Muslim Migrants in Bratislava

Michal Cenker[1]
Ústav sociálnej antropológie, Fakulta sociálnych a ekonomických vied UK, Bratislava

Muslim Migrants in Bratislava. This paper draws from the ethnographic research of Muslim migrants in Bratislava, Slovakia, which I conducted in the spring and summer of 2009. I wish to explain internal dynamics of what is often called the "Muslim community" in Slovakia and pay notice to the most important functions of a place these migrants call "the mosque". I will question these terms and show why they are disputable. Even though Islam and migration are heavily debated issues in Europe, there has been very little research on them in Slovakia. My paper wishes to give a better perspective on these themes by approaching them from the "inside"; from the particular life stories of men and women I met on the site during my fieldwork.
Sociológia 2010, Vol. 42 (No. 3: 213-236)

Key words: *Muslims; migrants; mosque; Bratislava; integration*

Introduction

This paper is based on several-months long research conducted among Muslim migrants, who pray and socialize in a place they call the "mosque" in Bratislava. My aim is to explain the most important functions of this place and to show what I learned about Muslims who visit it during the course of my research. To my knowledge, there has been no profound ethnographic research on this site and my paper may serve only as an introduction to it.

In this article I will focus on the social status of the Muslim migrants in Slovakia. I want it to serve as a confrontation with everyday banal discourses articulated in various popular forums, which too often regard Muslim migrants as poor and dangerous. Such essentialisations did not find firm ground in my research. To the contrary: Muslim migrants in Bratislava are mostly highly educated and financially self-sufficient. Moreover, in my view, they should be regarded as expatriates, not as immigrants, because their stay in Slovakia is mostly temporal.

Furthermore, to give a more detailed picture of these migrants, I will describe a single place, where they meet and socialize and pray. I will explain why it is problematic to call Muslims in Bratislava a "community", because of its internal ruptures and I will develop more the idea of studying the category "Muslim" in general. In most of these instances I will have to delimit myself from the essentializing discourses, which I will picture shortly.

Slovakia is one of the few countries of the European Union – if not the single one – without a formal mosque. One might find this fact rather

[1] Korešpondencia: Michal Cenker, Znievska 42, 85106 Bratislava, e-mail: miso_cenker@yahoo.co.uk

surprising; given the taken-for-granted presence of Muslims in Europe today and their immigration to the whole European region after the 2nd World War. A person not deeply involved in European politics might assume – and many indeed do, especially after confronting with popular debates referring to "Muslim riots" in France (for an excellent analysis of this issue see http://blogs.reuters.com/faithworld/2007/11/29/why-we-dont-call-them-muslim-riots-in-paris-suburbs/) or the "Islamisation of Europe" (for a good overview check the various fan sites of Geert Wilders or Oriana Fallaci on the internet) – that Muslims gain political "momentum" through means somehow connected to their religious beliefs and practices all across the European Union. This is a common misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the situation. I believe several biased arguments come to play here.

First, Islam in Europe is racialised, which means that the number of actual believers is overestimated and an incorrect population is targeted: Muslims are believed to be all dark-skinned people, who "seem to come" from regions extending from North Africa, the Near and Middle East all the way to South East Asia. Not surprisingly then, words "Muslim" and "Arab" are often interchanged, where "Arab" is someone coming from the "Orient". Wherever that might be, it is most often in opposition to "Occident", that is, to "us" (the white people).

Second, it is believed that these "Muslims" possess a unique ethic, which is spread over all "Muslim people". Let me mention only some of the characteristics such ethic allegedly comprises: high propensity to immigrate to the European Union by legal or illegal means for family reunions as an outcome of highly institutionalized and coherent families and lively family ties; very high natality; "un-European" – meaning uncivilized – behaviour; or the conscious gradual transformation of "Europe" into "Muslim image" – all of which have become associated with the term Islamisation (e.g. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/jul/26/radicalisation-european-muslims).

Third, taking the previous two points into account, a group bound by common inherent characteristics, a coherent external boundary and a common political (in the broader sense of the word) expression is reified. This group is approached as a single agent comprised of many individuals, all of them, however, capable of being "prototypes" of the group, since they are all alike.

This reification is, furthermore, followed by creation of an "us" – "them" model of two opposing and mutually threatening societies. These internally coherent societies, i.e. on the one hand the Western, European, Christian and on the other hand the Eastern, Muslim, are approached as single blocks, which cannot be complementary, only conflicting. For this reason their alleged conflicting existence can be brought to harmony only by mutual separation or

by profound transformation. This rationale is present both in popular discourses (e.g. see one of the most popular YouTube videos on "Muslim Demographics" http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6-3X5hIFXYU) as well as in scholarly discourse. (e.g. Huntington 1996; Spencer 2002)

As there is no reason to believe that migration to and within Europe will stop in any near future, there is equally no reason to believe that migration and integration will cease to raise global controversy. Integration thus becomes the crucial word; what forms to choose, which ends to meet, which beliefs to defend and which ones to discard.

Integration, as I understand it and as I will use the term in this paper, consists of a complex series of interactions between the migrant and the surrounding "society of individuals". I envision it as a two-way process of offering and accepting, of *becoming*, which happens within the *whole* relational field of the society. Therefore, both migrants as well as the native population need to adapt to changed conditions of their lives, both should be – to use the wording of multicultural discourse – the "tolerating" as well as the "tolerated".

Slovakia´s experience with integration of migrants is low, but since there is a significant number of Roma and Hungarians in the country, integration as a concept has been an issue in Slovakia for decades. (Lajčáková 2007)

Integration can be seen both as a means and also as an end, an ideal. It describes the process as well as proposes a desired outcome. Whether the keyword is "sameness", "similarity", or "diversity", the respective integration process sets an ideal goal. Therefore, the process of integration never comes to an end. The most basic distinction is between multiculturalism and assimilation. Where the former believes societal integration is only possible when diversity is preserved both in private and in public, the latter believes it does when it is allowed only in private. (Waldinger 2007; Alexander 2001)

Integration "happens" from the most part in the human mind. It is grounded in ways humans approach to and evaluate their social position. Of course, formal instruments of integration are vital, but if the individuals do not believe and feel they are part of an integrated system, these instruments are of little use. Focus on human mind draws my research to fluctuation and subjectivity, where, I believe, most of the social categories, such as ethnicity, nation or religion, are embedded. (See Massey 2007) When perceiving reality, mind starts a series of actions, which mould a particular stimulus in such a way that it can be comprehendible. Since it does not have capacity to intake all stimuli in their complexity, the mind differentiates between them. It is inclined to those, which preserve a given system and only with difficulties it accepts those, which try to change it. This "conservatism of mind" (Kertzer 1988) helps to justify a given state and thus keeps connections between the present and the past. Human mind also sorts the perceived stimuli in certain categories, by a certain

key and creates frames, or mindsets. Categories contain quanta of information, which when put together create structures that testify about reality. However, the mindset of the perceiver determines which categories should be used to "process" the reality. This processing is, therefore, individual and possibly changeable – as is the "final picture" of reality. Reality thus becomes a matter of interpretation. What is more, categories, which the mind uses, are limited by language. Limitations in language, i.e. limitations in categorization, therefore, limit perception of the complicated nature of reality. This means that sorting stimuli into particular categories brings about inevitable distortions. These distortions are mostly of a simplifying character. Thus, the image of reality we perceive is a distorted one and scientific rigor must acknowledge it as such. Personal identifications are then by definition simplifying and conservative.

I wish to stress that what we deal with is a process, rather than a state. That is why I use "identification" instead of "identity". (See Brubaker – Cooper 2000: 14) Despite mind's system-justification (Jost and Banaji in Jost and Sidanius 2004) tendency, it lingers in relations with the outer world and adapts to changes it perceives. Thus, relations with the surroundings form personal beliefs, which are re-created into different forms. For instance, what one identifies with, depends (among other things) on the place where s/he is. A Slovak Catholic from Bratislava is a Bratislavan in Trnava, a Slovak in Austria and a European Christian in a Hindu shrine in India. We hold manifold of identifications, which come up on different occasions to stand as "dominant" in that particular situation.

Similar processes deal with approaching "the others" and apprehending their position within the framework. Categorization, as described above, "lumps" different people into single groups, which have very clear boarders and a homogenous content. (Brubaker 2002) Members of ethnic "groups" and nations then seem to be coherent groups of homogenous or nearly homogenous people. That is obviously far from truth. Something similar happens in regard to other social phenomena as migration or religion. Since 9/11, Muslims in Europe have been portrayed as dangerous, distant and unknown; however, more and more present "among us". There is a general fear that the "natural way of things" would be violated, because "they" do not belong "here", because "they" are inherently different than "us". The category one is ascribed comprises of set of characteristics, which the individual receives along. They constitute to the "group definition", which is the way how it is then perceived by the in-group members as well as the out-group members of other groups. Tajfel and Turner (1986) explain how certain inter and intra-group dynamics follow: members of groups (as real as perceived to be) engage in competition-like environment of inter-group relations, which tends to favour the in-group for the out-group. I find Elias's metaphor of "society of individuals" suitable in

this case: my attempt is to interpret individuals, who as perceived members of a group conform to perceived norms and expectations, thus no longer being individual, nor being group-members only.

Stereotypical thinking regarding migration and Islam mentioned earlier, of which I have just given a general framework, creates essentializing discourses. Slovakia has its own versions of these debates, but basically copies general lines of their argumentation. What makes them different is the little exposure to mainstream Islam that people in Slovakia have experienced so far, as well as different political and socioeconomic conditions arising from different historical evolution – mainly the forty years of communist regime. However, the "Huntingtonian" and "post-9/11" fears are shared.

The "Mosque": First Impressions

There are two places in Bratislava where Muslims gather to pray. The smaller one, ran by Turkish Muslims, is in Petržalka, the one that I have been visiting, the larger and much more popular one, is in Karlova ves. Most Muslims refer to it as to the mosque, or *masjid*, which is the Arabic equivalent. Some, however, use the term house of prayer, or *modlitebňa*. This variety of designations is caused by variety of the place's functions and ambiguity of the status it has. For reasons I will explicate later, Muslim initiatives, especially the one of the largest Muslim organization in Slovakia, the Islamic Foundation, have been stalled by the reluctance of local authorities in Bratislava to allow building a mosque in the city as well legislators, who passed a law, later accused of targeting Muslim population in Slovakia and its efforts to develop its religious needs. It is, therefore, problematic to call the place a mosque; however, it is much more than a house of prayer, because, as I will show later, apart from its religious function, it is a medium for various forms of social interaction.

It is a shabby little place located above an auto repair shop, which occupies the first floor of a two-storey building. Attached to it from its back side is a restaurant; a quite popular one among the surrounding residents and employees. Sometimes they mistake the door and instead of entering the restaurant, they enter the "mosque". Few people take notice, however, that Muslims gather there, few know it, in the first place.

The entrance is an old glass door, which leads to a little corridor with a curtain. On the left is a door to a little shop, on the right a room for women to pray. Putting one's shoes of and passing the curtain, one enters into an L-shaped room with dark-red carpet on the floor. The room may have some 150m^2, enough space for perhaps a 100, 150 men to gather for prayers. The main (men's) part is very modestly furnished, with a little library and a working table with a computer in one of the corners. Walls, cracked in the

corners, painted white, have seen better days and one or two simple decorations do not change the rather faint feeling one has from seeing the place.

It gets full only on Fridays for *jumu'ah* (the main religious gathering of the week) or on some special occasion as a wedding or a celebration of someone's child being born. Otherwise, there are very few people there, if any. The place was empty and locked, when I came several times at early afternoons to see if anybody was there. At the weekdays most of the regular visitors work or study, so there is no one to come. Even later in the afternoon around six pm. there may be nobody there and first people arrive only a bit later for the evening prayers. If anybody wanted to come, though, the key can be acquired anytime. After *maghrib* (around 9pm) most stay to chat and wait for *isha* (around 11pm) and only then leave home.

The next day the 'most faithful', or simply those who cannot sleep, come for the early morning prayers called *fajr* (around 4am). With the sun rising they pray with faces directed towards Mecca, expecting yet another day in a country for most of them still foreign. There is no public transport running that early in the morning, so only those who own cars or others willing to pay for a taxi can come. Some return home for a little more sleep, others stay and wait to go wherever they need that day.

As mentioned earlier, the Islamic Foundation was banned from building a community centre, part of which would have been a mosque. What was surprising for me to find out was that, probably, there had been a mosque in Bratislava earlier in the 18th and 19th century. Even though it might have been regularly visited, its existence passed almost without notice.

The Destroyed Mosque of Bratislava

The first direct reference to it I found in historiographical literature was a comment on a photo of Podhradie from the first half of the 20th century saying: "A typical view of Podhradie, but a rare view of the mosque built in the Moorish style by Muslim businessmen during the time of Maria Theresa". (Dvořák 1991) I tried to find more about the building on the photo and learnt that it was a small palace built by baron von Braunecker before 1780. (Gažo – Holčík – Zinser 2003) Anton von Braunecker was a wealthy aristocrat and the advisor of Maria Theresa, indeed a respectable and powerful nobleman. His palace had a garden with cascades, where another tower-like building was later built. There, according to Dvorak, Muslims were meeting. Gažo, Holčík and Zinser, however, refer to it only as "the so called "mosque", which allegedly served to Muslims in the city". (Gažo – Holčík – Zinser 2003: 9) Holčík adds that only the third floor – and only "allegedly" – served to the Muslims during the mid-war period. In another article he claims that the mosque was only a popular tradition (http://www.bratislavskenoviny.sk/pamatnici-historie/retazo

vy-dom-barona-von-brauneckera.html?page_id=79478). A different source says that the pavilion was popularly called "the mosque" because it resembled one, not that it would be one. (SME 2. 6. 2004)

This list of various accounts shows clearly that the existence of a historical mosque in Bratislava can neither be refuted, nor easily accepted. What was more striking to me, however, was the large number of lay and professional historians, who did not mention it at all.

Dvořák (1991) argues that von Braunecker's house was later in the 19th century used as an orphanage and a rest home. It even received a nickname: "Kettenhaus" (the "Chainhouse"), for decorations on its front side. Thus, it seems obvious the house was known in its surroundings; what was going on in its "backyard" seems much less so.

Today, the whole southern part of Podhradie is deserted and desolate and waiting for a new construction project to be undertaken. It is still unclear, how the location is going to look like. It is interesting that the 2006 city plan of Bratislava explicitly mentions the mosque and suggests it to be added to the landmarks of the city. (Územný plán zóny Podhradie 2006: 92) If the architects working on the new project incorporate this suggestion into their plan, we might eventually see a "revival" of the mosque in the coming years, which would be – after so many years of oblivion – indeed fascinating.

If the existence of the 18th and 19th century mosque was confirmed, it would pose a challenging question to the present attempts to hinder Muslim efforts to build a mosque in Bratislava. Most importantly, it would mean that Muslim religious practice has been present in the city for more than 200 years. Islam could no longer be portrayed as an alien novelty, neither to the city, nor to the country. Moreover, the 2007 law, which changed rules of church registration in Slovakia, was accused (http://hnonline.sk/c1-20788330-slovensky-bic-na-moslimov) of being directed against Muslims living in the country to prevent them from registering as an official church. Not speculating, if those had really been intentions of the two submitters of the bill, in reality the law rendered any efforts of Muslims to do so useless, since they will not be able to cope with the new criteria for many years to come.

Getting on in the "Mosque"

I learned about the current Muslim house of prayer, during my interviews with Muslim students. I was not sure how to find it, so I asked one of my interviewee, Ashraf[2], to join me. It was a good pick for me, because it turned out that Ashraf is one of the leading figures in the "mosque". He is quite a fellow, very sociable with a remarkable black beard. Ashraf was born in Saudi

[2] All names are pseudonyms to preserve privacy of my informants.

Arabia and went to study computer networking in England. There he met a Slovak girl and decided to marry her, even though she was not a Muslim then. What continued afterwards were several years of meeting and conversion, during which Ashraf spent his time in England, Saudi Arabia and Slovakia. They ended up in Slovakia together, where he decided to become a dentist. They married each other and only recently have had their first baby.

We came when the place was already full. Many faces turned to me and wondered who I am. I felt rather uncomfortable, because even though we were in Bratislava, the city where I have lived all my life, I was the one who was the stranger, the foreigner – not them. I quickly glanced around the room. There were some 100 men sitting on the floor, some praying, some chatting waiting for *khatib* (the leader of the prayers) to begin. I thought I saw two or three white men and wondered if they were Slovaks. Presence of Ashraf next to me and our shared smiles and small talk made me feel more confident, since I hoped to be accepted more quickly by the rest if they saw that I am a friend of his. Luckily, the prayers started in a few moments.

It was national holiday that day, so I was looking forward to seeing a lot of people. The place was full, some 150 men have come.

The number of attendants at *jumu'ah* did not vary much in the course of the coming months, which means there is a relatively stable attendance. After several visits I could already recognize many faces, so I could identify the regulars from the non-regulars. For them, it seems, it was possible to leave the job during the day to come and pray. Some told me, however, that it was difficult, especially on Fridays and during Muslim holidays, which are not part of the Slovak calendar. After the prayers were done I sat and watched what was going on. Some kept praying and continued even when already there was a busy atmosphere around them. Some left immediately. Later on, when I hung around with them outside, I saw who they were: businessmen, employees, which had to return to their jobs, cigarette smokers, who had to light their cigarettes, those waiting for friends to pick them up and others who just had nothing to do or say inside, no one to know and spent some time with. Most attendants stayed inside and started chatting, glad to see each other. Their greetings were very warm and friendly and topics of their debates were mostly cheerful and there were many laughs and smiles all over the place. Soon most have left.

A Day in the "Mosque": Wedding

Several weeks later, there was an announcement that a wedding ceremony was going to be held next Saturday. I was very curious about it, so I dressed up for the occasion. I had no clue how formal the event is going to be, so I did not want to leave it to chance.

The very ceremony was surprisingly simple and quick. After the regular prayers, men stayed in their room, women in theirs. We sat in a semicircle with the groom in the centre. The head of the meeting, sitting opposite to him, gave a speech in Arabic and then, with clear difficulties, a shortened version in Slovak. Then he proposed the groom the already discussed agreement between him and his future wife: that they will marry each other freely and he will bind himself with a symbolic dowry of 100 Euro. After being asked if he agreed, the groom answered "yes". The representative of the woman answered the same on behalf of her and the wedding ceremony was finished. Now they were husband and wife – even though they still have not seen each other that day. The event continued with an early dinner. We all sat down on the carpet and started eating chicken with rice. "It is alright, it's alright, not too delicious, but nice," said Faisal, a Saudi whom I befriended and who helped me a lot as an informant. "Who cooked it?" I asked. "The boys, some of them, it's good, yes?"

As I was eating, I started chatting with people around me and I realized, it was a rather special group. Majority of the "mosque" visitors are Arabs, but none of these were. I found out they were all from former Soviet republics or from current Russia. There were two boys from Uzbekistan, another one from Tajikistan and an asylum seeker from Chechnya. It was not a coincidence they were together. I already observed there were several groups of young men, such as these, who do not speak or understand Arabic and only seldom stay with other visitors. Their migration and integration story was obviously very different.

Ruslan told me he escaped, because of the guerrilla war in Chechnya. "It's similar to Ingushetia. I would return instantly if I could." If there was no war there, he would still need money, and if he had those, he would need to work out the paperwork regarding his legal status: he has not received asylum yet. The asylum procedure in the EU requires asylum seekers to ask for asylum in the country, where they had entered the EU. When they had already started the legal procedure in one of the EU member states, they cannot ask for it in another one. Asylum seekers arrive to Slovakia often illegally and some of them do not wait the 90 days period for the asylum to be granted or rejected. That was the case of Ruslan too.

> *Ruslan*: When I came to Slovakia, I had to ask for asylum here. I tried to escape to Austria, but they deported me back. Then I went to Norway, but they deported me back again. I was there for like a year or so. So now I am waiting for asylum here.

He said the difficult life conditions in Slovakia limit him to improve his position.

Ruslan: The life minimum in Slovakia is like 200 Euro [185 Euro in January 2010], right? And how much does a room cost? 400 Euro, right? So how can I live here, if the minimum is 200 and the room costs 400? In Norway, you get like 1000, so that was enough for me to pay for a room and some food.

One can find cheaper accommodation in Bratislava and Ruslan found his way out: he lives at a student campus. Conversation that followed between him and the other boys was about prices at other student housings and he arranged a meeting with one of them to come and see his room. Ruslan shares the fate of other asylum seekers in Slovakia, who live in poor conditions without many possibilities to change their social position. Accommodation in the capital is expensive and finding a legal job without a legal status is impossible.

Later in the evening I spoke to Halim, a friend of mine from Afghanistan, about the wedding traditions he has experienced. He thought it was not "regular" to have a wedding in a mosque in most Muslim countries of the Arabic region, but in Slovakia it is different.

Halim: People mostly make a reservation in a hotel or a big house. But this is a small wedding, few people have come. Normally there are two hundred, five hundred people, sometimes even one or two thousand, that depends on the family. But here we have it in the mosque. It is reasonable for everyone.
Michal: How many weddings have you already attended here?
Halim: Well, I'm here only short time [10 months], so…maybe two? But all of the brothers, they got married here.

It was interesting to learn that most young men decide to marry in the "mosque". It proves that this place and the community, which meets there, play a significant role in their lives in Bratislava. For many, those whom they meet in the *modlitebňa* are the only relatives they have in Slovakia. They are the "family".

There were some fifty people at this wedding. I knew most of them, because I had been meeting them often at the prayers. Parents or relatives of the couple were not present. The groom, Salim, was from Uzbekistan and it was too expensive for his family to come. He himself was forced to limit his visits back home due to high financial costs, but also due to several incidents of harassment from employees at Russian border controls on the grounds of his nationality. I did not see the bride during the whole evening only until the very end when she was leaving with her husband by car. She is Slovak and got to know Salim at the university. Even though such marriages are still rather rare, when a Slovak young woman decides to marry a Muslim and convert to Islam,

it is often very difficult for her relatives and friends to get used to it. (For more on mixed marriages see Letavajová 2007) Sometimes they are not aware of it at all. The young women must therefore sacrifice a lot: their old ways, old friends, old habits and fun; sometimes even meeting their families becomes much more difficult. They acquire Islam as part of their romance. It is a double love: for the man and for his God; and the leave is also twofold: they depart from their family to start a new life with their husbands, but also from the old world they were surrounded by and part of and join the little number of other women, who had made the same decision. Sometimes on Fridays I saw four or five young women sitting outside in the sun with their little children, chatting together. They all wore *hijabs*, some wore jeans, other some form of *jilbab*. They waited until their husbands came out and then left together. I wondered if they felt solitary in their new lives.

Functions of the "Mosque"

For many Muslims I talked to it is difficult to overcome cultural alienation they perceive in Slovakia. Language difficulties and occasional targeting as alien from the "native" population may add to the general feeling of uprooting and solitude. Contacts with fellow nationals or other foreigners from similar ethno-cultural region help to get used to new life conditions. The "mosque" serves as this kind of refuge.

Of course, the mosque is a place, which bears an essential religious characteristic – as is the case of a church or a synagogue. The essentiality of the place is transposed on its visitors through the purpose of their visit and through self-identifications with the place. The "mosque" in Bratislava is simply a Muslim religious shrine – it is perhaps self-evident, but it must be stressed. It was rented by Muslims and serves to Muslims. *However*, that is far from the only purpose it has.

Social Capital

For starters, it is a place of building a community of certain people. Different men and women gather there for similar reasons – and they are never exclusively religious. It is a perfect place for socializing. Before and especially after the Friday prayers I witnessed very lively communication between one another. I saw friends meeting each other as they have no other opportunity to meet. There are students exchanging information about university studies and about legal necessities of their stay, there are older men discussing their businesses and diplomats their country's politics. Women also meet each other to find help or support, to share personal joys and grievances with few of their Muslim sisters. And all of them constitute to a mixture of voices and languages, cultures and nationalities, ethnicities and races, which gather under

one roof of the old building, but later diverge into various identities and categories. The "*masjid*" is a forum, where all meet to exchange information of any character possible.

Moreover, it is not only a place to meet friends, but also to experience a "touch of home". Many told me that they miss home – whatever and wherever that is for them – and that they do not feel Slovakia or Bratislava could compensate for it. Attending religious activities, meeting people who come from the same country and speak the same language, organizing common events held in line with a specific cultural tradition; this all is mediated by the "mosque". It is a remembrance of places and events they experienced at home and cannot live now in Slovakia. This function is underscored by presence of a little shop that is in the building. It sells canned fruit and vegetables, sweets, marmalades and other basic foodstuff imported from various Arabic countries, from Turkey or from Austria and Czech Republic, where there is – especially in the case of Vienna – a much larger Muslim community with developed infrastructure. As there are no butchers selling *halal* meat in Slovakia, the shop sells meat too. The shop is very popular especially among the students. On Fridays the little room is packed with people who came to buy their favourites nowhere else available.

It became clear to me very quickly that the "mosque" is a rich source of social capital. Not only can the visitors find personal support and company for leisure, but they can benefit from capabilities and capacities of others. There are businessmen, employers and ambassadors, who attend the meetings regularly. Those looking for a job or a professional consultation have a good opportunity to get one. That can be the case for those who leave Slovakia and travel back home, but also others who stay. Professional contacts can help young men who finish universities in Slovakia to find employment back home, if they meet other co-nationals who can provide for it. Consulting businessmen settled in Slovakia, on the other hand, can be beneficial for those who decided to stay and want to start their professional career.

Politics of the "Mosque"

Apart from a few exceptions, Muslims in Slovakia do not get involved in Slovak politics. Reasons are several: lack of interest in politics in general, lack of means to get involved and especially the temporariness of their stay. Most of them, when asked, said they would not go to vote even if they could.

There was an open political declaration a few years ago, which became later part of the controversy with the new law on church registration in Slovakia, which brought about increased difficulties for Muslims to register. A group of Muslims ran a campaign to gather signatures of supporters of Islam in order for it to be registered as a church. But the campaign was announced in the media

and the law followed very soon afterwards. This decision to gather signatures, seemingly arising from "the Muslim community" as a whole, was by far not unanimously supported within the community. As several people told me, those who opposed the plan, feared state authorities would interfere with the local business of the "mosque". If they went official, political and legal control would increase, which they wished to avoid. Quite conversely, the proponents of the petition were by some accused of hypocrisy, because they announced the event beforehand, which – according to the accusations – they must had known to end in further increase in limitations of their religious activities.

The dominant language of the "house of prayer" was Arabic. The religious services were all held in Arabic, so if there was no one to translate, those who didn't speak the language just did not understand. Chatter whirling in the men's room and in the shop was mostly in Arabic, sometimes in English. Slovak was used very occasionally.

There is a significant number of Muslims in Bratislava who do not speak Arabic. Majority of them speak Russian or languages with similar root. They come from former Soviet satellites; Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, or from the war-stricken regions inside Russia as Chechnya or Ingushetia. There are migrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh speaking Punjabi and Bengali. Then there are others from Balkans, from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina. All these people may have some basic knowledge of Arabic, but it is not their mother tongue and they do not know it well. When Salim had his wedding, the primary language was Arabic, but since he does not understand it, he had to have it translated to English. It does not seem, therefore, there is much sympathy with the smaller language groups that attend the religious meetings.

Moreover, nationality also plays an important role. What is often the case is that a number of students from a single country travel to Slovakia together, so they stick to each other in the new environment. If they feel negative pressure targeted against them, the bondage of the group may become even stronger. In relation to this Jawid from Tajikistan told me that when meeting people, common language and nationality matters to him more than religion.

> *Jawid*: I never hear about religion, no…We do not choose if he is a Muslim or a Christian, or anything. When we want to meet people and prepare nice evening, we call friends...we cook some of our traditional food, and try to make it as much as possible, because, so it is where I come from – not just like coke and chips, how people here do it. And we all enjoy it together…we eat together, talk. We understand it, it's not something foreign to us.

With various languages and nationalities, ethnicities and races, various religious schools and political traditions, it is debatable if there is a Muslim

community in Bratislava at all. Moreover, internal animosities and ruptures only exacerbate it. As I have shown already, there are two places in Bratislava for Muslims to gather and pray together. Some, however, decided to meet at yet another place - in Austria. This was an outcome of an internal power struggle at the "mosque", after which several important regulars left, the former head of the "mosque" being one of them. So if there is a community, it is one with various internal divisions and ruptures. Its dynamics suggest not taking the existence of a Muslim community easily for granted. Continued migration may even exacerbate these divisions making them more bound to a particular part of the city or to a particular race or ethnicity.

Muslim as a Category

Studying Muslims as a single category is mostly insufficient and prone to false generalizations. One of the first questions a researcher might ask when deciding to do research on Muslims and Islam is this: Is there a single Islam – *the* Islam – or are there many Islams? (Marranci 2008: 3) I personally believe that the latter is the case. I witnessed important differences in opinions on fundamental questions of faith, morality and ethic, such as gender relations, interreligious communication or jihad. Moreover, there are many other social factors, which co-create morality and ethic apart from religion. It proved inevitable to me to explore the ethnic, racial, national and social backgrounds of the people I met and interviewed. Personal histories of every individual, his or her family background and relational ties form their ambitions and life-views. Social surroundings one grows up in are of crucial importance and may vary dramatically from one individual to another. The category "Muslim" is a sweeping "grand-category", which encompasses so different people that it is a huge oversimplification to take them as a single group, or as a single actor. What does a young man from Priština, whose father died in the Kosovo war and now lives with his unemployed mother, have in common with a Nigerian woman working in the delta for Royal Shell or with children of a Saudi businessmen hidden in a grand villa in Riyadh? Their ethnic, national, racial, social and in many ways even religious backgrounds are completely different. For this reason, instead of Islam, we should rather speak of Islams, as there are not only various scholarly traditions within the religion, but especially myriads of personal histories, which formed every individual religious persuasion. (Marranci 2008)

Category of Muslim – as any other category – exists because it points to some form of otherness inherent in its object. Category is existent and has a meaning in presence of something to relate it to – to distinguish it from. Religion is very much a private matter; even though it may be racialised and politicized. For this reason it penetrates various categories and moves across

them. It stands solely on one's own exercise, one's personal belief. A Muslim can be a successful Afro-American businessman in New York as well as a homeless Caucasian sleeping in the streets of Amsterdam. For these reasons if the focus of a research is not the religion of certain people, but the people of a certain religion, then much more than religion needs to be analyzed. It may be the point of departure, the axis, but the actual content of the research is much broader.

Peculiar Sample: Social Status and Temporariness

Faisal comes from Saudi Arabia. He left home for Moldavia, where he spent two years at a university. Afterwards, he decided not to return home, but continued in his travel and study and came to Slovakia along with his twin brother Zaki. Here he studies at the medical school.

Faisal's father is a businessman in Jeddah; he sells car parts. His mother does not work. Faisal has another sister, who studies medicine back home. He got engaged during one of his returns home. His future wife also studies at a university. Both have some four years of education before them – a prospect of marriage thus seems rather complicated. Faisal wishes to marry soon and bring his wife to Slovakia. His engagement was a very traditional one. The young couple saw each other twice before they got engaged. His fiancé was chosen by his mother after he had asked her to find him a good wife.

He told me life is changing in the traditional environment of Saudi Arabia. Parents tend to have fewer children, multiple-generational households decrease, young people travel more and study more. He left with his brother to improve his education. As for many other Arabs, studying for a doctor or a dentist is not only a matter of education, but prestige too. Faisal and Zaki live in a rented flat in Bratislava – a rather uncommon case among students given the steep prizes of accommodation in the capital city. They can afford it thanks to their family's support and a generous scholarship from their home universities.

I was introduced to Faisal at one of my earlier visits to the "mosque". From the beginning he was very energetic to explain me everything he believed I want to have explained. Even though his belief and my desire have not always met, he was a very kind and helpful source of information and social capital for me.

He also introduced me to Syrko after another *jumu'ah*, when we sat on pillows scattered all around the room and discussed the speech for the day.

"It was like…God testing his followers with different difficulties, so he could see if they are really faithful," said Faisal. He exchanged several Arabic sentences with his twin brother trying to find the appropriate English words, but eventually gave up. "I don't know how to say it in English," he smiled. I said it was okay, I didn't want to discuss the religious sermon, anyway. I have

had plenty of such talks with one or the other young men I got to know there, who desired to explain to me, what their faith was *really* all about.

Faisal, still trying to elucidate me the important parts of the speech, turned to another young man sitting next to us and asked him something in Arabic. "He will tell you, he knows Slovak well," he said clearly satisfied he had found a solution.

I turned to a man in a leather jacket sitting next to me, reading Qur'an. He started speaking Slovak instantly: "Chceš vedieť, o čom bola dnešná reč? [Do you want to know what the speech was about?]". "Yes, yes, he will tell you," Faisal was here again. "OK," I agreed. We talked about it for some time, when suddenly he felt to introduce himself. "By the way, I'm Syrko [the Syrian-boy]. That's the way how kids used to call me when we played on the playground together. 'You come from Syria, you're Syrko'. The name has stayed with me." "So you lived in Slovakia before?" I asked. "Yes, actually my mother is Slovak. I had lived here for 13 years before we moved to Syria," he answered.

Syrko's story is not a common one. There are few Muslims who were born in Slovakia and have already grown up. Most of them are first-generation migrants with little prospects of staying in Slovakia for long. Majority of Muslims I met were young men studying at one of the universities in Bratislava. They came to study and plan to leave right after graduation. The other, smaller part are professionals who are employed either at embassies and consulates, or at some private or state employer, or those who run their own businesses. Some of them came along with their families, some plan to return back home or are still waiting for their relatives to join them in Slovakia. Children that grow up in Slovakia today were very often born outside the country and other, which were born in Slovakia, no longer live here. Young people, who follow their parents' decision to move to Slovakia, have usually not been raised in and by the cultural "mash" present in this country; there is rather some form of mixture of ethno-cultural influences. Saying all this, it is clear that Slovakia is a rather peculiar site, as far as Muslim immigration is concerned. We can speak of first generation Muslim migrants, very little about second generation, but nothing about third or fourth as is common in other countries of Europe or the United States. Social ties emerging from ethnically or racially homogenous multigenerational settlement in one city have not yet come to be in such measures, as they are in other countries, where they become subject to extensive social research and political agenda. Inconsistencies in migration and the relatively small size of Bratislava did not stimulate creation of an ethnically or racially separated area. With something over 400 thousand inhabitants, there are no 'neighbourhoods', ghettos, *banlieus*, no "inner cities" or districts in Bratislava. No spatial segregation on a larger scale was possible. Migrants live mixed with other migrants, foreigners and natives all around the

city. This prevented from emerging various ethnically or racially divided subcultures and gangs. With no significant number of members of the underclass, there are also no conflicts based on social inequality. Apart from the asylum seekers and illegal migrants, the social standard of migrants is generally not low. Muslim migrants live dispersed around the city. The only concentration is the one of students living in campuses, which is a very specific case.

Inexistence of a concentrated or segregated urban area occupied by a socially, ethnically or racially homogenous immigrant population prevents a specific web of social ties to arise (as in case of Turks in Berlin, Moroccans in Amsterdam or Puerto Ricans in New York). Despite that, small-scale connections are being created and utilized. Migration theory (e.g. Massey et al. 1993) shows how networks within one ethnic community within a city help to sustain and encourage migration. Potential migrants can lower their migratory costs thanks to the already settled community of co-nationals. The initial needs that arise right after immigration, such as accommodation, are often the most expensive ones and such a community can effectively – at least temporarily – provide for it. Moreover, it cumulates and creates social capital, which may help the migrant to find a job or reach other necessities more easily. Such accessibility of social capital may enable two scenarios: it can serve the migrant as an initial boost, which helps him or her to become open to the society of the receiving city as a whole and integrate it, or it can lead to closing into the receiving community within the city thus integrating (or disintegrating, for that matter) only the small community. Moreover, social networks provide for risk declination. Migration to a well-settled community is a risk-free endeavour for the migrant as well as for members of the receiving community, since spreading social ties helps each other in diversifying resources and potential incomes making each individual household safer and more independent. (Massey et al. 1993)

Even though, it is problematic to speak about a Muslim community in Bratislava, the "mosque" is a place where some functions of a community life are put to work. As I have shown already, this is the case especially in terms of sharing social and cultural capital. Muslim migrants in Bratislava are mostly either university students or already graduated employed individuals. Students must usually pass some kind of a selection procedure, so only the best can migrate. After arrival they attend a Slovak language course and then study in Slovak with Slovak schoolmates, or sign to an English-based study program and learn in English. After they finish, most plan to leave and either return home or continue migrating to find a suitable employment. Slovakia is often not the first country of their stay after they had left their home country, as I illustrated with the case of Faisal. Scholarships presented within the exchange

programs are often insufficient to cover all their expenses, so if they do not find other forms of financial aid, they must finance their stay from their private savings or – which is most often the case – from their families' savings.

The second group of Muslim migrants in Bratislava are employed individuals, who came to Slovakia for a specific time period – consulate employees, ambassadors, employees of international corporations – or those who ended up in Slovakia as a matter of chance or due to personal reasons, such as men, who fell in love with a Slovak woman and came to live with her in Slovakia. Migrants who have their families in their country of origin most often plan to stay only temporarily. On the other hand, the propensity to leave Slovakia decreases in cases, when migrants get married or start a family in Slovakia. There are, moreover, cases when migrants stay in Slovakia for several years for business and enable members of their families to come along. After their mission ends and they return to the country of origin – or migrate further more – their children may decide whether they migrate with them or stay in Slovakia to study or start a career.

Very importantly, these well-to-do individuals rarely have Slovak citizenship. Many are and stay foreigners, who come to work and study in Slovakia. It is a temporary endeavour to improve life-conditions that they had before arrival. Political changes in their countries of origin often prevent them from returning home even though they would want to. As argued by Stark and Bloom (1985), staying and working abroad is very much a question of personal dignity: to return home before accomplishing goals set before the leave, would make one a loser in his or her own eyes and in eyes of their surrounding society. On the other hand, reaching the goal makes one a winner.

The intentions to try hard to succeed abroad to return home as a winner and not as a loser are even sharpened by expectations of those at home, who view Europe as a place where many things are possible. Those who receive some legal status in a foreign country face even a stronger pressure.

> *Syrko*: Only a few had such opportunities as I had. Since I was born in Slovakia – my mother comes from Slovakia – I had a Slovak passport. With that I can do anything, I can travel anywhere.

Comparative advantage, however, brings about higher expectations.

> *Syrko*: They think like – I have the [right] conditions so everything must work for me. They think it's just so.

The fact that many Muslims in Bratislava never become Slovak citizens is interesting. I avoid calling them 'immigrants' and use rather a more general term 'migrants'. Many might be called *expatriates* instead. The prospect of staying in Slovakia varies among the migrants. When I talked to the students,

most wanted to return home, even though some admitted that maybe they would have stayed, if they found a suitable job and started a family. The older ones, those who already finished the university and maybe have married a Slovak woman, started a family, run a prosperous business, or simply built a house, bought a car and developed some kind of personal infrastructure – they are more prone to stay. Some of them have travelled several countries already to come to Slovakia as is the case of Mustafa, who was born in Kuwait, has a Jordanian passport, "originally is from Palestine" (which means his parents were born there) and came to Slovakia after living in Germany and Czech Republic, where he met his future Slovak wife. He says he does not want to go anywhere.

> *Mustafa*: Why should I? I have a wife, a house, a car. And there is good life here, good people. You must have a reason to go away. I don't have any reason.

After marriage and the first child being born, after starting a business and surrounding a family with friends and relatives, migrants decide to settle down in Slovakia. Some live in the country for several years and leave when children grow older. Syrko has one of such families: his mother is Slovak, father Syrian, they lived in Slovakia for the first 13 years of his life and then moved to Syria. Now he is back and tries to run his own business – travelling between the two countries to be with his family as much as possible.

In this respect, it is important to remark that I have been in contact only with Muslims living in Bratislava, or, more precisely, with Muslims visiting the "mosque" in Bratislava. It might well be that the sample in Bratislava differs from those in other smaller cities around Slovakia, due to the fact that Bratislava is the capital city, where many foreign short-term residents gather to go about their business and then leave. These may be managers who start an affiliated office of a larger company, or other professionals who came for a certain mission with certain time-period to accomplish their goals. Bratislava is also the city with most universities, which is the reason, why there are so many student migrants there. Analyzing other places around the country might show a different pattern of migratory dynamics and perhaps confirm what now is presented only as an open question.

The peculiarity of this sample is in this: in many respects it is an elite. It is comprised of people with university degrees and those who are in pursuit of them, or of others who have a sustainable and even prestigious employment. Moreover, those who left with prospects of better education or job had to win among other competitors pursuing the same goal.

Those, for which this is a case, must further struggle to cope with transformation of their position from elite to alien when facing various forms of

stereotyping and negative or even hostile behaviour from some members of the majority population. I was given several different accounts of how Muslims in Bratislava face racially or ethnically motivated hostile behaviour from members of the Slovak majority population. Their problems can vary from simple ambivalent connotations inherent in discussions to physical violence. Muslim migrants moreover face the stigma of being a foreigner in Slovakia and those who come from Arabic countries additionally a racial stigma. In words of one of my respondents: "It's not easy to be an Arab in Slovakia."

In this respect – and taking the peculiarity of the sample into the account, I asked my interviewees if Slovakia could eventually become their home. There was a unanimous negative answer.

> *Michal*: Will you once start feeling here at home?
>
> *Rasil*: Well, I'm meeting new people, have more friends. I can't say that it's impossible to live here…There's a lot of people from Palestine here, a lot of Arabs and they have Slovak women and children too.
>
> *Michal*: And what would you feel inside?
>
> *Rasil*: [pauses] Certainly not at home…With time it's gonna be better. But I will always stay Palestinian. I can have a Slovak passport, but in my heart I will always be Palestinian. I can't be anything else. You also can't be Palestinian. Even if you had lived there a hundred years.

This feeling has several reasons: the fact that there are whole families back in countries of origin along with friends and well-known places; stereotypical beliefs of separation and inherent difference held by the migrants in regards to the majority Slovak population; various forms of discrimination and negative reactions of members of the majority population towards the migrants; negative stereotyping of the migrants, their religion and their ethno-cultural tradition by the majority native population; and the institutionalized forms of exclusion aimed particularly at preventing foreigners from entering the country.

> *Jawid*: Until the end of my life, even when I will be like normal – for instance have blue eyes and will be blond – you know, and I will speak Slovak nicely…despite that, I will always stay an alien. Even if I wholly integrate into the Slovak society, into the Slovak tradition and so, I will always be here an alien…for the people.
>
> *Michal*: You think they will never accept you?

Jawid: No, never. Because I know a lot of cases, you know…that a person was completely…and had everything… But that's not just in Slovakia, that's everywhere.

Jawid is thinking about staying in Slovakia for some time after he finishes his university studies. He plans to run his own business with his brother and wishes to stay in touch with friends he has made during his stay here. However, later he wants to return home to Tajikistan and spend his life there. "I belong there, I belong there," he says. His brother has lived in the Czech Republic for nine years and now faces a dilemma: he is a stranger in the country, where he lives, but when he returns to Tajikistan, it is no longer the same as it once had been. I think Jawid wishes to prevent this from happening in his life. Both brothers are in their various ways searching for their home. Yet, their religious belief makes only part of it.

Conclusion

Islam is perceived in Europe as some kind of cultural paradigm. It is more than a religion; it comprises morality, ethic and political behaviour. Most importantly, it is believed Islam creates a specific mind-set: a *Muslim mind.* (See Marranci 2008) Whoever is perceived as Muslim, must by definition *be* Muslim of a single specific kind. As I showed in the beginning, Muslims are stereotyped in this way to be fit into one single category, into a coherent and bounded group. This kind of group-thinking enables inevitable simplifications, which can have significant political consequences.

Stereotypical thinking is, however, not a property of white Europeans, or Slovaks, only. Muslim migrants acquire various forms of stereotypes before they enter the country of destination too. I traced certain patterns of stereotypisation among the Muslims I met in Bratislava. One of the problems I had during my fieldwork was that I was perceived as a white Christian Westerner, with all the negative connotations these characteristics can have in the Muslim and Arab world. Thus, it was taken for granted I am in opposition to the presence of Muslims in Europe and I was approached with suspicion by most in the beginning. Most Muslims felt they have to explain me, what Islam is *really* about, what is the *real* story behind the Israel – Palestinian conflict (especially in case of Arabs), how destructive the Western presence in the Middle East *in fact* is. I had to be persuaded. Moreover, viewing Europe as a society of Christians, means viewing it also as a society of hypocrites, since in reality many do not follow the teaching of Christ. I found it quite difficult to explain that many Europeans do not see themselves as Christians and are not motivated to follow Christian religious decrees. Both of these automatically ascribed characteristics – the political-cultural and religious – are seen as pre-

given and negative in relation to Islam, Muslims and Muslim migration. They are believed to create a double wall in relations between the perceived two cultural and political blocks. In this respect the views of Muslim migrants do not differ much from the views of the native white European population; just that they are articulated from the other "side".

Another shared stereotype was the belief in a Western conspiracy against Islam and the "East". This conspiracy is allegedly both cultural and political and uses means of international politics and media. In views of my respondents, there are "forces" behind the media (being either Christian or Jewish), which aim to control and restrain Islam. Interestingly, in most cases these forces could not be articulated in more precision than in form of belief that "they surely are". I was given various examples of uneven and biased media coverage of several issues related to Islam and Muslims and the predominantly negative informing about Islam and Muslims in Slovak media was indeed proven in a recent research. (Manduchová 2008)

Sterotypisation is one of the biggest obstacles to functioning integration in Slovakia. This paper tried to debunk some of the faulty generalizations, which are created by members of the majority Slovak population and the migrants themselves. As there have been very few papers written on Muslim migrants in Slovakia until now, I wished to offer some insight into their basic socio-economic, ethnic and religious characteristics and portrayed dynamics which occur in their "*masjid*" in Bratislava. Since it is not only a house of prayer, but a place for community building, exchange of social and cultural capital and building transnational ties, it plays an important part in lives of its regular visitors. For this reason I decided to add a description of its functions.

Migration, integration and Islam are themes that do not penetrate the public discourse in Slovakia very often. If they do, they are often articulated in a simplified and biased manner. Since Slovakia's socio-economic and political position in Europe has been on the rise for the past 20 years, we may expect that immigration into the country will not decrease, rather opposite. For this reason a sound debate on topics as these will surely be helpful in adjusting migration and integration measures in a way more agreeable to both migrant as well as majority population.

Michal Cenker *is a PhD student at the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences. His research focuses on Muslim migrants in Bratislava, Slovakia. He is also an external faculty at the Bratislava International School of Liberal Arts, where he has a course on political anthropology. He collaborated with the Centre for the Research of Ethnicity and Migration on a qualitative research of migrants in Slovakia and currently works with the Milan Šimečka Foundation on building a website related to multiculturalism, migration and integration.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALEXANDER, J. C., 2001: Theorizing the 'Modes of Incorporation': Assimilation, Hyphenation, and Multiculturalism as Varieties of Civil Participation. Sociological Theory 19 (3): 237-249.

BRUBAKER, R., 2002: Ethnicity Without Groups. European Journal of Sociology 43: 163-189.

BRUBAKER, R. – COOPER, F., 2000: Beyond Identity. Theory and Society, 29 (1): 1-47.

City of Bratislava, 2006: Územný plán zóny Podhradie, http://www.bratislava.sk/vismo/fulltext.asp?query=me%C5%A1it&id_org=700000&p1=51737&vybery=&submit=Vyh%C4%BEada%C5%A5&hledani=1&search=1&datum_do=&kontext=1&strVlastnik=&datum_od=&pocet=10&stranka=2, retrieved 6.1.2009

DVOŘÁK, P., 1991: Bratislava – Podhradie. Svedectvo pohľadníc. Budmerice: RAK.

GAŽO, M. – HOLČÍK, Š. – ZINSER, O., 2003: Bratislava pred sto rokmi a dnes. Bratislava: Albert Marenčin – Vydavateľstvo PT.

HUNTINGTON, S., 1996: Clash of Civilizations. Remaking of World Order. New York: Simon & Schuster.

JOST, J. T. – SIDANIUS, J. eds., 2004: Political Psychology. East Sussex, Taylor & Francis Books, Inc.

KERTZER, D. I., 1988: Ritual, Politics and Power. Yale University.

LAJČÁKOVÁ, J., 2007: The Uneasy Road towards Remedying the Economic & Cultural Inequality of the Roma in Slovakia. The International Journal on Minority and Group Rights 14 (1).

LETAVAJOVÁ, S., 2007: Zmiešané slovensko-moslimské manželstvá ako príklad etno-kultúrnych aspektov migrácie cudzincov na Slovensko. In: Etnologické rozpravy, XIV (2): 25-43.

MANDUCHOVÁ, D., 2008: Obraz islamu v slovenskom televíznom spravodajstve. Axis Mundi. Slovak Journal or the Study of Religions. vol. 3, č. 2, 2008.

MARRANCI, G., 2008: Anthropology of Islam. Oxford, New York: Berg.

MASSEY, D. S., 2007: Categorically Uneqeual. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.

MASSEY, D. S. – ARANGO, J. – GRAEME, H. – KOUAOUCI, A. – PELLEGRINO, A. – TAYLOR, E. J., 1993: Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. Population and Development Review, 19 (3).

SME (2. 6. 2004) "Podhradie známe, neznáme" http://bratislava.sme.sk/c/1624223/PODHRADIE-ZNAME-NEZNAME.html, retrieved 6. 1. 2009

SPENCER, R. 2002: Islám bez závoje. Zneklidňující otázky o svetově nejrychleji rostoucím náboženství. Praha: Triton
STARK, O. – BLOOM, D. E., 1985: The New Economics of Labor Migration. American Economic Review, 75.
TAJFEL, H. – TURNER, J. C., 1986: An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In: S. Worchel & W. Austin, eds.: Psychology of intergroup relations. Chicago.
WALDINGER, R., 2007: The Bounded Community: Turning Foreigners Into Americans in Twenty-First Century L.A. Ethnic and Racial Studies 30 (3): 341-374.