forced labour camps), and Action “Kulaks” (from November 1952 to September 1953), (Babál 2010: 72).

During a very short time, the social structure of the society which was formed throughout centuries changed completely; “the social positions of classes, social layers, groups, and individuals re-grouped to such a large and substantial extent that they intervened directly or indirectly into the lives of almost all families and individuals. Levelling was a characteristic feature of the development of the society” (Kaplan 1991: 130). The reconstruction of the social system was introduced into the society from outside, and it was contradictory to its natural development and needs. The creation of a new social structure brought new elements into the relationships between people, friends, neighbours, but also inside families, and influenced lifestyles and everyday lives. The result of these changes was the declining prestige of middle classes of former tradesmen and the intelligentsia, and the growing prestige of the working class, the army, and party functionaries (Kaplan 1991: 137).

The aim of this work is to describe the adaptation of affected families to changed political and social conditions. It is about people directly affected by Action B and about their descendants who were forced to move out from their houses, from the place of their domicile to places where they often did not have any social contacts and were forced to accept jobs which did not correspond to their qualification, professional skills, and work experience.

Hypothetically, it can be assumed that on the basis of biographical narrations on the fates of forcibly displaced families it will be possible to define the changes in the social status of middle classes (through the models of the intelligentsia and tradesmen) – from social degradation and search for a new home and job to the acquisition of a new social status in the period of socialism and after 1989. In the period of transition after 1989, it is not possible to clearly and commonly assume a “return to the original positions”, taking into account the too long time period and the generational change in the families that formed the subject of this study.

My interviews focused on two periods: the first one is the period of displacement (1952–1953), and the second one is the period after 1989, i.e. after the change of the political, economic and social conditions to which the studied families adapted themselves.

The first period is characterised by “forced changes”, actual change of people’s domicile and towns, suspension of social ties, and “attributed” social status. This period represents a negative and often traumatising part of family life. The second period is characterised by the possibilities to make decisions on one’s own fate or on the fate of the family. An accompanying element of this period is the fact that the actors changed in almost all cases –people directly involved in Action B were replaced by their descendants who grew up in the period of socialism and could learn about forced displacements only from the narration of their parents.

### ACTION B IN THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Historical literature classifies Action B as punishment without court proceedings. The displacement of “anti-state elements” from bigger and smaller towns of Czechoslovakia was decided by the leadership of the Communist Party back to 09 September 1948 on the basis of Act No. 138/1948 Coll. on Housing Management.<sup>1</sup> Since it has not been possible yet to present the total number of displaced families, the mass character of Action B is documented by the numbers of displaced families from certain towns. For example, 678 families were displaced from Bratislava after having tested the machinery in Komárno with 160 displaced families, and in Martin with 136 families, as well as Žilina with 68 families (Pešek 1998: 122).

The main tasks concerning the preparation and execution of displacements were fulfilled by the Ministry of Interior which collaborated with the State Intelligence Service (ŠTB) and the Central National Committee. The latter managed the displacement of families in Bratislava; in other towns, this function was executed by regional and district national committees. The background documents for the purpose of displacement were prepared by the ŠTB which also justified the need to displace a particular family. The respective documents contained a proposal for displacing a concrete person (man or woman), and stated that person’s age, job, functions held, and other family members. The justification also stated the social background of the person (e.g. small peasant), the previous and the current job (e.g. notary, bank officer, tradesman), functions held in parties and organisations (HŠLS, HG, DP<sup>2</sup>), statement of the employer’s personnel department, as well as the age and position of the husband/wife and children, and the type of flat the family lived in (number of rooms, category). There were also formulations, such as: “The family does not have a positive attitude to our democratic people’s establishment”, or “The personnel department makes no mention whether the named is expendable at his/her workplace”, and especially “Unreliable for the state” (Babál 2009, 2010; Bába 2001; Oravcová 1992; Pešek 1996, 1998).

People from the following categories were supposed to be included in the lists of families to be displaced: “persons and their families investigated for anti-state activities; families whose members fled the country; economic saboteurs; black marketeers; idlers; former millionaires; owners of big businesses; former senior officials of the old capitalistic fascist regime; former members of the Central Office of the State Intelligence Service; exposed elements of the apparatus of Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party, Democratic Party, Hlinka Guards, Gestapo, FS (voluntary Protection Units); families of condemned and punished persons; estate owners; and other similar unreliable persons“ (Babál 2010: 77).

<sup>1</sup> Letter “B” stood for flats (byty), but in reality it was the code name for the persecution of “persons unreliable for the state”.

<sup>2</sup> HŠLS: Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party, HG: Hlinka’s Guards, DP: Deutsche Partei.



The Central National Committee issued a decree, and at a later stage a rigid call specifying the place of assigned domicile. Families had to move out within the set deadline – from 24 hours up to 15 days. In the case of failure to meet this deadline, they had to undergo eviction and official expulsion from the town.

The forced displacement and abandonment of towns comprised assignment of substitute flats to affected families and their entry into the work process. Mainly villages were designated as suitable places for substitute domiciles, and unsuitable places were also listed: “Families from Bratislava should not move to the bordering districts of Western Slovakia” (Oravcová 1992: 19); for other families, Bratislava, Nitra, Žilina, Banská Bystrica, Prešov and Košice were designated as unsuitable. With the delivered decree, the “affected person and his/her family could find new permanent residence in a Slovak village within 8 days; otherwise, the place of stay and of his/her new job was officially ordered” (Báťa 2001: 46). Members of displaced families capable of work were supposed to perform manual work in stone pits, brickworks, lime works, construction industry, forest-products industry, i.e. less important industries. On the other hand, a commission was appointed to distribute vacant flats, “especially for shock-workers, improvers, and other excellent workers of factories, and for employees of the party and state apparatuses” (Babál 2010: 81).

#### **ACTION B IN THE CITIES OF BANSKÁ ŠTIAVNICA AND BANSKÁ BYSTRICA**

A proposal to displace seventeen families was prepared in Banská Štiavnica. As for the justification of the proposal, the description of persons stated several reasons, mainly anti-state activities and economic reasons, such as black-marketing and unpaid taxes. For the sake of anonymity, the persons are tagged with capital letters, and to ensure authenticity, the original content of the decrees is presented below.<sup>3</sup>

BŠ – AB: “former owner of a vinegar production plant; smuggled machinery abroad; in 1948 and 1950, he was arrested for anti-state activities; he has not joined any productive activities so far.”

BŠ – CD: “trader, former co-owner of a bakery; did not pay taxes in 1949 and 1950 at a total amount of CSK 250,000; he was in a forced work camp for 14 months because of black-marketing; made several statements against the democratic people’s republic during public nuisance.”

BŠ – EF: “post-war new rich; gained his wealth by stealing national property; committed the crime of unauthorised possession of weapons, and has the reputation of a hater of the present state establishment.”

BŠ – GH: “post-war new rich; prosecuted for preserving gold used for black-marketing purposes; caused war damage of CSK 100,000 in 1945 by fraud, having cheated the state, and robbed our working class.”

<sup>3</sup> Ministry of Interior of the SR, State Archive in Banská Bystrica; Branch in Banská Štiavnica, Archives of the District National Committee in Banská Štiavnica, Security Department, Inv. no. 541, file 463/1951, box K111.

BŠ – CH: “former Aryaniser; manager of H... stores; he often sold better goods to our class enemies and not to our working class, which was discovered repeatedly; strongly supported HG; former member of the HG shock brigade.”

BŠ – IJ: “during the capitalist regime, he was an advocate who always sought to rob workers, as well as small and middle peasants; anti-state activities were observed in his house in 1948 of which he was conscious and for which his two sons were imprisoned.”

BŠ – KL: “post-war new rich; run a trade licence without a permit; committed crime by black-marketing of gold and watches; he exacted various products from workers upon sale of watches, such as fat, butter, bacon, etc., and just after having obtained such products he sold the watches to workers and to small and middle peasants.”

BŠ – MN: “known by the working class in Banská Štiavnica as a saboteur of supply in the period 1944–46 up to 1948; he was sentenced to death by the District People’s Court in XY for collaboration and denunciation of partisans; he has not expressed any positive attitudes to the working class yet.”

BŠ – OP: “former personal secretary of Dr. Lettrich from the Democratic Party; still has the anticipation of capitalist thinking; he is known among our working class and small and middle peasants as their robber; he has not joined any productive work yet, and does not have a positive attitude to our working class.”

BŠ – RS: “criminal proceedings are conducted against her and her husband for the concealment of gold smuggled from abroad and for the collection of food and spirits; her way of thinking is not compatible with the present democratic people’s republic.”

BŠ – TU: “former tradesman, butcher; repeatedly prosecuted for black marketing of meat and wine; opposes the current establishment, and will be tried for anti-state and anti-fascist statements and defamation of the USSR; even today, he manages the socialist sector, and robs meat from the working class, which was found out by the District National Committee.”

BŠ – VZ: “former factory owner; failed to pay taxes at an amount of 1 million crowns, by which he robbed our national economy; he has not taken any position on at least partial payment of the tax, and has not been involved in any productive work yet.”

BŠ – ZŽ: “known as a black marketeer of textile, which was found out repeatedly and for which he was punished by a fine and was also arrested; he robbed textile products from our working class at times when it was not possible to buy them; he was business Aryanasier; always behaves in a condescending manner towards the working class; and prefers elements unfavourable to our democratic people’s republic.”

BŠ – WA: “her husband was in the Democratic Party; collaborated with Gestapo officials in the suppression of the Slovak National Uprising; his wife failed to join the building efforts of our country, and has until recently taken milk for her shepherd dog in various manners.”

BŠ – YA: “in M... he was tried by the people’s democratic court for the denunciation of partisans; as a secretary of the Municipal National Committee he has never been able to take a positive attitude to the working class and to small and middle peasantry; has not been involved in productive work.”

BŠ – BB: “a White Guardsman; his daughter was a Gestapo interpreter after the suppression of the Slovak National Uprising; opposes the present people’s democratic republic, and does not execute his profession of a veterinary doctor anymore.”

BŠ – DF: “known as a profiteer in store B... he was detained for machinations with gold, for which he’ll be condemned; opposes the people’s democratic republic.”

The archive of Banská Bystrica contains several lists (of over 30 pages) which suggest that they were gradually extended. It is also apparent that people to be displaced could appeal against the decision, and that their displacement could be suspended on the basis of investigation.

#### THE FATES OF FAMILIES IN THE PERIOD 1952–1953

In most memories<sup>4</sup> related to forced displacement from towns, we can observe many moments of surprise and despair – none of these families was prepared for such change in their lives. It is documented by stories associated with the delivery of the decision on displacement.

BŠ – CD, 1996: “I was at home alone with my one-year old daughter when they visited us; one of them – a Communist – whose eyes did not show anything good, gave me a piece of paper, saying that my husband is about to move out from the town. And what about me? He responded that he had nothing against me – because I was from a poor working family and I could stay in the town. I didn’t want to return home, there was poverty and I was married, so I naturally followed my husband.”

BB – GEN, 2013: “My father used to tell me: I remember that person who delivered the decision on displacement – he was a secret agent – I still remember his name and the place he lived at. My mother was pregnant and we had to move out within 24 hours. They parked a truck in our yard, and our stuff was thrown to that truck... She thought our neighbours would understand it, but she got disillusioned, they just malevolently stared through the fence... it was envy, because my grandfather owned a store – and had only one assistant... and was already considered an exploiter.”

<sup>4</sup> MEMORIES: *G. J.*, recording from 1996, wife of a person displaced from Banská Štiavnica under Action B; *J. G.*, recording from 2013, daughter of a person displaced under Action B; *P. J.*, recording from 2013, daughter of a person proposed to be displaced from Banská Štiavnica under Action B; *G. P.*, recording from 2013, son of a person displaced from Banská Bystrica under Action B; *Hauser Ernest*, from the publication *Štiavničan*, son of a person displaced from Banská Štiavnica under Action B; *YX.*: from the publication *Memories of Persecuted Persons*, son of a person displaced from Banská Bystrica under Action B; *A. E.*, recording from 2013, son of a person displaced from Banská Bystrica under Action B.

BŠ – CH, 2013: “It happened in 1952; we were supposed to move out from Štiavnica. We were six siblings, and we had a seriously ill mother. Many actions were undertaken to prevent our displacement...”

Besides written appeals and subsequent summons of affected people, properly archived in the archives of Banská Bystrica, the memories have preserved interesting stories.

BŠ – CH, 2013: “They dressed us, elder girls, in pioneer clothes, and we went to the pioneers’ house in Bratislava, together with my father’s sister, to ask – I think it was Husák – for help, saying that we are many children, our mother is sick, and we don’t know where to go. I remember it very well. And then it was solved somehow and we didn’t have to leave.”

People could take their furniture and cloths from their homes, but their equipment, workshops and stores had to remain untouched. Furniture was carried away by trucks provided by the town, but due to disregardful treatment it got often damaged during transport.

Several families moved into the vacant flats and houses; according to some narrations, it were families of policemen and secret agents.

BB – GEN, 2013: “After we moved out, the store remained furnished, and two or three families of secret agents moved into the living part of our house. They lived in decent conditions, because each of them had one room only. The store was run by the state.”

BB – EE, 2013: “Two families of secret agents moved into our flat – two rooms, a kitchen and a passage without windows. I’d be able to tell you their names.”

#### FURTHER FATES OF FAMILIES IN THE PERIOD OF SOCIALISM

In their new domiciles, mostly men – breadwinners – had to seek a job. Many stories are about “work degradation” and persistent obstacles in their efforts to apply their professional knowledge. Though some of them managed to build a good work career, after some time they had to leave their jobs. This could happen repeatedly.

BB – GEN, 2013: “My grandfather was a qualified trader in Budapest, and my father studied at Business Academy in Vienna, but failed to complete it during the war. My father found a job in manufacturing, for which he received a letter of thanks for having understood it and for having voluntarily joined the production sector. After his return to Bystrica in 1957, he worked as a delivery man, and as soon as he started to perform administrative jobs, they always found something to accuse him of. My father was frustrated... after a certain period of time, the plant committee called him out, and he had to seek job elsewhere.”

BŠ – HE, 2011: “My daddy lived hard years of persecution and homelessness; he couldn’t move into his own house throughout twenty years, and he had to wonder from pub to pub, draw beer and listen to drunkards shouting. In the wet flat in P he got seriously ill. After obtaining a cooperative flat, his parents started to be more relaxed in their old age.”

BŠ – CD, 1996: “After changing several jobs, my husband started to work in a new bakery in B, where we moved and lived in two rooms of a small house in the bakery’s yard with a storage room. My husband was an excellent expert in baking, he loved his job, and would even be happy to sleep in the bakery. Then we moved to a state flat in a new suburb, but we never had the same social level as we had used to have in the town and in our family business that we had had to leave.”

Fear and lack of freedom accompanied forcibly displaced people also during the period of socialism. They continued to be persecuted also in case their families – in spite of being proposed to be displaced – stayed to live in the town.

BŠ – CH, 2013: “My father felt the pressures. He worked as a manager of a textile store, and my mum worked there as a shop assistant. A chimney sweeper came once and cleaned our chimney. Then they came to tell us that the store was in fire, and accused my father of negligence. Though he presented all required documents, he was sentenced to two years of imprisonment, and his property was confiscated. Certainly, he appealed against this decision, but then he received documents declaring him state enemy, and he was sentenced to six years of imprisonment. And they came to rob whatever we had. They took our weekend house, the best pieces of our furniture, and the dowry prepared for girls... it was terrible.

My father spent six years in prison. Once released, he appealed against this ruling and was pardoned in Prague. After his rehabilitation, they gave us some crowns as a compensation for our confiscated property, but it was a ridiculously small amount compared to what they took from us.

People from Štiavnica remember that when Mr. Ch died a couple of years later, his seriously ill wife shouted at the funeral: “The Communists killed him!”

Children usually suffered as a result of the business background of their parents and were prevented studying at selected schools for personal reasons.

BŠ – CH, 2013: “As elder children we could study at secondary school; I studied at an eleven-year school (formerly grammar school), and my sisters rather chose to study at a vocational school. But neither me, nor my other sister could study where we wanted to... this happened after my father was sentenced to prison. I applied for medicine studies, but I was always rejected because of the negative personal assessment report.”

BB – EE, 2013: “My sister was forced to study as a bricklaying apprentice... just a bricklaying apprentice. She wanted to study at a grammar school, but they didn’t want to send the documents from Bystrica. A good friend of us helped us. I went to study construction engineering at university. I managed to get there because there was a high demand for specialists in this sector.”

The returns to the towns from which the families were “expelled” often meant a life-long trauma to them.

BŠ – CD, 1996: “We gradually got used to such living conditions; I just thought sometimes, when my husband was returning to the town from which he was

expelled and was visiting the house which we had to leave, that he was going to a town where people didn’t want him.”

BB – GEN, 2013: “Our family was strongly tied to our town, they ran business there for about 150 years; my grand-grandfather had a butcher’s shop... they were very happy when they could return.”

BB – EE, 2013: “My mother suffered from that, but was convinced that it was just a temporary situation. At the end, they were able to return after twenty years, and it was my merit.”

The fates of some families show that they did not give up and sought to return to their homes. In some cases, those who constantly asked for such possibility in writing, managed to get back.

BB – GEN, 2013: “After several appeals, we could return to our house in Banská Bystrica; after some time, they started to pay to us a symbolic rent for the store which belonged to Zdroj.”

BŠ – EH, 2011:<sup>5</sup> “My father wrote a request after request to get back our (own) house where two members of the public police lived at that time. My parents urgently needed money and a shelter. My dad received a letter from a writer living in Štiavnica saying that he would buy the house. We were all driven to the wall.... Our ‘family council’ decided to sell the house together with its inhabitants. The writer agreed and the house was sold far below its normal price. He immediately got rid of the tenants (policemen), and lived in the house on his own and with his family.”

#### IMPROVEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION

What were the further fates of families? In what period did the situation change for the better, and what decisions and actions preceded such improvement? According to expert literature, certain relief from persecutions could be observed in connection with the process of renewal in the period 1963–1969.

BB – GEN, 2013: “There was a certain relief in 1965; we could write letters to our father’s brother who worked as Coburk’s secretary and left for Germany during the war. My father planned to visit him that year, and I followed him in 1968.”

#### THE FATES OF FAMILIES AFTER 1989

The studied families lived the period after 1989 in different ways – one group of families which were deprived of their property sought to have it back through restitutions (successfully in most cases), and the families which managed to get their flats or houses back in the previous period did not need to be involved in the process of restitutions. Where the house was connected with a workshop or a store, restitutions could apply for having their facilities back and for the restoration of their family business.

<sup>5</sup> Hauser, E., c.d., p. 160.



BB – EA, 2013: “My father made all efforts to return to the flat from which they had to move out. He even wrote a letter to Široký (former Prime Minister). He thought he would find justice. But it was over... The prosecutor’s office and the regional party committee.... and then 1968 came, and we thought there would be rehabilitation, but it was all over.”

BB – GEN, 2013: “The return to the store was very interesting. I came to the store as its owner, and the store manager asked me in a quite arrogant way: ‘What do you want here?’ I told her I would take over this house, and she almost fell into the couch, saying: ‘For God’s sake, let us work here.’ And this is how I, an unemployed person, became capitalist. Fortunately, my father lived until his property was given back to him – I still remember him sitting under an apple tree in bloom in a May garden – and he died in June.”

Restitutions also involved people who lost their property for many other reasons (e.g. by nationalisation, confiscation during imprisonment, etc.).

## CONCLUSION

With regard to the reference periods, the conclusions of researches concern three thematic areas. The first one covers the circumstances of forced displacement accompanied by loss of domicile, home, and job. This period is characterised by a change in the general social status of families, and is connected with the feeling of being persecuted. The political control over families made decisions on their own fates impossible: they could neither settle in bigger towns, nor use their qualifications. Fathers of families were often forced to change their jobs and place of their residence. The fates of families also affected the professional lives of children.

The second thematic area is the relief and improvement of the social situation of families associated with different circumstances: in most cases, the return of flats or houses to which some families moved in after various periods of time – 5 to 20 years; and the period of political relief around the years 1964–1969 when families could establish written and personal contacts with their relatives living abroad. However, the situation concerning forced displacements remained unresolved.

The third thematic area concerns the efforts of families to get their property back – residential houses and flats, as well as expropriated shops or workshops for which they could apply under the restitution process after 1989.

It can be generalised that it is a sensitive topic even today, accompanied by feelings of grievance in informants, and sometimes by persistent fear. Memories marked by emotions concern mainly those families which left not only their flats or houses under Action B, but also their shops and operations which were often founded by their predecessors and in which several generations had worked for long decades.

Our informants who had seemingly managed to cope with the fates of their own families expressed their unwillingness to remember that period, and confirmed that they had never informed their descendants about these realities.

## SUMMARY

*Daniel Luther*

This publication is about the adaptation to social changes in Slovakia after the collapse of the Communist regime in 1989 along with the democratisation of society and introduction of open market economy. This period is known as postsocialism, which means not only a new stage in the development of the society, but also continuity with the previous stage (both social and cultural one). What is questionable are the time limits, the methodological focus and the extent of knowledge in works on postsocialism published so far. M. Burawoy and K. Verdery (1999: 1) affirm that conventional images of postsocialism are mainly based on the analysis of changes at the macro-level, and the changes at the micro-level are theoretically evaluated to a very small extent. In her introductory chapter, S. G. Lutherová comes to a similar opinion from the ethnological perspective:

“Postsocialism is an ambiguous concept which is hard to grasp when analysed, often ideologised, and also hard to define in social practice. The research of social changes must therefore analyse the phenomena profoundly and in a complex way, while taking into consideration the relations, conflicts and ambivalence between the macro- and the micro-levels. A detailed examination of social processes and their reflections in the lives of individuals therefore requires a focused qualitative field research.”

It is precisely this method which was chosen by the authors of this publication. They avoid the uncertain term 'postsocialism', though the comparison with the socialist period was inevitable in some topics. Instead of 'postsocialism', we talk about 'social changes after 1989', which does not refer to the social phase, but rather to the process of changes which gradually changed people’s attitudes and strategies. When preparing the concept of the publication, we preferred the ethnographic method of information collection from individuals (actors) who evaluate the process of adaptation through their own experience.

From the sociological point of view, adaptation is understood as a process and the result of the process of changes within a structure of social groups, organisations, culture and behaviour. It contributes to survival and to the functioning or maintaining of balance with the social and natural environments (Petrušek 1996: 40). A. Giddens also links adaptation to social changes (basic social institutions), observed in the framework of the development of the human society. In this wide context, the term 'adaptation' has little value, because, unlike in biology, its precise meaning is not clearly defined (Giddens 1989: 649-671). From the point of view of anthropology, adaptation means an increase in similarity, and is accompanied by a wide range of

social interactions (Glick 2008: 1). This term acquired an important meaning in the research of acculturation as one of the processes of cultural change as a result of direct and uninterrupted contact between groups of individuals from different cultures. The extent of adaptations contains the modifications and re-interpretations of accepted cultural features, modifications or parallel use of own cultural models, emergence of leftovers from the past, and shifts in the cultural focus. Adaptation is when the original and accepted (foreign) cultural features are combined in a functioning cultural whole (Redfield – Linton – Herskovits 1936: 151, 152). Adaptation may or may not reflect identification or lead to assimilation.

The chapters of this book confirmed these theoretical assumptions. In individual cases, adaptation mechanisms are characterised by the following stages: acceptance of foreign or new cultural elements – their modification – refusal – shifts in the cultural focus. For example, Alexandra Bitušíková, through an anthropological analysis of people's approaches and attitudes to the culture of food and food practices affirms a fast-developing area of new lifestyles and preferences in Slovakia, highlighting one of the routes of people's adaptation to globalisation:

“New approaches to food are the response to globalisation and related phenomena. The import and consumption of food from global chain stores and the application of global food patterns (such as *fast food*) provoked a reaction in seeking alternative forms of subsistence and nutrition which are considered more prospective in terms of sustainability. Hence, globalisation has brought along not only global products in the form of food and eating habits, but also the patterns of alternative sources and ideals of an alternative lifestyle.”

In his analysis of authenticity of Indian ethnic medicine also practiced in the Slovakia, Ivan Souček affirms the adaptation of this cultural phenomenon to the social environment:

“The existence of global Ayurveda, in my opinion, is a clear evidence of the fact that the medical teaching originating from the ancient history of India is still alive. It acquires forms which are understandable and acceptable to large groups of people. Its current form fully reflects the demands of the modern society. It responds to the social and cultural needs of the surroundings in an organic way, and develops and is updated as a living organism.”

With regard to the new culture of labour whose acceptance by employees in a multi-national corporation was examined by Katarína Košťalová, the process of adaptation is characterised as follows:

“It is inevitable to adapt to new technologies, global standards and information systems, which changes the style of work. In the process of adaptation, it is necessary to change thinking, and the faster individuals or groups understand change and get positively motivated, the easier they can adapt. By creating an

organisation with a transparent structure, the demands for the work regime, the way of making decisions, work discipline and responsibility have increased. The adaptation process as such runs at the social and work levels which are mutually interlinked.”

If social groups accept a new cultural phenomenon, the process of adaptation is relatively fast. The opposite is true about the processes of social adaptation where individuals are integrated in a new or changed social environment, like migrants from Vietnam whose adaptation is part of their life. Miroslava Hlinčíková focused on the research of their social integration, and also tackled the issue of cultural adaptation linked to migration. The way of their adaptation to the changing conditions after 1989 (introduction of the market economy, loss of jobs, Act on Foreigners) is associated with ethnic stereotypes in the society, though the author sought to eliminate this perspective:

“Many Vietnamese started to run business as retailers in the 1990s, since it was one of the few possibilities to stay legally in Czechoslovakia. This tendency of the Vietnamese (and other migrants) to run retail businesses can be considered a partially forced strategy of staying in the country. By obtaining a trade licence, they acquired a temporary residence permit for the purpose of conducting business, and hence the possibility to reside in Slovakia. At the same time, they sought to use a new chance and tried to succeed in a new field.”

The adaptation of (not only) Vietnamese migrants directly relates to the process of incorporation. The expected inclusion of migrants in the economic area, especially in the labour market, is considered by the author as a fundamental and essential integrating social mechanism. However, social incorporation and adaptation is usually a long-term process in these cases.

Certain socio-cultural ambivalence is also entailed in public discourse about non-heterosexual partnerships and relationships. It is a phenomenon which is globally expanding, but its acceptance has strong social parameters. Vendula Wiesnerová focused on the activists from the LGBTI movement in Slovakia who decided to address issues concerning their civil and legal position:

“The civil society development after 1989 resulted in the creation of an activist network of organisations and associations which joined the process of raising public awareness and formulating requirements with the aim to achieve better acceptance of LGBTI people through the modification of civil rights. This prolonged the process of adaptation of the society to the acceptance of new forms of gender expressions, coexistence, partnership and family, which are mainly disseminated by people identifying themselves with any of the categories referred to by the abbreviation LGBTI movement, has recently brought concrete results.”

In spite of that, it cannot be concluded that the process of adaptation is over. The new civil rights agenda still raises negative reactions in the society, among the representatives of state institutions, and in the conservative Catholic environment in Slovakia.

The social adaptation directly affected, sometimes repeatedly, the workers of companies which underwent the process of transformation from socialist state enterprises to other forms of ownership. Katarína Košťalová describes this phase of changes as follows:

“The change and the subsequent adaptation was something unthinkable for the employees of the wood factory Bučina which was one of the most important companies in the country, as they had no experience and knowledge. The period of adaptation to the new conditions was very complicated and painful for employees.

The worst period was the period of fears born from feelings of uncertainty, fears of the future, and the lack of information about what was happening.”

Social changes, the period of transformation and the need or the necessity of adaptation are associated with the anxiety stemming from something unknown, from the loss of security and of the ownership of “their” business and other fixed stereotypes.

The social changes which occurred in the 20th century cannot be compared one to each other. The vulnerable groups of citizens changed depending on the ideological orientation and character of the social regime. The fear in the periods of totalitarian and democratic regimes had very different, but also some common features. Similar fears of losing a job and of an unknown future for (not only) Bučina employees after 1989 were also experienced by Czech citizens and employees after the fascist forces gained control over Slovakia. Their fear, however, had other reasons. The legislative measures and processes implemented by the Slovak government in the period of the Slovak Autonomy (October 1938 – March 1939) bear all signs of social exclusion. The Czechs faced a hateful chauvinist propaganda, they were terrorised, laid off, expelled, and most of them displaced from Slovakia to the fascist protectorate at the end. The fear experienced by the Jews was multiplied by their struggle for life. Fear during the fascist regime was also felt by their non-Jewish fellow citizens. Monika Vrzgulová summarises her in-depth research among the group of witnesses of the Holocaust as follows:

„They also bring much evidence on active or passive involvement of non-Jewish inhabitants of Slovakia in these events. The nature of interviews, their course, and the formulation of sentences suggested that it was 'hard recollections'. The respondents rarely admitted explicitly that what happened to their Jewish neighbours contradicted their own morale and values. The fact that they are aware (at present) that they were part of inhumane processes leading to the genocide of Jews is apparent from the context of their testimonies and non-verbal expressions.”

As she further states, coping with the past is a long-term process, and the change of the social and political conditions after 1989 enabled to launch a public discussion on trauma which accompanies not only them, but the society as a whole even today.

Fear was also part of the Communist social change. In the 1950s, the society was cleansed from 'enemies of the regime'. The atmosphere of fear was enhanced by

police arbitrariness, lawlessness, and political processes, as well as punishments without trials targeted against selected individuals, their families, or entire groups of people. Jolana Darulová focused on the victims (and descendants) of an action through which police forces were supposed to displace 'state enemies' from larger towns. She collected the memories of people who evaluated the consequences of Action B from the perspective of the past and the present. Also this chapter deals with the problem of coping with the past:

“It can be generalised that it is a sensitive topic even today, accompanied by feelings of grievance in informants, and sometimes by persistent fear. Memories marked by emotions concern mainly those families which left not only their flats or houses under Action B, but left also their shops and operations which were often founded by their predecessors and in which several generations had worked for long decades.”

The society change after 1989 was accompanied by various forms of social and cultural adaptation leading to social and cultural changes. The examination of some of the topics of this monographic publication highlights not only the new kind of urban-ethnological research in terms of knowledge, but also the methodological crux of the research of the post-socialist period. S. G. Lutherová concludes her initial chapter with the statement:

“Individuals stand in the middle of social change and social transformation is reflected in their everyday lives, changes in lifestyles, paths and perspectives. The task of urban ethnology or anthropology is therefore not only to immerse in social processes, but also to know better both the parallel and contradictory relations and tensions.”



## Literatúra

Aktivisti odkazujú Ficovi: Homosexuálov nefinancujte zo štátneho. *Topky.sk*, 6. 2. 2013. Online: <http://www.topky.sk/cl/100535/1339571/>

ALAMGIR, A. *Bureaucratic Disgruntling and Intimate Interventions: Vietnamese Trainees and Temporary Workers in (the Care of) State-Socialist Czechoslovakia*. Dostupné na: <http://www2.asanet.org/sectionchs/09conf/alamgir.pdf> [3.10.2012]

AMILIEN, Virginie. 2005. Preface: About Local Food. *Anthropology of food* [Online], 4 May 2005, online since 01 May 2005, <http://aof.revues.org/305>; prístup 30. 7. 2013.

ASSMANN, Jan. 2001. *Kultura a paměť. Pismo, vzpomínka a politická identita v rozvinutých kulturách starověku*. Praha.

BABÁL, M. 2009. Akcia B („byty“) v Bratislave. In: *Pamäť národa*, 2009, roč. V, 3, s. 22-38.

BABÁL, M. 2010. Akcia B („byty“) v Bratislave. In: *Pamäť národa*, 2010, roč. VI, 2, s. 72-84.

BALAŽ, V. – WILLIAMS, A. M. 2005. Vietnamese Community in Slovakia. In: *Sociológia*, roč. 37, č. 3, s. 249-273.

BARNARD, A. – SPENCER, J. 2002. *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. New York: Routledge.

BÁŤA, Ľ. 2001. Akcia B – „Očista miest“. In: F. Mikloško, G. Smolíková, F. Smolík (zost.), *Zločiny komunizmu na Slovensku 1948:1989*. I. Prešov.

BAUMAN, Z. 2004. *Individualizovaná spoločnosť*. Praha: Mladá fronta.

BAUMAN, Z. 2008. *Tekuté časy. Život ve věku nejistoty*. Praha: Academia.

BAUMAN, Zygmund. 1999. *Globalisace. Důsledky pro člověka*. Praha: Mladá fronta.

BITUŠÍKOVÁ, Alexandra – LUTHER, Daniel. 2010. Slovenské mesto v etape globalizácie: antropologická identifikácia problematiky. In: Alexandra Bitušíková, Daniel Luther (eds.), *Kultúrna a sociálna diverzita III. Globálne a lokálne v súčasnom meste*. Banská Bystrica: Univerzita Mateja Bela – ISKŠ FHV, s. 17-30.

BITUŠÍKOVÁ, Alexandra. 2010. Úvod. In: Alexandra Bitušíková, Daniel Luther (eds.), *Kultúrna a sociálna diverzita III. Globálne a lokálne v súčasnom meste*. Banská Bystrica: Univerzita Mateja Bela – ISKŠ FHV, s. 5-7.

BITUŠÍKOVÁ, Alexandra. 2010. Úvod. In: Alexandra Bitušíková, Daniel Luther (eds.), *Kultúrna a sociálna diverzita III. Globálne a lokálne v súčasnom meste*. Banská Bystrica: Univerzita Mateja Bela – ISKŠ FHV, s. 5-7.

BOURDIEU, P. 2001. The Forms of Capital. In: *Sociology of Economic Life*. Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, s. 96-111.

BROUČEK, S. 2006. Hledání důvěry: vietnamské etnikum v prostředí české majoritní společnosti. In: Uherek, Z.: *Kultura – společnost – tradice II*. Praha: Etnologický ústav AV ČR, s. 131-168.

BRUBAKER, R. 2004. *Ethnicity without Groups*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Londýn: Harvard University Press.

BUERKLE, K. 2004. História občianskeho združovania na Slovensku. In: J. Majchrák, B. Strečanský, M. Bútora (Eds.), *Keď ľahostajnosť nie je odpoveď: Príbeh občianskeho združovania na Slovensku po páde komunizmu*. Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejnú otázku, s. 23-35.

BUMOVÁ, Ivica. 2008. Židovská komunita po roku 1945 – snaha o občiansku a sociálnu rehabilitáciu. In: M. Vrzgulová, D. Richterová (eds.), *Holokaust ako morálny a historický problém v minulosti a súčasnosti*. Bratislava: Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, s. 44-66.

BUMOVÁ, Ivica. 2010. Povojnové pomery židovskej komunity na Slovensku a emigrácia Židov do Palestíny/Izraela v rokoch 1945–1953. In: M. Vrzgulová, P. Salner (eds.), *Reflexie holokaustu*. Bratislava, s. 16-35.

BUNCE, V. 1999. The political economy of socialism. In: *Slavic review*, roč.58, č.4, s. 756-793.

BURAWOY, M. – VERDERY, K. 1999. *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World*. Oxford; Maryland: Rowman&Littlefield.

BÚRIKOVÁ, Z. 2006. Spotreba a výskum reálne existujúceho socializmu. In: *Etnologické rozpravy*, roč.13, č.2, s. 81-91.

BUSCH, Lawrence. 2004. Grades and Standards in the Social Construction of safe Food. In: Marianne Elisabeth Lien, Brigitte Nerlich (eds.), *The Politics of Food*. New York: Berg, s. 163-178.

BÚTORA, M. 2004. Úvod: desať poznámok k pätnástim rokom. In: J. Majchrák, B. Strečanský, M. Bútora (Eds.), *Keď ľahostajnosť nie je odpoveď: Príbeh občianskeho združovania na Slovensku po páde komunizmu*. Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejnú otázku, s. 7-21.

BÚTOROVÁ, Z. – FILADELFIOVÁ, J. – CVIKOVÁ, J. – GYÁRFÁŠOVÁ, O. – FARKAŠOVÁ, K. 2002: Ženy, muži a rovnosť príležitostí. In: I. Mesežnikov, M. Kollár (eds.), *Slovensko 2002. Súhrnná správa o stave spoločnosti 2*. Bratislava: IVO.

BÚTOROVÁ, Z. et.al. 1995. *On a ona na Slovensku. Ženský údel očami verejnej mienky*. Bratislava: FOCUS.

COUNIHAN, Carole. 2009. A Conversation with Carole Counihan. In: Jeff Miller, Jonathan Deutsch (eds.), *Food Studies. In Introduction to Research Methods*. Oxford – New York: Berg, s. 171-175.

DASGUPTA, S. 1952. *A History of Indian Philosophy. Vol. II*. Cambridge: University Press.

DIVINSKÝ, B. 2009. *Migračné trendy v SR po vstupe krajiny do EÚ (2004–2008)*. Bratislava: Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu.

EMERSON, R. M., Fretz, R. I., Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes, Second edition*. Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press.

FERENCOVÁ, Michaela – NOSKOVÁ, Jana. 2009. Kolektívna pamäť v díle M. Halbwachse a J. Assmanna. In: M. Ferencová, J. Nosková (ed.), *Pamäť mesta. Obraz mesta, verejná komemorácia*

a historické zlomy v 19.–21. století. Brno – Bratislava: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, V.V.I., pracoviště Brno, Statutární město Brno, Archiv města Brna – Ústav etnologie SAV, s. 21-31. ISBN 978-80-87112-22-9.

FILADELFIOVÁ, J. – GURÁŇ, P. – ŠÚTOROVÁ, D. 1999: *Rodové štatistiky na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Ministerstvo práce, sociálnych vecí a rodiny SR; Nadácia S.P.A.C.E.; Medzinárodné stredisko pre štúdium rodiny.

FILADELFIOVÁ, J. – GYÁRFÁŠOVÁ, O. – SEKULOVÁ, M. – HLINČÍKOVÁ, M. 2011. *Migranti na slovenskom trhu práce: problémy a perspektívy*. Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejné otázky.

FILADELFIOVÁ, J. 2008: Women, men and the private sphere. In: Z. Bútorová et al. (ed.), *She and He in Slovakia. Gender and Age in the Period of Transition*. Bratislava: IVO, s. 205-235.

FILLIOZAT, J. 1964. *The Classical Doctrine of Indian Medicine*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

GALLO, O. – LENČO, P. 2009. *Čo si myslia mladí*. Bratislava: Iuventa – Slovenský inštitút mládeže.

GIDDENS, A. 2003. *Důsledky modernity*. Praha: Slon.

GILG, Andrew – BARR, Stewart – FORD, Nicholas. 2005. Green Consumption or Sustainable Lifestyles? Identifying the Sustainable Consumer. In: *Futures*, 37 (6): 481-504.

GINDL, E. 2008. Storočie sa skončilo až teraz. In: *SME*. Dostupné na internete: <http://komentare.sme.sk/c/4239154/eugen-gindl-storocie-sa-skoncilo-az-teraz.html> [december 2008]

GLICK SCHILLER, N. – CAĎLAR, A. – GULDBRANDSEN, T. C. 2006. Beyond the Ethnic Lens: Locality, Globality, and Born-again Incorporation. In: *American Ethnologist*, roč. 33, č. 4, s. 612-633.

GLICK SCHILLER, N. – CAĎLAR, A. 2007. *Migrant Incorporation and City Scale: Towards a Theory of Locality in Migration Studies*. Willy Brandt series of working papers in international migration and ethnic relations 2/07.

GLICK SCHILLER, N. – CAĎLAR, A. 2013. Locating Migrant Pathways of Economic Emplacement: Thinking beyond the Ethnic Lens. In: *Ethnicities*. roč. 13, č. 494, s. 493-514.

GLICK SCHILLER, N. – NIESWAND, B. – SCHLEE, G. – DARIEVA, T. – YALCINHECKMANN, L. – FOSZTÓ, L. 2004. *Pathways of Migrants Incorporation in Germany*. In: *Transit* 1 (1).

GLICK, T. F. (2008). Acculturation. In: Thomas Barfield (Ed.), *The Dictionary of Anthropology*. Blackwell Publishing.

GUPTIL, Amy E. – COPELTON, Denise A. – LUCAL, Betsy. 2013. *Food & Society. Principles and Paradoxes*. Cambridge – Malden: Polity Press.

HALBWACHS, Maurice. 2010. *Kolektivní paměť*. Praha: Slon.

HANN, C. M. 2000. *The Tragedy of The Privates? Postsocialist Property Relations in Anthropological Perspective*. Halle: Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology.

HANN, C. M. 2002: Farewell to the socialist other. In: HANN, C. M. (ed.), *Postsocialism*. London: Routledge, s. 1-12.

HANN, C. M. 2007. Anthropology's Multiple Temporalities and its Future in Central and Eastern Europe. In: HANN, Chris (ed.): *Anthropology's Multiple Temporalities and its Future in Central and Eastern Europe. A Debate*. Halle Scale: Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Working Papers, Working Paper No. 90, s. 1-11.

HANN, Chris (Ed.). 2002. *Postsocialism. Ideals, ideologies and practices in Eurasia*. London – New York: Routledge.

HANNERZ, U. 2010. Svet a mesto po páde železnej opony. Meniace sa “miesta významov”. In: A. Bitušiková, D. Luther, D. (eds.), *Kultúrna a sociálna diverzita na Slovensku*. Banská Bystrica: UMB, s. 14.

HANNERZ, Ulf. 1980. *Exploring the city: Inquiries toward an urban anthropology*. New York: Columbia University Press.

HAPALOVÁ, Michaela. 2010. O smútku a hrdinstve (náčrt psychologické reflexie príbehov prvej generácie preživších holokaustu). In: M. Vrzgulová, P. Salner, *Reflexie holokaustu*. Bratislava: Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu – Ústav etnologie SAV, s. 74-93.

HASSANEIN, Neva. 2003. Practicing Food Democracy: A Pragmatic Politics of Transformation. In: *Journal of Rural Studies*, 19 (1): 77-86.

HATCH, Elvin. 1997. Social change. In: Thomas Barfield (Ed.), *The Dictionary of Anthropology*. Blackwell Publishing.

HAUSER, E. 2011. *Štiavničan*. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa. Pamäť národa, 187s.

HILBERG, Raoul. 2002. *Pachatelé, oběti a diváci. Židovská katastrofa 1933-1945*. Praha: Argo.

HLAVINKA, Ján. 2007. *Židovská komunita v okrese Medzilaborce v rokoch 1938–1945*. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa. 281 strán. ISBN 978-80-969296-8-9.

HLAVINKA, Ján. 2011. Korupcia v procese arizácie podnikového majetku. In: *Forum Historiae*, roč. 5, č. 2. [http://www.forumhistoriae.sk/FH2\\_2011/texty\\_2\\_2011/hlavinka.pdf](http://www.forumhistoriae.sk/FH2_2011/texty_2_2011/hlavinka.pdf)

HLINČÍKOVÁ, M. – LAMAČKOVÁ, D. – SEKULOVÁ, M. 2011. *Migranti a migrantky na trhu práce v SR. Prekonávanie bariér diskriminácie*. Bratislava: IVO.

HLINČÍKOVÁ, M. – LAMAČKOVÁ, D. – SEKULOVÁ, M. 2011. *Migranti a migrantky na trhu práce v SR – identifikácia a prekonávanie bariér diskriminácie*. Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejné otázky.

HLINČÍKOVÁ, M. 2010. Sonda do života migrantov z Vietnamu. In: *Sondy do kultúrnej diverzity na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejné otázky, s. 45-66.

HOLÝ, L. 1992: The end of socialism in Czechoslovakia. In: HANN, C., M. (ed.), *Socialism*. ASA monographs 31, London; New York: Routledge, s. 211.

HORSKÝ, D. 1996. Drevospracujúci priemysel. In: V. VANÍKOVÁ (ed.), *Zvolen*. Zvolen: GRADUS, s. 116-118.

HRUŠKA, P. 2011. *Debata o histórii vietnamské migrácie do Československa*. Prístupné na: [http://migraceonline.cz/cz/e-knihovna/debata-o-historii-vietnamske-migrace-do-ceskoslovenska#\\_ftn1](http://migraceonline.cz/cz/e-knihovna/debata-o-historii-vietnamske-migrace-do-ceskoslovenska#_ftn1)

HUMPHREY, C. 2002. Introduction: Postsocialism as a Topic of Anthropological Investigation. In: HANN, C., M. (ed.), *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia*. London: Routledge, s. 12-15.

CHORVÁT, I. 2002: K charakteru rodinných vzťahov v mestskom prostredí na Slovensku. In: CHORVÁT, I. (ed.), *Premeny rodiny v urbánnom prostredí*. Banská Bystrica: Inštitút sociálnych a kultúrnych štúdií; Fakulta humanitných vied; Univerzita Mateja Bela, s. 9-17.

IGLICKA, K. 2005. Labour Migration into Poland. The Case of the Vietnamese Community. In: Spaan, E. – Hillmann, F. – Naerssen, T. (eds.), *Asian migrants and European labour markets. Patterns and processes of immigrant labour market insertion in Europe*. Londýn, New York: Routledge, s. 101-112.

INDA, Jonathan Xavier – ROSALDO, Renato. 2008. Tracking Global Flows. In: J. X. Inda, R. Rosaldo (eds.), *The Anthropology of Globalization. A Reader*. Malden – Oxford – Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, s. 3-46.

Iniciatíva Inakosť (2012). *Podporovateľov registrovaných partnerstiev pribúda, odporcov ubúda*. Online srpen 2012: [http://www.inakost.sk/index.php?page=clanok\\_detail&id=279](http://www.inakost.sk/index.php?page=clanok_detail&id=279)

Inštitút Leva XIII. (2012a). *Rozdelenie KS a KŽ v NRSR*. Online leden 2013: <http://www.instituteofleoxiii.org/content/%C5%A1t%C3%BAdia-kto-v-nrsr-je-za-kult%C3%BAru-%C5%BEivota-kto-za-kult%C3%BAru-smrti-anal%C3%BDza-hlasovania-o-reg-partner>

Inštitút Leva XIII. (2012b). *Rozpočet Úradu vlády SR na podporu Kultúry smrti*. Online leden 2013: <http://www.instituteofleoxiii.org/content/%C5%A1t%C3%BAdia-uv-plat%C3%AD-417-917-eur-na-podporu-kult%C3%BAry-smrti>

ISLAM, N. 2012. New age orientalism: Ayurvedic 'wellness and spa culture'. In: *Health Sociology Review*. Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 220-231.

JACKULIAK, J. 2005. *Bučinári. Spomienky*. Bratislava: FEELING, spol. s.r.o.

JANAS, KAROL. 2008. Židovské obyvateľstvo v Trenčianskej župe a jeho perzekúcia v rokoch 1940–1945. (The Jewish Population in Trenčín County and its Persecution in 1940-1945.) In: *Holokaust ako historický a morálny problém v minulosti a v súčasnosti (Holocaust as a Historical and Moral Problem of the Past and the Present.)* [Ed.] MonikaVrzgulová, Daniela Richterová. Br., ŠEVT pre Úrad vlády SR a Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, s. 104-110, v angl. s. 324-330.

JANOŠEK, J. 2004. Skupinová identita jedince a identita skupiny v procese globalizácie. In: A. Vališová, M. Rymeš, K. Riegel (eds.), *Rozvoj české společnosti v Evropské unii IV. Psychologie a pedagogika. Jedinca a spoločnosť v procese transformácie a globalizácie*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Fakulta sociálnych vied, MATFYZPRESS, s. 182-190.

*Jozef Tiso – Prejavy a články (1913–1938)*. (Zost. Miroslav Fabricius, Ladislav Suško.) Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo AEPRESS 2002.

*Jozef Tiso – Prejavy a články (1938–1944)*. (Zost. Miroslav Fabricius, Katarína Hradská.) Bratislava:

Vydavateľstvo AEPRESS 2007.

*Jozef Tiso – Prejavy a články zv. III. (1944–1947)*. Bratislava: Spoločnosť Pro Historia/Historický Ústav SAV 2010.

KALB, D. 2002. Afterword. In: M. C. Hann (ed.), *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia*. London: Routledge, s. 317-334.

KAMENEC, Ivan. 2004. Slovenská spoločnosť v rokoch 1939–1945. In: *Česko-slovenská historická ročenka*, str. 87-102.

KAMENEC, IVAN. 2008. Fenomén holokaustu v historiografii, v umeleckej tvorbe a vo vedomí slovenskej spoločnosti. (Phenomenon of the Holocaust in Historiography, Art and in the Consciousness of Slovak Society.) In: Monika Vrzgulová, Daniela Richterová [Ed.], *Holokaust ako historický a morálny problém v minulosti a v súčasnosti. (Holocaust as a Historical and Moral Problem of the Past and the Present.)* Br., ŠEVT pre Úrad vlády SR a Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, s. 111-117, v angl. s. 331-339.

KAPFERER, Bruce. 1997. Cultural change. In: Thomas Barfield (Ed.), *The Dictionary of Anthropology*. Blackwell Publishing.

KAPLAN, K. 1991. *Československo v letech 1948–1953. 2. část. Zakladatelské období komunistického režimu*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 146s.

KAPLAN, K. 1992. Akce B – vystěhování „státně nespolehlivých osob“ z Prahy, Bratislavy a dalších měst 1952–1953. In: *Dokumenty o perzekuci a odporu*, sv. 2. Praha.

KARNER, CH. 2007. *Ethnicity and Everyday Life*. Londýn: Routledge.

KAVULIAK, A. 1942. *Dejiny lesníctva a drevárstva na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Lesnícke a drevárske ústredie v Bratislave.

KELLER, J. 2005. *Až na dno blahobytu*. Praha: EarthSave CZ s.r.o.

KELLER, J. 2009. *Nejistota a důvěra aneb k čemu je modernitě dobrá tradice*. Praha: Slon.

KIKA, M. 2011. Riadenie ľudí v čase privatizácie a zahraničného strategického partnerstva. In: *Sociológia*, r. 43, č. 4, s. 391-404.

KLAMKOVÁ, Hana. 2008. Holokaust ako mikrohistória. Príklad Topoľčian a Vranova nad Topľou. In: Monika Vrzgulová, Daniela Richterová [Ed.], *Holokaust ako historický a morálny problém v minulosti a v súčasnosti. (Holocaust as a Historical and Moral Problem of the Past and the Present.)* Br., ŠEVT pre Úrad vlády SR a Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, s. 123-128.

KNOŠKOVÁ, E. – KOLLÁR, V. 2011. Faktory úspešnosti inováčných aktivít firiem pôsobiacich na Slovensku. In: *Ekonomický časopis*, r. 59, č. 10, s. 1067-1079.

KORNAI, J. 1980. *Economics of Shortage*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co.

KOSTINSKYI, G. 2001. Post-socialist cities in flux. In: R. Padison (ed.), *Handbook of urban studies*. London: Sage, s. 451-465.

KOŠTIALOVÁ, K. 2009. *Človek – profesia – rodina. Kapitoly z urbánnej etnológie*. Banská Bystrica: ÚVV UMB.

KUBÁTOVÁ, Hana. 2013. *Nepokradneš! Nálady a postoje slovenské společnosti k židovské*



otázce 1938–1945. Praha: Academia. 268 s. ISBN: 978-80-200-2230-1.

KUŠNÍRAKOVÁ, T. – PLAČKOVÁ, A. – TRAN VU, V. A. 2013. *Vnitřní diferenciacie Vietnanců – pro potreby analýzy segregace cizinců z třetích zemí*. Výzkumná zpráva – rozšířená verze, Ministerstvo pro místní rozvoj, 74 s.

Lajčák na mimovládky zapôsobil. *Pravda.sk*. 6.8.2012. Online: <http://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/247601-lajcak-na-mimovladky-zapôsobil/>

LE GOFF, Jacques. 2007. *Paměť a dějiny*. Praha: Argo.

LIPTÁK, Ľ. 2008. Nепretržitý dejiny. In: Ľubomír Lipták, *Nepre(tr)žitý dejiny*. Bratislava: Q111, s. 57-69.

LUTHEROVÁ G., S. 2010. Before and after: the phenomenon of Czechoslovakia's Velvet

LUTHEROVÁ G., S. 2012. *Spôsob zabezpečenia bývania v procese tvorby domova* (Dizertačná práca). Bratislava: Ústav etnológie SAV; Katedra etnológie a kultúrnej antropológie FIK UK.

MACKO, Martin. 2010. Arizácie židovského majetku v okrese Banská Štiavnica. In: *Arizácie v regiónoch Slovenska*. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave Filozofická fakulta katedra všeobecných dejín – Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, s. 86-109.

MACH, Alexander. 2008. *Z d'alekých ciest*. Martin: Matica slovenská.

MAJERČIKOVÁ, J. 2002: Je súčasná rodina v kríze? In: I. Chorvát, I. (ed.), *Premeny rodiny v urbánnom prostredí*. Banská Bystrica: Inštitút sociálnych a kultúrnych štúdií; Fakulta humanitných vied; Univerzita Mateja Bela, s. 137-143.

MARČEK, E (2004). Financovanie neziskového sektora po roku 1989. In: J. Majchrák, B. Strečanský, M. Bútorá (Eds.), *Keď ľahostajnosť nie je odpoveď: Príbeh občianskeho združovania na Slovensku po páde komunizmu*. Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejné otázky, s. 91-143.

McKIM, M. 1955. Western Medicine in a Village of Northern India. In: D. B. Paul, (ed.), *Health culture and community: case studies of public reactions to health programs*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 239-268.

MILLER, Jeff – DEUTSCH, Jonathan. 2009. Food Studies. In: *Introduction to Research Methods*. Oxford – New York: Berg.

MILTNER, V. 1986. *Lékařství staré Indie*. Praha: Avicenum.

Ministerstvo Spravodlivosti Slovenskej Republiky (2012). *Zápisnica z prvého zasadnutia Výboru pre práva lesbič, gejev, bisexuálnych, transrodových a intersexuálnych osôb*. Online červenec 2013:

<http://www.justice.gov.sk/Stranky/Ministerstvo/Vybor%20pre%20prava%20LGTBI%20osob/Uv od.aspx>

MOŽNÝ, I. 2009. *Proč tak snadno...Některé rodinné důvody sametové revoluce*. (3.vydanie). Praha: SLON.

MRNÍK, A. 1996. Jubileum kombinátu na spracovanie bukovej drevenej hmoty. In: *Drevárska súčasnosť*, r. 7, č. 5, s. 1066-1067.

MRNÍK, A. 2004. Bučina musí modernizovať. In: *Stolársky magazín*, r. 5, č. 11, s. 11.

MUSIL, J. 1993. Changing urban systems in post-communist societies in East Europe: analysis and prediction. In: *Urban studies*, roč.30, s. 889-905.

NESTLE, Marion. 2007. *Food Politics. How the Food Industry Influences Nutrition and Health*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

NESTLE, Marion. 2009. Foreword. In: Melissa L. Caldwell (ed.), *Food and Everyday Life in the Postsocialist World*. Bloomington – Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, s. ix-xii.

NEWCOMBE, S. 2008. Ayurvedic Medicine in Britain and the Epistemology of Practicing Medicine in “Good Faith”. In: D. Wujastyk – M. F. Smith (eds.), *Modern and Global Ayurveda. Pluralism and Paradigms*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp 257-284.

NIŽŇANSKÝ, Eduard – HĽAVINKA, Ján (eds.). 2010. *Arizácie v regiónoch Slovenska*. Acta Historica Posoniensia. Judaica et Holocaustica 2. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave Filozofická fakulta katedra všeobecných dejín – Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu.

NIŽŇANSKÝ, Eduard – HĽAVINKA, Ján (eds.). 2010. *Arizácie*. Acta Historica Posoniensia. Judaica et Holocaustica 1. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave Filozofická fakulta katedra všeobecných dejín – Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu.

NIŽŇANSKÝ, Eduard (ed.). 2005. *Holokaust na Slovensku 7. Vzťah slovenskej majority a židovskej minority (náčrt problému)*. Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku – Univerzita Komenského.

NIŽŇANSKÝ, Eduard. 2001. Slovenská spoločnosť a židovská komunita na Slovensku 1938–1945. In: *Česko-slovenská historická ročenka*, 2001, s. 89-104.

NIŽŇANSKÝ, Eduard. 2005. Majorita a židovská minorita v období holokaustu: poznámky k problematike sociálneho prostredia holokaustu. In: *Národ a národnosti na Slovensku v transformujúcej sa spoločnosti – vzťahy a konflikty*. Prešov: Universum, s. 184-195.

NIŽŇANSKÝ, Eduard. 2005. Typológia vzťahov majoritného obyvateľstva a židovskej minority v období holokaustu. In: *Národnostná politika na Slovensku po roku 1989*. Prešov: Universum, s. 191-204.

NOSKOVÁ, J. 2005: Brněnský disent a jeho pohled na „velké“ dějiny. In: PROFANTOVÁ, Z. (ed.) *Malé dejiny veľkých udalostí*. Bratislava: Ústav etnológie SAV, s. 227-241.

OKÁLI, I. a kol. 2004. *Hospodárska politika Európskej únie a Slovenska v EÚ*. Bratislava: Ústav slovenskej a svetovej ekonomiky Slovenskej akadémie vied.

ORAVCOVA, M. 1992. Správa o očiste. In: *Historická revue*, 1992, č. 2-3.

PATTERSON, T. J. S. 2001. Indian and European practitioners of medicine from sixteenth century. In: G. J. Meulenbeld – D. Wujastyk, (eds.), *Studies on Indian Medical History*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 111-120.

PEŠEK, J. 1996. Vysídľovacie akcie na Slovensku v rokoch 1948–1953. In: *Soudobé dejiny*, 1996, číslo (č.) 1.

PEŠEK, J. 1998. *Odvrátená tvár totality. Politické perzekúcie na Slovensku v rokoch 1948–1953*. Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 383s.

PETRUSEK, M. Adaptace (heslo). Velký sociologický slovník. Praha: Karolinum, vydavatelství Univerzity Karlovy, s. 40.

- PODOBA, J. 2007. Preface. In: F. Pine, J. Podoba, J. (eds.), *Changing Social Practices and Strategies*. Bratislava: Institute of Ethnology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, s. 6-8.
- RÁKOCZYOVÁ, M. – POŘIZKOVÁ, H. 2009. Sociální integrace přistěhovalců – teoretická východiska výzkumu. In: M. Rákočzyová, R. Trbola (eds.), *Sociální integrace přistěhovalců v České republice*. Praha: Slon, s. 23-34.
- RÁKOCZYOVÁ, M. – TRBOLA, R. (eds.). 2009. *Sociální integrace přistěhovalců v České republice*. Praha: Slon.
- REDDY, S. 2002. Asian Medicine in America: The Ayurvedic Case. In: *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 583, pp. 97-121.
- REDFIELD, R. – LINTON, R. – HERSKOVITS, M. 1936. Memorandum for the study of acculturation. In: *American Anthropologist*, roč.3 8, č. 1, s. 149-152.
- Revolution by its “Youngest Witnesses”. In: *Sociológia*, roč. 42, č. 6, s. 671-690.
- RÓNA-TAS, Á. 1997. *The Great Surprise of the Small Transformation: The Demise of Communism and the Rise of the Private Sector in Hungary*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- ROSS, A. I. 2012. *The Antropology of Alternative Medicine*. London: Berg.
- ROSS, P, K. 2011. Telecommunications Deregulation and Privatization in the Czech Republic and Australia. A Comparative Study of Česky Telecom and Telstra. Dostupné na internete: <http://ebooks.narotama.ac.id/files/Emerging%20Themes%20in%20International%20Management%20of%20Human%20Resources/Chapter%20%20%20Telecommunications%20Deregulation%20and%20Privatization%20in%20the%20Czech%20Republic%20and%20Australia>. [jún 2013]
- ROUDOMETOF, Victor. 2003. Glocalization, Space, and Modernity. In: *The European Legacy*, Vol. 8, no. 1, s. 37-60.
- ROY, M. 1986. Āyurveda. In: R. Priyadarajan – S. N. Sen (eds.), *The Cultural Heritage of India, vol. 6: Science and Technology*. Calcutta: Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, pp. 152-176.
- RYMEŠ, M. 1998. Člověk a orgnaizace. In: J. Výrost, J. I. Slaměnik (eds.), *Aplikovaná sociální psychologie*. Praha: Portál. s. 27-56.
- SALNER, Peter. 1997. *Prežili holokaust*. Bratislava: Veda. 189 s.
- SALNER, Peter. 2000. *Židia na Slovensku medzi tradíciou a asimiláciou*. Bratislava: Zing Print.
- SALNER, Peter. 2005. *Cesty k identite*. Bratislava: Zing Print. 240 s.
- SCHMÄDEL, D. – HOCHKIRCHEN, B. 2001. The results of an analysis based on a video of consultation in five ayurvedic medical practices. In: G. J. Meulenbeld – D. Wujastyk (eds.), *Studies on Indian Medical History*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 207-214.
- SIDALI, Katia L. – DÖRR, Andrea, C. – ZULIAN, Aline – RADIC, Ivana. 2013. How Do Slow Food Members Perceive GI-Regimes? Evidence from Germany, Italy and Brasil. In: *CP 101 – Concepts and Institutions in Cultural Property 5/2013*. A Working Paper of the Göttingen Interdisciplinary Research Unit on Cultural Property. Göttingen: Georg-August-Universität.
- SLNEKOVÁ, Veronika. 2010. K osudom židovskej komunity v Trnave v rokoch 1938–1945. Nitra: Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa. 338 s.
- SMITH, M. F. – WUJASTYK, D. 2008. Introduction. In: D. Wujastyk – M. F. Smith (eds.), *Modern and Global Ayurveda. Pluralism and Paradigms*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 1-28.
- SNOW, David, A. – SOULE, Sarah, A. 2010. *A Primer on Social Movements*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- SOPÓCI, J. 2007. *Teória sociálnej zmeny*. Bratislava. Univerzita Komenského Bratislava.
- Spomienky perzekvovaných osôb. In: J. Pešek (ed.), *V tieni totality. Perzekúcie na Slovensku v začiatkoch komunistickej totality (1948 –1953)*. Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 1997. s. 177-216.
- STANISZKIS, J. 2006. *Postkomunizmus. Zrod hádanky*. Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury.
- STEINFÜHRER, A. – HAASE, A. 2007. Demographic change as a future challenge for cities in East Central Europe. In: *Geografiska Annaler, 89 b, č. 2*, s. 183-195.
- SÝKORA, L. 2007. Výzvy postsocialistického mesta. In: *ERA 21*, roč. 7, č. 2, s. 54-57.
- Štatistický prehľad legálnej a nelegálnej migrácie v Slovenskej republike. 1. polrok 2013. Prezidium policajného zboru, Úrad hraničnej a cudzineckej polície. Online na: [http://www.minv.sk/swift\\_data/source/policia/hranicna\\_a\\_cudzinecka\\_policia/rocnky/rok\\_2013/2013\\_I\\_polrok\\_UHCP\\_SK.pdf](http://www.minv.sk/swift_data/source/policia/hranicna_a_cudzinecka_policia/rocnky/rok_2013/2013_I_polrok_UHCP_SK.pdf)
- TIDO, Jozef Gašpar. 2004. *Pamäti II*. Bratislava: Vyd. Spol. slov. spisovateľov.
- TIRODKAR, M. 2008. Cultural Loss and Remembrance in Contemporary Ayurvedic Medical Practice. In: D. WUJASTYK – M. F. SMITH (eds.), *Modern and Global Ayurveda. Pluralism and Paradigms*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 227-242.
- Úrad vlády Slovenskej republiky (2011). *Jógjakartské princípy*. Online červenec 2013: [http://www.government.gov.sk/jogjakartske-principy/?day=2013-02-01&art\\_datum\\_od=2012-02-01&art\\_datum\\_do=2012-02-01](http://www.government.gov.sk/jogjakartske-principy/?day=2013-02-01&art_datum_od=2012-02-01&art_datum_do=2012-02-01)
- VERDERY, K. 1991. A Prologue to the „Transition“. In: *American Ethnologist*, roč.18, č.3, s. 420-431.
- VERDERY, K. 2004. The Obligations of Ownership: Restoring Rights to Land in Postsocialist Transylvania. In: HUMPHREY, C. - VERDERY, K. (eds.): *Property in question*. Oxford; New York: Berg, s. 139-161.
- VRZGULOVÁ, Monika. 2000. Jewish Tradesmen and Craftsmen during the Slovak Republic Period 1939–1945. In: *Identity of Ethnic Groups and Communities. The Results of Slovak Ethnological Research*. Bratislava: Institute of Ethnology of Slovak Academy of Sciences, s. 105-120.
- VRZGULOVÁ, Monika. 2007. *Deti holokaustu*. Bratislava: Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, 151 s.
- VRZGULOVÁ, Monika. 2011. Holokaust v životných príbehoch žien. In: Gabriela Dudeková a kol., *Na ceste k modernej žene*. Kapitoly z dejín rodových vzťahov na Slovensku. Bratislava: Veda, s. 403-422.

- VRZGULOVÁ, Monika. 2012. *Videli sme holokaust* (2. rozšírené vydanie). Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku.
- VRZGULOVÁ, Monika. 2013. Vykročili sme. Historická pamäť a kritická reflexia minulosti. In: M. Bútorá, Z. Bútorová, M. Kollár, G. Mesežnikov (eds), *Odkiaľ a kam. Dvadsať rokov samostatnosti*. Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejné otázky a Kalligram, s. 173-181.
- WATSON, L. James – CALDWELL, Melissa L. 2007. Introduction. In: L. James Watson, Melissa L. Caldwell (eds.), *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating*. (1. vydanie 2005). Malden – Oxford – Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, s. 1-10.
- WEISS, G. M. 1980. Caraka Samhitá on the Doctrine of Karma. In: W. Doniger O'Flaherty (ed.), *Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 90-115.
- WEISS, G. M. 1986. Karma and Ajurveda. In: *Ancient Science of Life*. Vol. 6., No. 3, pp. 129-134.
- WIESNEROVÁ, V. (2013). Frakce a sítě kooperace v LGBTQ hnutí. In: *Slovenský národopis*, roč. 61, s. 55-73.
- WINSON, Anthony. 1993. *The Intimate Commodity: Food and the Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex in Canada*. Toronto: Garamond Press.
- WINTER, Michael. 2003. Embeddedness, the New Food Economy and Defensive Localism. In: *Journal of Rural Studies*, 19, pp. 23-32.
- WUJASTYK, D. 1998. *The Roots of Āyurveda. Selections from Sanskrit Medical Writings*. London: Penguin Books.
- WUJASTYK, D. 2003. The Science of Medicine. In: G. Flood, (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Hinduism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 393-409.
- ZYSK, K. G. 2001. New Age Ayurveda or what happens to Indian medicine when it comes to America. In: *Traditional South Asian Medicine*. Vol. 6, pp. 10-26.