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Children and
Migration

Otroci in migracije

CHILDREN AND MIGRATION. INTRODUCTION TO THE THEMATIC SECTION

Marjan Drnovšek,¹ Kristina Toplak²

THE THEME

The *filis rouge* of this thematic issue is migrations and children's involvement in them, from all aspects and using theoretical and methodological approaches from various areas of the humanities and social sciences. In comparison with adults, children are a relatively unnoticed part of mobile populations. We cannot extract them from the family and the broader context, and definitions of when we are talking about children and/or youths are unclear. The line is hard to determine. They are more likely to be parts of unseen rather than noticeable events in the migration process. They are undoubtedly a part of the family environment, except in cases of forced migration, e.g. during wartime, when they become separated from their parents (Gombač 2005). Childhood is therefore relatively difficult to pin down. It is true that the world of adults prevails, and that children and youths are subordinated to the vicissitudes of the broader and not least the family environment. Particularly when they migrate abroad their lives, development and integration into the new environment is more difficult, since they face numerous obstacles, from unfamiliarity with the language in the immigrant environment to new foods, inclusion in various school systems etc. On the other hand we have to emphasize the positive aspects of their lives in immigrant environments, which include the learning of numerous languages, as they lived in many different countries and ethnic areas. They also had an advantage in education, as long as their parents encouraged them, which was dependent on their education and their desire to climb the social ladder. In Europe and overseas, e.g. in the United States of America, they had better living conditions, enjoyed the benefits of a high standard of living, but on the other hand had to work hard from an early age. There were problems for children and youths when families fell apart and were scattered over various parts of the world. This separation, particularly in early childhood, when they could not hide behind their parents' skirts, gave many of them a feeling of being unwanted and different, while many children grew up in extended families and were passed from hand to hand. At least

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the male part if the emigrants worked from morning to night, while the mothers raised and cared for the children. In the case of seasonal work the mothers left their children at home with relatives. The majority of the children and youths abroad grew up in the streets, and received their formal education in church or school. This is particularly true of the early days of Slovenian migration, e.g. during the period of mass emigration to the United States of America and later in the 20th century.

The attitude of homelands to their children is an interesting topic. The Catholic Church took over the role of educating emigrant children very early on, but made it possible for many parents to escape its influence abroad. The preservation and development of the Slovenian identity abroad was also entrusted to young people, who were supposed to carry on the cultural endeavours of their parents. Integration and assimilation processes were often stronger and more successful with children and youth. They frequently exchanged their parents' values for those of their new environment. Knowledge of the Slovene language declined, especially among the second, third and later generations, e.g. in Germany (Štumberger 2007: 58–83). This is not to say that the Slovenian ship went down abroad. We have to remember that the number of emigrants was much higher than the number of members of emigrants' societies around the world. From our perspective we could say that the emigrants' societies and other forms of activity in the area of Slovenian culture abroad were the tops of the pyramids peeking through the clouds, while the rest were obscured by the mist. The longest-serving institution with regard to preservation of the Slovene language among the young people were language courses, which at first were supported by the emigrant parents themselves, and later by all three countries, i.e. the first and second Yugoslavias and today the Republic of Slovenia. In short, there are a lot of unknowns in the field of children's and youth issues in migration contexts. One of the most difficult aspects in determining the attitude towards emigrant children is the fact that children rarely got the opportunity to express their opinions, and/or their behaviour was guided by adults. Their voices were often unheard or even silenced. The outward manifestations do not reflect the reality of the situations, e.g. attending catechism and church, being members of emigrants' societies, choirs etc. It is difficult to say how sincere the children were – and even harder when we speak of youths – in their attitudes towards emigrant life around the world. In the Republic of Slovenia the attitude towards immigrant children has become reinforced, so that even in the case of the development of the strategy by the Ministry of Education and Sport, there is an emphasis on the field of inclusion of immigrant children, elementary and secondary school students in the educational system (Barle–Lakota 2007).

THEMATIC SECTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

In this year's first issue, i.e. Issue 31 of *Dve domovini / Two Homelands*, our colleague Jernej Mlekuž edited a thematic section on material culture which featured original scientific articles which exposed the “chattiness of chatty artefacts” (see Mlekuž 2010).

This issue also features a thematic section. You have read about the theme of the section itself in the first part of the introduction, by Marjan Drnovšek. The second part of the introduction discusses the question of why thematic sections are so popular.

Why do we have thematic sections? The adjective thematic tells us that it is a section which has a specific *theme*, and a section means (among other things) *a distinct part or portion of something written*. In Slovene, the concept is called a *tematski sklop*, and the word *sklop* is defined as *several, usually connected and associated elements* (SSKJ). On one hand, the theme is what defines the content of the *sklop*, and on the other hand the *sklop* defines the number of its constituent elements. The concept *sklop* is fundamentally connected with the grammatical plural in the Slovene language and thus indicates importance of the number of constituent elements: *several, usually connected and associated elements* cannot be a pair, a couple of constituent elements. Particularly in Slovene, with its grammatical dual, the use of a word like *several* dictates that there have to be at least three elements in order to form a connection, a point of intersection, a conceptual whole, and finally also give the theme a certain compactness. I can support this assertion with the simple method of participant observation: thematic sections are much more noticeable and consequently more often cited by our researchers than for instance individually published articles on a certain topic. I am deeply convinced that in doing so, our colleagues are guided by their professional judgement and their belief in the excellence of the articles, and nothing else.

Migration is a very attractive research subject, since the complexity of the process can be described, broken down, analysed, thematized and problematized in many ways and through the viewpoints of numerous disciplines. The scientific journal *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* with its specific focus follows but also helps create the trend of plurality of topics, approaches and treatments. And this brings us back to the plural, which is always the essence of the thematic section. I will touch on the theme of language a third time: owing to the positive responses to the previously published thematic sections and because *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* is also gaining readership abroad, in this issue we have decided to publish the thematic section in English. Addressing our non-Slovene speaking readership allows us to engage in a professional dialogue about the topics that interest us, and gives us a way to get outside of the often stuffy and restrictive framework of national issues.

The theme of the thematic section in this issue is therefore children, childhood, growing up and socialization in migration contexts. Dealing with age groups in specific social contexts, or the generational approach, is a relatively well-established approach in research (Ariès 1962; Garb 1984; Hurrelman 1989; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001; Thane 2005), and among Slovenian researchers as well (e.g. Hočevvar-Rupnik 1965; Puhar 1982; Ule 2008), while at least for Slovenian research children and childhood in migration contexts is a new field. These seven articles thus contain some innovative approaches towards and views of migration. Through different time periods, which in fact cover the entire 20th century and reach up to the present day, we can follow the stories of the migration of the youngest members of human society. Since the authors are special-

ists in Slovenian migration, these are of course stories which are initially connected to the Slovenian cultural area and its population, which migrated all over the world. The seven authors in the section are in fact dealing with a single topic from various aspects. The approaches of the various disciplines are as different as they can be while remaining within the confines of social science and the humanities.

Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik identifies five (or six) categories of children's migration. She discusses the various positioning of children and illustrates them with examples from research of subjective migration experiences which was conducted using (auto)biographical materials and narrative methods. Several of these examples were the products of her own research. In her conclusion she notes the often forgotten fact that migrant children are today the most vulnerable part of the population of Slovenia and of Europe; we could say of the entire world. One of these categories is the children of diplomats, whose turbulent socialization and/or resocialization is discussed by Marina Lukšič Hacin. The use of the word turbulent already indicates the confusion, anxiety and turmoil associated with this process. The specificity of the migration process in which these children are involved and the different experiences of children of diplomats in the migration process lead the author to conclude that from the socio-cultural and identity perspectives, "you can't go home again", wherever that home is and whatever it means to the individual. The relationship towards one's home, as illustrated in emigrant literature, is the focus of the paper by Janja Žitnik Serafin, who analyses images of childhood in the old and life in the new homeland in the literature of Slovenian emigrants. She finds that these images affected the migration experiences of the children, their experience of family life, and particularly their worldviews and the creation of the generation gap. Jure Gombač looks at how the use of modern technologies, especially the Internet, helps form the experiences and identities of children and youths who are the descendants of Slovenian emigrants. The web-based social networks and other "digital adventures" of the descendants of emigrants lead him thinking about their identity, language, connections and communications, which are often transnational, and are less under the influence of the "analogue" cultural practices of their parents. Marjan Drnovšek's article takes us back to the times when those were the only possible practices, and when emigrants were still sending good old paper letters to the homeland. Using numerous archival sources he pieces together the story of the provision of education for the migrant population which he labels "Slovenian emigrant youth". He focuses primarily on the position of children and young Slovenes in the migration process, their formal and informal education and the progressing assimilation in various European countries in the period before the Second World War. In the same period (and also later), Daša Koprivec contextualizes the interesting migration of children caused by the migrations of their mothers, the "aleksandrinas". The author places the migrations of the children of aleksandrinas in the context of the family as well as the broader economic and political framework in the first half of the 20th century. The migrations of the aleksandrinas have been studied on numerous occasions in the past, but the migrations of their children are undoubtedly a less well-known aspect of migration. The final article in the section tells the story of a somewhat specific group of children's migrations, those

of Slovenian wartime exiles. Urška Strle traces the historiographic story on the basis of children's memoirs and testimonies and finds that children often experienced exile quite differently from their parents or other close adult relatives. The specificity of the children's experiences in this article reveals a certain dynamic of the wartime migrations, but in a more general sense once again underscores the need for comprehensive topical research which would subjectify the otherwise impersonal process of migration and highlight the various experiences of individuals of different ages and generations through time.

And finally: with the introduction to the thematic section, allow me to also make a brief introduction to issue no. 32 of *Dve domovini / Two homelands*. Although it is late, it's not too late to inform our readers that in 2010 we once again spun the "wheel of fortune" and exchanged our editorial roles (see the colophon in this issue). Nevertheless, the journal's focus remains the same, with perhaps one more thematic section in each issue.

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OTROCI IN MIGRACIJE: UVOD V TEMATSKI SKLOP

Marjan DRNOVŠEK,¹ Kristina TOPLAK²

TEMA

Rdeča nit pričujočega tematskega sklopa so migracije in vpletenost otrok vanje, in to z vseh aspektov in z teoretičnimi in metodološkimi pristopi različnih področij humanistike in družboslovja. V primerjavi z odraslimi so otroci bolj neviden kot viden del selitvene populacije. Ne smemo jih izločati niti iz družinskega niti iz širšega okolja, nejasna pa je tudi opredelitev, do kdaj o njih govorimo kot o otrocih oziroma mladostnikih, saj je ta meja težko določljiva. Čeprav so otroci lahko del bolj nevidnega kot vidnega dogajanja v migracijskem procesu, pa so nedvomno del družinskega okolja, razen v primerih prisilnega dogajanja, na primer med vojno, ko so bili oddvojeni od staršev (Gombač 2005). Otroštvo je zato precej neoprijemljivo obdobje. Drži tudi, da svet odraslih prevladuje in so v njem otroci in mladostniki podvrženi šikanam širšega in nenazadnje tudi družinskega okolja. Zlasti v tujini so bila njihova življenja, odraščanja in integriranja v nova okolja otežena, saj so na poti nalateli na številne prepreke, od neznanja jezika priseljskega okolja do nove prehrane, vključevanja v različne šolske sisteme in podobno. Na drugi strani je treba poudariti pozitivne strani njihovih življenj v priseljskih okoljih, med drugim – ker so živeli v različnih državnih in večetničnih prostorih – znanje številnih jezikov. Prednost so imeli tudi pri izobraževanju, če so jih le starši k temu spodbujali; to je bilo odvisno od izobrazbe staršev in njihovega interesa, da se povzpnejo na družbeni lestvici. V evropskem in prekomorskem prostoru, na primer v Združenih državah Amerike, so živeli v boljših življenjskih razmerah in uživali dobrobiti višjega standarda, na drugi strani pa so morali krepko in zgodaj zagrabit za delo. Ni jim bilo lahko niti ob razbitju njihovih družin in razpršenosti njenih članov po različnih delih sveta. Ločenost, zlasti v rosnih letih, ko jih pred težavami niso mogli zavarovati lastni starši, je marsikomu vtisnila pečat odvečnosti, drugačnosti, mnogo otrok pa so si odrasli znotraj širše družine in znanstev podajali iz rok v roke. Vsaj moški del izseljencev je delal od jutra do večera, matere pa so skrbele

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za otroke in njihovo vzgojo. Ob sezonskih delih so matere prepuščale otroke domačim oziroma bližnjim sorodnikom. V glavnem je otroke in mladostnike v tujini vzgajala ulica, formalno pa Cerkev in šola. To je veljalo zlasti za pionirske čase migracij, na primer med množičnim priseljevanjem v Združene države Amerike in tudi pozneje v 20. stoletju.

Zanimiv je odnos vsakokratne domovine do otrok. Katoliška cerkev je zgodaj prevzela vzgojo izseljenskih otrok, mnogim staršem pa omogočila, da so se v tujini otresli njenega nadzora. K ohranjanju in razvijanju slovenske identitete v tujini so prispevali tudi mladi, ki naj bi nadaljevali kulturno delovanje starejših. Integracijski in asimilacijski procesi so bili marsikdaj močnejši in uspešnejši prav pri otrocih in mladostnikih. Vrednote staršev so pogosto zamenjale vrednote novega okolja. Znanje slovenskega jezika je upadalo zlasti pri drugi, tretji in naslednjih generacijah, na primer v Nemčiji (Štumberger 2007: 58–83); s tem pa ni rečeno, da se ladja slovenstva v tujini potaplja. Vedeti moramo, da je bilo število izseljencev mnogo večje od števila članov izseljenskih društev po svetu. Govorimo lahko o piramidi, katere vrh gleda iz oblakov (izseljenska društva in druge oblike delovanja na polju slovenstva v tujini), preostalo pa so zagrinjali temni oblaki. Še najdaljšoročnejši za ohranjanje jezika pri mladini so tečaji slovenskega jezika, ki so ga sprva podpirali sami starši – izseljenci, nato tudi vse tri države, tj. prva in druga Jugoslavija ter danes Republika Slovenija. Skratka, na področju otroške in mladostniške problematike v migracijskih kontekstih so številne neznanke. Med najtežavnejšimi v odnosu do otrok v izseljenstvu je dejstvo, da so otroci le redko dobili možnost izraziti svoja mnenja oziroma so njihova ravnanja usmerjali odrasli, njihov glas pa je bil marsikdaj neslišan in celo zadušen. Zunanje manifestacije ne odražajo realnega stanja, na primer obiskovanje pouka in cerkve, sodelovanje v izseljenskih društvih, pevskih zborih, ipd. Težko je reči, koliko iskrenosti je pri otrocih – manj pri mladostnikih – v izražanju odnosa do izseljenskega življenja po svetu? V Republiki Sloveniji se je odnos do izseljenskih otrok še okreplil. Tako tudi strategija Ministrstva za šolstvo in šport poudarja področje vključevanja otrok, učencev in dijakov migrantov v sistem vzgoje (Barle-Lakota 2007).

TEMATSKI SKLOPI IN PERSPEKTIVE

V 31. številki *Dveh domovin / Two Homelands* je kolega Jernej Mlekuž uredil tematski sklop o materialni kulturi, v katerem je zbral izvirne znanstvene članke, ki so razkrinkavali »klepetavost klepetavih predmetov« (glej Mlekuž 2010). Tudi v pričujoči številki objavljamo poseben tematski sklop. Razmišljanje o njem ste prebrali v zgornjih vrsticah, ki jih je napisal kolega Marjan Drnovšek. Zakaj so nam tematski sklopi tako ljubi, pa je vprašanje, na katerega odgovarjamo v drugem delu uvodnika.

Zakaj torej poseben tematski sklop? Kot napoveduje pridevnik tematski, je to sklop z določeno *temo*, sklop pa pomeni *več, ponavadi povezanih, združenih stvari* (SSKJ). Tema je na eni strani tista, ki opredeljuje sestavine sklopa, na drugi strani pa sklop definira tudi število njegovih sestavnih elementov. Sklop je temeljno spojen s slovnično množino slovenskega jezika in je s tem kazalnik pomena števila sestavnih elementov: *več, ponavadi*

povezanih, združenih stvari ne more predstavljati dvojica, par sestavnih elementov. Nujno morajo biti vsaj trije, da lahko tvorijo povezavo, stičišče, smiselni krog in navsezadnje dajo temi določeno kompaktnost. Navedeno ugotovitev podpiram s preprosto metodo opazovanja z udeležbo: tematski sklopi so veliko bolj opazni in posledično citirani med našimi kolegi raziskovalci, kot na primer osamelci, to je posamezni objavljeni članki na določeno temo. Globoko sem prepričana, da naše kolege pri tem vodita strokovna presoja ter prepričanje v odličnost člankov in popolnoma nič drugega.

Migracije so zelo privlačne za raziskovanje, saj se da kompleksnost procesa opisati, razčleniti, analizirati, tematizirati in problematizirati na veliko načinov in z več disciplinarnimi pogledi. Znanstvena revija *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* s svojo specifično usmerjenostjo sledi, a tudi ustvarja trend pluralnosti tem, pristopov in obravnav. In smo ponovno pri pluralu, množini, ki je vsakokratna esenca tematskega sklopa. Še tretjič se dotaknem jezika: zaradi pozitivnih odzivov na že objavljene tematske sklope in ker ima revija *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* vse več bralcev tudi v tujini, smo se tokrat odločili za objavo v angleškem jeziku. Nagovor neslovensko govorečega bralstva nam omogoča strokovni dialog o temah, ki nas zanimajo, in pomeni izhod iz pogosto zatohlega okvirja nacionalnih omejitev.

Tema tokratnega sklopa so torej otroci, otroštvo, odraščanje in socializacija otrok v migracijskih kontekstih. Obravnava starostnih skupin v specifičnih družbenih kontekstih ali generacijski pristop je precej uveljavljen raziskovalni pristop (Ariès 1962; Garb 1984; Hurrelman 1989; Suárez-Orozco in Suárez-Orozco 2001; Thane 2005) tudi med slovenskimi raziskovalci (na primer Hočevar-Rupnik 1965; Puhar 1982; Ule 2008); otroci in otroštvo v migracijskih kontekstih pa so vsaj za slovenski prostor nova tema. Sedem člankov tako razkriva inovativne pristope in poglede na migracije. V različnih časovnih obdobjih, ki pravzaprav obsegajo vse 20. stoletje, posegajo pa tudi v aktualno sedanost, sledimo zgodbam selitev najmlajših članov človeške družbe. Ker so avtorji strokovnjaki za slovensko izseljenstvo, so to seveda zgodbe, ki so izhodiščno povezane s slovenskim prostorom in z njegovim prebivalstvom, ki se je selilo po vsem svetu. Sedem avtorjev in avtoric sklopa obravnava eno samo temo z različnih vidikov. Kljub temu, da ostajajo znotraj družboslovja in humanistike, so disciplinarni pristopi kar se da različni. Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik selitve otrok umešča v pet oziroma šest kategorij migracij otrok. Oblike različnih pozicioniranj otrok razloži in ilustrira s primeri iz raziskav subjektivnih migracijskih izkušenj, izvedenih na avto/biografskem gradivu in z narativnimi metodami. Med njimi je tudi več njenih lastnih raziskav. V zaključku avtorica opozarja na prepogosto pozabljeno dejstvo, da so migrantski otroci danes najranljivejši del prebivalstva Slovenije in Evrope; lahko bi rekli kar sveta. V eno od omenjenih kategorij spadajo tudi otroci diplomatov, ki jih v turbulencah socializacije oziroma resocializacije obravnava Marina Lukšič Hacin. Že z besedo turbulenca nakaže na zmedo, nemir in vrtince v opisanem procesu. Specifičnost migracijskega procesa, v katerega so vključeni, in različne izkušnje otrok diplomatov v migracijskem procesu vodijo avtorico do zaključka, da je »vrtinec« v družbeno-kulturnem in identitetnem smislu nemogoča. Seveda govorimo o vrnitvi »domov«, kjerkoli dom je in karkoli posamezniku pomeni. Prav odnos do doma, kot se izrisuje v izseljenski literaturi,

je v središču razprave Janje Žitnik Serafin. Predmet analize so podobe otroštva v stari in življenje v novi domovini v književnosti slovenskih izseljencev. Avtorica ugotavlja, da so te podobe vplivale na migracijske izkušnje otrok, doživljanje družinskega življenja, predvsem pa na njihov pogled na svet in vzpostavljanje medgeneracijskega prepada. Kako raba modernih tehnologij, predvsem interneta, sooblikuje izkušnje in identiteto otrok in mladih, potomcev slovenskih izseljencev, je preučil Jure Gombač. Spletna družabna omrežja in druge »digitalne dogodivščine« potomcev izseljencev ga v članku vodijo k razmisleku o identiteti, jeziku, povezavah in komunikaciji, ki imajo pogosto transnacionalni značaj in so manj pod vplivom »analognih« kulturnih praks staršev. V čas, ko so bile te edina možna praksa in so izseljenci v domovino še pošiljali dobra, stara papirnata pisma, nas vrne članek Marjana Drnovška. S številnimi arhivskimi viri je stkal zgodbo o šolski skrbi za migrantsko populacijo, ki jo imenuje »slovenska izseljeniška mladina«. V središču so predvsem položaj otrok in mladih Slovencev v migracijskem procesu, njihovo formalno in neformalno izobraževanje ter napredujoča asimilacija v nekaterih evropskih državah pred drugo svetovno vojno. V isto obdobje (a tudi poznejše) umešča Daša Koprivec zanimive migracije otrok, ki so jih sprožale migracije njihovih mater – aleksandrink. Avtorica obravnava migracije otrok aleksandrink v družinskem in tudi širšem ekonomskem in političnem kontekstu prve polovice 20. stoletja. Migracije aleksandrink so bile doslej že večkrat obdelane, medtem ko so migracije njihovih otrok zagotovo manj znan vidik migracij. Zadnji članek v sklopu odkriva zgodbo nekoliko specifičnih migracij otrok, in sicer medvojnih pregnancev s slovenskega ozemlja. Urška Strle niza zgodovinsko pripoved na podlagi spominov in pričevanj otrok, in pri tem ugotavlja, da so otroci pogosto drugače doživljali pregon kot njihovi starši oziroma drugi odrasli sorodniki. Specifičnost otroških izkušenj nam v pričujočem članku razkriva določeno dinamiko medvojnih migracij, a v bolj splošnem smislu ponovno poudarja potrebo po poglobljenih tematskih raziskavah, ki subjektivizirajo sicer neosebni proces migracij in poudarjajo raznolike izkušnje posameznikov različnih starosti in generacij v času.

Za konec pa še tole: z uvodom v tematski sklop si tokrat dovoljujem tudi zelo kratek uvod v 32. številko revije *Dve domovini / Two homelands*. Čeprav z zamudo, a ne prepозно, obveščamo spoštovano bralstvo, da smo z letom 2010 ponovno zavrteli »kolo sreče« in premešali uredniške vloge (glej Kolofon te številke). Ne glede na to ostaja usmeritev revije enaka, a vsakič tudi s kakšnim tematskim sklopom več.

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CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD IN MIGRATION CONTEXTS

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ABSTRACT

Children and Childhood in Migration Contexts

A presentation of the difficulties of defining the childhood and children in cultural and historical studies is followed by a presentation of the different forms of positioning children in the migration process and the making of decisions about them. Each form is illustrated with examples from research projects, based on auto/biographical sources and narrative descriptions of subjective migration experience. The conclusion argues that migration researchers take into account the subjectivity of the "objects" of their research projects and humanize the migrants, especially their children. In this way, the text combines the children in the historical context of Slovenian emigration with the children in the context of immigration to Slovenia today in a united story.

KEY WORDS: the positioning of children in migration contexts, Slovenian emigration, stigmatization of children migrants.

IZVLEČEK

Otroci in otroštvo v migracijskih kontekstih

Predstavitvi težavnosti definicij otroštva in otrok v kulturoloških in zgodovinskih študijah sledi prikaz različnih načinov umestitve otrok v migracijskem procesu in odločitvah zanj. Vsak način je ilustriran s primeri iz raziskav, ki izhajajo iz avto/biografskih virov in narativnih prikazov subjektivne migracijske izkušnje. Zaključek apelira na raziskovalce in proučevalce migracij, da upoštevajo subjektivizacijo »predmetov« svojih raziskav in učlovečijo migrante, predvsem pa njihove otroke. S tem besedilo poveže otroke v zgodovinskem kontekstu slovenskega izseljenstva in otroke znotraj priseljenstva v Slovenijo danes v skupno zgodbo. **KLJUČNE BESEDE:** pozicioniranje otrok v migracijskih kontekstih, slovensko izseljenstvo, stigmatizacija migrantskih otrok.

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INTRODUCTION²

Children in migration contexts is an under-researched area in Slovenia, and has not yet been conceptualized and worked out with regard to terminology and concepts. There are several open questions such as e.g. what is a child and/or a migrant child; what is a family and how does migration change the concept of family; what are the family or “non-family” migration contexts and what are the historical retrospective constructs of the child and family life. Who are children and who are children in migration contexts?

According to the definition in the latest research by the United Nations, *Children in Immigrant Families in Eight Affluent Countries* (UNICEF 2009), children include everyone who has not yet reached their eighteenth birthday. Alongside the various topics covered in this extensive report, such as education, employment, social participation and social inclusion, the category “children” is divided into children, youth, older youth and young adults. For quantitative and statistically-oriented research, division by age is too simple, since it is based on legal and formal definitions of child and on the gradual achieving of the status of adult: from partial criminal liability, independent decision making about employment and the choice of sexual partners, to voting rights, citizenship and full criminal liability.³ Culturological and historical research, on the other hand, are characterized by age limits being difficult to set and childhood difficult to define.

Despite the fact that modern society is focused on the child, research of childhood is a relatively new topic. The turning point in Europe was Philippe Ariès’ book *Centuries of Childhood*, first published in 1960. Ariès posed key questions about historical attitudes towards childhood, about interpretations of childhood in historical and modern times, or in other words, about scientific and social constructions of childhood (Ariès 1962). The modern understanding of childhood and how it is structured is conditioned by the appearance of the institutions of the modern age. Ariès clearly shows how decisive the role of school or the school system is in the structuring of childhood in modern society, as it determined age classes through school classes: child – elementary school, youth – secondary school and adult – higher education. The author of the preface to the Slovenian translation, Bojan Baskar, summarizes the essence of Ariès’ presentation of the “appearance” of modern childhood through the interweaving of the process of locking children in schools and the process of grand moralizing, and states that

Ariès of course is part of the history of mentalities, i.e. the historiographic approach

² This paper is partially the result of the applied research project The Creation of Memory and Maintenance of Cultural Identity among Slovenian Emigrants and their Descendants (code L6-2203), which was co-financed by the Slovenian Research Agency and the Government Office for Slovenians Abroad from the national budget, and the result of the research programme National and Cultural Identity of Slovenian Emigrants, also financed by the Slovenian Research Agency.

³ The chronological categorization of childhood has changed continually throughout history. The World Health Organization, for example, defines young people as those between 10 and 24 years of age, where adolescents are between the ages of 10 to 19 years, and youth includes everyone between 15 and 24 years of age (WHO 2006: 1).

which explains the modern transformation of the family, school etc. as effects of the transformation of mentalities. And thus we are in fact already dealing with the modern family as a community which is based on the affective crossed bonds between the parent couple and the parents and children. Ariès associated the formation of this model with the scope of family and school education, which constitute separate worlds of childhood and youth. He connected the appearance of the affective family with demographic and economic Malthusianism, i.e. with concepts used by the French in particular to signify the reduction of the birth rate, which was caused by demographic and economic motives. (Baskar 1991: 513–514)

By presenting the historical understanding of childhood, in which he described the mother's ambivalence towards her children in the 14th century and the neglect of children in the 19th century, Ariès set off a wave of criticism, as well as a torrent of studying childhood and its modern variants, which included love of children and the focus of the family around them.

We can set this modern understanding and/or perception of childhood in the context of the migrations that we are speaking about in this paper, i.e. migrations during the mass emigrations from the Slovenian ethnic territory from the beginning to the midpoint of the 20th century. This was the time when the “affective” family and the emotional perception of childhood were formed. Before we talk about that period, let's turn our attention to the 19th century and the conception of childhood as presented in Slovenia by Alenka Puhar in the novel *The Primary Text of Life* (1982). This is to date the sole Slovenian opus that focuses on the experience of childhood as portrayed in the literary and other auto/biographical works of Slovenian authors, as well as pedagogical, medical and religious texts and statistical sources. From statements in them, the author created a tragic image of childhood in Slovenia in the 19th century which is fearfully sad, lonely, and devoid of parental love and care. I will not discuss the methodological and conceptual limitations of such interpretation, but wish only to point out that this book gives us descriptions of migrations of children which should not be overlooked. These are children in a migration context, which is determined by the conditions before the great moralization and schol- arization of society, i.e. for children before the appearance of the “Malthusian” mentality and before their being (compulsorily) shut into schools. In the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, many children in the Slovenian ethnic territory were classical migrant labourers. Their parents or guardians sent them from their homes to work when they were still young, even less than ten years old, and for the majority it constituted permanent migration, where there was no possibility of returning home. Accurate data on how many child migrants were strewn “about all of the Slovenian hills and valleys” (Puhar 1982: 347) is not available. Since the economic conditions were difficult, we can assume that there were many, and the biographical and autobiographical literature is also full of descriptions of their experiences. Owing to the economic conditions, the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was also the beginning of a period of mass emigration

from the Slovenian ethnic territory, in which children were included mainly as members of families. But not just that.

THE POSITIONING OF CHILDREN IN MIGRATIONS FROM THE SLOVENIAN ETHNIC TERRITORY

There are several forms of positioning children in migration strategies for maintaining the existence and networks of families, which were determined by intimate, personal decisions and political-historical events. I will focus on the five main forms of positioning children in the framework of unforced migrations. The first form is the migration of children together with the family, which is understood to be the most widespread form of migration, and which can occur as permanent, temporary or one or the other – different for individual family members. The second form is a decision by the parents – or by one of the parents – to migrate alone, leaving the children or some of the children at home with relatives, grandparents, neighbours or friends. The thought which leads to such a decision is most often a belief in returning, when living conditions permitted it, or in the reunion of the family, when the children would join them. The third form is returning, when the children return with the parents, or go back by themselves and are inaccurately referred to as returnees, even though they were born abroad. The fourth form of positioning children in migration contexts is conditioned by work performed exclusively by women, i.e. the giving birth to and nursing of children. These children, the “beneficiaries” of this work, cannot be separated from the migration context which also includes children left at home by migrant women. I also have to mention children who migrate by themselves, either by their parents sending them to work or by going abroad themselves. Among all of these forms, this latter is the only autonomous one, since in all of the others the child is included in the elders’ or parents’ decisions. When speaking about Slovenian emigration, it would be more appropriate to use the past tense for some of these forms. But these forms of child migration, which ended long ago in Slovenian emigration, are continuing in other parts of the world and also continue as a part of immigration to Slovenia in all of the forms mentioned.

I will illustrate the forms of positioning children in migration contexts primarily with examples from the research that I have conducted in the last decade on auto/biographical sources, in which I have found subjective experiences of the migration process and which I based on narrative methods of constructing collective and intimate identities. When we speak of childhood in the context of migration, we are to a considerable extent dependent on adult interpretations of childhood. We are limited to the memoirs, narratives, records, stories and diaries of adults, family migration correspondence and photographs which are described and explained by adults. The majority of the materials can be contributed only by adults and the things that we learn from them are adult perceptions and interpretations of their own or other people’s childhoods, of their own or other people’s memories.

The “Tenth Child”

The first example connects the end of the 19th century with the beginning of the 20th, and two of the aforementioned child migrant experiences. To the many children who were strewn about the Slovenian hills and valleys, I will add the story of displacement throughout the wider area of the empire of the time.

She always talked about how she was twelve years old when her father died and she was the oldest of five. And her father had been a carpenter and when he died he had a lot of debts because he had borrowed money to build up his business and everybody said: ‘don’t worry, just let the debts go, you know, you don’t have to pay them back’. But my grandmother said no, that would be a shame, that would be terrible and so she worked to have the debts paid off. But one of the ways that she did this, my mother was twelve when she went to Prague to work in a hat factory, then she also went to Vienna [...] Finally, when she was twenty-seven her mother said she had to come to America, because in America you’re going to get rich. So she came.⁴

This description of the fate of a child migrant labourer who moved to the United States when she was twenty-seven was given by her daughter, born in New York. This example shows us that we cannot speak of child migrant labourers only in Slovenian places, since children also went to work in far-flung places, from Prague and Vienna to Zagreb and Budapest. This gives the work migrations of children a broader dimension. To the example of children being sent to work by parents I will add the opposite case, the child’s autonomous decision to migrate. According to my findings, this is also the rarest form of migrant decision, i.e. positioning of children in migration contexts.

Independent and alone

In 1906, a fifteen-year-old orphan left her grandmother, with whom she had lived since her parents had migrated to Brazil and never contacted her again. She got on a train, boarded a ship and sailed to America. Alone. In her pocket was the address of some neighbours who had moved to the United States, and she intended to seek help from them in finding a place to live, finding a job, and overcoming the initial difficulties of migration. In accordance with the custom that family and social networks were the basis of the migration process she duly received that help. She became Marie Priland and she described her path to America, the story of her childhood and her experience as a migrant in her book *From Slovenia to America*, in which she describes her arrival as follows:

When I arrived in Sheboygan I stayed with our neighbours from Europe who had

⁴ All of the excerpts from the stories that I quote in the text (unless otherwise indicated) are from the life stories of women of Slovenian origin that I recorded in various parts of the USA between 2002 and 2008. (Milharčič Hladnik 2003, 2008)

moved into a nice large house. I was served a wonderful dinner consisting of soup with homemade noodles, meat, vegetables, white bread, and even a piece of potica. This was like a Christmas dinner at home (Prisland 1968: 51).

It is particularly interesting that Marie Prisland did not go to Brazil like her parents, but rather went to a place where there was a social network which operated as a guarantor of a successful migrant experience. Her status as a child in a migration context is therefore not only that of autonomous decision and migration, but also includes the form where the parents decide to migrate by themselves and leave the child(ren) behind with relatives, grandparents or neighbours. This was a widespread form of Slovenian migration from the beginning to the second half of the 20th century. At first in many cases it was only the men that left. Their wives and children followed them later, or only some of their children followed, or their wives never joined them; in other words, there was a multitude of combinations for ensuring the existence of the family. Marie Prisland was left with her grandmother by her parents, who migrated together to Brazil, where her mother died, and she never heard from her father again. Her path to the United States, where her plan was to save money for school and become a teacher, seems completely logical and reasonable. She was a success, as Marie Prisland is one of the most notable personalities in the history of the Slovenian community in the United States of America (Milharčič Hladnik 2007).⁵

Those who went and those who stayed

The following case of the positioning of a child is an example of parents taking some of their children with them, but leaving others at home. I was told this story by Jennie Pohar personally, while the Slovenian public read about it in the newspapers. Her first visit to her parents' homeland in 2002, when she met her brother Ivan for the first time, was headline news.⁶ As the newspaper article states, her father went to America in 1912, when Ivan was five. Soon afterwards his wife followed with their two youngest children, and she gave birth to their youngest daughter Jennie, my interlocutor, in America. They left their son at home with his grandmother and aunt, with a plan for his uncle to bring him to America. This never happened, because upon the outbreak of the First World War the uncle was drafted into the Austrian army, and he fell in Galicia. Later, Ivan obtained documents from his father with which he could have migrated to the United States, but they were only for him, and not for the family that he had started. Jennie Pohar met her brother for the first time when he was ninety-five and she was eighty-six. They had lived their entire lives apart. The story that Jennie Pohar told me a year later at her home in La Salle differed slightly from the newspaper version.

⁵ The case of Louis Adamič, who also left for the USA of his own will and volition when he was fifteen, is similar. (Žitnik Serafin 2009: 117)

⁶ Their meeting at Tabor in Ljubljana was covered by Dragica Bošnjak, *Delo*, 6 March 2002.

I was born in La Salle in 1915 and I will soon be turning 87. When I lived at home, I never thought about Europe that much, because for me that was the old country. I can't explain why, but when I finally went there, no, that's not it, not at all. It was fantastic. My mother always talked about Bled, and Novo mesto and one other town that she always talked about, and we were in Ljubljana. I never thought in all my life that I would see what I saw. She had four children there and when she went to America she left the oldest two, eight and ten years old, behind. My father's mother said: "Why don't you leave two of them here, so we can help you?" And that's what they did. Those two boys never came to America. She always wrote to them, but I never thought that I would ever see them.

I will take the time to analyse these two different stories about the event, since there is a possibility that the journalist misunderstood, and also a possibility that the narrator told the same story differently on the two occasions. Both versions are interesting from the perspective of the positioning of children in migration contexts, as they open up new possibilities for understanding migration decisions. Our expectation that the parents left one (or two) children behind due to fear of the uncertain life abroad turns out to have been false. They left one or two children behind in order to satisfy the wishes of the husband's mother, i.e. the grandparents. This desire was also not necessarily connected with poverty and the children's labour, as we would think at first. It is entirely possible that it was connected with a wish to provide emotional support, for the consolation that the parents needed when their son's family left for faraway America.

Families reunited

Of course the families were most often reunited, with the father migrating first and his wife and children following later. Marie Gombač told me how her family left the town of Čepovan on the Karst in 1935 to join their father in Cleveland after he had lived in the United States for many years. Her story is also interesting because of their motive for reuniting, which does not correspond to the usual motives in migration theory, since the reason or motive is political.

Father came home to visit a few times and sent money, and was planning to return one day, but then he suddenly made a completely different decision. My brother was almost fourteen years old and Mussolini had this huge youth movement, you understand, how to become a good fascist, and that really bothered my father. His son a fascist! When my brother turned 14, he was supposed to go to Rome to some event for young fascists and my father decided that he would not allow that and he came for us. He obtained American citizenship, documents, and this automatically meant that my brother and I were also American citizens. My father hated the Italians, oh, how he hated the Italians!

This testimony about families reuniting reminds us that the great majority of Slovenian emigrants went abroad with a clear plan for returning to their hometown or at least with the intention to return. Some, albeit a minority, fulfilled those wishes, but the murky area of Slovenian return migration never received a great deal of attention from researchers.

Home again?

One notable exception is the research carried out by the associates of the Slovenian Migration Institute and the publication of the results (Lukšič-Hacin 2006), which systematically break down the economic and political aspects of return migration and present the life stories of the people who returned. The stories of the children of Slovenian migrants, especially from Argentina, who of course did not “return”, but are nevertheless called returnees, are particularly significant in the context of the child and childhood. These are adults who decided to move to the country of their ancestors, Slovenia, after its independence in 1991. Despite this they are defined in Slovenian public and professional discourse by the fact that they are children of migrants and returnees. As they told researchers:

I am not a returnee. I was born in Argentina and I came to Slovenia, my grandparents' homeland. [...] We are not “returnees” – we are Slovenes who were born outside the borders of Slovenia – we never lived here before, so we are not “returnees”!
(Lukšič-Hacin 2006: 139)

This poses questions about identity, which is among the most relevant questions about children in migration contexts, since it concerns the subjective construction of identity in a new environment. Migrants travel across continents and oceans, and their children embark on journeys from the culture of their parents and communities, from the stories, memories and emotions of their beloved parents into a culture of playgrounds, schools, peers, television cartoons, music and films from the wider environment, where the distances and destinations are not known. Or they travel from the stories and memories into the real environment of a homeland which they have never seen.

The last form of positioning children in migration contexts is conditioned by work performed exclusively by women, i.e. the giving birth to and nursing of children.

Milk and memory

The positioning of children in the migration context of an absent mother, i.e. wet nurses, has undoubtedly received the greatest amount of treatment of all migration aspects of female migration in Slovenia in both the literary and historical theoretical sense.⁷ The phenomenon of the “aleksandrinas”, i.e. the emigration of women from the Goriško region

⁷ Recently, aleksandrinas have also received increasing amounts of political, museological and pro-

to Egypt at the end of the 19th and first half of the 20th century, has to be separated into women who were wet nurses and those who were simply nannies, and between those who were married and left their children at home and single women (Barbič, Brezigar-Miklavčič 1999). The collective memory, in which the tragic motifs of desperate mothers and crying children separated by the “bitter sea” (Tomšič 2002) were deeply embedded through the motif of Beautiful Vida (a symbol of unhappiness and yearning from Slovenian folk ballads t.n.) and newer literary works, has been significantly corrected and amended in recent times. The amendments represent a more complex presentation of the experiences of the aleksandrinas and their children, in which the one-sided story of suffering and yearning has been augmented with experiences of cosmopolitanism, emancipation and pride (Koprivec 2006; Škrlić 2009).

The status of the children left behind by the migrant mothers was complemented by the status of the children whom these women nursed, cared for and raised, or simply nursed and raised (Koprivec 2008). These are significant acquisitions for the understanding of the subjective experiences of the migration process and for the positioning of children in migration contexts. Daša Koprivec and Katja Škrlić researched the still-existent emotional bonds between the wards and their nurses, even though they are long deceased. Ellis Douek gives a stirring account of the importance of his aleksandrina nurse, Marija, in his life:

I suspect that Maria may be responsible for the surge of optimism, almost of satisfaction, which I still experience when struck by adversity – she brought me up to expect a plus in return for each minus, even though for me it has had to be limited to this life, as I do not have the benefit of the necessary dimension to extend my own accounts into the next.

Some years ago my sister Claudia contributed an article “The Most Influential Character in my Life” to a weekend colour supplement. She described Maria. No doubt my mother would have been mortified had she been alive and she would never have imagined that the influence of such a simple and unsophisticated woman could stretch so far into our later lives. (Douek 2004: 101)

Furthermore, they also called attention to the emotional attachment of the children who were raised, nursed and cared for by aleksandrinas and the children who were left at home, the so-called “milk brothers” and “milk sisters” and/or their relatives. These people are also getting in touch with each other and meeting each other via the Internet, which is conditioned by the use of the English language as the lingua franca. These are exceptional discoveries for understanding the complexity of the positioning of children in migration processes and the inter-generational and trans-national scope of migration networks and emotional connections. The memories and emotional bonds effortlessly overcome the different centuries, continents, languages and generations.

fessional attention. In 2009 an event in Nova Gorica was dedicated to them as part of *Srečanje v moji deželi* (Meeting in My Country), an event for Slovenian emigrants.

THE STIGMATIZING OF CHILDREN

At the end I should also mention the aspect of children and childhood which I will call the stigmatizing of children in migration contexts. Stigmatizing occurs at various levels and in various circumstances. The former is demonstrated by the example of the *aleksandrinas*, where the shame of their migrant labour is firmly inscribed in the collective memory. As Katja Škrlj writes in her attempt to demythologize and destigmatize the *aleksandrinas*:

Due to various circumstances, the *aleksandrinas* became a neglected historical subject, receiving little attention from researchers. The clerical press condemned them, their milieu often rejected them and made various innuendoes, and history paid them scant attention. Thus the image of them was created mainly by literati. Even as literary heroines of male writers they were subjected to condemnation and punishment. The mythological image of the *aleksandrinas* was in one way or another reduced to nursemaids or the character of Beautiful Vida. But less than a quarter of all the *aleksandrinas* were like this. Not only danger, suffering and moral turpitude awaited the *aleksandrinas* in the shadows of the minarets, as the (clerical) press stated repeatedly, but also sophistication, emancipation and happiness. And this was perhaps even more frightening for some. (Škrlj 2009: 185)

The stigmatization of migrant mothers also befell the children that they “abandoned”. I use the quotation marks because it is entirely clear that these children were not abandoned, but were cared for by relatives, fathers and sometimes even friends and neighbours. They were abandoned in the ideological interpretations of the Church and the politicians, who tried to persuade people – particularly women – to stay at home and suffer. For this reason the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of *aleksandrinas* can now understand the autonomy and freedom of their migrant experiences and feel admiration and pride.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the forms of positioning children in the context of Slovenian emigration are linked mainly to the past. I would like to use the example of the *aleksandrinas* to illustrate a modern aspect of the migrant experiences of children – both those who migrate and those who stay behind – and the modern aspects of the stigmatization of migrant children. This is happening all over the world, but it is a mass and widespread – as well as well-researched – phenomenon in the Philippines. The status of Philippine migrant women who go abroad primarily to work as nurses, maids, teachers, child-care givers and cleaning women was studied by Rhacel Salazar Parrenas (2002), but not their status in the foreign countries, but rather their status in the Philippines. She discovered the mechanisms for the specific status of migrant women, who are the subjects of public ideological and political campaigns in the Philippines, where they are stigmatized as being bad mothers who have rejected their children and threatened their families and thus Philippine society. The phenomenon is called the “care crisis”. In the Philippine media the stigmatization is supported with citations of studies of children of migrant women who suffer various physical and mental illnesses due to the absence of

their mothers. In her research the author, who based her work on biographical methodology, reviewed the accusations and found a large number of different cases, from children for various reasons experienced the absence of their mother as an irreparable loss to completely satisfied children who respect the efforts of their mothers to enable them to have a better life.

As national discourse on the care crisis in the Philippines vilifies migrant women, it also downplays the contributions these women make to the country's economy. Such hand-wringing merely offers the public an opportunity to discipline women morally and to resist reconstituting family life in a manner that reflects the country's increasing dependence on women's foreign remittances. This pattern is not exclusive to the Philippines. (Parrenas 2002: 52)

The moral disciplining of migrant women and the stigmatizing of their work has the most deleterious effect on the children on whose behalf the public and political campaigns are conducted. They convince them that there is something wrong with their mothers and their homes and that everything would be all right if they came home.

The stigmatization of children due to the migrant status of their parents is also happening in Slovenia today. As in the majority of European countries, in the last few decades Slovenia has gone from being a country of emigrants to a country of immigrants. The migrant workers mainly come from the countries that once formed Yugoslavia (1945–1991), and their families follow them. The stigmatization of their children is associated with their nationalities, their lack of familiarity with the Slovenian language, foreign-sounding names, and above all with the prevailing stereotypes and prejudices about immigrants from certain countries.⁸ The stigmatization is promoted by the media, political hate speech and nationalist cultural discourse, within which multiculturalism and multicultural dialogue have not yet been accepted as positive values. They can also be created and spread by migration researchers. Social scientists and migration researchers can help deconstruct the process of the stigmatization of children of migrants in Slovenia by giving the migrants and their children names and stories in their research, thus subjectifying and humanizing them.

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POVZETEK

OTROCI IN OTROŠTVO V MIGRACIJSKIH KONTEKSTIH

Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik

Množično izseljevanje iz slovenskega etničnega prostora se je začelo na prehodu devetnajstega v dvajseto stoletje in je trajalo približno šestdeset let. Razložimo lahko najmanj pet različnih pozicioniranj otrok v kontekstu (ne-prisilnih oblik) slovenskega izseljevanja. Teh pet načinov pa ne zasledimo samo v slovenskem izseljevanju, prav tako pa niso omejeni zgolj na preteklost. Zanimivo je, da jih najdemo tudi v današnjih oblikah priseljevanja v Slovenijo. Prvi in najbolj pogost način pozicioniranja otrok v migracijskih kontekstih je selitev otrok(a) skupaj z njihovimi družinami, ki je lahko trajna selitev oziroma preselitev, lahko je začasna selitev, ali pa je kombinacija obeh. Drugi način je odločitev staršev ali enega od njih, da migrira sam in da pusti ali pustita otroke doma pri starih starših, sorodnikih ali sosedih in prijateljih. Takšna odločitev je pogosto povezana s prepričanjem, da se bo družina ponovno združila, ko bodo za to dani finančni, stanovanjski ali katerikoli drugi pogoji. Tretjo obliko pozicioniranja otrok imenujem povratništvo in predstavlja raznovrstne oblike vračanja otrok skupaj s starši nazaj v domovino, ali samostojno vračanje v odrasli dobi, ali celo vračanje odraslih v domovino svojih staršev. Celo v tem primeru se v slovenski terminologiji uporablja izraz povratniki, kar je v besedilu posebej razloženo. Peta pozicija je povezana s posebnim delom izseljenk, ki so se v tujini zaposlile kot dovilje, varuške otrok in sobarice. Tukaj so kot otroci v migracijskem kontekstu pozicionirani tako njihovi lastni otroci, ki so jih v večini primerov puščale doma, kot tudi otroci, za katere so skrbele, jih vzgajale ali celo dojile. V zgodovini slovenskega izseljenstva so tudi primeri, ko so otroci migrirali sami in po svoji lastni volji, ali pa so jih na delo v tujino poslali starši. Oblike različnih pozicioniranj otrok so razložene in ilustrirane s primeri iz raziskav subjektivnih migracijskih izkušenj, ki so bile izvedene na avto/biografskem gradivu in z narativnimi metodami. Zaključek opozarja, da so migrantski otroci danes najbolj ranljiv del prebivalstva Slovenije in Evrope in so pogosto žrtve hudih stigmatiziranj in diskriminacij. Predlaga raziskovalcem migracij, da upoštevajo subjektiviteto »objektov« svojih raziskav in humanizirajo migrante, ko jih "proučujejo", še posebej migrantske otroke.

CHILDREN OF DIPLOMATS IN (RE)SOCIALISATION TURBULENCES OF MIGRATION¹

Marina LUKŠIČ HACIN²

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ABSTRACT

Children of Diplomats in (Re)socialisation Turbulences of Migration

(Continuous) temporary employment of diplomats abroad is a form of migration. The article focuses on the population of children of diplomats and the question of the (re)socialisation processes they experience when moving abroad with their parents. The interpretative scheme of the article is based on the theory of the social construction of reality (Berger, Luckmann) and the theory of acculturation (Redfield), while employing the concept of hegemony (Althusser) and processes of stigmatisation (Goffman). Examples of turbulences discussed are: language competence, status incongruence, status of a foreigner, stigma, split personality, generational conflict, and processes of reintegration upon returning back home, bearing in mind that return in the social/cultural sense, and above all in terms of identity, is not possible. **KEYWORDS:** migration, resocialisation, acculturation, diplomacy, children

IZVLEČEK

Otroci diplomatov v (re)socializacijskih turbolencah migracij

Članek izhaja iz predpostavke, da je poklicno gibanje diplomatov (permanentno) začasno delo v tujini ter s tem oblika migracije. Osredotoča se na populacijo otrok diplomatov in vprašanje, v kakšne (re)socializacijske procese so vpeti otroci, ki svoje starše spremljajo pri selitvah. Interpretativna shema je izoblikovana s prepletanjem teorije družbene konstrukcije realnosti (Berger, Luckmann) in teorije akulturacije (Redfield) ob upoštevanju pomena procesov stigmatizacije (Goffman). Kot primeri turbolenc so obravnavani: jezikovna kompetenca, statusna inkogruenca, status tujca, stigma, razcepljena osebnost, generacijski konflikt in proces reintegracije ob t. i. vrnitvi, pri čemer se ugotavlja, da vrnitev v družbeno/kulturnem, predvsem pa identitetnem smislu, ni mogoča.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: migracije, resocializacija, akulturacija, diplomacija, otroci

¹ The article is the result of research conducted as part of the research programme National and cultural identity of Slovenian emigration (ARRS) and the research project: Professional Bases, Strategies and Theoretical Frameworks of Education for Intercultural Relations and Active Citizenship (European Social Fund EU and the Ministry of Education and Sport). The title was inspired by the book *The Turbulence of Migration* (Papastergiadis 2000).

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INTRODUCTION

Working in diplomacy is distinguished by the fact that it mostly takes place abroad. Diplomats are a population that is (continuously) temporarily employed abroad.³ They are rotated between their homeland and different countries as part of their professional obligations. Their temporary employment abroad is a specific type of migration, where principles of circularity can be seen: emigration – immigration – remigration/(re)integration. With emigration, which is at the same time immigration, they experience the processes of resocialisation, sometimes also integration, and upon returning home the processes of reintegration. Circular migrations are permanently repetitive but differ from the classic model, as the countries of immigration change. We may also speak of transmigration and transnationality.⁴

In this article, the professional movements of diplomats are referred to as migration. This is in opposition to the authors who use the term mobility to describe spatial movements of individuals in reputable and high-status professions.⁵ They argue that diplomats, journalists, international humanitarian workers, businessmen etc. are part of the so-called (international) professional mobile class.⁶ Methodological nationalism⁷ and social racism are behind this categorisation. Social racism, which in the framework of global capital is indirectly linked to nationalism, implies that poor people are migrants and rich people are mobile. My belief is that the use of the term mobility is ideological and theoretically undefined, and I use the terms migration or temporary work abroad as types of international migration.

The article is focused on the population of children of diplomats who circularly migrate, or transmigrate, together with their parents. The questions that I will attempt to answer are: What processes do children who migrate with their parents experience? How can we describe processes of primary and secondary socialisation and resocialisation? Are agents of socialisation harmonised, and if not, what does that mean? If processes of resocialisation⁸ occur before socialisation is concluded, what situations may arise? The debate focuses on the critical evaluation of migration contexts, when analysing the chosen processes in the light of the theory of the social construction of reality, with emphasis on

³ “... You can’t be a diplomat if you don’t work abroad. If you work for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and have never worked at an embassy or a consulate, you are just not a diplomat.” (Interviewee 2)

⁴ More about transnationalism and transmigration in: Vertovec 2001 and Lukšič Hacin 2009.

⁵ For a debate on the use of the term movement instead of migration when discussing spatial movements of members with privileged social statuses, see Mojca Vah Jevšnik (2009: 20–21).

⁶ An interesting insight into the migration dynamics of humanitarian and development workers is provided by Mojca Vah Jevšnik (2008, 2009).

⁷ Methodological nationalism is understood as defined by Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick-Schiller (2003).

⁸ In epistemological terms, resocialisation, defined as processes of changing of a person on an individual level, meets with the similar term acculturation. In migration contexts, these two categories intersect. I decided to use the term resocialisation, as I am interested only in the processes at the level of the individual, not the community.

resocialisation processes. The interpretative scheme of the article is based on the theory of the social construction of reality (Berger, Luckmann 1998) and the theory of acculturation (Redfield et al. 1936), while employing the concept of hegemony (Althusser 1980) and processes of stigmatisation (Goffman 1963).

The article provides the results of the research conducted by the Policy Planning and Research Division at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia and Slovenian Migration Institute ZRC SAZU in 2008 and 2009. The research focused on the question of equal opportunities in the Slovenian diplomatic corps, but the interviewees (diplomats) also discussed the issue of family dynamics and lives of their children abroad and upon return home. A quantitative and qualitative approach was used. Eleven in-depth interviews were conducted and a questionnaire was filled out by 235 diplomats.⁹ The article also uses the findings of research on the difficulties of children of Slovenian diplomats in returning to Slovenian schools (Skok, Videtič 2002) and the results of research on Slovenians abroad published in books *When Abroad Becomes Home* (Lukšič-Hacin 1995) and *Multiculturalism and Migration* (Lukšič-Hacin 1999).

KEY FEATURES OF THE (RE)SOCIALISATION CONTEXT

Processes of humanisation simultaneously ensure social/cultural continuity, as they reproduce the existing relations. Every individual with their inherited predispositions is born into a social/cultural environment. The environment sets the limits to fulfilment of predispositions and enforces its own strategies for meeting needs. Through those processes, an individual internalises the principles and values of the environment into which she/he was born. The intensity of the impact of the environment on shaping a child's personality varies according to age. The first years of life, when primary socialisation occurs, are important. This period is emotionally very dynamic and includes more than just cognitive development. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann stress the importance of the emotional attachment to a significant Other, which ensures that a child internalises the world surrounding her/him. A child identifies with significant Others through various emotions. Whatever they may be, internalisation always occurs together with identification (1988: 123). A child is entirely open to the influences from the outside world. The most important element of primary socialisation is speech¹⁰ or the so-called mother tongue. It follows a child from her/his first years on. The intertwining of language and (changing) situations transmits the world of meanings and symbols, which are two essentials of human communication, to the child. During those processes, the subconscious¹¹ is formed, which accompanies a person throughout his/her life. Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser also

⁹ More in Pirnat 2009: 27–42.

¹⁰ The term speech is understood as in Saussure's triad: language – langue (language) – parole (speech).

¹¹ Also important in primary socialisation is the tendency to imitate. The tendency to subconsciously imitate is gradually transformed into a conscious imitation of significant others. Imitation that simultaneously realizes identification strengthens the existent (social/cultural) value system through

denote these processes as being of key importance in their concepts of hegemony. Primary socialisation is completed when the concept of the generalised Other (and everything it encompasses) becomes embedded in an individual's consciousness. A person becomes an effective member of a society and subjectively owns himself/herself, as well as the world. But this internalisation of society, identity and reality is not yet completed. Socialisation is never complete and final (Berger, Luckmann 1988: 128).

Processes of primary socialisation slowly evolve into secondary socialisation. The latter can build upon the effects of primary socialisation, and even partly change them, but can never replace them. The personality is already roughly shaped. The world of secondary socialisation is institutionalised and impersonal. Anonymity is present. Emotional ties make way for more formal, impersonal relations. Necessity makes way for possibility. The effects of these processes are not as deeply rooted in a person's personality as the effects of primary socialisation. Changes also occur in identification patterns. Faith and trust are replaced by rationally developed motives. According to Berger and Luckmann, secondary socialisation is about the internationalisation of institutional structures and about acquiring knowledge that stems from social roles. These are linked to the acquirement of a specific vocabulary, as well as internalisation of meanings that structure explanations and behaviour inside an institutional area. Silent understanding, valuation and emotionality of those semantic fields are acquired. Also, subuniverses are acquired, while the basic, social world is acquired through primary socialisation (Berger, Luckmann 1988: 129).

In order to achieve successful socialisation,¹² the basic structure of secondary socialisation needs to be similar to primary socialisation. Processes of secondary socialisation should continue in the manner established in primary socialisation. Discrepancies may lead to unsuccessful socialisation, which, as will be discussed in more detail further on, often occurs in migration contexts.

According to the analytical model, processes of resocialisation occur after the completion of secondary socialisation. Career changes, mobility, accidents at work that result in necessary adjustments and change, migration, etc., all demand adjustment to new situations. A person constantly needs to adapt to new situations, i.e. resocialise. Resocialisation can be partial¹³ or more intense. Intense resocialisation includes alternation,¹⁴

a bipolar division of good vs. bad. Identity or the process of identification is slowly developed in this manner.

¹² Successful socialisation means that a high degree of symmetry between objective and subjective reality is established. As a result, a so-called balanced identity develops. In case of unsuccessful socialisation, asymmetry between objective and subjective reality occurs (Berger, Luckmann 1988: 151). Subjective and objective are intertwined categories, not independent, absolute categories.

¹³ Partial resocialisation occurs due to demands of increasingly intensive technological development. It is linked to the dynamics of employment, labour and social (class, education) mobility, accidents etc.

¹⁴ Alternation is the most intense resocialisation phenomenon. It is a conversion to a different world. The intensity of the process can be compared to primary socialisation, as it re-establishes reality through strong emotional identification with a significant Other (similarly as in childhood). It differs from primary socialisation in the fact that it is not developed 'ex nihilo'. It must first destroy and erase the

indoctrination¹⁵ and acculturation.¹⁶ Acculturation is an example of intense resocialisation that also occurs in various migration situations, regardless of whether the migration is voluntary or forced.

CHILDREN OF DIPLOMATS IN THE CONTEXT (RE)SOCIALISATION

By moving abroad, diplomats and their children undergo processes of resocialisation or acculturation¹⁷ which occur when individuals change their social/cultural environment. These processes are well-known from life stories of Slovenian expatriates. People leave for new, different environments, with which they become familiar only when they immigrate. A flood of new impressions may lead to a phenomenon known in anthropology as culture shock: a state of hopeless astonishment, bewilderment and confusion; different people, relations, values and norms; a new position within one's social and ethnic stratification; the relativisation and devaluation of habits and customs; feelings of the uselessness of the acquired knowledge of life; dilemmas about how to judge and understand new situations; feelings that old ties with relatives and friends were broken.¹⁸

As the Croatian saying goes, far from the eyes, far from the heart. When you're far away from your house, you start losing contact. The longer you stay abroad, the less people you know. (Interviewee 6)

After the first impressions and culture shock, people gradually become involved in their new work, social, cultural and language environments. Migrants undergo a process

subjective reality internalised during primary socialisation and establish a new organisation of language apparatus. Examples of alternations include religious conversions (Berger, Luckmann 1988: 146–147).

¹⁵ Indoctrination is a special case of alternation. It refers to conversions due to the pressures of a political regime and a predominant ideological system.

¹⁶ Acculturation refers to changes that occur due to cultural contact, at the level of an individual and a community. In migration contexts, at the level of an individual, these changes can be described as resocialisation. The terms are different with respect to content, but in case of first-generation migrants, they become overlapped, as they are both used to describe processes of partial or significant reconstruction of personality and identification occurring in a new environment. More on this issue in Lukšič-Hacin 1995.

¹⁷ Throughout this article, I will only use the term resocialisation, although the dyad resocialisation/acculturation is relevant in the given context.

¹⁸ "Before e-mail it was hard to stay in touch with your friends if you weren't good at corresponding by mail. You always felt like you were forgetting them. And moving and packing all your stuff is a hassle, especially if you have to move from a huge apartment to a tiny one and have to get rid of your things. Not only that, but every time you move you have to learn new things like new music, new rules, new transportation systems, new schools. It's hard enough moving around, but you also have to move from a very understanding overseas lifestyle to a place where no one understands moving, especially meeting people who have known each other since childhood." (Cultural Adjustments, <http://future.state.gov/where/stories/transition/44233.htm>)

of (re)construction of their social status. In a foreign-language environment, this process is largely dependent on the level of language competence and internalised elaborated or restricted language code. On a symbolic level, the latter determines the intensity of stigmatisation (Goffman 1963) in the new environment, and feelings of foreignness. Better knowledge of the language may lead to lesser intensity of feelings of foreignness and stigmatisation. Ultimately, these new experiences may lead to apathy and retreat from the outside world. Adapting to new norms often results in experiencing a cultural void,¹⁹ which can lead to social pathology.²⁰ Most people are more or less successfully resocialised, but some remain isolated and that leads to loneliness.²¹

When considering the population of children, the specifics of socialisation pertinent to their age need to be taken into consideration. Children migrate together with their parents before processes of primary and/or secondary socialisation are concluded. For smaller children, the processes of primary socialisation become disrupted upon entering a different environment and facing new situations. For older children, the processes of secondary socialisation become disrupted and are, in many cases, also inconsistent with their primary socialisation. Parallel to unconcluded socialisation and contradictions in the process of socialisation, children are also included in processes of resocialisation. Berger and Luckmann argue that socialisation discrepancies can have serious consequences. If a discrepancy appears during primary socialisation, i.e. the period of strong emotionality, the processes of identification, re-identification and alternation may be accompanied by emotional crisis, instability, or even development of a split personality.²² The emergence of alternative worlds during secondary socialisation has different consequences, as individuals make decisions in a manipulative manner. This can be understood as the case of cold alternation, when an individual does internalise the new reality, but in a specific manner. His/her identity has been largely developed in primary socialisation, which enables the relativisation of the internalising of a new reality (Berger, Luckmann 1988: 158–159). This may lead to a strengthened awareness of the relativity of all worlds while

¹⁹ A cultural void occurs when the old patterns and norms become devalued and are replaced by the new ones. Accepting new norms, values, i.e. resocialisation, is a challenging process. (Južnič 1977: 524)

²⁰ Types of social pathology according to Jurij Zalokar include: marginal identity, nostalgia as an illness, overeating, alcoholism, obsession with work, extreme sociability and talking, tradition as a shelter and object of worship. (1991: 81–93)

²¹ More in Lukšič-Hacin 1995.

²² The condition of split personality may develop in the following ways: 1. The individual fully identifies with the new community, but the community does not accept him/her and considers him/her a foreigner; 2. A split personality may be a consequence of internalising the status of foreigner, which is linked with stereotyping and xenophobia, having a strong impact on a child or an adolescent. This may cause specific disunity, when an individual begins refusing parts of his/her identity. Most often, ethnicity is refused. A negative attitude towards the self may develop into aggressiveness towards members of similar ethnic groups, when an individual wants to prove to him/herself and others that he/she is different.

recognising and acknowledging one's own, resulting in the development of transnational or cosmopolitan identity.

In conversations about the lives of children of diplomats in a new environment, the most important issue that was brought up was language,²³ or more precisely languages – learning the language of a new environment and preserving the knowledge of the Slovenian language. In non-English speaking environments, English appears as a third language, as children of diplomats are usually enrolled in international programmes taught in English. Putting aside the differences between value systems, norms and rules of behaviour at the level of everyday lives in kindergartens, schools or between peers, children face tremendous difficulties due to language. Outside their family environment, they need to use a foreign language in order to verbalise their emotions, knowledge and thoughts. Personality no longer creates a child's social networks, language competence does. Language (in)competence sets limits to interpersonal relations established by children in a new environment. It creates their statuses and roles. It determines the intensity of peer relations and construction of self-image through social interaction with the new environment. Although language is not the only factor shaping this dynamics, it is among the most important ones.

Children are enrolled in international or foreign schools, learn new languages and face many challenges. Slovenian children face additional problems due to unsystematic governmental family policy planning, which is needed to prepare children for the new challenges and contradictions in a new environment.

It is not sufficient that the partner is prepared for moving abroad only by protocol. Other measures need to be taken. The diplomatic corps of some other countries, as well as successful companies, already have developed mechanisms [...] Children should also have the right to learn the language of a new environment prior to moving abroad. [...] In the case that families of diplomats decide to live separately, the family is under tremendous pressure. (Interviewee 2)

The family is not prepared for the challenges in a new environment, but the family as a whole acts as a representative of their country abroad. Interviewees argue that all family members have the status of a diplomat's family not only for eight hours, but for the entire day.

Partners are forced into more active participation. In a way, all members of a diplomat's family represent their country 24 hours a day. (Interviewee 6)

It is often suggested that children of diplomats have an advantage in mastering a

²³ Language as the system of symbols is the axis of human communication. When the social/cultural environment is changed, language becomes one of the basic obstacles for inclusion and for understanding dynamics in the new society.

foreign language due to their stay abroad. Experience shows that this is not necessarily the case.

The alleged advantages of a diplomatic post abroad quickly diminish: their colleagues who are not diplomats travel more, so travelling is not a good argument. Their children speak foreign languages better than his children, so better knowledge of foreign languages is also not necessarily a result. (Interviewee 2)

There are even bigger problems with learning Slovenian. Most often, this task is left to the parents, as professional teaching is not always an available option.²⁴

Ever since we became a young state, we have very unfriendly arrangements for children. This is a terrible thing. The first problem is that we are a small country. Italians, for example, have Italian schools everywhere around the world, diplomats can completely devote themselves to being diplomats and not worry that much about other personal issues [...] Russians, for example, have a huge school in Berlin and they feel like they are in Russia. Germany also has schools all over the world. If not, it establishes them, even if for only ten children. Yugoslavia had this kind of system as well. There are quite a few possibilities; these days a lot can be done on the internet as well. (Interviewee 9)

Recently, internet-based²⁵ distance learning of the Slovenian language has been considered as a possibility, but the idea is still in the experimental phase.

Some children are included in the experimental long-distance learning project offered by the MIRK Institute, which is the most efficient form of education. Diplomats' children can maintain contact with the Slovenian environment and the Slovenian language. Good knowledge of Slovenian language and Slovenian culture is the key element of their resocialisation after returning home and a prerequisite for their successful inclusion into the Slovenian education system. (Examples of e-education)

The consequences of several years of unprofessional education in the Slovenian language in a family environment become evident after the return to Slovenia, where it is expected that children will effortlessly be able to communicate, as if Sloveneness is in their genes. The fact that they experienced conflicting socialisation and resocialisation and that they need systematic and guided reintegration is disregarded. This unarticulated situation,²⁶ which is also disregarded and neglected on a systemic level, results in a new,

²⁴ Different countries provide different solutions, one of which is as follows: "She worked in Scandinavia and knows that everything can be sorted out in a women- and men- friendly manner. There are no problems there, they even have nannies for children of diplomats who speak the same language as the parents and are paid by the state." (Interviewee 9)

²⁵ The Internet not only provides a good possibility for learning a language, but is an important medium of preserving cultural heritage in migrant communities. More in Mikola and Gombač 2008: 39–56.

²⁶ Even the public articulation of the complexity of the situation that children are facing would make

often even more intense shock than experienced abroad. The depth of the language problem can be grasped only when taking into consideration the fact that language is not only a means of communication. It is more than that. It is a system of symbols. Individuals internalise it through processes of socialisation, which are simultaneously being enabled by language. Language is a basic element of socialisation through which it internalises itself. In the first years of socialisation, personality and the subconscious start developing in parallel with the mother tongue. Therefore, human thoughts and emotions are embedded in language, through which a person achieves self-reflection and self-awareness. This explains why language elaboration is of tremendous importance for a child. After living abroad for longer periods of time, some words are often replaced by new ones and new speech develops that is a mixture of Slovenian and foreign words. In some cases, a child retreats to solitude and fails to express her/his feelings in any language. She/he stagnates in a restrictive code and somehow slips through languages, not only with respect to communication, but also with respect to emotions and personality.

In the end, the reason for returning home was language. The mother tongue starts vanishing abroad, you are no longer fluent. How do you keep in contact with the world then? How do you say what you feel you need to say? How do you stay who you are? I had to go back home! (Zalokar 1991: 7)

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRATION CONTEXTS AS THE REASON FOR (RE)SOCIALISATION TURBULENCES

As already discussed, the population of children of diplomats and other migrant children is exposed to contradictory, often conflicting processes, as they are going through processes of resocialisation before primary and secondary socialisation have been concluded. This may lead to identity crises. These crises differ in intensity, but depend on the social and ethnic stratification in the new environment, and new statuses ascribed to the child's family and the child him/herself. Migration contexts are often interlocked with ethnic stratification, manifested through stigmatisation,²⁷ marginalisation and status incongruence. In those environments that are not tolerant toward Slovenians, a child experiences all three processes more intensely, which can become overwhelming and intolerable. Diplomats' families usually have a relatively high social status and reputation in their homeland. When a child with such a background experiences intolerance towards Slovenians abroad and realises that he/she is a 'čefur' (a Slovenian pejorative

them feel better. The special status of this specific population (including the children of other returnees and immigrants), linked to language competence, would be emphasised. Children would realise that they are not a special case, that things are the way they are and that the challenges they are facing are not linked to personal (in)abilities and talents.

²⁷ Immigrant children in Slovenia also report about stigmatisation from peers and teachers. See Žitnik 2008: 90–91.

usually denoting Bosnians t.n.),²⁸ this status incongruence causes great problems and may have a negative impact on his/her personality. Having a systematic strategy for preparing children for moving abroad is thus of significant importance.

A second form of turbulence that children are not prepared for is having the status of a foreigner. This status can be problematic for adults with an already formed personality,²⁹ but even more so for children experiencing socialisation turbulences in such complex circumstances.

... the first few weeks were horrible. Not knowing anyone there and not knowing the language was the worst thing in my life. I don't think I adapted until 4 months into our stay. I remember how my brother used to come home from school and cry for hours. (Cultural Adjustments)

Children lose their friends, peer networks, and homes, even though they move together with their parents. In a new environment, they feel like strangers in their own home.

Sometimes I wish we had never moved to Germany, because I don't know exactly where I belong. I don't feel Yugoslavian, and don't think like Germans do. I'm a sort of a mixture, as twelve years of Germany has left its mark." (Vizjak 1979: 229)

I have no home, I have no childhood friends, no siblings and my parents are older now. I'm 22 and the only thing that justifies my life is moving around. Doing my degree I've stayed in the same places for over 3 years for the first time in my life. I've decided to stay one more. But after my Master's degree there is no doubt I'm heading straight for the foreign office to do the same all over again and I can't wait. [...] I've said goodbye and cried so many times. [...] I was truly alone at the new school in a new country with no siblings and no friends. I am a master at making friends now and a master of seeing them go. I can spend time with myself better than anyone I know. (I was just doing an ...)

Foreignness is especially emphasised as it can have a significant impact on the development of a personality during socialisation and enculturation processes. Being familiar with the language of a new environment is important for all migrants, especially children,

²⁸ "The Finns are for Swedes what we are for Austrians – 'some Bosnians', but they are twenty years ahead." (Interviewee 10)

²⁹ "Abroad. [...] This damn, many times damned abroad. [...] It wants to drain my heart and soul, my entire self, in such a horrific manner that I know not what saves me or what will – if at all – save me. [...] Abroad is a curse and mesmerisation; a mesmerisation and a curse. It attracts you and repels you. [...] I am alone everywhere, a foreigner in a foreign world. [...] From a foreign country, but in this world; a citizen of my own, but a foreign country. [...] You become aware of this foreignness, [...] when you become a foreigner to yourself, when and because you are always on the road and on the run, [...], when you are somehow without personality, without a body, but you are nevertheless here [...]" (Jazbec 2006: 107)

but the attitude of the majority towards ‘different’ and ‘foreign’ is even more essential.³⁰ The multi-layeredness and complexity of the status of a foreigner is constructed in different contexts through interaction. It is important to establish whether the status of a foreigner in the country of immigration is stigmatised and marginalised. Social stigmatisation, xenophobia and stereotyping are strong negative factors that influence (re)socialisation and have a strong impact on a child. Reactions to negative pressures from the majority include the development of a split personality, marginal identity and alternation.

Stigma has a strong impact on a child and can, in some cases, result in negation of parts of one’s own identity. Specific internalisation of stigma occurs, the impact of which is most significant on individuals whose personality is not yet formed. But it needs to be stressed that defence mechanisms, which can be triggered to ease the effects of stigmatisation, may in some cases lead to the development of a cosmopolitan identity through relativisation. In any case, children need to be prepared for potential difficulties and challenges prior to moving abroad.

For me, being Slovenian also means to be able to return to homeland often, at least for two days, to ski or swim, and then on Monday tell my Austrian school mates that I’m not “čuš”, as some people call us Slovenians. [...] It’s better to be poor than well-off but still a foreigner in Austria. (Umek 1979: 9)

A split personality, which is the consequence of conflicts between the objective and subjective worlds, is an even stronger phenomenon. It can occur due to internalisation of alternative conflicting value systems.

From stories told by friends and many published articles, I could paint a picture about the life of foreigners in the Federal republic. I knew that almost half of young people are mentally ill, as they can no longer deal with frame-ups. They stand no chance on the labour market. For those who grew up here, the return to their homeland is not possible. They have no homeland. (Wallraff 1986: 9)

Children whose environment of primary socialisation is changed due to moving abroad may face the aforementioned disconnect between primary and secondary socialisation linked to language barriers, status incongruence, stigma and marginalisation. They may experience different psychological traumas, including alternation: denying their ethnic origin and thus denying themselves.

My daughter did research and found out that children of diplomats tend to be much more depressed than their peers due to the change of environment. Supposedly 50 per cent of children of diplomats in Europe have serious psychological problems,

³⁰ The attitude of the majority (especially the sphere of media and popular culture) towards migrants (especially children) in Slovenia is discussed by Jernej Mlekuž (2008).

problems with fitting in. [...] Moving abroad is not necessarily a good investment for a child. (Interviewee 9)

Generational conflict is another issue that causes turbulence in socialisation. The phenomenon itself is common during socialisation and growing up, but it is not as relevant in migration contexts. However, due to complexity of relations in migration contexts, generational conflict tends to be more intense in such situations. This is seen in cases of ethnic alternation and language barriers – if a child uses the new language and the parents (or one of them) do not. Communication is thus compromised, and so are the emotional dynamics between them.

We grew up here, so this is our home. We have childhood memories of Slovenia, which seem like a dream. Slovenia is beautiful, we are fond of it, but it is not our home. The Slovenian language is difficult, so we speak English with each other, which feels more natural to us. Older people then say that we are not loyal Slovenians. Maybe so: but we are loyal Slovenian Americans and Canadians. (Košir-Arko in Brumen 1967: 260)

Another form of turbulence in the lives of children of diplomats, the most difficult one, is reintegration upon their return to Slovenia. Similarly to processes of resocialisation that occur abroad, reintegration starts with the return to the homeland.

Children have to change their environment when they move abroad and when they return. When you start to sum up all the negative arguments, you draw the line and realise that you will not leave. That is why many people decide not to move abroad. (Interviewee 6)

According to the narratives, the experiences of our sample population are similar to the experiences and reintegration of other Slovenian returnees. The processes and problems encountered by the individuals and families are similar. The first and most important is their realisation that reintegration upon returning back home is a more traumatic experience than resocialisation in a foreign environment.³¹

While overseas you think of yourself as American; in the school system here, I'm thought an oddity. It was embarrassing to have to explain to the counsellor that even though the slip I held said I came from Austria, I was not Austrian and would not need any special attention. [...] On my first day in this class, the teacher gave us a test on everything we were supposed to know about the 'Original 13 Colonies.' When I got the test I looked it over and practically cried; not only did I not know which of the 13 colonies was based around fishing; I didn't even know we had 13 colonies.

³¹ For a further insight into this issue see the article *Problems of Children of Slovenian Diplomats with Inclusion into Slovenian Schools* (Skok, Videtič 2002)

My teacher excused me, and I went straight to the guidance office to be switched out of the class. The next day I switched to a less advanced class. (Adapting)

... my son had big problems. He went to school abroad and when he returned to Slovenia, the situation was critical. And what happens when three years from now you leave again? The child needs to go to the international school, of course. (Interviewee 9)

Second, also very important, is the realisation that there is broadly speaking no return. We may only speak about return one-dimensionally, in terms of physical movement of people. In all other perspectives that take into consideration more complex social/cultural dimensions, return is not possible. Resocialisation changes people and simple reintegration is no longer possible. People change, but it is not only migrants who change. During their absence, people and the environment change as well.

When I returned to the States in sixth grade after living in the Ivory Coast for 4 years, my classes were filled with people who had known each other forever. Their minds were filled with mutual memories and knowledge they had gained from opportunities I had never had. (Changing Points of View)

Migrants, both parents and children, leave their social networks behind, and when they return to Slovenia they no longer exist. Migrants have memories of their homeland and do not expect that the environment will change during their absence. But it does. Similarly, people from the homeland expect that expatriates (family) will return the same as they were, but they have changed. Lack of communication causes people to drift apart. The migrant becomes a foreigner in their own country, which becomes evident upon her/his return.³² Feeling home only on the surface and feeling different in reality creates a more complex situation than the one abroad. These are important circumstances that emotionally complicate processes of reintegration, as a person feels a foreigner in an environment where she/he is supposed to be at home.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The article focuses on the population of children of diplomats and discusses the (re) socialisation processes that they undergo when moving abroad with their parents. The most important examples of the so-called turbulences include: language competence, status incongruence, status of a foreigner, stigma, split personality, generational conflict

³² Narratives by the interviewees about feeling different are similar to experiences of emigrants who live abroad and consider returning home and those who already returned to Slovenia. Results of the research are published in the book *Home Again? Return Migration between Politics, Practice and Theory* (Lukšič-Hacin, Mlekuž 2006).

and processes of reintegration upon returning back home, bearing in mind that return in the social/cultural sense, and above all in terms of identity, is not possible.

The research provides many answers to initial questions about the (re)socialisation of children of diplomats. In many respects, their situation is not different from other migrant children. Experiences differ more according to which countries they move to. For most migrant children, migration causes turbulences in the delicate period of growing up. When taking into consideration the situation of children of diplomats, systematic family policy could ease the intensity of the turbulences. Children and the entire family should be familiar with the potential contradictions that arise with migration. Language courses should be offered before moving abroad and Slovenian language courses should be organised upon immigration. Internet-based language learning is a new possibility. Strategic planning of education would need to include other populations of children and adults with similar needs – Slovenians abroad, returnees, and immigrants before their arrival to Slovenia.

Let me stress once again that the question about the meaning and role of turbulences in the (re)socialisation process cannot be answered with a single answer. Different people react differently to the challenges of migration contexts and develop their own survival strategies. In addition, the meaning and role of turbulences are highly ambivalent. The aforementioned turbulences of (re)socialisation in migration contexts may cause a split personality on one hand, but may provide an alternative for the development of a tolerant, cosmopolitan identity.

The experiences of children are different. Some do not know who they are and where they come from:

There are two things that are very difficult. Firstly your sense of identity. The simple question of ‘where are you from’ can take hours to reply to. I was born in one place but lived here, there, and there. There are so many countries I can support when it comes to things like sports. I also grew speaking with 4 different accents and was very patriotic towards each place by the time I left for the next! In a sense you wish sometimes that you were just born in one place and lived there and that’s that. [...] A lot of people where I live now have friends that they have known since they were kids. I don’t have that as I was always saying goodbye to them and moving on. So that can be difficult. I’m not sure about other children of diplomats, but I did develop a close bond with my siblings. Probably because we would move to another country and the only friends we had were each other. (I’m 31 years old now).

There are so many advantages to this lifestyle. [...] But what a lot of people don’t realise is that there are many, many disadvantages. The feeling of always being unstable – ‘We’re here for two years, where next? Home? Europe? America?’ No matter how much you want to enjoy the moment, that thought can be distressing. And losing all the people you meet and love. We all say ‘keep in touch’ but how hard is that? A quick ‘Hey’ on Facebook is not keeping in touch. It makes me so sad thinking about all the people I’ve left, what life would be like if I could still be with them. (I am the child of a diplomat).

And some point out to many benefits of being a migrant and developing a transnational identity:

I relished my differences even more when I started to reap the benefits of my diversified childhood. In eighth grade, I discovered that living outside of the United States had developed my mental abilities as well as provided me with enriching experiences. I had taken French during my 4 years I was in the Ivory Coast, and this early exposure to the language has made it always seem natural to me. I feel comfortable with learning languages, in general, and seem to pick up the grammar and intricacies of foreign tongues easily. Also because I have lived all over the world, I see it as filled with possibilities of future explorations instead of places that are out of reach. Reading or watching the news takes on a different meaning when I know someone from the topic country or have been there myself. [...] I had lived in Alexandria for 6 years and now had the kind of base group of friends that I had dreamed of when I first moved there. I knew that Alexandria was my home. However, even home can become confining and the routines too familiar. I was ready for the excitement of living overseas again. I had enjoyed living in West Africa and was positive that I wanted to try a different kind of life once more before going to college. I can now say that I have lived in five countries on four different continents in the past 17 years and am proud of what I have learned and seen. I wouldn't have had it any other way. (Changing Points of View)

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POVZETEK

OTROCI DIPLOMATOV V (RE)SOCIALIZACIJSKIH TURBOLENAH MIGRACIJ

Marina Lukšič Hacin

Članek z naslovom Otroci diplomatov v (re)socializacijskih turbolencah migracij izhaja iz predpostavke, da je poklicno gibanje diplomatov (permanentno) začasno delo v tujini ter s tem oblika migracije. Podrejeno je načelu rotacije med matično državo in različnimi državami sprejema, saj so v aktivni fazi opravljanja poklica uslužbenci v tujini. Krožne migracije se permanentno ponavljajo, a odstopajo od klasičnega modela, saj države sprejema niso iste, ampak se spreminjajo. S tem so dani pogoji ne le za krožne migracije, ampak tudi za transmigracije in transnacionalnost.

Razprava se osredotoča na populacijo otrok diplomatov, ki spremljajo svoje v diplomaciji zaposlene starše na poteh krožnih migracij, pogosto tudi transmigracij, in skuša odgovoriti na naslednja vprašanja: V kakšne procese so vpeti otroci, ki svoje starše spremljajo pri selitvah? Kako potekajo procesi primarne in sekundarne socializacije ter resocializacije? Ali so agensi socializacije usklajeni, in če ne, kaj to pomeni? Kakšne situacije se vzpostavljajo ob dejstvu, da se začnejo procesi resocializacije v času, ko socializacija še ni končana? V ospredju razprave je kritična evalvacija migracijskih kontekstov, ki se razpirajo, če analiziramo izbrane procese v luči teorije družbene konstrukcije realnosti, s poudarki na resocializaciji. Interpretativna shema prispevka je izoblikovana s prepletanjem ključnih spoznanj teorij družbene konstrukcije realnosti (Berger, Luckmann) in teorije akulturacije (Redfield) ob upoštevanju procesov stigmatizacije (Goffmann).

Avtorica v članku kot primere turbolenc obravnava vprašanja jezikovne kompetence, statusne inkogruence, statusa tujca, stigme, razcepljene osebnosti, generacijskega konflikta in procesa reintegracije ob t. i. vrnitvi, pri čemer ugotavlja, da vrnitev v družbeno/kulturnem, predvsem pa identitetnem smislu, ni mogoča. V zaključku poudari, da (re) socializacije v migracijskih kontekstih po eni strani predstavljajo možnost npr. razcepljene osebnosti, po drugi strani pa nudijo alternativo za izoblikovanje tolerantne, kozmopolit-

ske identitete. Izkušnje otrok so različne. Eni poudarjajo, da ne vedo, kdo so, od kje so, da imajo težave, itd., drugi pa poudarjajo prednosti, ki so jih pridobili v migracijskem načinu življenja, in lahko bi rekli, da opisujejo razmere, v katerih lahko govorimo o pojavu transnacionalnosti. Ugotavlja, da ni enoznačnega odgovora na vprašanje o pomenu in vlogi turbolenc v (re)socializacijskem procesu, oziroma da sta izrazito ambivalentna.

CHILDHOOD, HOMESICKNESS AND THE GENERATION GAP IN THE LITERATURE OF SLOVENIAN EMIGRANTS

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ABSTRACT

Childhood, Homesickness and the Generation Gap in the Literature of Slovenian Emigrants

The author discusses various aspects of childhood and impacts on childhood as they are mirrored in literary works written by sixty Slovenian émigré writers. She is interested in how émigré literature pictured for Slovenian emigrant children themes like childhood in the old country and life in the new homeland, what these children actually experienced within and outside their families in different historical periods of Slovenian emigration, and how all this influenced their world views as well as the typical features of the generation gap in migrant context. The author compares some thematic characteristics of Slovenian émigré literature with similar elements found in the works written by immigrant writers in Slovenia.

KEY WORDS: Slovenian émigré literature, childhood, idealisation of homeland, nostalgia, generation gap

IZVLEČEK

Otroštvo, domotožje in medgeneracijski prepad v književnosti slovenskih izseljencev

V prispevku avtorica obravnava različne vidike otroštva in vplive na otroštvo, kot se odražajo v književnih delih šestdeseterice slovenskih izseljenskih pisateljev. Vprašanja, ki jo še zlasti zanimajo, so, kako je slovenska izseljenska književnost slikala izseljenskim otrokom otroštvo v stari domovini in življenje v novi domovini, kaj so izseljenski otroci dejansko doživljali v krogu družine in kaj zunaj njega v različnih obdobjih slovenskega izseljenstva in kako je vse to vplivalo na njihov pogled na svet, še zlasti pa na specifične značilnosti medgeneracijskega prepada v izseljenstvu. Avtorica primerja nekatere tematske značilnosti slovenskega izseljenskega leposlovja s podobnimi prvinami v delih priseljenskih avtorjev v Sloveniji.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: slovenska izseljenska književnost, otroštvo, idealiziranje domovine, nostalgija, medgeneracijski prepad

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INTRODUCTION²

*Children do not need boats to cross the seas
or satellites to fly beyond the stars,
theirs are dreams in which all things happen,
everything that in a thousand years will be the truth.³*

In literary theory childhood has often been labelled as a reference point of the writer. In the case of immigrant writers, this is even more marked. Memories of childhood also contain memories of the primary socialisation which, in a foreign environment, is inevitably relativised or exposed to resocialisation (Dimkovska 2006: 143). In the case of immigrant writers there is often a 'symptomatic overlapping of the two themes – home and childhood – to form a new chronotope of childhood, which is presented as a paradise lost and an inexhaustible creative arsenal.' (Šeleva 2005: 25) There is therefore sufficient material in the literary work of Slovenian emigrants for an analytical treatment of the chronotope of childhood and its reflections in emigrant literature, and also for consideration of the influence on childhood in an emigrant community of those values and emotional aspects that are specifically connected to emigration, as reflected in literature.

The questions that occurred to me immediately concerned the way Slovenian children lived in a time of general want among the emigrant proletariat before and during the First World War and after it, how life in the old country and abroad was painted for them by emigrant literature, what they experienced inside the family circle and outside it in different periods of Slovenian emigration, and how this influenced their views of the world and their attitude towards their surroundings and, in particular, on the generation gap in emigration.

In accordance with the contemporary methodology of seeking connections between an artist's work and the socio-cultural background in which it was created, I shall also talk about some specific themes and motifs of emigrant/immigrant literature which can be explained by specific socio-cultural aspects of emigration. I shall compare the specific features that I detect in Slovenian emigrant literature with parallel characteristics of the literary works of some immigrant writers in Slovenia.

CHILDHOOD IN EMIGRATION

A gilded picture of childhood in the old country is a very common emotional refuge among emigrants. There are, however, relatively few emigrant writers who also describe

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³ Bert Pribac, *Sanje otrok so velike kot veter* [The Dreams of Children Are As Big As the Wind], extract (Detela 1991: 33).

childhood in emigration with lightness or optimism. Examples of this are the book of short prose writings by Anna Valencic (2002) or the sketch story *Teta Zofi in Indijanci* [Aunt Sophie and the Indians] by John Modic (Petrič 1982: 333–341). Modic recounts the charming and mischievous adventures of a grandson and his puckish grandfather, who live in terror of Aunt Sophie, who – according to the custom of the old country – is always making them eat the same kind of soup and worries about them excessively. A fairly realistic fragment from his own childhood in the German emigrant community is provided by the Slovenian-American author Anton Zaitz (born in Westphalia in 1898) in an extract from his unpublished autobiography *One of the Million*. In a humorous manner he talks openly about the embarrassing consequences of his childish investigation of the opposite sex. Before the age of five he also remembers his mother's illness and her desire to return with her family 'to a little country called Slovenia, in Austria.' She daydreamed about earning enough money to buy a little farm in Slovenia. 'This was her life's ambition and we children listened patiently when she talked to us, full of homesickness, about the little farm with a cow, a dog and a few chickens.' (Petrič 1982: 327)

Children, in fact, did put up 'patiently' with their parents' homesickness, as Zaitz says, although this could also be traumatic for them, too. In *Dnevnik neke žene* [A Woman's Diary], Nataša Kolman writes in the third person about the feelings of an emigrant mother whose homesickness and loneliness alienate her even from her own children. Excessive homesickness can be causally linked to a whole series of other symptoms and consequences, from self-pity and wilful isolation to feelings of guilt over the deprivation suffered by children:

... her mother will not be there to dandle her children on her knee; her sisters will not be there to advise her and make her feel that she is not alone in the world. Her acquaintances will not be there – those who have known her whole life and who no longer criticised everything she did because they knew and accepted her as she was. But here she is a foreigner, without a past [...]
Her son pesters her to play with him. She does not feel like it. She tells herself that she has the right to be in a bad mood, for she too has nothing but dreary and empty days... (Petrič 1982: 376–377)

On the other hand, there is as much childish mischief, of the kind that Modic writes about in *Aunt Sophie*, in emigrant children's literature as there is in the children's literature of the homeland. Since, however, children's literature created in emigration will in the future be the subject of analysis in its own right, I shall for the most part avoid it here. I must make an exception in the case of Katka Zupančič, since a good part of her work for children reflects the premature 'adulthood' of children in the hard conditions of a foreign country in which their parents were struggling for survival. The social aspect of growing up (the influence of poverty)⁴ is unobtrusively pushed into the background in Zupančič's

⁴ Much has been published on poverty among emigrant workers, also on modern poverty that emerged among immigrants in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s (for example Lukšič-Hacin 2007: 200–203).

work (for example in the short story *Okenca* [Little Windows], Petrič 1982: 265–273), since this is, in the end, children's literature that is supposed to encourage children to read. With the same skill, however, this aspect is pushed to the foreground at the end of the children's poem *Pismo stričku* [Letter to Uncle], the original of which Zupančič published in *Mladinski list* in 1933. This is an apparently humorous poem with a playful tone (in the first person singular): at her father's bidding, a daughter must write a letter to her uncle back in the homeland and tell him that here in the new country there is a great commotion because moths have got into the American flag. If the flag had been redder, says her father, this would not have happened. The girl starts off pretending to take literally her father's metaphors of moths, the satiated wolf and the goat. In the end, however, she reveals in her surprisingly witty childish way, that she understands their real meaning all too well.

Following the model of the naturalistic, socially engaged American prose of the early 20th century (the so-called muckraking novel), the social theme of a hopeless life in factories and mines, along with poverty and unemployment, began increasingly to establish itself in this period among Slovenian-American writers and even poets. The majority of their original publications of this kind date from the 1920s and 1930s and even the early 1940s, but quite a number actually appeared before 1920. Social themes are most characteristic of short prose by Slovenians living in the USA. An anthology entitled *Ameriške povesti* [American Tales], a characteristic example of this kind of prose, was published in 1943, while these themes also found a response among post-war Slovenian authors in the USA (e.g. Mauser in the short story *John Kovach*, Gobetz and Donchenko 1977: 75–81). Social issues were also dealt with in novel form, notably by Ivan Molek (the novel *Zajedalci* [Parasites] and the trilogy *Dva svetova* [Two Worlds], *Veliko mravljišče* [The Great Anthill] and *Sesuti stolp* [The Collapsed Tower], Molek 1920; 1932; 1934; 1935), while other authors mainly used these themes in short prose and, to a certain extent, poetry. Zupan paints a dark picture of life in a foreign country and of emigration in his poem *Kovač sreče* [Faber fortuneae] (Petrič 1982: 110), and similar themes are covered by Kristan in the poem *V hiši tlake* [In the House of Drudgery] (op. cit.: 112), Mary Jugg in the poem *Sveti večer* [Sacred Evening] and the prose piece *Priseljenka* [The Immigrant Woman] (op. cit.: 295–304), Beniger in the prose work *Samotar Jože* [Solitary Joseph] (*Ameriške povesti*: 5–10), and Praček Krasna in the sketch story *Zibel* [The Cradle] (op. cit.: 22–24). In two sketches, *Staro zlato* [Old Gold] and *Jutri* [Tomorrow] (Petrič 1982: 290–294), Klančar writes about the bitterness of life in a foreign country, contrasted with the idealised image of his parents' homeland, with which he has fallen in love by reading the books his parents brought with them. Most moving of all, however, are the bitter pictures of a difficult childhood in emigration offered by Oven in the sketch *Božična alegorija* [A Christmas Allegory] (op. cit.: 158–161), Slabe in *Novo življenje* [A New Life] (op. cit.: 248–251) and *Dekle iz tovarne* [Factory Girl] (*Ameriške povesti*: 101–104), Medvešek in *Sužnji ponoči* [Slaves By Night] (op. cit.: 80–85) and, most notably, Katka Zupančič in the sketch story *S tujega na tuje* [From Foreign to Foreign] (op. cit.: 105–111). In this last sketch the author describes in a naturalistic manner how a mother with four

small children begs to be allowed to stay at least one more night in their lodgings. For 20 years they have regularly paid the rent, but last month they were unable to. Despite her pleas, the bailiffs throw them out of the house, although they have nowhere to go. Slabe, on the other hand, writes about a young girl who first loses her father in a mining accident and then her mother. At the age of 15 she gets a job in a factory, where the young foreman gets her pregnant. The latter gives her some herbs to induce a miscarriage, but this results in the girl dying.

CHILDHOOD IN EMIGRATION AND THE GENERATION GAP

Parents, on the other hand, also like to paint nostalgic scenes of family warmth and the former carefree happiness of their now grown-up children, who one after the other have left the safe shelter of home. This is the spirit of the fragment by Marie Prisland entitled *Memories of Our Old Wood Stove* (Gobetz and Donchenko 1977: 171–173). Their children, however, experienced this childhood extolled in such bright colours somewhat differently, eternally split between the family traditions of the Slovenian home and the new challenges of the modern age, including the painful experiences that lay in wait for them beyond the threshold of home or outside their neighbourhood. Rose Mary Prosen, the granddaughter of Slovenian immigrants to the USA, reminisces in the lyrical prose piece *Looking Back* (Novak 1976: 1–8) with touching nostalgia and love about her childhood in the warm embrace of her family in Cleveland, when her mother combed her hair and dressed her as an Easter angel to walk at the head of the procession strewing flower petals up to the altar of the nearby church (Novak 1976: 1–2). She remembers the little gardens in front of the houses of the Cleveland Slovenians, in which one could count dozens of types of flowers. She remembers the smell of animal blood in the cellar when her father killed a chicken. 'No chicken today tastes like the chickens my mother cleaned and prepared for Sunday dinner. There is no chicken soup in America today like the chicken soup my mother made from our home grown chickens.' (op. cit.: 5)

The safe, closed and homely world of the descendants of immigrants in the Slovenian community of Cleveland did not in fact contain that bitter sense of incompleteness, of being uprooted,⁵ the poor attempt of their parents and grandparents to transplant a fragment of their lost homeland in a foreign country. The childhood home of their descendants in the new homeland was inwardly complete, authentic space, innate and self-evident. The life of the children of immigrants was complicated by another aspect that only became apparent when they began to have closer contacts with the wider environment: shame, mockery for being different, in other words everything that the children of immigrants

⁵ Accounts of a feeling of rootlessness are quite frequent in immigrant literature. A typical example is the prose sketch *A Patch of Earth* by Zdravko Novak, which contains the following: 'Here I live on my own, self-supporting and independent, but I am like an exotic plant uprooted from the soil which bore me. I have never entirely taken and grown in the soil into which I was transplanted – maybe I never will!' (Gobetz and Donchenko 1977: 175)

from less developed countries still experience today, even in Slovenia.⁶ It is just such childhood experiences and feelings that Rose Mary Prosen describes in the English prose piece mentioned above. The members of her generation became Americans, says the author. But if anyone asked her what her nationality was, she always answered that she was a Slovenian, even though her parents were born in Cleveland (Novak 1976: 7). When she was little, she did not want to speak Slovenian:

What was a Slovenian? A hunkie. A greenhorn. A dumb Slav. /.../ I became ashamed that my parents spoke “funny”; that we laughed too loud; that we drank homemade wine; that our walls were wallpapered in flower patterns; that we grew our own vegetables; that my father raised chickens in our garage; that he constructed his children’s beds out of scrap wood with his own hands; that he repaired all our shoes in our basement; that my mother never sat down to eat dinner with us (she cooked, served, ate when everyone was finished); that our clothes and our curtains and towels were homemade... (Novak 1976: 3)

How familiar would this sound to the child of an immigrant worker in Slovenia? The childhood of the offspring of immigrants is full of entirely specific traps the fateful importance of which their parents and grandparents most often are barely aware of. After a few painful experiences, the children try to avoid the traps of the wider environment by establishing, even within the family, certain defensive mechanisms of rejecting everything for which they are mocked outside the home. In the sketch story *Being Naked Is a Sin* (Gobetž and Donchenko 1977: 121–123) John Modic offers a fragment of intergenerational conflict in the emigrant community, albeit in a playful, humorous tone. Aunt Rose, brought up in the 'old country' according to the strict rules of Christian decency and commendable modesty is horrified to see her 12-year-old nephew leaping 'naked' around the room. The boy is not naked, of course: he is pretending to play basketball and he is wearing a bright yellow basketball suit. On account of this shameful display of naked skin, which the neighbour might see through the window at any moment, Aunt Rose argues loudly with her brother. The boy, meanwhile, does not pay much attention to their quarrel and carries on eagerly scoring baskets for 'his team'. During the argument the distressed woman is even more offended by the fact that her nephew replies to her in English, which she herself barely understands.

Jože Krivec offers an even more vivid picture of the intergenerational language barrier in his short story *Tri slike* [Three Pictures] (Tavčar et al. 1992: 222–227). The narrator is astonished to learn that his friend has not taught Slovenian to his two young sons. The language barrier creates alienation between the two grandsons and the grandfather, who lives with the family in the same home. The grandfather says:

The children do not understand me. As a result we are separated and only know each

⁶ This is confirmed by the answers to the survey which we carried out some years ago among immigrants and their descendants in Slovenia (ISIM Survey 2005).

other on the outside, like neighbours. They will never become attached to me and will never shout affectionately: 'Grandpa! Grandpa!' For them I am only an 'abuelo' – someone who smiled at them but does not know how to answer their inquisitive questions. We live under the same roof but we are strangers to each other. We sit at the same table, but we do not understand each other. All the beautiful things that have accumulated in me these last years – I have no one to give them to. My love will not bear fruit but will die with me. (Tavčar et al. 1992: 226–227)

Many foreign authors of renown have written about the specific characteristics of the generation gap in emigration, and the theme is also dealt with by Slovenian writers (among them Lukšič-Hacin 1995; Mikola 2005; Toplak 2008; Toplak 2009). On the basis of his own empirical research, the Slovenian-Australian psychiatrist Jurij Zalokar covers this topic in his essay *Duševne stiske in bremena izseljenstva: izziv in poguba* [Mental Distress and the Burdens of Emigration: Challenge and Ruin]: 'Unfortunately the majority [...] acquired an insufficient knowledge of English. Many found themselves in a situation where to begin with they had no knowledge of the language whatsoever. Naturally, this isolated them further, often even from their own children.' (in Prešeren et al. 1988: 208–210) The immigrant tries to escape the flood of new impressions by limiting contact with the outside world. Initially, this is a matter of self-preservation, but it can develop into permanent isolation and loneliness, says Zalokar. If we add to this the struggle for survival (many immigrants worked two shifts) and the consequent lack of time and will to learn the language, we can see how the emigrant's social environment becomes very restricted. Not only this, but the focus of identity (Južnič 1993: 147), which in the old homeland had an equivalent place, changes, on crossing the border, into a margin, and thus the emigrant becomes a marginal, a pariah. The consequence of this is painful homesickness, often connected with an idealisation of the homeland, which is reflected in all emigrant literature. When Dimkowska (2005: 65–66) writes about the three most markedly patriotic immigrant poets in Slovenia – Vučkovic, Dimkaroski and Ignjatović, she states that in these three poets 'the abandoned homelands are idealised mental constructions, they are inclined with intensive nostalgia towards the primary homelands and in their literary works little attention is paid to Slovenian reality, to the Slovenian thematic, social and mental side.' This last statement, of course, in general only applies to the most weakly integrated emigrant/immigrant writers, who are more the exception than the rule. The great majority of migrant authors are characterised by a heightened attention towards phenomena in the new environment and the discovery of differences between patterns and models in the original environment and the new environment.⁷ Relatively good integration in the new environment merely reduces the importance of homesickness, but is still far from eliminating it.

⁷ Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik (2007: 240) analyses in this sense, for example, the comparative aspect of the migrant experience as it appears in the literary work of Marie Priland.

IDEALISED CHILDHOOD IN THE OLD COUNTRY, HOMESICKNESS AND THE GENERATION GAP

Among Slovenian emigrant writers too, homesickness intensified to the point of pain, loneliness, idealisation of the homeland and demonisation of a foreign country are frequent themes. Idyllic images of childhood and adolescence in the homeland are in the foreground in Mauser, e.g. in the poems *Razigranost* [High Spirits], *Velika noč* [Easter], *Hvalnica* [Hymn] and *Pomladna hvalnica* [Springtime Hymn] (Debeljak and Papež 1980: 103–105), in Krivec in the poems *Pomlad* [Spring], *Poletje* [Summer], *Jesen* [Autumn], *Zima* [Winter] (op. cit.: 91–92), in Kovačič in *Šenklovski zvon* [The Bell of St Nicholas's] (op. cit.: 121–122), in Voršič in the poem *Doma* [At Home] (*Meddobje* 2008: 26), in Kobal in the prose piece *Šmarnice* [May Devotions] (Petrič 1982: 206–208). In the case of Žitnik, this applies to almost all his poetry – two clear examples are the poems *Dolenjska* and *Domov* [Homeward] (Debeljak and Papež 1980: 39–41). Tonkli dealt explicitly with homesickness in his poem *Domotožje* [Homesickness] (Bergles 1990: 32), while Pavlovčič's *Spomin na junij* [Memory of June] (Debeljak and Papež 1980: 95) is one single idyllic picture of growing up in the old homeland. In the case of Kunčič, love of home, nostalgia and the idealisation of the homeland are in the foreground in many of his children's poems, for example *Čudežna ptička* [The Miraculous Bird], *Vlak* [The Train], *Ded pripoveduje* [Grandfather Tells a Story], *Na dedovih kolenih* [On Grandfather's Knees], *Matjažek šteje* [Little Matthew Counts], *Ded se poslavlja* [Grandfather Says Farewell] (op. cit.: 31–36).

The idealisation of the homeland becomes more understandable if we know that many immigrants continued to experience their new homeland as a foreign country for a very long time after arriving there, while in some cases this situation never changed. In Šuštaršič's poem *Noč v pampih* [Night on the Pampas] the new country is unfriendly and lonely, while in the poem *Po tujih obzorjih* [Foreign Horizons] its loneliness is 'like an inflamed wound, / caught among the prickly cacti, / like a great thorn – / driven into the forehead' (op. cit.: 113–114). In his poem *Zakaj si daleč, domovina* [Why Are You so Far Away, Homeland], Jaruc makes a nostalgic mental return to his homeland from the cold and unrelenting reality of the new country; in the poem *Čemu bi spraševal* [What Is the Good of Asking], a gloomy picture of life abroad and the unbearable pain of remembering the lost world, the poet wanders the world 'like the Wandering Jew', while inside he feels only emptiness and homesickness (op. cit.: 85–87). In the case of Rakovec, the journey that the emigrant makes in the new country leads down steep steps (the poem *Sestop* [The Descent], until it reaches the last step, beneath which there is only a terrible void. In his poem *Pismo* [The Letter], a certain amount of irony and sarcasm makes its way into Rakovec's image of the empty new country: 'It suits us well. / Instead of love / we have banks and tanks.' (op. cit.: 99–100).

Just as homesickness is a natural reaction to the bitter experience of a foreign land among pre-war Slovenian writers in the USA (e.g. Snoj's prose piece *Na starega leta večer* [New Year's Eve], Petrič 1982: 384–392, or Miklavčič's poem *Nazaj v domovino* [Back to the Homeland], op. cit.: 394), 'abroad' is a synonym for suffering among post-war emigrant writers in various parts of the world: in Magister, e.g. in the poem *Jaz* [I] (Debeljak and

Papež 1980: 206), while in the case of Tine Debeljak Jr. (both Argentina) loneliness stands out in the poem *Sončni odblesk* [Sunshine] from the otherwise somewhat gloomy collection *Prsti časa* [The Fingers of Time] (Debeljak Jr. 1986: 15). In the case of Father Bazilij Valentin (Australia), homesickness and yearning for what has been lost appear like a natural mirror image alongside the dark picture of a foreign land and suffering (*V senci tujine* [In the Shadow of a Foreign Land], Debeljak and Papež 1980: 187), while Tea Rovšek-Witzemann (Austria) expresses a feeling of having been uprooted (Desetnica, Bergles 1990: 115). The contrast between the tranquil idyll of the lost homeland and the bitter loneliness of the new country is particularly marked in the case of Beličič (Italy), in the poems *Spomin na Belo krajino* [Memory of White Carniola], *Češminov grm* [The Barberry Bush], *Zreli ruj* [Autumn Sumac] and *Sončni zahod* [Sunset] (Debeljak and Papež 1980: 70–73).

This contrast between the idyll of a lost home in the past and the gloomy present in a new country is also strongly expressed in the poetry and, in part, prose of Australian Slovenians. In the case of Pribac, homesickness (and occasionally the idealisation of the homeland) is in the foreground in the poems *Daljna, hladna morja* [Far Cold Seas], *Valežanska cerkev* [The Welsh Church], *Prinesla mi bo starega vina* [She Will Bring Me Old Wine] (Bergles 1990: 51–55), *V Istri* [In Istria], *Sanjam o domači vasi* [I Dream of My Home Village] and *V hiši mojega očeta* [In the House of My Father] (Cimerman 1990: 23–25). Homesickness is prominent in Hliš in her poem *Nezanimivo pismo* [An Uninteresting Letter] (Bergles 1990: 65), in Gruden in poem IV of the cycle *Socvetje* [Inflorescence] (Cimerman 1990: 115), in Tomašič in her poem *Lojze* (Prešeren et al. 1988: 46), in Žohar in the poem *Žaližale* (Cimerman 1990: 82), in Lapuh in the poems *Vidim te, moj dom* [I See You, My Home], *Domače gore* [The Mountains of Home], *Spomin sprašuje* [Memory Asks], *Tvoj objem* [Your Embrace] (Prešeren et al. 1988: 38). Painful homesickness with idealisation of the homeland is also prominent in Žigon's poem *Sonet izseljenca* [Sonnet of the Emigrant] (op. cit.: 58) and in Žohar's prose piece *Mati* [Mother] (Detela 1991: 7) and the poem *Natoči mi vina* [Pour Me Some Wine] (Bergles 1990: 80). In the case of Žagar homesickness is interwoven with loneliness and alienation in the poems *V čolnu* [In a Boat] and *Novo leto* [New Year] (op. cit. 1990: 71–72); in Žohar, too, the foreign land brings a whole series of frustrations and a feeling of rootlessness (*Zakaj naj bi bil* [Why Should I], *En sam sen* [Just One Dream], *Divjina, divjina* [Wilderness, Wilderness], op. cit.: 82, 85, 87), loss and hardship (the prose piece *Valovanje* [Undulation], in Detela 1991: 5–6), and also disunity (the poem *Šepamo v črni vijugi* [We Limp in a Dark Curve], Bergles 1990: 89). Rootlessness is also the theme of Cilka Žagar's poems *Draga teta* [Dear Aunt] (Prešeren et al. 1988: 56) and *Tujci* [Foreigners] (Cimerman 1990: 141). In his poem *Smreka* [The Spruce], Kobal characterises his bitter experience of the new country in the following concise manner: 'Invitingly, the foreign land conceals from them what it is: / a rich treasure house of bitter morsels.' (Prešeren et al. 1988: 31) If we add to this the gloomy picture of life in the new country that is offered by the writers cited in the last part of the first section dealing with the literary image of childhood in emigration, Zalokar's explanation of the generation gap in emigrant communities also becomes more understandable:

We have seen how varied the shocks that accompany life in a foreign country can be. The human being's social interaction and environment are strangely narrowed. Slowly, a person becomes restricted to his own family. He protects it like a treasure, since he feels that this is his last refuge. But at the same time the family becomes the place where its members release their tensions, and this release can grow into quarrels and accusations. The husband becomes the target of his wife and vice versa. Accusations fly and he (or she) becomes a scapegoat, and everything that has happened in the new country is his (or her) fault. Usually the woman is the biggest victim. And so it happens that imperceptibly the family changes from a refuge to an inferno. [...]

Allow me to end with a question which, for many people, is the most important of all: that of the effect on the children [...]: If we have allowed the family to become an inferno, if in our desire for possessions we have not had time, even in the evenings, to really devote ourselves to our child, if our personality has grown narrow, if we have not been able to speak the language that our child has adopted, then it is clear that the gulf between the generations that is characteristic of everyone has become, in the case of emigrants, even more marked and driven to tragic consequences. We have regulated our clubs, societies and churches according to the models that we followed in our youth. In reality, these models are no longer followed by anyone, not even in the homeland. But here, in the foreign country, we have demanded of our young people that they remain faithful to them. Their answer has been their abstinence.

They want something else. And so it happens that young people become ashamed of their parents, their culture and their identity. (Zalokar in Prešeren et al. 1988: 208–210)

A minority of writers portray childhood in the old country more realistically (e.g. Terbovec, Rogelj, Zorman, Jontez, Grill and Praček Krasna in Petrič 1982: 82–84; 133–138; 148–149; 154–159; 196–205; 216–219; Bahovec 1987: 12–17). Some offer a balanced picture of the good and bad sides of childhood and adolescence in the old country with a hint of Slovenian traditions, customs and archetypical Slovenian characteristics, including tragic ones such as the choice of a wealthy husband for a daughter who loves someone else, and slanderousness, quarrelsomeness, foolishness, drunkenness, etc. (e.g. Kerže, Ambrožič and Novak in Petrič 1982: 45–51; 52–55; 87–97). An even smaller number of writers also include in their works the darkest moments of childhood in the old country (e.g. Daniela Dolenc in Gobetz and Donchenko 1977: 13–23; Potokar in Geržinič 1960: 75–78; 106–115; Detela 1987; Medvešek in Petrič 1982: 277–283). In the case of these authors there is less nostalgia than in the first group, and their healthy patriotism or love of home does not have such a painful connotation. This also means that in these cases one of the important specific factors of intergenerational conflict in emigration is absent.

CONCLUSION

The bitter disappointments of life in a hostile, foreign land can cause excessive and even painful homesickness. Unappeased yearning for the homeland, and the transfer of various collective frustrations of emigrants to their descendants (e.g. the frustration of a fratricidal war and the slaughter of the *domobranci*, the members of the Slovenian home guard; how this intergenerational transfer is reflected in literature will be discussed elsewhere) – all this has undoubtedly left a mark on the children of emigrants.

Stories of *Amerikanci* (emigrants who have returned from the USA) who caught the imagination of village children back home with their self-confident manner, sumptuous outfits and purses full of money, tales of rich Slovenian returnees like those we read in the works of Louis Adamic (Žitnik 1991: 111–116), were also written by other emigrant authors. Jože Ambrožič writes about this in the sketch story *Črnorokar* [The Blackhander] (Petrič 1982: 57); a similar picture is offered by Jože Zavertnik in the sketch story *Oj ti lumpje* [The Scoundrels] (Petrič 1982: 78), while Frank Kerže weaves a fantastic story about Podboj's return and success in his native Slovenia (Gobetz and Donchenko 1977: 165–169).

Time and again, such stories awakened illusions and yearning on both sides of the ocean: in the old country children dreamed of becoming rich in a fabulously wealthy foreign land, while for immigrants around the world they awakened hope of a happy return to the country of their birth, where all the injustices of years of drudgery far from home would be put right and all sorrows forgotten. In both cases, great expectations were most commonly followed by disappointment. This clear duality of a 'demonstrably better' other world (the homeland or the foreign land) is a more frequent thematic element in emigrant literature than elsewhere; for this reason a sense of yearning, which in a migrant environment has specific connotations, is all the more marked in emigrant literature. The promised land, in emigrant literature, is almost always that other world, the world of the past or a possible future, and almost never the here and now. Exceptions portraying the promised land here and now are extremely rare (e.g. Nielsen in Gobetz and Donchenko 1977: 157–163; Terbovec in Petrič 1982: 84–86). Unappeased yearning and the idealisation of the parents' homeland also had a noticeable influence on children,⁸ either directly (via everyday communication and patterns of behaviour) or indirectly, also via children's literature (e.g. Kunčič in Debeljak and Papež 1980: 31–36).

What did the children of emigrants get from their parents and grandparents? The latter, judging from the content of their literary production, lived almost more in the past than in the present. They filled the ears of their children and grandchildren with stories of their own golden childhood in some far-off country, a kind of Wonderland that contrasted vividly to the impersonal, grey, foreign country where it was only possible to survive within the narrow confines of the closed Slovenian community. Their intergenerational

⁸ Tone Mizerit (born in 1944!), for example, in the fragment *Buenos Aires 22* (Tavčar et al. 1992: 258–263) compares Buenos Aires to Ljubljana, although at the time of writing he knows the latter mainly from photographs. Some children of emigrants did actually 'return' forever to the lost but, at the same time, only true home of their parents.

message, full of fears and warnings, is best summarised by the moral of the didactic tale which Simčič tells his three 'as it were nephews' in the sketch story *Pod Tronadorjem v osrčju Andov* [At the Foot of Mount Tronador in the Heart of the Andes]. The story tells of a calf which, despite warnings, leaves the pitiful shelter of the shivering, famished herd (the Slovenian community), trapped in a frozen, snow-covered landscape, and sets off on a difficult journey to find a pasture where they can graze. The calf's attempt ends in failure and it freezes to death in the snow. The moral of this cruel outcome is clear: children, if you leave the Slovenian community, no matter how difficult a situation it may be in, you are doomed. But the youngsters do not give in so easily. The middle one of the three young listeners, a seven-year-old 'painter' blessed with a considerable degree of imagination and optimism, suggests to his uncle an alternative ending for the story (Tavčar et al. 1992: 353):

The calf went away. He walked and walked and walked, down, down, down and then up, up, up, and he walked for a long time. And then [...] he saw in front of him a beautiful, beautiful little valley hidden among tall trees where there was no snow at all. Just lush grass, tall green grass, and flowers. And he ate his fill and then retraced his steps back to the cows and his mummy and told them what he had found, and then he led all the cows back with him. And the cows lived happily ever after. That's it.

The young storyteller knew something that we grown-ups stubbornly refuse to see: new generations always find new paths. And this is where their salvation lies.

If, then, a large part of the literary production of Slovenian emigrants contributed, deliberately or otherwise, to reinforcing the stereotypes of the idyllic childhood in the old country, the neglectful foreign country and the pernicious effects of assimilation, a considerable part of this production contributed with equal success to destroying such stereotypes. Neither one nor the other is the basic mission of literature. Most often they are merely a side effect. And yet, in the name of strengthening ties within the emigrant community, the potential educational effect of an emigrant literary work can quite quickly grow into its central mission. Excessive didacticism and moralising can of course have an off-putting effect on readers (including children), while on the other hand they almost always reduce the literary and aesthetic value of the text. The above extract from Simčič's parody of the excessive didacticism of the emigrant literary tradition is, with its frank irony, evidence of the fact that nothing can make such an effective stand against literary anomalies of this kind as emigrant literature itself.

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POVZETEK

OTROŠTVO, DOMOTOŽJE IN MEDGENERACIJSKI PREPAD V KNJIŽEVNOSTI SLOVENSКИH IZSELJENCEV

Janja Žitnik Serafin

Članek prinaša problemsko razčlenjeno obravnavo kronotopa otroštva, kot se odraža v izseljenski literaturi, ter vplivov specifično izseljenskih vrednotnih in emocionalnih vidikov, izraženih v književnosti, na otroštvo v izseljenstvu.

Avtorica uvodoma pojasnjuje poseben pomen kronotopa otroštva za izseljenske avtorje. V nadaljevanju predstavi otroštvo v izseljenstvu, jezikovno pregrado in medgeneracijski prepad, kot se kažejo skozi leposlovje. V naslednjem razdelku raziskuje načine literarne upodobitve otroštva v starem kraju ter vpliv domotožja, idealiziranja domovine in demoniziranja tujine na medgeneracijski prepad. V zaključku povzema svoje ugotovitve o vlogi izseljenske književnosti pri utrjevanju in rušenju stereotipov, ki so poglobljali medgeneracijski prepad v izseljenstvu.

Pozlačena slika otroštva v starem kraju je najpogostejše čustveno zatočišče v izseljenstvu. Sorazmerno malo pa je izseljenskih piscev, ki tudi otroštvo v izseljenstvu opisujejo z lahkotnostjo ali optimizmom. Domotožje staršev so otroci največkrat potrpežljivo prenašali, čeprav je bilo to tudi zanje bolj ali manj travmatično. Pretirano domotožje staršev je namreč lahko verižno povezano s celo vrsto drugih simptomov in

posledic, od njihovega samopomilovanja in zavestne osamitve do občutkov krivde zaradi prikrajšanosti otrok, o čemer piše med drugim pisateljica Nataša Kolman.

Življenje otrok priseljencev se je zapletalo tudi ob trpkem predznaku, ki se je začel razkrivati šele onkraj domačega praga, v njihovem tesnejšem stiku s širšo okolico: sramovanje, zasmehovanost zaradi drugačnosti, torej vse tisto, kar še danes doživljajo otroci priseljencev iz »manj razvitih« dežel, tudi v Sloveniji. Prav take otroške izkušnje in občutke opisuje tudi Rose Mary Prosen. Otroštvo potomcev priseljencev je namreč polno docela specifičnih pasti, katerih usodnega pomena se njihovi starši in stari starši največkrat komajda zavedajo. Otroci se po nekaj bolečih izkušnjah poskušajo izogniti pastem širšega okolja tako, da že v družinskem okolju vzpostavijo nekatere obrambne mehanizme ograjevanja od vsega tistega, zaradi česar so zunaj doma zasmehovani. Nekateri pisci prikazujejo posledice takšnega ograjevanja, ki se odražajo tudi v medgeneracijskem prepadu in medgeneracijski jezikovni pregradi v izseljenstvu, v izrazito šaljivem tonu (John Modic), drugi pa tudi v resnejšem (Krivec).

Tako kot med drugimi izseljenskimi avtorji so tudi med slovenskimi izseljenskimi pisci do razbolelosti stopnjevano domotožje, osamljenost, izkoreninjenost, idealiziranje domovine in demoniziranje tujine izrazito pogoste teme. Idilična podoba otroštva in mladosti v domovini je v ospredju v številnih delih slovenskih izseljenskih književnikov v vseh obdobjih in v vseh delih sveta. Idealiziranje domovine in otroštva postane razumljivejše, če vemo, da so mnogi še zelo dolgo časa po prihodu doživljali svojo novo domovino kot tujino, pri nekaterih pa se to sploh nikoli ni spremenilo. Podobno kot je domotožje samoumevna reakcija na trpko doživljanje tujine že pri predvojnih slovenskih izseljenskih avtorjih, je tujina sinonim za trpljenje tudi pri povojnih izseljenskih piscih v različnih delih sveta. Kontrast med idilo izgubljenega doma in preteklosti ter temačno sedanostjo v tujini je enako močno izražen v vseh literarnih zvrsteh in vrstah. Pisci, ki prikazujejo otroštvo v starem kraju z več realnosti, so v manjšini.

Slovenski izseljenci so, če bi sodili po vsebini njihove literarne produkcije, skorajda bolj živeli v preteklosti kot v sedanosti. Otrokom in vnukom so polnili ušesa s svojim zlatim otroštvom v neki daljni deželi, nekakšni Indiji Koromandiji, živem nasprotju brezosebno sive tujine, kjer je mogoče preživeti le znotraj tesnih okopov zaprte slovenske skupnosti. Obljubljena dežela je v izseljenski književnosti skoraj vedno tisti drugi svet, svet preteklosti ali morebitne prihodnosti, skoraj nikoli pa tu in zdaj. Če je torej velik del literarne produkcije slovenskih izseljencev hote ali nehote prispeval k utrjevanju stereotipov o idiličnem otroštvu v starem kraju, mačehovski tujini in pogubnih učinkih asimilacije, pa je dobršen del te produkcije prav tako uspešno pripomogel k rušenju tovrstnih stereotipov. Ne eno ne drugo sicer ni osnovno poslanstvo književnosti, pač pa najpogosteje le njen stranski učinek. In vendar lahko v imenu utrjevanja vezi znotraj izseljenske skupnosti morebitni vzgojni učinek izseljenskega literarnega dela kaj hitro preraste v njegovo osrednje poslanstvo. Vsiiljiva didaktičnost in moraliziranje seveda na eni strani delujeta odbijajoče na (tudi otroško) bralstvo, na drugi strani pa skoraj praviloma zmanjšujeta literarno-estetsko vrednost besedila. Prepričljiv primer navidez nedolžne parodije (pisatelja Zorka Simčiča) na pretirano didaktičnost izseljenskega slovstvenega

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izročila s svojo odkrito samoironijo priča o tem, da se takšnim književnim anomalijam nič ne more tako učinkovito postaviti po robu kot izseljenska književnost sama.

TRANSNATIONAL DYNAMICS AMONG THE CHILDREN OF SLOVENE EMIGRANTS ON THE INTERNET

Jure GOMBAČ¹

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ABSTRACT

Transnational Dynamics among the Children of Slovene Emigrants on the Internet

This paper describes how the children of Slovene emigrants interact on the Internet and explores the exceptionally rich communication that takes place among them. This crosses national borders and focuses on a number of cultural phenomena that can be ascribed to transnationality. These links have the advantage of not being controlled or influenced by parents, relatives or others, which facilitates greater freedom and flexibility when forming their own identity.

KEY WORDS: children, adolescents, ethnicity, identity, Internet, transnationalism

IZVLEČEK

Transnacionalne dinamike otrok in mladih potomcev slovenskih izseljencev na internetu

Raziskava dokazuje udeležbo otrok in mladih potomcev slovenskih izseljencev na internetu in raziskuje na trenutke izredno bogato komunikacijo med njimi. Ta poteka mimo nacionalnih meja ter se osredotoča na številne kulturne prakse, ki jim lahko pripišemo transnacionalni značaj. Te nove povezave imajo tudi to prednost, da niso neposredno kontrolirane ali pod vplivom staršev, sorodnikov in okolice, kar omogoča še večjo svobodo in gibljivost pri oblikovanju njihovih identitet.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: otroci, mladi, etničnost, identitete, internet, transnacionalizem.

INTRODUCTION OR CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS IN THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

In the past, theoretical discussions of international migrations rarely paid much attention to children and adolescents. Those whose roots are in geography (Ravenstein, Lee) pay more attention to spatial considerations and population movements, economists tend to focus on rural-urban migration (Lewis, Mabogunje) or differences between the domestic and international work force (Todaro, Borjas). Children and adolescents do appear in the

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research but, as is the case with women, in pre-defined roles (Mlekuč 2010). They are acknowledged, for instance, when we observe how parents are willing to sacrifice their own future for that of their offspring. Or how one of the parents went abroad in order to support the family, which stayed behind. If they are given a role, it is as one of the usual scapegoats for migration.

Even in the case of historical-structural approaches (Castles and Cossack, Piore), which in the 1970s looked upon migration as a social phenomenon subject to hidden forces, or the theory of world systems, which saw migration as an incursion of capitalist economic relations into peripheral non-capitalist societies, there was no particular consideration of children and adolescents. Stark and Levhari (1982) begin to look at migration through the eyes of the family, foregrounding the parents who send family members onto domestic and foreign markets, so that the family can survive where there is a collapse or crisis of some kind. But they talk about children and adolescents only indirectly, more about family members who supposedly participated in decision-making or passively obeyed their parents, but in any case went into the world on their own, supported the family from a distance and perhaps later returned home.

Gunnar Myrdal (1957) connects the country of origin with the host country not only unidirectionally (migrants go there) but also “multi-directionally” (migrants go there and there, and may then return). He was interested primarily in the influence of migrants on the community they left behind and sought to identify the socio-economic factors that influenced “return” migration. He ascertained that people relocated not only to increase their income but that of their family. When some families began to participate in international migrations, hoping for positive results from their decision, the non-migrants felt neglected and left behind, and latched onto the idea of migration as something that would bring their family money and an improved position. Moreover, the idea of migrating changed values and cultural perceptions, thus increasing the possibility of further migrations. In other words, members of families already involved in migration are more likely to migrate themselves. This way of looking at things is also connected to migration network theory, which looks at migration as a sequence of interpersonal links which connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants, both in the country of origin and the host country, through ties of blood and friendship, as well as those within the community (Fawcett 1989). It is thus a kind of social capital that people can make use of in order to get easier access to employment abroad (Gurak and Caces 1992).

Families thus came to play an ever increasing role in migration theories, as an intermediate link between the micro and macro levels, meaning that, in addition to men, attention began to be paid to women (Boyd 1989) and children – and to those who stayed behind as well as those who moved abroad with parents. And although the theory of migration systems – which emphasised international relations, political economy, mutuality and institutional factors, examining both ends of migration currents and in doing so taking into account previous contacts based on colonialisation, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties (Zlotnik 1992) – meant a step backwards or sideways, as it foregrounded

large impersonal flows of migrants, themes such as the individual, the family, took a firm hold on researchers into migration.

Transnationalism was thus developing further a solid inheritance from the past. It was logical that definitions such as the following appeared, deepening past findings: “Migrants are often included in multi-level, multi-location transnational social fields, incorporating those who left as well as those who stayed behind” (Wimmer, Glick Schiller 2003); “some migrants and their descendants have been strongly influenced by their re-occurring connections with their native soil or by social networks that cross national boundaries” (Levitt, DeWind, Vertovec 2003); “life in transnational families includes negotiating between marriage partners, the division of labour, and who would go and who would stay behind”. This kind of development was also noticeable with regard to children and young people: research emerged which shows how they are influenced by migration in certain ways, whether they migrate themselves or not (Repič 2010). For they keep moving from one social system to another, where different norms and values come into play. At home, at school, on the street, at their grandparents, in “the old country” they are subject to different sets of rules and expectations, and have to evaluate themselves in relation to different reference groups (Faulstich, Thorne, Wan Shum, Chee 2000) Their lives proceed in the midst of a dense, transborder field of relationships that incorporates people, places and values from different parts of the world, while their lives may be deeply influenced by forces thousands of kilometres away (Zontini 2007). It is thus not unexpected that their identity is constructed in different ways, though visits to their country of origin, transnational contact, the sending of money and other goods to family members and relatives, and through the Internet, which becomes a synonym for free expression, the construction of (alternative) identities and revolt (Donath 2004). This is not at all surprising if we do not look upon childhood as a normal phase of life or a biological period, but rather as something that is socially constructed (Aries 1991).

THE INTERNET AND ETHNICITY

The appearance of the Internet led to much discussion about changed relations between people, about identity, and about the concept of community, which was reshaped and redefined. The Internet brought new kinds of social contact based on networks, and on bits and bytes, as well as introducing the idea of virtual communities (Rheingold 1994). But when one begins to look for an empirical basis for the theoretical assertions, things become more complicated and the picture less rosy. For the important question immediately arises as to how different online relations between people are and whether it really is a space where, through encounter and debate, things happen that help shape identity (Mlekuž 2009). Different concepts of the virtual community have also encroached into the domain of the ethnic community, transnational community and diaspora. According to Elkins (1999), due to the ever-growing range of tools offered by the Internet, virtual ethnic communities are no longer dependent on direct contact among individuals. Moreo-

ver, electron pulses via broadband fibre-optic cables can offer a sufficient foundation for the existence of such a virtual community.

Leguerre (2002) defines the virtual diaspora² in terms of the use of cyberspace by emigrants and their offspring for purposes of cooperation or inclusion in online interpersonal transactions. This kind of virtual interaction can take place among diaspora groups living in the same state or in different states that are connected with individuals or groups in the homeland, or with non-members of the group in the host country and elsewhere. A virtual diaspora is a cyber extension of a real (physical) diaspora; it cannot exist without some real (physical) contact. By contrast, transnational migrants spread and maintain their social space across national borders, thus undermining their authority. In this way, space conceived as a geographical category begins to lose its meaning (Mikola and Gombač 2008). Currently, the Internet is supposedly the number one transnational medium that allows many to communicate with many, offering a much wider selection of possible lives and identities (Pleše Senković 2004). And thus we arrive at transnationalism again.

METHODOLOGY

This research was carried out with the help of material and knowledge gained through the project “The Internet as a means of preserving national and cultural heritage among Slovenes around the world”, which paid particular attention to the role and creativity of children and adolescents. This project involved analysis of secondary sources, in this case websites selected by individuals (Meden 2007), other portals (e.g. SVS, Urad vlade RS za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu, Thezaurus, SNPJ – Slovenska narodna podporná jednota, SWUA – Slovenian Women’s Union of America, Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije ZRC SAZU, Slovenian Media House, Zedinjena Slovenija, ClevelandSlovenia.com, KSKJ), search engines such as Google and Yahoo, video sharing websites such as YouTube, and the social networking sites Facebook and Myspace. Those sites were considered where it was possible to find mention of or the participation of the children of Slovene emigrants around the world. The question posed was which roles are adopted within this particular transnational context and how free the children and adolescents involved are to shape them; also, how much of a free hand do they have or is there a discernible influence of parents, relatives, societies and their community on the formation of their identities. In this regard, we are not looking at childhood as a normal phase in life or as biological age, but as a social construct (Aries 1991).

² The concept of diaspora is currently in fashion, but there is a problem in the way we understand it as both an intellectual phenomenon and a social process. In his book *Diaspora* Stéphane Dufoix says there are no diasporas, only different ways of constructing, managing and imagining the relationship between the homeland and its scattered people. So we need to treat the term, which in Dufoix's opinion, in spite of its frequent use, is often “empty”, with caution.

SLOVENES AROUND THE WORLD AND THEIR OFFSPRING. CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS AND THE INTERNET. ENTER FOR THE FIRST TIME

Slovenes around the world and their offspring use the Internet for different purposes. This was ascertained in by 2002 Sanja Cikić in her study “Connecting Slovenes around the world via the Internet: The establishment of virtual ethnic communities”. Since then, the Internet has offered its users many new ways of (self-)promotion. Even without any extensive knowledge of information technology or programming languages, it is possible to create your own website, set up and lead a forum, write a blog, copy video and pictures, and promote your activities in the physical and virtual world. Precisely because of differing levels of knowledge of IT and different needs, users make use of what the Internet and its supporting technology offers in very different ways. Many of the websites of Slovenes around the world were set up to support a specific society, association or group. Usually, they are geographically restricted and address a circle of people that are members of the group or may wish to become so.

On such sites children and adolescents usually appear in quite a passive role, rarely influencing the content of form of the web pages. Usually, their role is prescribed in advance: they are expected to become the future bearers of the tradition, culture and language of the younger generation. This is a pretty clear example of the social construction of childhood. And what do societies and parents expect from them? It is interesting that this does not differ greatly from one continent to another, or one country to another, at least as far as the “traditional”, or in Laguerre's (2002) term “diasporic” websites. So for example in Switzerland:

Our goals are directed towards the future: to bring Slovenes in Switzerland together, and to help our second and third generations not to forget where their predecessors came from. (Planika 2010, translation from the Slovene)

Today, the board includes more and more young people, the second and third generation. With their help we preserve the Slovene language and customs. (Triglav 2010, translated from the German)

in Serbia:

the children greeted St Nicholas and there were also other events, organised and led by many different members. There is a lot of interest in such activities, from the oldest to the fourth generation of migrants. (Sava 2010, translated from the Serbian) Learning our language is of interest to every age group. There are many different reasons to learn: maintaining one's own identity, staying in touch with one's birth-place, young people learning the language and possibly finding future employment in Slovenia. Almost all of our members are in ethnically mixed marriages and so Slovene is not used much within the family. Tuition offers a real chance for all gen-

erations to improve their knowledge of Slovene language and culture. (Kredarica 2010, translated from the Slovene)

in Germany:

Slovenes, who were not numerous enough, wanted the then Yugoslav authorities to provide organised tuition. In Augsburg there was a Yugoslav society which offered extra classes, but in a language which was for Slovene children equally foreign. Parents wanted their children to learn something in Slovene. (Drava 2010, translated from the Slovene)

The society cultivates respect and love among Slovenes for their homeland Slovenia and for Slovene cultural values, a spirit of tolerance towards others among the young and understanding between people. (Lipa 2010, translated from the Slovene) Soon, parents of young Slovene children, most of them born here, began to look for opportunities for them to learn Slovene. (Sava 2010, translated from the Slovene)

in the USA and Canada:

Throughout the years of the groups leaders and coordinators strived to install the Slovenian culture, tradition, and music to second and third generation Slovenian youth, in the form of traditional and modern Slovenian dancing. (Mladi glas & Planika 2010, original text)

The main aim of Slovenska Palma is the preservation of Slovene identity through culture and language. We are a group of Slovenes who would like to maintain contact with the homeland, to spread Slovene awareness and to pass it on to future generations. (Slovenska Palma 2010, translated from the Slovene)

Each adult and child can help make the future of the Slovenian Cultural Garden come into full bloom and preserve the cultural heritage of all nationality peoples in Greater Cleveland. (Slovenian Cultural Garden Association 2010, original text)

in Argentina:

Our aim is to bring together young Slovenes and to raise them in a religious, national and cultural spirit. We strive to achieve this through sport, young people's days, excursions, masses, lectures and meetings. (sdo-sfz 2010, translated from the Slovene) the organised gathering of young Slovenes in Ramos is the best way of encouraging the formation and preservation of links of friendship; it is also often the seed of a new Slovene family. (Slomškov dom Ramos Mehija 2010, translated from the Slovene)

That this really does happen and that young people carry on their shoulders the “burden” of tradition, language, culture and maintaining contact with the homeland,

as well as different cultural and religious practices, is most often shown by reports and photographs of activities and events such as folklore groups, choirs, language learning classes, excursions, religious events, preparing traditional dishes, celebrating festivities and so on (Milharčič Hladnik 2010). Of course, the question arises here as to how many young people (voluntarily) participate in such activities. Research has shown that children of immigrants, in building their identity, rarely incorporate the influence of the “old country” to the same extent and as frequently as do their parents,³ but their lives are nevertheless heavily influenced by faraway places and many of them have the social skills and connections that they need to become translational activists, should they so decide (Levitt 2004). The kind of websites we have seen here rarely offer a direct answer to the above question, especially not from the point of view of the young.

PORTALS, FORUMS, VIDEO RECORDINGS. ENTER FOR THE SECOND TIME

There have been a number of attempts to promote more dynamic communication among Slovenes around the world (Rheingold 1991). Among them are portals such as Thezaurus, Slo-Arg, Triglav and SVS, where interaction is encouraged through forums, galleries, links and so on. In the case of Thezaurus, at least, content changes rapidly, is created more democratically and progresses through discussions in which a large circle of people can take part, including youngsters and even children, who can contribute essays, homework, drawings and other products. But there is still a tendency to see younger generations as responsible for tradition, the language and cultural practices:

Promotion, establishment and maintenance of Slovenian language and culture, principally through the medium of technology assisted learning, to benefit the descendants of Slovenian immigrants. (Thezaurus 2010, original text)

YouTube and similar sites have also begun to be used. This involves the sharing of video footage of celebrations, cultural events, presentations, personalities and parties; young people often contribute to these transnational multimedia exchanges. Here is an excellent description of the situation from one young transnational activist:

Keeping our tradition going for the generations to come, I was fortunate enough that my parents did involve me in a lot of Slovenian Community organisations over the years, especially Mladi glas and Planika, but I found that especially now that we are second, third and fourth generation that is even more important because is not only to learn their culture or where Slovenia is and who we are as Slovenians but is also to know each other, this brings bonds and if we dont pass this to our

³ For more on intergenerational differences in emigration see Lukšič Hacin 1995; Mikola 2005; Toplak 2008; Toplak 2009.

youth than there is no one here to take it over no matter how well organised all this organisations are now if the youth dont take it over in the future than basically we will have nothing latter on. So we have to give them credit and a chance to participate. (YouTube 2010, original text)

Of course, the question arises here as to who shoots the video footage and puts it online. It is possible to recognise some organised group behind the mysterious names (e.g. Slovenska palma, slopalma) and to track their postings, but in most cases this is impossible because of the sheer number of postings involved.

IN AN ETHNIC WHIRLWIND WITHOUT SUPERVISION OR RESTRICTIONS

Most of the present research into the transnational practice and social fields of children and adolescents whose identity is partly Slovene takes place in relation to Facebook and Myspace. These two websites, dedicated to making friends online (Čavič 2008), differ from “traditional” websites and forums in that parents, societies and associations, and forum administrators, have far less influence over any communication, or even none at all. On Facebook there are quite a number of groups linked with themes connected with Slovenes around the world. Sites such as “I feel Slovenia”, “Sexy Slovenians Society”, “People of Slovenian Ancestry”, “You know you are Slovenian when ...”, “There is love in every Slovenian”, “Eslovenos in Venezuela”, “Slovenia: Best country in the world”, “Kiss me... I am Slovenian” “¿Cuantos ESLOVENOS y descendientes hay en CHILE y en el Cono Sur?”, “Canadian Slovenian youth” and “Slovenians in the USA” currently involve almost 20,000 individuals from different countries who are using them as a means to research the Slovene part of their identity. The profiles and data available indicate that these are young people who define themselves as “second, third, fourth generation”, or “100%, 50%, ¼ Slovene”.

These young people decide what generation they are, which cultural practices are important to them, how much Slovene identity they are prepared to accept, nurture or reject, how long they will feel Slovene, and how they regard the transnational efforts of their parents, relatives and people their own age. Their engagement often indicates that their parents had mixed feelings about their inclusion in the society of the host country and passed these feelings on in various ways to their children (Levitt and Glick Shiller 2004). They wanted their children to be integrated, but not too much. Thus the young remember various cultural practices and are pleased to have found “a like-minded community that welcomes you with open arms [...] to talk about your parents and not have to explain anything to anyone in the room because they were all going through the exact same thing” (Levitt 2004). Thus in Facebook and Myspace groups, on the “wall” there appear long debates involving different people and varied themes:

“joining this group is like coming home...cheers!”, “this is probably the best page I have come across in long time. I am proud to be Slovenian!!”, “i never thought i had tradition or culture b/c of the lack of Slovenians in Minneapolis but this group shines light toward me realizing me heritage. thanks!”, “haha, it's groups like this that make me wish I learnt my native tongue!”, “second generation Slovenians are the same!” (You Know et al. 2010, original text)

The various cultural practices mentioned include language learning, playing instruments, singing or dancing:

“I used to play the accordion as a kid and what's more I CHOSE it myself - wasn't forced by my parents (although they were thrilled!)”. “I was involved in pevski zbor and folklorna skupina and so on and so on...”; “Saturdays and Slovenska šola.... lol!!!” (You Know et al. 2010, original text)

Or various festive days, in connection with food (Debevec and Tivadar 2006):

“U know you're Slovenian when mami is preparing 'vampe' meanwhile your friend has arrived for a dinner”, “With us it was smoren that my mom would make for us...and sprinkle sugar or pehleicinke..with jam”, “I miss Slovenia.. ajver, kranjske klobase and potico (njama) and strenge relatives”. “You eat that egg stuff at Easter - ya know - hard boiled eggs with oil, vinegar and horseradish - and mocha (dunk your bread, potica, klobase, speck and everything into it)”, “zu Ostern besucht, gibt es fünfmal gekochte Eier, Kren, Slivo, Salami und potica (aber nur mit Nuss, nie mit Schokolade). (You Know et al. 2010, original text)

various health-related ideas, such as:

“you're not allowed to leave the house with damp hair”, “ Getting warm soda or juice, because too cold of a drink would hurt your throat”, “prepih kills more people than cancer according to my babi!”, “You have to wear copate around the house, even if you have carpeting and it is 95 degrees outside...” (You Know et al. 2010)

And many other examples which, from different points of view, illuminate different transnational practices and beliefs that children have absorbed from their environment and which they are willing to share online in order to shape a new kind of ethnic community, if only for the few seconds it takes to post on a Facebook or Myspace wall.

CTRL-ALT-DEL OR CONCLUSION

In recent times, research into migration has paid a lot of attention to social networks, institutions and connections that cross national borders, linking in a common social field

emigrants with their country of origin and with those who did not leave. Emigrants send money home and return to their homeland, where they can culturally, socially, politically and economically establish themselves. They can also spread their culture, language and values in the host country. These transnational links and practices are prevalent primarily among the first generation of emigrants (Bryant 2005). But the persistence of such links among the second and subsequent generations is questionable. Some children of emigrants retain some knowledge of their parents' language, visit the homeland and even send money there, but the scale and frequency of such practices in subsequent generations is much less. Research in the USA has shown that most such young citizens prefer to speak English, have not visited their parents' homeland and do not (yet) send money there (Jones-Correa 2004).

But these are not the only transnational practices, although they are the ones most frequently mentioned. Other forms of transnational links, which at first sight are less important, can have far-reaching consequences. Participation by young people in specific kinds of online communication in which they express their ethnicity is an interesting and important transnational practice worthy of more detailed research. In contrast to long-term language learning, visiting their parents' homeland or sending money to relatives, this is a kind of link with the country of origin that can be achieved from one's armchair.⁴ As the above examples show, it does not demand any wide previous knowledge and the pre-conditions for inclusion in a specific virtual group with ethnic content are minimal and flexible. Moreover, "ethnic pressure" or attempts at social construction by parents, relatives or the community that are still apparent on "traditional" websites and portals are lesser or even absent. Perhaps this is the reason why there unfolds a whole range of transnational dynamics involving even young children and influencing the identity of those taking part for some time and then leading either back to the homeland or being lost in cyberspace. As is often the case in the information age, there is simply too much data for us to be able to research and clarify through existing theories and reflections on migration, even the most recent ones. For now, we can only scratch the surface and take pleasure in the heterogeneity of the migrant experiences that young people bring to cyberspace, thus ensuring that they are not forgotten.

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⁴ The Internet is also a suitable space for keeping in touch with the country of origin for those children of migrants who, because of external signs of ethnic identification and visits to the parents' homeland, are exposed to stigmatisation (Žitnik 2008: 90–91).

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POVZETEK

TRANSNACIONALNE DINAMIKE OTROK IN MLADIH POTOMCEV
SLOVENSКИH IZSELJENCEV NA INTERNETU

Jure Gombač

Pri ustvarjanju, kreiranju in uporabi spletnih strani gre za zanimivo in za raziskovalce pomembno transnacionalno dinamiko slovenskih izseljencev in njihovih potomcev. Še posebej se v ospredje postavlja vprašanje, v kolikšni meri lahko pri tej dinamiki sodelujejo otroci in mladi, saj gre v primeru interneta za transnacionalni medij številka ena, prvi, ki omogoča komunikacijo mnogih z mnogimi in v sebi združuje veliko širšo ponudbo mogočih življenj ali identitet. Otroci in mladi izseljenci se stalno selijo med različnimi socialnimi sistemi, kjer delujejo različne norme in vrednote, podvrženi so različnim skupinam pravil, pričakovanj, vrednot, svoja življenja živijo v gostem, intenzivnem čezmejnem polju odnosov, ki zajemajo ljudi, prostore in vrednote iz različnih delov sveta. Zato je povsem pričakovano, da svojo identiteto konstruirajo na najrazličnejše načine, tudi s pomočjo interneta, ki je postal sinonim za svobodno izražanje, konstruiranje (alternativnih) identitet, upor (Donath 2004).

V kolikšni meri pri konstruiranju takšnega otroštva sodelujejo starši, sorodniki, okolica, je naslednje vprašanje, ki si ga je potrebno zastaviti. Raziskave kažejo, da vsaj nekaj izseljenskih otrok in mladih zadrži nekaj znanja jezika svojih staršev, vračajo se v njihovo domovino in tja pošiljajo celo denar, a transnacionalni aktivizem pri njih je v naslednjih generacijah precej manjši kot pri generaciji njihovih staršev. Vendar se zdi, da internet to razmišljanje postavlja na laž, čeprav morda le za nekaj sekund, kolikor traja, da oddamo »sporočilo« na »zid«.

EDUCATIONAL CARE FOR SLOVENE EMIGRANT YOUTH BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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ABSTRACT

Educational Care for Slovene Emigrant Youth before the Second World War

Children were a part of the emigrant population that was in the shadow of adults. The care of the Church and the state for their situation abroad in the inter-war period is investigated. The stress is on children of Slovene emigrants in France, Germany, Belgium and The Netherlands. A few emigrant priests and teachers were involved with them and a small number went to supplementary lessons in the Slovene language. Correspondence between emigrant children and their peers in the home country was lively. They also met during holidays that emigrant children spent in Slovenia. Children were active participants at public emigrant events in the emigrant community. Despite all the efforts to preserve their national identity, the process of assimilation deepened as a result of them attending compulsory schooling in the immigrant country. Few personal testimonies of childhood have been preserved. Their feelings and experience are reflected in songs that were penned by adults in the language of children, e.g., in *Izseljenska čitanka* (Emigrant Reader) (1941).

KEYWORDS: assimilation of school children, emigrant teachers, contacts with the homeland, holidays in the homeland, written contacts between children

IZVLEČEK

Šolska skrb za slovensko izseljeniško mladino pred drugo svetovno vojno

Otroci so bili kot del selitvene populacije v senci odraslih. V medvojnem obdobju spremljamo skrb Cerkve in države za njihovo stanje v tujini, predvsem otrok slovenskih izseljencev v Franciji, Nemčiji, Belgiji in na Nizozemskem. Le malo otrok je obiskovalo dopolnilni pouk slovenskega jezika, kjer so se z njimi ukvarjali maloštevilni izseljenski duhovniki in učitelji. Živahno je bilo dopisovanje med izseljenskimi otroki in vrstniki v domovini. Srečevali so se tudi med počitnicami, ki so jih preživeli v domovini. V izseljenstvu so bili otroci aktivni del javnih izseljenskih prireditev. Kljub vsem naporom za ohranitev njihove narodne identitete se je proces asimilacije poglobljal kot posledica obiskovanja obveznih šol v priseljenjskih državah. Iz otroštva je ohranjenih le malo osebnih pričevanj. Njihovo občutenje in doživljanje se je odražalo v pesmih, ki so z otroško govorico prihajali izpod peres odraslih, npr. v *Izseljenski čitanki* (1941).

KLJUČNE BESEDE: asimilacija šolske mladine, izseljenski učitelji, stiki z domovino, počitnice v domovini, pisemski stiki otrok

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INTRODUCTION²

The position and role of children in migration processes has not often been the subject of research into emigration, in the present case for the period between the two world wars. There is no mention of the migration of children in the book by Klaus J. Bade *Evropa v gibanju* (Europe in Movement) (Bade 2005). It seems that the mass movements of people were not only genderless, but also without the presence of children. With the foundation of the first Yugoslav state (1918), care of Slovene emigrants by the state and the Catholic Church was strengthened. The levers of emigration policies were in the hands of Belgrade, but their implementation lay with the Emigrant Commissariat in Zagreb (Jonjić, Laušič 1998) and the Banovinas, in the Slovene case, the Drava Banovina (Šmid 2003; Kološa 1980). From the twenties onwards, Slovene emigration flows were directed to western European countries, primarily France, Belgium, Luxembourg, The Netherlands and Germany (Drnovšek 2009: 39–43). Slovenes from Primorska emigrated from Italy to Argentina and throughout Yugoslavia (Vovko 1992: 87–92). The economic crisis in the mid-thirties caused an increased return home (Drnovšek 1999: 113–126).

At the appeal of the League of Nations in Geneva, a National Council for Assistance to Children was founded in the country (1921). In 1923, the International Association for Assistance to Children published the Geneva Declaration on the Rights of Children, which demanded that “the child that is hungry must be fed, the child that is sick must be helped, the child that is backward must be helped, the delinquent child must be reclaimed, and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succoured”. In June 1923, the Ljubljana Institute for the Care of Mothers and Children began work. The Society Care of Children (1928) appeared under the auspices of *Jugoslovanska matica* (Yugoslav Society). In 1933, the Yugoslav Union for the Protection of Children was founded (Jarc 1936: 9, 14). Care for children increased in both Europe and Yugoslavia.

How children and young people were publicly present in emigrant and immigrant events between the wars is the subject of this paper. Children were a part of the migration population that were more or less in the shadow of the world of adults. Although the attitude to upbringing and education of emigrant children in the period before the First World War was for the most part a matter of private interests, especially the Church, Yugoslav administrative bodies on national and Banovina levels were involved in it in the first Yugoslavia. The aim of Church activity among the emigrants was not just to preserve the faith, but also to preserve and strengthen the Slovene community abroad. It helped in overcoming people's everyday difficulties associated with life and work abroad. Children were part of that life and the Church devoted most attention to them. Despite possible reproaches of the Church about its ideological aggressiveness and exclusion of other beliefs, its bright side must be stressed, connected especially to care for people as such. The ideological divisions of their parents abroad certainly cannot be ignored (Drnovšek

² The article is a result of the research program reference number PS-0070: “National and Cultural Identity of the Slovene Emigrant Community”, financed by the Research Agency of the Republic of Slovenia.

1997: 229–240). Upbringing and education of emigrant children was primarily the task of parents – with the mother (Anon. 1929), priests and teachers having the dominant role.³ Both at home and in emigration.⁴

“EDUCATIONAL CARE OF SLOVENE EMIGRANT YOUTH”

Assimilation, which is often characterised by the expression “alienation”, in the opinion of an anonymous thinker in 1932 was a natural process that could not be halted. He even touched on the thesis that at least the spirit and soul are preserved, even though language is lost (Anon. 1932). He saw a ray of hope in the fact that education and the establishment of “Slovene schools” was strengthening, i.e., courses conducted by priests and teachers sent from the Yugoslav state (educators). The Banovina administration was aware of the importance of emigrant priests and teachers from the religious, state, social and economic points of view.

At the first (1 June 1935) and second (23 August 1937) Catholic Emigrant Congress in Ljubljana, a request was made to the state to appoint permanent priests and teachers for the care of emigrants and their descendents, with the aim that they remain “devout and worthy children of the homeland” (Anon. 1935). Both were considered leaders and protectors of emigrant children, who were intended to strengthen the living bonds with the homeland, with state representatives of the host states and with Yugoslav diplomatic offices. The image of a teacher had to be that of a very good, devout, hard-working and serious man. In 1937, the Banovina made records of posts of priests and teachers. Priests and teachers should work in all larger Slovene immigrant centres in Europe and South America, with regulated status and with suitable financial support.⁵ The immigrant states did not in principle obstruct the social life of emigrants.

What was the position of children in emigrant societies? An example. In 1929, the Society of St. Barbara in Eysden in Belgium issued rules on the aims of the society. Immediately at the start, they highlighted the importance of Slovenes associating and gathering and of cultivating unity and friendship among them. Article four stated that members shall ensure that children know how to speak and read Slovene. Under article five, they should ensure a fine Christian family life, without drinking, unrest and disorder in the family. Children should be brought up in a strict Christian spirit. Children should avoid bad company. Boys over the age of sixteen became members of the society. Only male members had the right to vote, elect and be elected; female members only had the right to speak (Drnovšek 1990: 65–68).

³ AS 74, a.e. 1334, p. 12.

⁴ The paper is primarily based on archive, newspaper and publicity material. The Office of Emigration operated within the framework of the Sixth Department for Social Policy and National Health of the Drava Banovina. The archive material of this department was destroyed, except for the material of the Office of Emigration (Šmid 2003: 85).

⁵ AS 74, a.e. 1842, p. 19.

A lack of knowledge of the Slovene language, both among adults and children and young people, was a major problem. Lack of knowledge of the language was clearest among Westphalian Slovenes (Drnovšek, Wörsdörfer 2009: 85–91).⁶ They more or less did not know how to speak or write Slovene. Over the years, knowledge of the language also dissipated among children who had come to western European countries with their parents, and it was even worse among children born abroad. The alarm was raised both at home and among the emigrant community for preserving the Slovene language and spirit. The Society of St. Raphael – closely linked with the activities of the Franciscan Father Kazimir Zakrajšek (1878–1958) – supported efforts for improving the situation. Children had to attend compulsory school of the immigrant state, which resulted in a prevailing knowledge of the language of the country in which they were living. The more they approached the age of eighteen, the faster they forgot the language of their parents. While they were at home, they learnt something from their parents. The “shaming” of children for speaking their mother tongue in the multi-linguistic environment had a certain role. The assessment is not therefore surprising that Slovene was dying out in The Netherlands, which was among the most recent immigrant environments, let alone in the older Slovene communities. Courses were supposed at least to help to improve the situation. Children oscillated between the domestic and foreign language as well as between domestic and new values of the immigrant environment. In short: “Only let our emigrant children be good citizens of the country whose citizens they are by birth. And in this good Slovenes and good Yugoslavs”, was written (Anon. 1933).

How many children were there? In the case of France, in 1934 the teacher Janko Jankovič published a contribution in *Duhovno življenje* (Spiritual Life) “Slovene schools in France” (Jankovič 1934: 80–85), which was reprinted a year later in *Izseljeniški vestnik* (Emigrant Gazette) (Jankovič 1935). With a certain caution, he stated that there were around 18,000 Slovenes in France, 4500 of which were children. Slovene families were young and their first children were only just coming to the end of school. Two priests and two mining officials looked after them but only one was a teacher, the other was a choirmaster by profession. The four of them taught a total of 100 to 500 children in their own environment and, in his opinion, the remaining 4000 were deaf and dumb to Slovene words and blind to the beauty of the Slovene and Yugoslav homeland. However, he believed that not everything was bad. Emigrant societies could be founded. The mining authorities in many places contributed to the logistics of educational courses. And a further step, he believed that there were more than enough possibilities for young people to gather in France. His colleague, Svatopluk Stoviček, an emigrant teacher on the Belgian-German border was satisfied in the academic year 1936/37 that some 75% of children responded to his invitation and boasted that he had better educational success than his Czech, Hungarian

⁶ The first period from 1880 onwards, in the shadow of mass emigration to the USA, saw Slovenes from coal-mining areas move to the coal-mining and industrial regions of north-western Germany (Ruhrgebiet). As a consequence of the post-World One political and economic crisis in Germany, a portion of the so-called Westphalian Slovenes moved westwards and only a part of them remained in Germany.

and Polish colleagues. The children that did not attend his courses, in the teacher's opinion, were from poor families or children of parents who, because of their political convictions, did not have confidence in his efforts (Drnovšek 1990: 40–41). Jankovič was worried by the assimilation of children, which large nations more easily control (Italy, Germany). He was committed to preserving Yugoslav awareness, fidelity to the Slovene nation and the Yugoslav homeland. It was based for him on preservation of the Slovene language. What binds a mother to a child that speaks a foreign language that she does not understand, he asked? How does a mother lead it by the right path? Not least, it is not certain that a child will always remain abroad, especially in times when, because of crisis and the expulsion of foreigners, a mass return of the young to the homeland is expected. Jankovič was very severe. He envisaged that only ten percent of parents teach their children to speak, read and write. He reproached children with being illiterate. They spoke a kind of German-French mixture. Many like to “warble” in French and had no idea about writing and reading, asserted the teacher. He was as critical of the parents as of the children. He wrote: “Is it not strange that Slovene mothers give birth to English, Spaniards, Germans, French etc. instead of giving birth to Slovenes” (Jankovič 1935).

CHILDREN'S HOLIDAYS

Holiday colonies for emigrant children and young people were intended to revive and preserve contacts with the homeland. It was often stressed that the young from the emigrant community wanted to tread on the ground of their homeland and see the places of their parents. The relative proximity of European immigration countries enabled these contacts to take place. When, at the first Emigrant Congress (1935), the president of the Banovina Association of Wives, Ana Zupančič, announced an invitation that her organisation was prepared to accept emigrant children on holiday, Kazimir Zakrajšek responded:

There was always a crisis with children, because children did not get one care, the protection and nurture that was necessary in order not to be morally corrupted, so that holidays in the homeland would not be merely to their moral damage. This is a question that we must separately study. (Anon. 1935)

Zupančič was of a different opinion. She was familiar with the previous holidays. She proposed from practice the following steps. First, the children should come on holiday for the entire summer and not just for three weeks as had been usual. She based this on the need for a longer period of learning the Slovene language. Second, from an organisational point of view she was committed to the children spending a third of their holidays in the mountains and the other two thirds by the sea and with relatives or charitable families. Women's and other societies that organise holidays would provide help. She rejected the practice that children be divided among farms, which did not have time for them when farm work was at its peak. Third, the children should have two to three hours daily les-

sons in Slovene, geography and history, since enough time would still be left for fun and excursions. Fourth, the children should be carefully chosen. Those that knew at least some Slovene should be considered. Mothers would thus be encouraged to speak their native language more with the children. If children returned from holidays satisfied, in the opinion of Zupančič, each mother would want to give her children the same experience and would strive for the child to meet the holiday conditions, i.e., basic knowledge of Slovene. Fifth, she believed that one year of education of children in Slovenia could also be provided. They should be enabled to attend school and courses within the framework of regulations. She was thinking here mainly of girls, who should be trained for helping emigrant teachers. The school authorities should help ensure that the stress would be on themes that they most needed, which she enumerated: baby care, training in singing and leading choirs and similar. Everything should be considered in advance, because of the modest resources. Sixth, propaganda was needed to obtain funds. Each Slovene newspaper should publish articles on the importance of work (sacrifice) for emigrants (Zupančič 1939: 155).

The main organisers of the colonies were emigrant priests and teachers. A mandatory aim of all groups of excursionists was visits to Brezje and Bled. In August 1928, Božidar Tensundern brought 260 children from the Ruhr to Slovenia on a five-week visit. A crowd of a thousand greeted them in Ljubljana (Tensundern 1973: 95–100). In 1931, a group holiday for children from Germany and The Netherlands was organised. There were 200 in total; 160 from Germany and 40 from The Netherlands. The children were aged from 8 to 16 years old. Providing children with holidays was modelled very much on Italy and Germany. The teacher Marija Ažman in August 1939 organised a vacation colony in order to prevent the indifference, apathy and alienation of Slovene young people in Germany. In addition to financial difficulties, organisational preparations were more difficult because children were concerned. The boys were separated from the girls and dispersed through various Slovene and Dalmatian health spas. The children from the colony the previous year had not known the Slovene language. It was therefore envisaged in 1939 that ten boys from Ljubljana would be included. They planned at least ten persons to accompany them (students of theology) in order to reduce the risk of physical injury, to provide lessons and educate the adolescent youth. In relation to food, it was believed that the children could not be given the same food as local children “because we must consider that they are accustomed to better food in Germany. We must in no way allow the colony not to be a success because of bad food” declared the Düsseldorf consul, Logar, and emphasised that it was an extreme attempt to save children so that they remain aware, and stressed: “Our colony therefore will not be a colony in the stated aspect, but a study-defence course”. Zakrajšek drew further attention to the poor international circumstances and proposed that two young people, a boy and a girl, should be taken from each Slovene settlement and that they should be prepared at two-month courses as “agitators” who would work among the emigrants. They also intended to spread this activity to France and The Netherlands.⁷ The war thwarted these endeavours.

⁷ AS 74, a.e. 284, š. 3.

PARTICIPATION OF CHILDREN AT PERFORMANCES

Participation at performances involved children from the youngest to adolescents, depending on the content of the event. The coming of Miklavž (St. Nicholas or Santa Claus), holy communion and confirmation, mother's day, 28th December, Christmas and Easter holidays and others were occasions made for children. The celebrations of societies and also Yugoslav state holidays did not take place without children. The blessing of a society's flag was a great event. As in Slovenia, children participated at 'Emigrant Sundays' and other religious events, such as pilgrimages to Kevelaer (Germany). Children and young people were not just in the background of various ceremonies but, with the help of teachers and priests, actively participated, e.g., in musical items, plays based on fairy tales, recitations, dramatic plays, performing allegories and so on. The dispersion of children over various settlements very often hindered work with children, e.g., preparing plays in spare time. This also made more difficult the work of societies and educational courses. The smaller participation in them was a result of the distance apart of settlements in which Slovenes lived. Particular stress was on Slovene choral singing of adults and children, to whom it was often said the local population very much enjoyed listening. Singing and stressing the symbols of the Slovene identity, in which Bled and Brezje stood out, was a constant of all events. Costumes and stage sets were normally modest. In *Izseljenska čitanka* (Emigrant Reader) (1941) and *Izseljenski vestnik* (Emigrant Gazette) (1932–1940), there are numerous photographs of children, for the most part in groups, always nicely dressed and normally with a priest or teacher in the centre or by the side of the group. That the children were only children was documented by the organiser of an Emigrant Sunday in Merlebach (France) with the words: "Unfortunately, the children were even more 'wild', inattentive and undisciplined, so that the director had really to hold himself in or have nerves of steel..." At the same performance, the organiser rather exaggerated when a choir of eighty children made an appearance with a concert of Slovene national songs. The children were tired and restless but, at the same time, the audience marvelled that they could remember such long texts, especially since they were not skilled in the Slovene language. They finished by singing *Hej Slovenci* (Hey, Slovenes) and *Lepa naša domovina* (Our beautiful homeland) (Anon. 1933).

"EMIGRANT UNCLE'S CORNER"

The priest, Anton Merkun, mentioned in the emigrant program in 1932 what the homeland must do for greater recognition of the Slovene emigrant community. What did he enumerate? School readers should have essays about emigrants, in geography the main colonies and where Slovenes are employed should be mentioned, in history the time of emigration/immigration should be identified, biographies, e.g., of Friderik Baraga, and this in primary, secondary and trade schools in the Banovina.

The scientific study of Slovene emigration was envisaged at university level (Merkun

1932). The stress was on making the young at home aware. The tasks were: encouraging children to write letters with stories about their life in the new environments, on the one hand, and children from home writing to the immigrant environment, on the other. The letters from children from abroad were varied in terms of quality of content and language, very often childishly naive, influenced by the insertion of rapturous words about the homeland. However, it is possible to detect in them what the children thought and what adult hands had contributed. The children sent their diaries and memories of visits to the homeland. In addition to the demand for textbooks for both children and adults, within the framework of Emigration Days or Sundays the celebration of these days was stressed.⁸ The teacher Julijana Šušteršič, who also went on a visit to children in France tried to imagine how she would interest children at home in emigrant themes. She was aware of how boring it could be merely to describe emigration numerically. The children themselves suggested that they would collect books, collect stamps, shells, handfuls of soil from the homeland, that they would write some letters about conditions at home, about suffering and poverty, and that they would send all together to the Society of St. Raphael, so that it could send abroad what had been collected. Some of what the children produced really was sent to Gladbeck (Germany), and some to Tucquegnieux (France). They also got an answer from the recipients (Šušteršič 1937).

As an example, thirteen-year old Drago Mikuš from Merlebach (France), of Slovene blood and language, as he presented himself, learnt German and French, the first through playing, the second at compulsory school. He believed that parents are to blame for not knowing languages, even the mother tongue. His five-year old brother also had the same upbringing and wrote in a letter: “Oh, woe betide if you broke out into German in front of our father,” although both father and mother spoke good German (Mikuš 1937). The teacher Jankovič ordered his son Tonček to write to the homeland. “But what should I write when I'm so small”, he lamented, since he was only attending “Slovene school” for the second year. What encouraged him to write? That he would like to learn Slovene, which would allow him to talk to his mother more easily (Jankovič T. 1933).

The editor of a column wanted people from the whole world to write to him. A correspondent, Alojz Ocepek, saw the column as a defence of the young against “falling into the waves of foreign life”. He criticised the decline in concern for the young and the tediousness of writing about them in the Slovene press. He appealed to intellectuals, who should devote greater attention to children abroad. He criticised the lack of activity of the authorities and cultural and educational societies at home (Ocepek 1936). Jožef Grašič wrote a contribution for *Kotiček izseljenske mladine* (Corner for emigrant youth) “We appeal for correspondence with our emigrants”. He highlighted the need to rely more on domestic youth, who should encourage correspondence with their peers. The next step would be to invite them to the homeland, at least for short visits (Grašič 1937). Jože Podslivniški predicted the “national death” of emigrant youth.⁹ When the Chamber of

⁸ AS 74, a.e. 271, p. 3.

⁹ If we take to hand *Spominski zbornik Slovenije* (Memorial Miscellany of Slovenia) (1939), together

Emigrants was founded (1938), a school section and youth fund were established within its framework. The intention of the first was care for the young abroad and the second bringing the homeland closer to emigrant children, e.g., by organising holidays. However, the time of peace ran out and, with it, plans and programs in the sphere of care for emigrant children and young people collapsed.

CONCLUSION

Emigrant children were a world to themselves. We know least about them since all research to date has been directed at the adult, mainly the male population. Bringing up children was shouldered by the mothers. The men were employed, the mothers and wives looked after the new home in the emigrant environment. Compulsory attendance at school in the immigrant country, in the opinion of many, alienated the children from the Slovene language. Assimilation was also desired by the country of immigration. On its account, it made roads, which united children in play and they thus accepted the speech of peers of other ethnic groups. This was not intended as a mistake but was something unheard of on the part of Slovene emigrant priests and teachers. Like it or not, the children and young people accepted the values of the new environment, about which there is not a great deal of data in archive sources. More prominent was the idealisation of the homeland, the places of home and Yugoslavia, which was often suggested by the Yugoslav diplomatic offices abroad. Written and personal contacts of children between the emigrant and domestic worlds were rare, usually during holiday colonies and the newspaper column of *Izseljenski vestnik* devoted to the young.

The paper has been written on the basis of archive and newspaper material, which was inclined to the Catholic party; less is known about children whose parents were non-religious or socialistically inclined. There is little material about the latter or it is not available in Slovenia.

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with the findings of Dr. Alojzij Kuhar, who was well acquainted with the emigrant question, in it also appear indications of the dying out of Slovenes in the USA, the imminent death of Slovenes in Canada, the recorded death of settlements in France; for a wonder nothing about the fate of Slovenes in Germany, of the disappearance of Slovenes in Belgium and only settlements in The Netherlands were characterised as the best Slovene settlements in Europe and the overseas countries (Kuhar 1939: 524–536).

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POVZETEK

ŠOLSKA SKRIB ZA SLOVENSKO IZSELJENIŠKO MLADINO PRED DRUGO SVETOVNO VOJNO

Marjan Drnovšek

Obdobje monarhistične Jugoslavije so zaznamovali migracijski tokovi zlasti v Francijo, Belgijo, na Nizozemsko in v Nemčijo. Poleg posameznikov se je v omenjenih državah povečalo število družin in s tem tudi otrok. V tujini so dalj časa bivali vestfalski otroci, večina pa je prihajala v povojnem obdobju. Cerkev in država sta izražali skrb za vzgojo in izobraževanje izseljenskih otrok in mladine. Poudarki v razpravi so povezani z delom izseljenskih duhovnikov in učiteljev, z učenjem slovenskega jezika, z medsebojnimi pisnimi stiki otrok, s počitnikovanjem otrok v domovini, z udeležbo otrok in mladine na prireditvah izseljenskih društev. Rubrika Kotiček za otroke v glasilu *Izseljenski vestnik* je bila bolj skromna, poslana pisma in dnevniki so bili pisani bolj z odraslo kot otroško roko. Tik pred vojno se je skrb za otroke in mladino povečala, vendar je bila bolj dejavna na programskih usmeritvah kot na aktivnem izvajanju načrtovanega. Ne smemo pa zanikati

mnogih človeških, malim ljudem prepotrebni pomoči, ki so jih ponujali dobrotniki v domovini. Med veliko gospodarsko krizo se je povečalo število v domovino vračajočih se družin. Jugoslovanska migracijska politika je bila manj uspešna, nenazadnje zaradi nezainteresiranosti Beograda, saj je bila večina izseljencev slovenskega in hrvaškega porekla in katoliške vere. V obravnavanem obdobju je bil na migracijskem področju s svojimi bogatimi izkušnjami iz ameriškega obdobja najaktivnejši pater Kazimir Zakrajšek. Svojih številnih načrtov ni izpeljal, saj je bilo dvajsetletno obdobje prekratko; ob začetku vojne se je namreč umaknil v Združene države Amerike.

MIGRATIONS OF THE CHILDREN OF THE ALEXANDRIAN WOMEN FROM THE 1930S TO THE 1960S

Daša KOPRIVEC¹

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ABSTRACT

Migrations of the Children of the Alexandrian Women from the 1930s to the 1960s

The article presents the migrations of the children of the Alexandrian Women, with a particular emphasis on the relocations in the period from the 1930s to the 1960s. It describes the main migration flows of the children between Goriška and Egypt, the age of the children involved, and the principal reasons for their migration. The migrations are discussed in relation to the family situation, as well as in the wider context of the relevant economic and political developments in the first half of the 20th century. In addition to the migrations of the Alexandrian Women themselves, many of their children relocated more than once, and the article sheds light on a perhaps less known aspect of the migration of Slovenes to and from Egypt.

KEYWORDS: migrations, children, Alexandrian Women, transnational migrations, Goriška, Egypt, migrations from Egypt

IZVLEČEK

Migracije otrok aleksandrink od tridesetih do šestdesetih let 20. stoletja

V prispevku avtorica predstavi migracije otrok aleksandrink in pri tem poudari migracije v obdobju od 30. do 60. let 20. stoletja. Predstavi glavne tokove migracij otrok iz Goriške in iz Egipta, starost otrok migrantov in poglobljene razloge za njihove migracije. Migracije otrok aleksandrink umešča v družinski kontekst, postavi pa jih tudi v širši ekonomski in politični okvir dogajanja v prvi polovici 20. stoletja v navedenem geografskem prostoru. V ozadju migracij aleksandrink so potekale številne selitve njihovih otrok, zato nudi članek vpogled v do sedaj morda malo manj znano plat selitev Slovenk in Slovencev v Egipt in iz njega.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: migracije, otroci, aleksandrinke, transnacionalne migracije, Goriška, Egipt, migracije iz Egipta

INTRODUCTION

In this article I will deal with some of the fundamental characteristics of the migrations of the children of the Alexandrian Women² from the 1930s to the 1960s. To a great

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² This involves the migration of Slovene women and men to Egypt, who in the social sciences and

extent, what is outlined here is part of a wider research project carried out at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, which focused on the formation of the heritage of the Alexandrian Women and its evaluation among their descendants.³ The testimonies of those who took part in the research revealed numerous migration currents, which also included the children of Alexandrian Women, not only their adult relatives. I discuss primarily the main migration currents from the Goriška area of Slovenia (near Nova Gorica on the Italian border) to Egypt, rather than from other Slovene regions. The reason for this is that the basic research work carried out by the Slovene Ethnographic Museum was in the Goriška area, as was research by certain other authors (Makuc 1993; Miklavčič-Brezigar 2003; Škrlič 2009). Thus comparison with other parts of Slovenia could be unsatisfactory, as we have far less suitable data on migrations from these other areas to Egypt.

With regard to migrations from Europe to the Near East, the period from the 1930s to the 1960s was exceptionally rich and dynamic. After World War I and to the mid-1930s migrations flowed from north to south, from Europe to the Near East and North Africa. Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and by the mid-1920s, Britain, France and Italy had already consolidated their political and economic dominance over many countries in this region. Not only Egypt, but also Sudan, Jordan, Iraq and the then Palestine were in Britain's hands; France had control of Syria, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia; and Italy had Libya (Warnock Fernea 2002: 67). This transfer of political and economic strength facilitated migrations from Europe by numerous individuals and families seeking to make a living and, frequently, to start a new life. Not only Slovenes moved, but also Italians, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Maltese, Britans and French (Haag 2004). These migration processes also involved the Alexandrian Women and their children. Dorica Makuc, the author of key research into the Alexandrian Women, has noted that in the mid-1930s, when there was an Italian policy of trying to Italianise Slovenes living within Italy's borders, the Goriška quæstorship was very happy to rapidly accede to requests from Slovenes for a passport, including for children (Makuc 1993: 127).

Migrations by the children of the Alexandrian Women were numerous and diverse, both in terms of the direction of migration and the causes for it, while the age of the children involved varied greatly. Further research needs to be done into the migration of children prior to World War I. In this discussion I focus on the period from the 1930s to the late 1960s, as my main source is the testimonies of Alexandrian Women's children, who actually took part in these migration processes.⁴

humanities are referred to as Alexandrian; see also Miklavčič-Brezigar 2004: 5; Kalc 2002; Makuc 1993.

³ Koprivec, Daša (2005–2010). *Aleksandrinke in njihovi potomci* (The Alexandrian Women and their descendants), research project of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. Field interviews. Audio recordings 1–25 and fieldwork notebooks 1–19.

⁴ Testimonies recorded as part of the museum research are used. These are kept in the Department for Slovene Emigrants at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in the form of audio recordings (AO) and field notes (TZ) of interviews conducted in Goriška (Koprivec 2005–2010).

MIGRATIONS BETWEEN GORIŠKA AND EGYPT

The migration of Alexandrian Women's children was in three main directions: from Goriška to Egypt, from Egypt to Goriška and from the mid-1940s onwards from Egypt to other parts of the world. These migrations were not only part of the family context, but also part of the wider economical and political circumstances of the time. More than adults, the children can be thought of as in some senses *objects* of these migration flows, as their migrations were dependent on a parental decision – sometimes by both parents, sometimes by the mother alone, depending on the situation within the child's primary family. Children were not party to the decision, they just had to come to terms with it and accept it. Many participants in our research told us how when their mother or aunt came to get them they could not come to terms with the migration from their home in Goriška to Egypt. Many of them tried to hide and to avoid the move.

I didn't want to leave, but what could I do? I hid under that bridge over there...but my sister knew. She picked me up and carried me... Yes, I was there, and then they took me off to Egypt.

This was told by the son of an Alexandrian Women, who went to Egypt in 1935 as a six-year old, with his eight-year-old sister, when their mother came from Egypt to fetch them. He spent twenty years in Egypt, moving in 1955 from there to Australia, where he lived until 2008 when, after seventy-two years abroad, he decided to spend the rest of his days in his birthplace Goriška.⁵

Child migrations between Goriška and Egypt can be divided into three groups, according to age. The first group is babies; the second is boys and girls between the ages of six and ten; and the third is adolescent girls aged fifteen to seventeen. The reasons for the migrations of the different groups were different.

MIGRATIONS INVOLVING BABIES

Migrations of babies mainly took place from Egypt to Goriška: in other words, they were born in Egypt but their mother could not take care of them because of work obligations. The women were employed as maid servants who lived and worked with the employer's family and there was no room there for servants' children. While they were in this situation, Alexandrian Women in Egypt could not have their own family with them, as they had to become surrogate mothers, friends and companions to various members of the employer's family.⁶

Some of them got pregnant when they were on a visit home and returned to Egypt

⁵ Koprivec 2005–2010: AO8-04.

⁶ This did not happen only to the Alexandrian Women, but was one of the basic features of *live-in* work and part of the fate of migrant women workers who were also mothers (Hrženjak 2007: 40–42).

not even knowing that they were with child. Some months after the birth, the child would be sent home to be cared for by relatives or neighbours. These babies would have a wet nurse paid for by the mother (Humar 2007: 11). Some of them would eventually rejoin their mother in Egypt if she was still working there. This happened after they reached the age of six, because then they were old enough to attend one of the many boarding schools in Cairo or Alexandria where the children of different immigrant groups spent their first school years (Warnock Fernea 2002). Thus the children of some Alexandrian Women went through a number of migrations: after being born in Egypt they were sent home to Goriška, then as boys or girls they moved back to Egypt and in the mid-1950s there was a massive wave of migration, when numerous Slovene families, after the Egyptian national revolution of 1952–1956, sought new homes in Australia, Canada and Argentina. This is the kind of story told by the son of an Alexandrian Woman, who in 1924, as a six-week-old baby, was sent from Alexandria to Goriška, where he lived until he was six, mainly with his father and older sister, while his mother and two older sisters lived and worked in Egypt. Then at the age of six he was sent back to Egypt, where he lived for thirteen years, attending school and acquiring a career. After World War 2 he emigrated to Slovenia and then in 1952 to Canada, where he still lives (Koprivec 2009: 113).

Slovene children were born in Egypt to married couples (where both husband and wife were working in Egypt) and to Alexandrian Women involved in other relationships. The decision to separate from a child was always difficult and marked both mother and child. But the child in particular was most affected, especially when migration from Egypt to Goriška meant long-term separation from the mother (who stayed in Egypt and never returned to Goriška, or only after so many years that the sense of alienation between mother and child was difficult to overcome) and is connected with traumatic memories that burden the children of Alexandrian Women even in old age.

I was sent home like a parcel, less than three months old. I have no memories of mother being home. Even now, at the age of 80, I miss my mother. What your mother gives you no one else can replace.

This was the daughter of an Alexandrian Women born in Egypt in 1930, who was sent home to Goriška at the age of three months. Her mother, who had joined her mother in Egypt in 1906 at the age fourteen returned to Goriška in 1947, after an absence of forty-one years.⁷

The decision by a mother or both parents to have a child raised by relatives in Goriška was dictated by difficult circumstances: due to the nature of the work in Egypt care of the child was simply not possible.

⁷ This was said in an interview with a TV Slovenija team. Documentary footage of RTV SLO: SŠ–2009. Noted down by Koprivec 2005–2010: TZ 18.

MIGRATIONS OF YOUNG GIRLS AND BOYS TO EGYPT

The children from Goriška who migrated to Egypt in the 1930s were born in the years 1922–1929. Most often, the mother went to work in Egypt and was later joined by her husband if he found suitable employment. The transfer of the children to Egypt was because the parents wanted their offspring who had at first stayed behind in Goriška to join them. This was a reflection of a *wish* for the family to be united once the parents had established themselves in the new environment.

I went to Egypt because my mum was there. She first went when I was two years old. Then my dad went, a year before me. And so I was six when my mum came to get me. Mum and dad were initially in the same house with the same family and when I came to Egypt I went to my aunt's for two years to be looked after. Then my parents rented a flat, my dad got a job in a mill and then I started to attend the French school.

This is the narrative of the daughter of an Alexandrian Woman who was born in Goriška in 1928, lived in Alexandria from 1934 to 1946, and then after twelve years returned to the village of her birth in Goriška.⁸



Photo 1. Lucija left Goriška to live with her mother, grandmother and aunt in Egypt. Taken in Alexandria at the end of the 1930s. (Slovene Ethnographic Museum Archives)

⁸ Koprivec 2005–2010: AO7-07.

Some Slovene children lived in Egypt without their father, who had died; also others whose father decided not to go to Egypt and stayed at home in Goriška. Some fathers migrated to other places to find work, for instance to Argentina, Italy or Switzerland. Complete families in which both parents were Slovene were in a minority in Egypt. Most common were widowed mothers and those whose husbands had migrated to Argentina but who then failed to maintain contact; such women had to provide for their children themselves and sought work in Egypt in order to do so.

My mum married very young. She had a daughter, my half-sister. Because of the economic crisis at that time, her husband went to Argentina to earn money. There followed years of waiting for the promised money and a summons to bring the child and join him in America. Instead of that, after a number of years, she found out through others that her husband had met someone else down there and started a family. She was indescribably disappointed. She went to Egypt to work. She left the four-year-old daughter with her grandparents. She worked in Egypt as a servant for a rich family. Then she came back for a short time and took my half-sister back to Egypt with her.

This was how the daughter of an Alexandrian Woman born in Alexandria in 1930 described how her mother came to be there. When she was one year old her mother took her to Goriška and left her with a neighbour's family. In payment for the years of childcare, the mother gave this family everything she owned apart from her house. She took the first daughter with her to Egypt, from where in 1952 the latter moved to Australia with her family. The narrator never lived with her mother.⁹

Girls aged fifteen to seventeen moved from Goriška to Egypt for *economic reasons*. The research literature contains testimony regarding this kind of migration even from the period before the First World War and immediately after it (Škrlj 2009: 168). Mothers sent for their daughters from Goriška as soon as they had finished primary school and could work. They found employment with the families where their mother or some other close relative worked. This kind of migration was the result of the family's financial need and the requirement that every member of the family contributed to the family budget. Thus even adolescent girls went to Egypt to work as nannies or maids and supplement the mother's earnings. Most of these girls stayed in Egypt and married there, usually to someone of a different nationality. After the Egyptian national revolution, from the mid-1950s onwards most of them emigrated from Egypt with their families (see also Škrlj 2009: 161–170; Makuc 1993).

In families of Alexandrian Women where there were a number of children and the gap between the oldest and youngest was twenty years or more, some may have been in Goriška while others were in Egypt. Daughters aged between sixteen and twenty would live and work with their mother in Egypt, while the youngest was being brought up by

⁹ Koprivec 2005–2010: A08–06.



Photo 2. Nadin left Goriška to live with her mother in Egypt. Taken in Alexandria at the end of the 1930s. (Slovene Ethnographic Museum Archives)

relatives in Goriška.¹⁰ Different migration processes took place within the same family, in a constant state of flux. Relocations from Goriška to Egypt and back took place over several generations, and we have testimony about them from those who recount the departure of their mothers for Egypt in the early 20th century, some of them as sixteen-year-old girls who immediately started work. Later their children and grandchildren began to move, while in some cases in the 1960s great-grandchildren were involved, the end of a sixty-year chain and the fourth generation, moving from Egypt to Australia, Argentina, Canada and elsewhere (Koprivec 2005–2010).

MIGRATIONS OF CHILDREN FROM EGYPT

The migration currents from Egypt after World War 2 involved those children of Alexandrian Women who moved to Egypt as well as those born there. With regard to the

¹⁰ Koprivec 2005–2010: AO7-06.

latter, most of those mentioned in the museum research were born in Egypt in the years 1937–1948. They represent the last generation of children born to Slovene parents in Egypt. They are children of Alexandrian Women who migrated to Egypt in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Many of them married and had children with non-Slovenes: Italians, Swiss, Maltese, Lebanese, Jews, Greeks, Armenians and Egyptians.

The migrations from Egypt that began after World War 2 were collective; they were never planned or wished for. One participant in the museum research expressed the following widely held conviction:

If it had not been for the revolution and Nasser all of these people would have stayed there, none would have come back. They left because they had to leave; the Jews, English and French left, and so it was all over.¹¹

After World War 2 the social system in Egypt changed quickly, with the greatest changes happening in the years 1948, 1952, 1956 and 1958.¹² Following the Egyptian national revolution in the period 1952–1956, the property of rich families without Egyptian citizenship, which represented the majority, was nationalised. By the end of the 1950s, the English, French and Jewish families who had employed Slovenes had left Egypt, and with their departure ended the economic situation that enabled Slovenes to make a living there.

Some Slovene families left Egypt as early as 1946, with the Overseas Brigades (Žigon 2003: 39). Alexandrian Women who were married to Jews left soon after 1948.¹³ Most of the other families involving Alexandrian Women in mixed marriages left gradually. The first wave between 1946 and 1948, the second from 1956 to 1958, and the last between 1960 and 1962.

The children of Alexandrian Women migrated at very different ages, depending on when they were born and when they migrated, and spent a varying number of years in Egypt. The youngest of those involved in the museum research had been born in Egypt and migrated from there when they were two or three years old. Others were six, eight, nine, or twelve years old. The latter feel a great nostalgia for Egypt as their birthplace (Koprivec 2009: 112). They left with both parents for the countries that were then most open to immigration – in the 1950s that was Australia, Brazil, Argentina and Canada. The children who left Goriška in the 1930s were already on the threshold of adulthood; if they moved from Egypt in the mid-1940s they were around eighteen years old and had lived in Egypt for twelve years or more. For this reason they had often been culturally marked and the transition was often very difficult.

¹¹ Koprivec 2005–2010: TZ 18.

¹² 1948: the establishment of Israel and immediate armed conflict with Egypt, which dramatically worsened the position of Jewish families in Egypt, some of which employed Slovene Alexandrian Women; 1952: social and national revolution in Egypt and Nasser comes to power; 1956: nationalisation of the Suez Canal, as well as the property of European and Jewish families in Egypt; 1958: establishment of the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria; 1967: renewed armed conflict with Israel (Krušič 1992: 102–103).

¹³ The Israel-Egypt armed conflict in 1948; see footnote 12.



Photo 3. A Slovene family in Egypt, taken in Alexandria in 1955. In 1958 they left Egypt and emigrated to Goriška. (Slovene Ethnographic Museum Archives)

One woman born in Alexandria in 1946, whose family came to Goriška in 1958, mentioned how in her new home there was no running water and no bathroom, such as they had enjoyed in their apartment in Alexandria; nor was there any street-lighting or school buses.

What changes did I experience? I had to adjust to a different climate. Winters were cold and there was no central heating. In Egypt winters were never cold enough to require heating. The food was different – there we had eaten Mediterranean food. At that time in Slovenia there were no bananas, mangoes, dates, sweet potatoes or many other things.¹⁴

The children born in Egypt found it harder to adapt to their new environment and

¹⁴ Koprivec 2005–2010: TZ 16.

many fell ill because of the stress involved in experiencing so many changes at once (Koprivec 2009: 110–111).

If they left Egypt even later, in the final migratory wave that lasted until the mid-1960s, then they were already grown up and some had become parents themselves. They left Egypt with their children and thus changed their migrant status from children of migrants to parents of migrant children, caught within new migration currents decades later and in a new political context.

Migrations from Egypt had a dramatic influence on the family life of Slovenes there, as well as on those who were in mixed marriages. In families with grown-up children, the different generations did not always choose the same destination for emigration. There are plenty of cases where parents and children left Egypt in the 1950s for different countries and never saw each other again.¹⁵ This variety becomes even more obvious if we research the wider family. The museum's empirical research offers the story of an Alexandrian Woman and her family, five of whom went to Egypt – the mother, son and three daughters – while the father and another son stayed behind in Goriška. The mother and one daughter stayed in Egypt and died there, the second daughter moved to Brazil (1957), while the third daughter and son returned to Slovenia (1958). The grandchildren now live in Switzerland, Brazil and Slovenia.¹⁶ Similarly, the fates of three young friends born in Egypt in the mid-1940s to Slovene mothers and fathers of different nationalities (Egyptian, Slovene and Italian) differ considerably. Today, one lives in Egypt, one in Italy and one in Slovenia, but they still keep in touch with each other, even though their time together in Egypt was over five decades ago.¹⁷

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Migrations of children between the 1930s and 1960s were an important part of the migration process of Slovenes to Egypt. But the movement involved was not only bidirectional, from Goriška to Egypt and back: ultimately, the move to Egypt helped to shape migration flows that those involved never planned when they first left Goriška. Many children of the Alexandrian Women that were born in Goriška had the opportunity to live in Egypt for more than thirty years, until they became part of a new wave of migration after World War 2, away from Egypt. For many, their journey from Egypt ended in Australia, Brazil, Argentina, Canada, etc. Today, descendants of the Alexandrian Women live in Melbourne, Sydney, Montreal, Calgary, Sao Paulo, as well as in Rome, Turin, Milan, Bologna, Trieste and Gorizia, and elsewhere.¹⁸ *There are only graves left in Egypt*, said

¹⁵ For example, the mother to France, the father to Goriška, and the son and daughter to Australia; in another instance, the mother died in Alexandria, the father and son moved to Goriška and the daughter to Rome (Koprivec 2005–2010: AO8-01 and A08-04).

¹⁶ Koprivec 2005–2010: TZ 16.

¹⁷ Koprivec 2005–2010: TZ 17.

¹⁸ Useful data on the migration destinations of descendants of the Alexandrian Women can also be found

one of those interviewed as part of the research.¹⁹ But testimonies remain, as well as items of material heritage that can add an interesting fragment to the colourful mosaic of the history of Slovene emigration in the 20th century.

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POVZETEK

MIGRACIJE OTROK ALEKSANDRINK OD TRIDESETIH DO ŠESTDESETIH LET 20. STOLETJA

Daša Koprivec

V razpravi so predstavljene migracije otrok Slovencev in Slovenk, ki so se v prvi polovici 20. stoletja zaposlovali v Egiptu. V Sloveniji je dobro raziskan ženski del tega migracijskega procesa, znan pod imenom *aleksandrinke*. Manj znano pa je, da so v ozadju slednjega potekale tudi številne selitve njihovih otrok. Selitve so potekale v treh pomembnejših smereh: iz Goriške v Egipt, iz Egipta na Goriško ter po egiptovski nacionalni revoluciji v obdobju 1952–1956 predvsem iz Egipta v različne predele sveta. Selitve v Egipt in deloma nazaj na Goriško so bile zelo intenzivne vse do leta 1935, ko jih je ustavilo nemirno dogajanje v Sredozemlju pred bližajočo se drugo svetovno vojno. Konec druge svetovne vojne pa pomeni začetek selitev slovenskih družin in njihovih otrok iz Egipta. Intenzivna emigracija iz Egipta se je zaključila nekako z letom 1958. Tedaj so se tudi otroci Slovencev in Slovenk pridružili temu emigracijskemu toku, ko so njihovi starši iskali nove možnosti za življenje v novih imigrantskih deželah, kot so bile Avstralija, Argentina, Brazilija, Kanada. Veliko jih je emigriralo tudi v Italijo, v Francijo in le manjši del se jih je vrnil na Goriško. Zajete so bile vse otroške starostne skupine, saj so morale Egipt v kratkem času zapustiti cele družine.

Predno se je to zgodilo pa so potekale zelo intenzivne migracije na relaciji med Goriško in Egiptom. Po starosti lahko te otroke migrante razdelimo v tri glavne skupine. Prva skupina so bili *dojenčki*, druga skupina *dečki in deklice v starosti med šest in deset let* in tretja skupina *deklice v starosti štirinajst ali petnajst let*. Prispevek temelji na analizi spominov in pričevanj otrok aleksandrink, ki so bila zbrana v okviru širšega raziskovalnega projekta z naslovom *Aleksandrinke in njihovi potomci*, ki v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju poteka od leta 2005. Analiza je pokazala, da so bili posamezni otroci lahko tudi akterji večkratnih migracij: kot dojenčki so *potovali* iz Egipta na Goriško, kot dečki ali deklice so se lahko ponovno pridružili materam v Egiptu in kot še nekoliko starejši otroci so bili del množičnih družinskih selitev iz Egipta v 50. letih 20. stoletja. Številni živijo danes v Kanadi, v Avstraliji, Italiji in drugod po svetu.

CHILDHOOD IN EXILE

Urška STRLE¹

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ABSTRACT

Childhood in Exile²

Slovenian historiography has to a large degree ignored children and childhood. This disregard seems unjustified, since the lives of young people offer us valuable and often alternative insights into various periods of Slovenian history. The author synthesizes the phenomenon of the wartime exile of Slovenes to neighbouring countries and illustrates it using children's experiences. Research of children's experiences of war and exile reflects both the dynamics of wartime migration and the consequences in the Slovenian cultural area.

The paper on children's experiences of exile is placed in the socio-historical context of the Second World War. In terms of methodology it uses a combination of classical historical methodology and oral history; it is based on the relevant historical literature, an analysis of historical materials from throughout the entire post-war era, and various oral testimonies obtained from people in their later years.

KEY WORDS: childhood, exiles, Second World War, testimony, memoirs

IZVLEČEK

Otroštvo v izgnanstvu

Slovensko zgodovino pisje je zgodovino otrok in otroštva v veliki meri zapostavilo. Prezrtje se zdi neutemeljeno, saj življenja mladih ponujajo dragocen in pogosto alternativen vpogled v različna obdobja slovenske zgodovine. Avtorica sintetizira fenomen medvojnega izganjanja Slovencev v sosednje države in ga prikazuje skozi otroške izkušnje. Raziskava o otroških izkušnjah vojne in izgonov obenem zrcali medvojno migracijsko dinamiko in njene posledice v slovenskem prostoru.

Prispevek o otroških izkušnjah izgnanstva je umeščen v socialno-zgodovinski prikaz druge svetovne vojne. Metodološko prepleta klasično zgodovinsko metodo z metodo ustne zgodovine; temelji na relevantni zgodovinski literaturi, analizi spominskih gradiv, ki je nastajala celotno povojno obdobje, in nekaterih ustnih pričevanj, pridobljenih v zadnjih letih.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: otroštvo, izgnanci, druga svetovna vojna, pričevanja, spomini

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² The article is a partial result of the research within the actual programme group National and Cultural Identity of Slovenian Emigration (code P5-0070), financed by Slovenian Research Agency.

EXILES AND TESTIMONIES

There are a large number of testimonies and memoirs about the wartime exile of Slovenes, which however have been used as a source for only a very small number of historical treatises. The writings of Slovenia's leading historian of the Second World War, Dr. Tone Ferenc, which give a detailed explanation of the historical context and the phenomenon of exile itself, demonstrate a thorough familiarity with the wartime circumstances and the exiles. There are only a few collections of memoirs, exhibitions and other events connected with the study of exiles which could elude his erudite knowledge of the exile of Slovenes. However, I detect in it a lack of certain perspectives, which in my opinion was in fact caused by his own personal experience of the war and his research style, in which he paid less attention to non-classical historical methods. In any case, a topic as sensitive as that of a tragic and above all conflicted historical period such as the Second World War needs time in order to obtain the objectivity that allows us to recognise the hidden shades of the phenomenon in question.

We can partially arrive at a more complete account of the phenomenon of exile by taking account of other research perspectives – I chose to focus on *childhood memories* of exile, which were revealed to me through various historical materials and oral testimonies. These memories are to a certain extent contaminated by the perspectives of adults on the exile period, but they also often contain elements that are specific to the experience of children. The perspectives of exiled children on the period of exile are less ideologically weighted than those of their parents, and are even perhaps slightly adventuresome. The testimonies which relate stories of the experiences and responses of children to the exile period tell us that their exile experiences were more varied and multifaceted than they would appear at first glance. The testimony of Ivanka Kerin Sterle, who was forced into exile in Germany with her family from the Posavje village of Črešnjsice near Cerklje at the end of 1941, when she was 11 years old, demonstrates a clearly ambivalent attitude towards exile.

Despite the fact that I was still a girl, I felt my parents' pain. But we children also experienced something else. We were delighted by the trip by bus and train, since we had never had the opportunity to travel, except taking our cart out to the fields. (Šetinc 1993: 285)

Despite the fact that it is impossible to generalize about exile owing to the exceptional variety of fates and emotions associated with it, her testimony nevertheless instils doubts about the exclusive characterization of exile as suffering and painful. I in no way want to state that people did not experience exile as painful, tragic and in certain places horrendous; quite the opposite. However, I believe that the exile period has to be understood in a more balanced manner, since during the wartime period difficulties were accompanied by love, fear by rapture and joy, work by play, and scarcity by moments of plenty. How otherwise can we explain the fact that some of the exiles did not return home after the war,

but remained in the country of exile, got married, created families? How can we explain the many smiling faces in photographs of people in exile? These were the moments which led me to begin looking at this undoubtedly difficult period through the prism of vitality. In order to justify such a conceptualization of exile, I believe that the best approach is to consistently trace individuals' entire lives. The intimate valuation of the exile period undoubtedly occurred through comparisons of everyday life during peacetime with life during the war, and was at the same time also coloured by prism of childhood and youth.

The context of the stories naturally changes with respect to the time of the telling. Remembrance has to be understood as a process which in all cases depends on the circumstances in which people are remembering or talking about a certain event or time. Memoirs and testimonies from exceptional wartime circumstances are often conditioned, burdened with socio-political issues; these elements had a significant effect on the experience and valuation of exile. In the context of their wartime experiences, exiles usually presented themselves as victims, since in that extremely strained atmosphere it was unacceptable that anyone had not suffered during the war – as long as they were not on the side of the oppressors. The multifacetedness of experiences of exile was silenced after the war through the systematic selection of sources. Testimonies about exile were also strongly affected by the fact that for a long time exiles were viewed as second-class citizens in comparison with fighters in the National Struggle for Liberation. With the distance of time and the changes in the political situation, which finally gave exiles the chance to be recognized as war victims, the need arose to reevaluate the experiences of exiles.

A similar principle can be seen in children's conceptualizations of exile. If we include in the debate a collection of children's essays about their exile experiences written from 1944 onward, we cannot overlook the editors' tendencies when making the selections; the suffering of the children described therein was emphasized in the context of the "great uprising and heroic struggle" of the National Struggle for Liberation (Ribičič 1980: 157). The later testimonies reflect less uniform and at the same time more considered memories of childhood experiences and viewpoints, but in them as well we can detect the more or less concealed presence of political and ideological tendencies. Thus even in the case of exile, children were – as has so often been the case – frequently used as a context which triggers strong emotional reactions in order to support the message of a certain social elite.

CHILDREN IN THE ADULT HALLUCINATION OF WAR

The exiling of people during the Second World War occurred in practically every Slovenian town, regardless of the occupying authority. The exiling was the result of various circumstances and mechanisms, and was manifested in an exceptionally wide range of forced migrations which oscillated between internment in strictly controlled concentration camps and moving to sound living quarters. It was fuelled by the occupier's imperialist appetites, i.e. ideas about the national consolidation of the German (and partially also Hun-

garian and Italian) lands, the wish to establish occupying authorities as quickly as possible, a belief in the need for preventive ideological purges, reprisals and terrorist measures etc.

These measures also directly or indirectly involved children; many were exiled along with their parents, or were separated from them and sent abroad with other children, or remained at home and spent the war years as orphans. Many children lost their nearest relations due to exile, either through death due to exhaustion and disease (as often occurred in the camps) or due to reprisal measures (for instance as a consequence of the mass shootings in Kragujevac and Kraljevo, where several dozen Slovenes who had been exiled there were killed). The family context, which determines to the greatest extent the child's experience of exile and the intimate placement of their exile experiences, is in my opinion the most essential, and I believe that it requires special attention; but, as becomes evident from certain testimonies, even this is not always decisive; family relations are complex, and some of them demonstrated a high degree of restrictiveness and discomfort. The temporary or permanent absence of the close social network, which is well described in the book *Ilegalčki* (Illegals), was usually traumatic for children (Štrajnar 2004), although I encountered testimonies which form an interesting complement to this assertion.

The neighbours moved out on 1st of November. It was awful for everybody, they were crying, yelling. We were really good neighbours. They wrote from the camp that they were doing fine, and I asked Father to arrange it so that we could follow them. Our neighbours were living there well, they sent parcels from Germany; I got my first overcoat from them from Germany. (Simikič 2000: 278)

Despite the tendency to classify exiles according to their destination, which is to a certain extent justified, we should point out once more that the experiences of victims of exile are first of all unique. All evaluations of the fate of exiles, including those of children, depend on a complex of external, objective factors, on the community in which the child lived and grew up and last but not least on their intimate confrontation with the situation. The child's perspective also determined the structure of this paper: the chapters are divided with respect to exiles' family circumstances, and at the same time attempt to describe the general characteristics in the place of exile.

INTO EXILE WITH THE FAMILY

As can be seen from the testimonies, the most traumatic experience for exiled children is not the exile per se, but separation from or loss of parents and relatives. If only the parents were exiled, the destruction of the family affected all of its members, and particularly the emotional development of children. The exiling of an entire family was therefore a significantly mitigating circumstance for all of its members.

Owing to the blurriness of the dividing lines between forced and voluntary exile (Lucassen 1999: 11), we can also classify as exiles the cases of refugees who fled due to

an increased sense of threat. In its initial stages, the Second World War triggered a turbulent disorganized movement of people and particularly families, whose vectors were moving in all directions. All of these displacements, which occurred in a relatively small area and which according to estimates involved a quite large number of people, are poorly researched and appear mainly only in historical sources.

I remember it like it was yesterday. One afternoon I was lying in the hay and I heard Mother and Father saying that we would have to leave. It was already winter, because I remember it being cold. They thought that we should get up early in the morning and head towards Telče, where we had a vineyard and a cottage. And in fact we went. That morning, it was very early, we left. Father, Mother and my father's brother put the most important things on the cart. They yoked up the oxen and we left. We had to leave everything else there, because we had nowhere else to put it. We took some food and clothes. We untied the livestock and set them free, since we didn't know when we would be coming back. [...] On Christmas Day in 1941 we moved to Kočevje. We got a small house there, more of a barracks, where we lived, and some leased land so that we could cultivate it. Well, pretty soon afterwards, at the beginning of 1942, they arrested Father and took him away. And then we saw Father every once in a while, when we could go visit him. And they took my older brother too. He had to perform forced labour. He dug anti-tank trenches somewhere near Ribnica. It was awful. Mother was completely alone, without Father and without her oldest son.³

The children who were exiled with their families to Serbia, where around 7000 Slovenes had been exiled by the autumn of 1941, were in a relatively favourable position. The exiled families often moved near settlements where a lot of Slovenes had lived before the war, mainly economic migrants, refugees from fascist Primorska etc. (Šetinc 1993: 143–144). These exiles lived with the families of wealthy Serbs, with acquaintances or in abandoned houses. Their biggest problem was general scarcity, since “due to the occupation and the general chaos, and the ineffectiveness of the Serbian authorities and the terrible black market, even many educated Serbs and their families were living at the edge of survival” (Ingolič 1992: 5). Children were left with parents, peers and friends, the schools were not open regularly, and there was no forced labour.

That was the beginning of our new life, which some got used to sooner, and some later. We young ones had the least difficulties with it, since we quickly formed contacts with the local youth, and our local teacher Branko in particular meant a lot to us during that time. We had the evenings to ourselves. We usually met in the schoolyard, sat in a circle and talked and sang. Slovenian songs were a comfort to us. At that time the Slovenian colony in Vevčane received three new members. After a few months of living in the village, our paths went their separate ways. Some people

³ Transcribed text from an interview conducted for a seminar in 2009 by student Sabina Zabasu for an elective class entitled History of Everyday Life with Prof. Marta Verginella.

stayed and looked for lowly jobs; others went to larger towns and began to arrange new homes. Employment was the main factor guiding our paths and decisions. Our family found a new niche for itself in Belgrade. (Šetinc 1993: 237)

According to reports, approximately 10,000 people were exiled to the Independent State of Croatia; they included many families, but the number of children among them is not known. They lived either with local families or in homes abandoned by Serbs and Jews (Borovnik 1998: 10–12). A few hundred Slovenes had tragic experiences at Ustaše concentration camps, particularly the complex at Jasenovac. The brunt of the Ustaše repression was aimed at (Orthodox) Serbs, Jews and Roma, but there are horrendous accounts of the fates of Slovenian internees. Psychologist and poet Rado Palir, who endured four years of exile in Novska, Croatia starting when he was a year and a half old, gives a moving account of his experiences. When he was five he lost both parents, who were killed at the Jasenovac concentration camp due to suspicion of being involved in the National Struggle for Liberation.

My early childhood was just a huge nightmare, a huge trauma, full of unspeakable horror and the wonder of a child's soul about how this was at all possible, in addition to ineradicable and inexpressible feelings of guilt – what had we done that we, our family, had to bear such misfortune...

If you ask the older townspeople in my hometown of Šentjur what I was like as a child, they will probably tell you that I was basically a pitiable child: terribly uncertain, introverted, dreamy, somehow not present and living in my own world, silent, a loner, untrustworthy, overly sensitive, full of feelings of insufficiency or even of being an outcast, in short – 'strange'. I even stood out from the norm on the level of the body: I was extremely, even disturbingly nervous: I bit my nails, pulled out my hair, and up until the middle of my college years in Ljubljana, all the way into my adulthood, a decade and a half after our exile, my hands shook so much that I always spilled a good part of the liquid from a full glass if I picked it up in my hands... I suffered a great deal because of this and avoided people, even children. After all I have experienced and suffered I know today that there is probably no greater sin on earth than to rob a child of a happy, carefree and peaceful childhood [...] (Borovnik 1998: 196).

Entire families also moved with their children to the territory of the Hungarian occupiers in Prekmurje, whose exile is the least researched of all three occupying forces in Slovenian historiography. The Hungarian authorities exiled in particular educated people and Slovene immigrants from Primorska, who had moved to Prekmurje after 1918 (Fujs 1997). The majority were exiled from the country during the first months of the war, the majority to the Independent State of Croatia, while some were interned at labour camps in Hungary.

My family lived in Lendava for fourteen years between the First and Second World

Wars. Mainly families of civil servants from all over Slovenia settled here. A lot of refugees from Primorska and Benečija also found a haven here. Most of them worked in agriculture. During the Second World War they were all subject to the coup by the occupying authority, so that they were either taken to Hungary or forced to leave the country under duress. Our family of five escaped with a few other Lendava families to Koprivnica in Croatia, where we stayed to the end of the war. (Šetinc 1993: 340)

IN THE CAMPS – BETWEEN BARBED WIRE AND GAMES

The largest numbers of Slovene exiles were interned on the territory of the Third Reich. In the name of the ethnic consolidation of the German population and in order to simplify their military and administrative strategies, the German authorities planned to unite the German minorities outside the Reich (e.g. South Tyrol, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Kočevsko) with the rest of the Germans. In order to implement this plan it was necessary to remove populations which did not conform to the criterion of German minority or “capable of being re-Germanified”. Fortunately, they were unable to complete the planned ambitious removal of between 220 and 260 thousand Slovenes from the German occupied zone (especially from border areas such as Posavje and Obsotelje), but nevertheless more than 10,000 children were taken to Germany.

Slovene children were not usually brought to concentration camps – unless they were born there. They were usually brought with their parents to smaller labour camps throughout the Third Reich. Movement was limited in these camps, but they were sometimes allowed out. Children were given various tasks and sent to various schools depending on their abilities. From the testimonies it can be seen that in addition to their work, these children had quite a bit of free time, although conditions differed from camp to camp.

I would say that it was terrible, but it was worse for parents and older people, who were more aware of it than we were. I was a little more aware of it, but for instance Anica or Francek, what did they know? They were just kids. The other thing was that there were about 400 of us kids at the camp in Uršula, and that was enough for every game. You can always find time for these kinds of things, right?⁴

Bad things happened to numerous Slovene children in Italian concentration camps which accepted families (Gombač 1997: 389–394). The deportation of Slovene families from the Italian occupied zone was much more poorly thought out than in Germany. In April 1942 because of the Partisan movement, not just “bandits” but also their families living in the Ljubljana area fell into the disfavour of the Italian authority. The authority

⁴ Edited transcript of an interview with Ivan Živič of Globoko near Krško, who was exiled to Silesia with his mother, grandfather, two sisters and brother at the end of October 1941. The interview was conducted in 2010 by his niece Špela Fekonja for an elective class entitled History of Everyday Life with Prof. Marta Verginella.

intended to let the rebellious elements gradually calm down and did not use them for forced labour (Ferenc 2000: 13–15).

Therefore several thousand children (under 15) were living in unsustainable existential conditions in Italian concentration camps. The housing infrastructure at the Rab camp e.g. consisted only of tents; the people were directly exposed to cold, fevers, flooding, and the Bora, a strong local wind. Their opportunities for survival were diminished by meagre rations, a lack of water, poor hygienic conditions, infectious diseases and parasites. The health conditions were particularly terrible for infants, small children and the elderly. The children were not required to work; they had so to speak more time than they knew what to do with, and during the summer they were even taken to the coast every day under supervision (Ferenc 2000: 21–30). In October 1942 the Italian authorities took mothers and children from Rab to Gonars, Moniga and in lesser numbers to other camps, from which they began to release them in the spring of 1943.

On the second day they took us to the tents, which were already full of our neighbours. There was a high wire fence around us and we couldn't go anywhere. My younger brother cried a lot. He was thirsty, but we had no water. We suffered from terrible thirst. They counted us and sent our father somewhere else. All the men were together. He only came to see us once in a while. We were always very happy at those times. But he was very hungry. Every day his face grew more sallow. When he left, my mother and I cried. We were scared that he would die like so many others. We were also very sad because the lice stung and bit us. My father had a lot of them too. (Ribičič 1980: 27)

The register of internees in a publication about the concentration camp at Sarvar, which was the Hungarian concentration camp with the largest number of Slovenes, includes nearly 600 family members, mostly with surnames typical of Primorska, who were interned in the lower Lendava area in the summer of 1942. Approximately a third of them were children. The relatively late arrival of the majority of the Slovenes was their salvation, as the living, hygiene and food conditions at the camp had improved significantly in comparison with 1941 (Valenčič 1992).

The sight of the camp stunned me. A barbed wire fence around 3 metres high with armed guards next to it, on the inside old dark abandoned buildings, and among them tattered and wretched beings. Members of the concentration camp staff – mostly retired gendarmes – were waiting for us at the gate. In the courtyard they let us go so that at the gate each one of us was entered separately in a separate register. The beatings gradually got worse. The former gendarmes understood their old jobs well. By slapping us, screaming at us and kicking us, they wanted to show us right at the gate that from then on we were totally without rights, that in fact we were no longer people, just numbers with no meaning.

The first to enter was Alojz Vidmar and his family from Kamovec. He was assigned number 7573. The last was Zdravko Budin, a five-year-old child from Benica with

number 8147. When they had counted all of us and gathered us in the courtyard, they herded us into the sixth barracks, which from then on was called the “Slovene barracks” (Valenčič 1992: 19).

STOLEN CHILDREN

As the most touching chapter in the history of the Slovene exiles in the Second World War are considered the so-called “stolen children”. Around 600 Slovene children under the age of 18 were forcibly separated from families which had collaborated or sympathized with the Partisan movement, and taken to Germany. Their older family members and parents were shot as hostages or sent to concentration camps.

I am from Paška vas. In 1942 the Germans took my father and shot him in Maribor in May of the same year. In 1942 they also moved us together with our mother. First they took us to the assembly camp in Celje. They took Mother to Auschwitz, and separated us children alphabetically for transport. They even deported children in baskets. I was in the first transport, and we stopped in Saldenburg near Passau. We lived there until '44, because my mother was released from Auschwitz in '44. The most mothers and other relatives died in the first few months, because it was very bad. We were really lucky that Mother survived.⁵

Most of the so-called stolen children were taken to a special VoMi⁶ camp for minors, where they became part of the labour force, usually for unskilled work in factories or as a source of labour for nearby farmers. Children over 14 were assigned heavier work, while the younger ones helped with the cleaning, washing up, cooking, carrying sand or coal, picking potatoes etc. The food and accommodations conditions varied from camp to camp and also from account to account; some people place a heavy emphasis on the scarcity and food, while others barely mention food. The short daily diary entries of Slavko Preložnik of Vojnik give us an interesting insight into everyday life in a children's concentration camp. His father was shot, and his mother died in Auschwitz. He and his brother and sister were taken to a camp in Germany, where his days were filled with work, school and play. Slavko's style is fairly documentary, so it is interesting to note what he chose to write about.

19.–26. VII. 1943

We brought coal, and loaded it into the cellar. In the afternoon we bathed in the stream. The leader of the Hitlerjugend went with the soldiers. We received a new

⁵ From an interview with Mrs M.A. from a seminar paper entitled *Ukradeni otroci* (Stolen Children), written by Urška Verbič in 2009 for an elective class entitled History of Everyday Life with Prof. Marta Verginella.

⁶ *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* (Main Welfare Office for Ethnic Germans), an NSDAP agency which oversaw the interests of ethnic Germans living outside the Third Reich.

leader, who is a lot stricter than the last one. During the night there was an air raid siren. As always, we picked up the leaflets that they throw from the planes. We collected a lot of them.

6.–17. IX. 1943

There was another air raid during the night. We have class. We loaded another wagon of coal into the cellar. We played football with the Germans again. We wiped them out. The score was 9:2 in our favour. We saw and split wood. We continued to prepare firewood for the next few days. We have military drill. We pick potatoes at the farms.

18. IX. 1943

Today we went to the cinema in Amberg. We walked around the town as much as we wanted. (Terčak 1973: 325)

Infants and young children who satisfied various criteria were subjected to the Nazi *Lebensborn* programme,⁷ which gave them a new German identity and entered them in a Germanisation programme. Some of these children were adopted by SS families (Terčak 1973: 425–439). Elica Acman was separated from her parents when she was two months old, and the separation from her mother and life in an unknown children's concentration camp were so traumatic for her that it affected her development. At the age of three "she couldn't walk, or even talk, she drank only milk and that only from a bottle. She constantly sucked on three fingers. According to the older girls, they always had to sleep tied to the beds" (Terčak 1973: 406). Her brother Ivan Acman, who was barely 14 months old when he was separated from his parents, returned to his birthplace of Šmihel only in 1947 after a long court battle, as he had been adopted during the war.

These events, which were so fateful for our family and for me, I can't remember. I can't remember Mother and Father either. According to what others have told me, I was in a boys' home for around a year. I was taken from the boys' home by Mrs Marga von Mann. Her, and her husband, who was a high-ranking officer in the German Army, I remember well.

When I came home, I was six years old. I spoke only German, and didn't understand my mother tongue. The teacher in Šmihel above Mozir at that time, Mr Rakun, who spoke German well, helped me in all kinds of ways. In a short time I became totally accustomed to the local circumstances and after that I advanced at the Šmihel school. My father was shot as a hostage by the Germans at the Stari Pisker prison in Celje, and Mother died in the Auschwitz concentration camp. My sister Elica and I were left alone (Terčak 1973: 409–410).

⁷ Lebensborn, a far-reaching Nazi organization led by Himmler, which in addition to providing financial assistance and land to the wives of SS officers was also in charge of orphans and for child relocation programmes. Its basic purpose was to promote the development of individuals who corresponded to Nazi racial and eugenic criteria. Children were collected from several occupied areas, particularly Poland, the Czech lands, Bosnia etc.

IN CONCLUSION

The testimonies of exiled children fill in a missing piece in the mosaic not just of the history of exiles, but of the entire period of the Second World War. They contribute to a broader palette of reality, which with some distance from the unquestionably horrible war period is shown to be more dynamic and colourful. One should always bear in mind that the historical background in exiles' accounts is often shown only in fragments and that the foreground of their stories are their experiences and those of their closest relatives. At times the time-lines of their narratives seem to be at odds with the official historical explanations or with generally accepted and established ideas, and indicate discrepancies. But these are entirely credible grey areas, which come to light due to the huge diversity of subjective experiences and interpretations of a certain period or event.

The forcible and often also violent wresting of people from their home environments usually had a significant impact on children. Despite the fact that the mere fact of exile, i.e. leaving home involuntarily, was usually stressful, tragic and painful, this was not necessarily the case for life in exile. Many people experienced a certain freedom in exile, learned a new language, met new people, made new friends and got a taste of living abroad etc. If we read the memoirs of exiled children closely, we can also see that they sometimes recognized the otherwise strict, cruel, enemy occupiers as saviours, that life in exile could be more pleasant than life at home, that the teachers at the German schools were sometimes described as friendlier and more interesting than those at home etc. In some cases the exiles had better lives in the material and even social sense than they had had at home before the war, and some of them even remained in the land of exile after the war. These parts of the accounts lay heavy on our hearts and give us the impetus as researchers to doubt black and white representations of the past.

For the majority of people, including children, the period of exile was a traumatic one. In this context we cannot forget that for the great majority of people – I am thinking mainly of Slovenia – the entire war period as such was supremely traumatic. Often the most painful moment for exiles was returning home, where in the euphoric atmosphere of the end of the war they came back to damaged or destroyed property and dead or missing relatives, friends and acquaintances.

At the end of the maelstrom of war, the fate of exile from Slovenian lands was suffered by people of German, Italian and Hungarian extraction and people who were in one way or another in conflict with the new authorities – and children were also among the victims of these measures. The hundred-year presence of “foreign” ethnic groups on the territory of present-day Slovenia was cut off by force, in numerous towns systematically. The demonization of Nazis was omnipresent in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, and was applied to the entire German nation; a similar fate to those of the “enemy nations” also befell numerous Italians and Hungarians in Slovenia, as well as several thousand Slovenes branded as “traitors”, including approximately a thousand children. After so much suffering during the war, the society was fanaticized and needed

to find a scapegoat. But the search for the guilty parties did not end the vicious circle of injustice – for some communities it had only just begun.

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POVZETEK

OTROŠTVO V IZGNANSTVU

Urška Strle

Otroški spomini na izgnanstvo so do določene mere kontaminirani z dominantnimi pogledi na dobo, pogosto pa vsebujejo tudi elemente, ki so jih sodobne perspektive težje razkrile. Perspektiva izgnanih otrok na dobo izgnanstva je v primerjavi z njihovimi starši navadno manj ideološko obremenjena, manj dovzetna za tesnobna občutja glede negotove prihodnosti in morda celo nekoliko avanturistična. Res pa je, da se kontekst pripovedi razlikuje tudi glede na čas pripovedovanja – med vojno, neposredno po vojni, v 90. letih, danes. Vsekakor je treba spominjanje jemati kot proces, ki je nujno in vsakokrat odvisen od okoliščin, v katerem se ljudje določenega dogodka ali obdobja spominjajo oziroma o njem pripovedujejo.

Kljub temu da je pričevanja posameznikov zaradi izjemne raznolikosti izkušenj in občutij glede izgnanstva nemogoče posploševati, nekatera izmed njih vendarle vzbudijo dvom o izključno trpečem in bolečem doživljanju izgnanstva. S tem nikakor ne želim trditi, da izgnanstva posamezniki niso doživljali kot bolečega, tragičnega in mestoma tudi grozljivega, nasprotno. Vendar menim, da je čas izгона treba razumeti bolj uravnoteženo, saj so ljudje v vojni dobi ob tesnobah doživljali tudi ljubezen, ob strahu tudi vznesenost in veselje, ob pomanjkanju tudi trenutke izobilja. Kako si sicer lahko razložimo dejstvo, da se del izgnancev po vojni ni vrnil domov, ampak se je v deželi izгона ustalil, se poročil, si ustvaril družino? Kako si lahko razložimo nemalo veselih obrazov na fotografijah izgnancev v izgnanstvu? To so bili ključni momenti, ki so zbudili mojo radovednost, ko sem začela preučevati pričujočo tematiko, in me napeljala na to, da začnem na nedvomno težko dobo gledati skozi prizmo življenjskosti. Za utemeljitev takšne konceptualizacije izgnanstva menim, da je najbolj konsistentno pogledati globlje v predvojni čas in zasledovati celotno posameznikovo življenje. Intimno vrednotenje dobe izgnanstva je nedvomno

potekalo ob primerjavah mirnodobnega vsakdana z življenjem v času vojne. Zato so – ne glede na veliko časovno distanco in tendenco po pozitivnem filtriranju spomina – zame posebej dragocena nedavna pričevanja nekdanjih otrok – izgnancev, saj lahko ponudijo bogatejše vpoglede na nekatere pojave.

R A Z P R A V E I N Č L A N K I

E S S A Y S A N D A R T I C L E S

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING, EMPLOYMENT-RELATED MOBILITY AND MIGRATION

Natalija VREČER¹

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ABSTRACT

Vocational Education and Training, Employment-related Mobility and Migration

This article is the result of the analysis of literature on Vocational Education and Training (hereinafter VET) and employment-related mobility and migration in Slovenia. Books and research papers published in Slovenia from 2004 to 2010, and with a special focus on those written by Slovenian researchers, were the primary area of interest. The topic of VET and employment-related mobility and migration is under-researched in Slovenia. The results of the literature review indicate that, due to the ageing population, Slovenia needs migrants. However, they are usually employed in low-esteem and low-paid jobs. The results also showed that mobility in Slovenia is still very low. However, in order to achieve development, geographical and occupational mobility should be encouraged in contemporary societies, including Slovenia. It will be argued in the article that because Slovenia is a multicultural society, VET should be developed as multicultural education.

KEY WORDS: VET, mobility, migration, multicultural education

IZVLEČEK

Poklicno izobraževanje in mobilnost, povezana z zaposlovanjem ter migracijami

Članek je rezultat analize literature o poklicnem izobraževanju in mobilnosti, povezani z zaposlovanjem in migracijami v Sloveniji. Analizirana je bila literatura, ki je izšla med letoma 2004 in 2010, s posebnim poudarkom na slovenskih avtorjih. V Sloveniji tema poklicnega izobraževanja in mobilnosti, povezane z zaposlovanjem in migracijami, ni raziskana. Rezultati raziskav pa kažejo na to, da Slovenija zaradi staranja prebivalstva potrebuje migrante. Slednji se v Sloveniji v glavnem zaposlujejo na manj cenjenih in slabo plačanih delovnih mestih. Rezultati raziskave kažejo na to, da je za Slovenijo značilna nizka mobilnost. Da bi dosegli razvoj, moramo v sodobnih družbah, tako tudi v Sloveniji, spodbujati geografsko in poklicno mobilnost. V članku izhajamo iz trditve, da se mora, ker je Slovenija multikulturna družba, poklicno izobraževanje razvijati kot večkulturno izobraževanje.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: poklicno izobraževanje, mobilnost, migracije, večkulturno izobraževanje

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INTRODUCTION²

Mobility and migration are as old as mankind. They are characteristic of all historical periods, as people have always migrated and experienced various types of mobility. In the period of globalisation, mobility and migration have become even more intense, as demographic changes are characteristic for Slovenia, as well as for other parts of the EU. The active population is decreasing while the number of elderly people is rising. Migration can partly resolve the issue of low fertility. Due to the falling fertility rate, migration becomes an increasingly important factor of demographic development. Today, Slovenia depends on migration; this is a fact that will become even more evident over the next 30 years (Jakoš 2009). According to the same author, demographic issues represent one of the most important factors for the future development of Slovenia.

Therefore, it is a challenge for education systems including VET to respond to these contemporary societal challenges of migration and mobility. This article deals with VET and employment-related mobility and migration. Special attention is paid to occupational mobility. However, geographical and daily forms of mobility, which are linked to occupational mobility and migration, are also dealt with. In this article we will try to answer the following research questions: What are the current national topics regarding VET and employment-related mobility and migration? In what way should vocational education and training develop in order to efficiently respond to the challenge of multicultural society? Is the current state of employment-related mobility in Slovenia sufficient?

Let us first define what is meant by migration and mobility. Some authors use the terms interchangeably, yet there have been attempts to differentiate between the two terms. For example, Bole uses the following definition: the term “mobility” is used in connection with overcoming distances in space by an individual whose permanent residence does not change, while “migration” or “population movement” denotes the change of residence of individuals or groups of people (Bole 2004: 28). Moreover, “social mobility” is defined by the Institute of Macroeconomic Analysis and Development (hereinafter IMAD) as a change in the status of an individual or group in the system of social relations (IMAD 2008: 115).

METHODOLOGY

This article is based on the analysis of the literature on current key issues and outcomes related to VET and employment-related mobility and migration. The main focus

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is on current national research topics from the period 2004 to 2010, and on literature published in Slovenia.

A search for books and articles in COBISS (Cooperative Online Bibliographic System and Service) on the aforementioned topic produced no results. COBISS is a virtual Slovenian library that contains all publications issued in Slovenia, including all foreign publications catalogued in all Slovenian libraries. That means that not only is there no national publication on the research topic, there are also no related foreign publications available in Slovenian libraries. However, in the publications listed as references the research topic was at least (briefly) mentioned. It was interesting that even statistical data concerning Slovenia are very frequently available only for the primary school, upper secondary school and university levels. Therefore, too often data are lacking for vocational schools, and for post-secondary non-university education and higher vocational education. Thus, this article succinctly drives home the fact that additional research is required in Slovenia on the topic of VET and employment-related mobility and migration. Moreover, it was determined that the overall topic of VET is under-researched in Slovenia and also requires more attention.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND DAILY MOBILITY IN SLOVENIA

Geographical mobility in Slovenia

This subchapter refers to internal migration within Slovenia. Statistical data shows that in the EU, most people migrate within their own country, while migration between Member States represents only a small proportion of total migration (Medved 2006). The same holds true for Slovenes, who prefer to migrate to another city or town in Slovenia rather than move to other EU/EEA countries. This data has been confirmed by research conducted by the Public Opinion and Mass Communication Research Centre (Medved 2006).

According to the 2002 population census, only 45% of all inhabitants of Slovenia lived in the town where they were born and 1,076,023³ inhabitants were migrants (IMAD 2008). After the Second World War, deagrarisation, industrialisation and urbanisation occurred in Slovenia. These processes caused people to begin migrating from villages to cities and towns. After independence in 1991, internal migration became an economic necessity. However, IMAD (2008) presents the results of a questionnaire among the unemployed carried out by Aleksander Jakoš, which revealed that only half of those people (53%) were prepared to move. Thus, IMAD (2008) concludes that Slovenes are not prone to moving. Today, Slovenia faces a situation in which people are moving from cities and towns, usually to the outskirts, to solve their housing problems, as flats and houses outside of cities and towns are cheaper. IMAD (2008) finds that the number of regional internal

³ Slovenia has a population of 2 million.

migrants in Slovenia totalled nearly 100,000 between independence in 1991 and 2006. In Slovenia, housing is on par with the workplace as a motivating factor in people's decisions to move to another town. Nevertheless, regional migration in Slovenia is not very significant, as an average of just 6,243 people move to another region annually (IMAD 2008). In the period from 1997 to 2004, the proportion of internal migrants was just 1.53% annually (Grčar 2006).

According to IMAD (2008), human capital is an important factor for regional development, in addition to natural resources, infrastructure, etc. The same institution estimates that regions with inhabitants with higher education levels and longer periods of formal education generate higher GDP. Individuals with higher education levels receive higher incomes, while these regions enjoy other advantages (i.e. a better healthcare system, etc.). According to the 2002 population census, inhabitants with the longest period of formal education live in the central region of Slovenia (including the capital, Ljubljana), which has the smallest proportion of the population with only primary school education. Therefore, this region has the highest GDP in Slovenia. The opposite is true in the Prekmurje region, where people have the lowest level of education, while this region has the lowest GDP and many unemployed people.

This mismatch on the labour market between the supply and demand of workers with a specific education level (i.e. lower, upper secondary and university education) could be a reason for interregional migrations (IMAD 2008). Lower education levels have a negative impact on a region in terms of immigration, and a positive impact in terms of emigration. Conversely, higher education levels have a positive impact on a region in terms of immigration, and a negative impact in terms of emigration (Pekkala, Knaggashar and Grčar, in IMAD 2008). People with post-secondary non-university education and higher education tend to move to the central region of Slovenia and the Gorenjska region, while the Zasavje region lost more than 10% of people with post-secondary non-university education and higher education (IMAD 2008). In Slovenia in recent years, the number of higher education institutions in other regions, apart from the two biggest cities of Ljubljana and Maribor, has risen, meaning that more people will be able to complete their studies in their own region. However, "in order for an individual to stay in his or her own region after their studies, the range of higher education offered needs to be adapted to the existing and future needs of the regional economy" (ibid.: 100).

According to Medved (2006), geographical mobility can improve professional opportunities. The creative labour force (i.e. engineers, doctors, teachers, researchers, artists, etc.) does not move strictly in accordance with the principle that people follow jobs (not only to find employment), but also in accordance with the principle that jobs follow people (they move where the most creative conditions for employment can be found) (IMAD 2008). In Slovenia, this is the central region, where people with higher education levels tend to move. Robert Drobnič (2006) writes that Slovenia intends to solve the problems of structural mismatches on the labour market (i.e. regional, vocational and educational mismatches) through geographical and occupational mobility.

Daily mobility in Slovenia

Daily mobility is a kind of spatial (horizontal) mobility, where people travel to another city or town on a daily basis or several times a week. They do not, however, change their permanent residence (cf. Bole 2004; IMAD 2008). The main reason for daily mobility is a lack of jobs in the local area (Bole 2004).

The origins of daily mobility can be traced to the early industrialisation period, when workplaces were no longer linked to permanent residences (i.e. the workplaces of farmers). In this period, the workplace became linked to the cities and towns where industrial activities could be found (IMAD 2008; Bole 2004).

The birth of large employment centres and the overpopulation of the rural countryside on the one hand, and the development of the transportation infrastructure on the other, resulted in daily streams of workers from their place of residence to their place of employment. The first widely used means of transporting commuters was the train, followed by buses and later by the automobile. (Bole 2004)

After the Second World War, daily mobility increased in Slovenia due to the fact that cars became more available, which slowed down the processes of migration (IMAD 2008). Daily mobility from surrounding municipalities to Ljubljana is widespread. This is particularly true of people in the aforementioned creative professions, who tend to commute to Ljubljana every day (ibid.). According to this institution, daily labour mobility in Slovenia is actually a substitution for permanent migration. As previously mentioned, Slovenes are generally not prone to moving. The results of a questionnaire (Jakoš and IMAD 2008) showed that 80% of those interviewed were prepared to commute to work every day. Other results indicate that Slovenes are very attached to their hometowns and enjoy commuting to the workplace every day. The 2002 population census showed that there were 658,911 commuters in Slovenia, workers (440,299) accounting for two thirds and students (218,612) enrolled in primary, secondary, higher education accounting for one third. Those enrolled in education institutions use public transport more frequently (53%) than workers who commute (less than 10%) (IMAD 2008). “The average Slovene commuter has a secondary school education, lives between 15 and 30 minutes from the place of employment and drives to work alone in an automobile. The use of an automobile increases with increasing levels of education” (Bole 2004: 38).

According to the 2002 population census, Slovenia had only 4,500 external daily commuters, who travelled to work in another country and returned home every day (IMAD 2008). Since Slovenia joined the EU in 2004, it has seen an increase in external daily labour mobility, as more Slovenes go to work in Austria and Italy on a daily basis than before Slovenia’s accession to the EU (Medved 2006). The regions that border neighbouring countries, such as the Goriška region, the Štajerska region and the Prekmurje region, account for the majority of external daily commuters (IMAD 2008). The main push factors include an inadequate number and the structure of hometown jobs, the desire to earn

more for the same work, the desire to work abroad, the desire for additional earnings and the availability of education (Zupančič, in IMAD 2008). The reasons for external daily labour mobility differ from region to region. In the coastal region, many younger female pensioners who work as cleaning ladies, maids or baby sitters to earn extra money, can be found among the commuters to Trieste. In the Goriška region, young women working in the service sector (i.e. tourism and personal services) also commute. Men from the Gorenjska region employed in the wood industry tend to commute (Zupančič, in IMAD 2008). Men from the Koroška region, employed in, for example, forestry, also tend to commute. Low-educated people from the Štajerska and Prekmurje regions, seeking work on farms and in forestry, can be found among commuters. Seasonal mobility linked to farm work is also present (IMAD 2008).

IMAD (2008) also emphasises the need for sustainable mobility: among the principles of sustainably organised transport, there is a need to reduce travelling requirements, as traffic pollutes the environment. According to Plevnik et al. (in IMAD 2008), sustainable mobility should be environmentally friendly and economically efficient, and should encourage the use of bicycles, public transport etc.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY IN SLOVENIA

Despite the fact that occupational mobility is the major topic of this article, there was not a significant amount of literature on this topic, as related literature in the period from 2004 to 2009 is practically non-existent.

Hiršl (2008) writes that in Slovenia, the term occupational mobility includes two forms of mobility that can occur simultaneously: job mobility (job-to-job mobility) and occupational mobility in a more narrow sense. The transfer of an individual from one employer to another is characteristic of job mobility, while occupational mobility in a more narrow sense means a change of profession. According to Hiršl (2009), in Slovenian legislation, the basis for occupational mobility is laid down in Article 49 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No 33/1991). The Constitution provides for the freedom of work, the right to free choice of employment and equal access to every job under equal conditions.

Rapid changes are characteristic of contemporary times. Therefore, the capacity of workers to gain professional knowledge and experience is more important than ever before (Drobnič R. 2006). Thus, special attention should be given to the importance of occupational mobility in Slovenia, as mobility enhances employment and education opportunities. The improvement of geographical and occupational mobility is thus one of the key challenges of contemporary society as a whole. This holds true for every EU Member State (Drobnič J. 2006). Janez Drobnič⁴ (2006) stated that our economy and development

⁴ Janez Drobnič is the former Minister of Labour, Family and Social Affairs.

as well as the realisation of the Lisbon objectives depend on how successfully we overcome the obstacles concerning mobility.

As previously stated, in Slovenia, the government intends to resolve structural mismatches on the labour market, such as regional, professional and educational mismatches, through occupational and geographical mobility (Drobnič R. 2006). The goal is to reduce structural mismatches on the labour market through professional standards, which are the basis for the preparation of educational programmes in lower secondary education, vocational professional education and post-secondary non-university education, and the catalogue of standards of professional knowledge and skills (Drobnič R. 2006). The National Institute for Vocational Education and Training is striving for a single qualification framework linked to the professional standards of the European Qualification Framework (EQF). The EQF is a common European reference framework that links countries' qualification systems, and acts as a translation device to make qualifications more readable and understandable across different countries and systems in Europe. It has two principal aims: to promote citizens' mobility between countries and to facilitate their lifelong learning (Etf 2009). The goal of EQF is also to stimulate national systems. National qualification frameworks should be developed by 2011. Their goal is not only to achieve more transparency, but also to facilitate a path to qualifications and employment (Zevnik 2007). The European Credit System for Vocational Education and Training (the ECVET system), which facilitates dialogue and exchange between VET and qualifications systems, is also important for achieving greater mobility. It encourages the recognition in the home country of training periods spent in other European countries. This holds true not only for knowledge gained in formal education, but also in non-formal and informal education. In 2006 and 2007, lower and upper secondary vocational and professional education programmes were revived with funds from the European Social Fund, as the tendency was that increasingly fewer people were interested in these programmes. However, it is expected that the revival of these programmes will result in an increasing number of student enrolments, thus reducing the professional mismatch on the labour market (Drobnič R. 2006). In Drobnič's opinion, social partners and local communities play an important role in encouraging mobility.

Although 2006, the European Year of Workers' Mobility, triggered several important events in the EU and Slovenia, such as awareness-raising campaigns on the importance of mobility, attempts to eliminate obstacles to mobility, efforts for the free movement of EU workers and attempts to eliminate the transitional period for the employment of people from new Member States, low mobility on the Slovenian labour market remains one of the reasons for the difficulties encountered in the employment of certain categories of unemployed people in Slovenia (Drobnič J. 2006). Janez Drobnič (ibid.) finds that important factors influencing workers' attitudes to mobility include social policies, employment policies and the relation between flexibility and security. The concept of "flexicurity" facilitates employee's flexibility and security. Mobility contributes to the security of employment, as it enables employees to develop and realise their capacities (ibid.). According to Drobnič (ibid.), mobility must begin in the education process itself,

with study visits and work practice done abroad. In Slovenia, the exchange of VET students and professors is carried out in the scope of lifelong learning programmes, such as Leonardo da Vinci, Comenius and Erasmus. Students with foreign-exchange experience find employment more easily in Slovenia than other students (*ibid.*). In the scope of VET, there is also mobility at the level of competitions abroad. Worthy of particular note in this regard are Worldskills and Euroskills. The latter is a biennial competition of participants who already have some professional experience from a specific workplace. The focus is on applied professional knowledge. Euroskills began in 2008, and is intended for young people aged 18 to 25 years. In addition to Euroskills, VET students in Slovenia attend other competitions abroad, such as competitions for florists, farmers, cooks, foresters, waiters, roofers, tinsmiths, etc.⁵

Eurobarometer research showed that Slovenes change their jobs very rarely (less than three times during a career, which is lower than the European average) (Medved 2006; Hiršl 2008).⁶ It is characteristic of active employment policies in Slovenia to focus on programmes for the training of the unemployed, particularly during their transition to professional status or occupational mobility (Drobnič. R 2006). National professional qualifications also represent an important part of active employment policies. National professional qualifications are important elements of occupational mobility in Slovenia, which have been in force in Slovenia since 2000 through the National Professional Qualifications Act. National professional qualifications enable adults to gain a certificate of professional qualification for the knowledge, skills and competences acquired informally on the basis of a national professional standard. "A professional standard is a document that determines the content of professional qualifications at a certain level of work complexity, and that defines knowledge, skills and professional competences" (Zgonc 2006: 748). "Professional standards represent a link between the labour market and education, as they comprise the knowledge, skills and competences that a certain occupation requires" (Drobnič R. 2006: 10).

The aim of the certificate system is to facilitate occupational mobility, and to enhance employability at home and abroad (Može 2004). National professional qualifications represent an important part of the active employment policies implemented by the Employment Service of Slovenia, particularly for those fields, activities and professions for which there is a demand on the labour market. The certificate system is also linked to the school system, i.e. national professional qualifications are a part of educational qualifications, and are especially suitable for early school leavers, the unemployed and low-educated people, so that these groups are able to gain basic professional qualifications or retrain (Grm, Zevnik 2008).⁷

⁵ Lovšin (2009) and personal communication with the author on 29 September 2009.

⁶ Hiršl (2008) writes that an average EU employee changes jobs four times, while an average American changes jobs six times during his or her lifetime.

⁷ Marjana Komprej emphasised that national professional qualifications also enable easier passage to formal education, if the modules accomplished in national professional qualification are recognised,

IMMIGRATION TO SLOVENIA

The problems of an ageing population in the European Union, including Slovenia, could in part be solved through migration. As previously stated in the introduction, today Slovenia depends on migration, a fact that will become even more evident over the next 30 years (Jakoš 2009). Also, the Development Strategy of Slovenia (2005) emphasises that Slovenia requires a positive net migration flow. In order to successfully include them into our society, we need integration or multicultural policies. Mojca Vah and Marina Lukšič-Hacin found in their research that “...there is no consistent relationship between the adoption of multicultural policies and the erosion of the welfare state” (2008: 16). Therefore migrants do not represent a threat to the society, but should be approached as social, cultural, human and economic capital.

Since Slovene independence in 1991, much more has been said about immigrants in Slovenia. However, they had been present in our state already in the previous decades of the twentieth century. After the Second World War Slovenia was increasingly closing its state borders. Before the war and immediately after it there were weak migration flows from other ex-Yugoslav republics to Slovenia. Mostly people who served in the Yugoslav National Army migrated to Slovenia from other ex-Yugoslav republics (Dolenc 2007). The late fifties saw the beginning of 30 years of economic migration flows to Slovenia, and at the same time the inclusion of Bosnians into migration flows. Dolenc writes that “the year 1970 is a turning point, because it is the beginning of the three-decade-long period of positive migration increase in Slovenia, which was increasingly becoming the key element of demographic development” (Dolenc 2007: 79). The same author writes that in the period from 1971 to 1980 there was a migration boom to Slovenia from Bosnia and Herzegovina, amounting to 40% of all migrations. However, the author does not indicate the educational structure of those immigrants. In the period from 1981–1990 migration flows to Slovenia slowed down, those who wanted to cross the ex-Yugoslav border had to pay a so-called “deposit”. The end of this period saw major political changes, ethnic homogenisation in ex-Yugoslav republics and the increase of nationalisms and the inter-ethnic conflict in Kosovo (Dolenc 2007). The same article states that the three-decade-long economic migration to Slovenia ended after 1988, and many immigrants returned to ex-Yugoslav republics. In the eighties women started to migrate in larger numbers; in previous decades most of the migrants had been men. Women became employed as an unqualified labour force, in the catering and healthcare sectors (Pak 1993, in Dolenc 2007).

After Slovene independence in 1991 the situation was similar to the present. Most migrants in Slovenia come from the ex-Yugoslav republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro. Those from the new EU Member States come mainly from Slovakia, Poland and Hungary, and primarily work in construction, the metal

they can therefore be considered as a step toward formal education (Marjana Komprej, personal communication, 26 August 2009, Institute of the RS for Vocational Education and Training (CPI).

products industry and international transport, while migrants from older EU countries mainly occupy managerial positions in international corporations (Vrečer et al. 2008).

The number of work permits issued in Slovenia has increased in recent years (60,664 in 2007, a 36% increase over 2006, when 44,654 work permits were issued to foreigners) (Vrečer et al. 2008). Due to the current economic crisis, which began in the autumn of 2008, the number of work permits for foreigners has fallen by one-quarter. The increase in work permits in 2008 was largely due to demand for workers in so-called occupations in excess demand (i.e. construction, metallurgy, transport and catering) (Vrečer et al. 2008). In June 2010 the number of work permits granted by Slovenia was 75,267. 30,869 of those migrants had not completed primary school, and 24,366 had completed vocational upper secondary school (see the table below).⁸

Table: Valid work permits by level of education (June 2010)

Educational level	Number of work permits
Unfinished Primary School	30,869
Primary School	8,552
Lower Vocational School	394
Vocational Upper Secondary School	24,366
Upper Secondary School (including Gymnasium)	5,900
Post-Secondary Non-University Education	771
Higher Vocational Education, University Education, Masters' Degree	2,059
PhD	67
Bologna Programme	69
Unknown	2,220
Total	75,267

Source: Employment Service of Slovenia, personal communication, July 2010

Bešter (2007) found that migrants and their descendants in Slovenia have similar education levels to Slovenes. She also researched the occupational structure of migrants in Slovenia. She found that, according to the 2002 population census, migrants and their descendants are found in above-average numbers in unskilled labour professions, in professions included in the category machine and device operators and industrial producers and in non-industrial professions. She concludes that the population of migrants and their descendants are found in above-average numbers in low-esteem and typically low-paid professions. It seems that migrants in Slovenia do not enjoy equal employment opportunities in more reputable jobs as compared with Slovenes (Bešter 2007). Her findings are confirmed by the statistical data, according to which in June 2010 there were 15,675 workers without professions among immigrants with valid work permits in Slovenia,

Moreover, migrants in Slovenia share a situation of downward mobility with other

⁸ Statistics from the Employment Service of Slovenia, personal communication, July 2010.

migrants around the world. However, it was emphasised in the Strategy of Economic Migrations (2008) that migrants in Slovenia are more entrepreneurial than Slovenes. Here the importance of ethnic entrepreneurship should be noted, as ethnic social networks are of significant assistance to migrants in starting businesses in Slovenia.

Vrečer et al. (2008) found in their research on the educational needs of migrants in Slovenia that the inclusion of migrants in vocational education and training programmes in Slovenia requires improvement.

EMIGRATION OF SLOVENES TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES

After the Second World War the emigration of Slovenes overseas and to the countries of Western Europe decreased (Dolenc 2007). However, political emigration from Slovenia was characteristic of the period immediately after the Second World War. In 1963 Slovenia opened its closed borders to a certain extent and people started to seek work abroad, and the term “worker temporarily working abroad” was introduced. More than 46,000 Slovenes emigrated abroad after 1961. 42% of those who were employed before their emigration had completed vocational school (Dolenc 2007). In the seventies the Western European countries began to limit immigration (Mesić 1991, in Dolenc 2007).

After 2000 the migration increase of immigrants in Slovenia is constantly positive, and the migration increase of Slovene citizens to foreign countries is negative, “the number of immigrants and emigrants is constantly increasing, therefore the negative migration increase is increasing” (IMAD 2008: 85). According to the 2002 population census, 1.4% of respondents were living abroad (28,000) (mostly for more than one year). Most of them were working abroad (in Bevc et al. 2004). However, only residents of Slovenia who had permanent residence in our country were included in the census as emigrants.

Among the emigrants from Slovenia the age group from 20 to 50 years is the largest (60%), while the share of emigrants who are older than 65 years is very low (6%) (IMAD 2008). IMAD (2008) assumes that it is most likely that families with children which do not seek work abroad but have a definite working place abroad are prevalent among emigrants. Although the reason for emigration is mostly economic, Slovene emigrants do not seek any kind of work, but they seek a higher standard of living. Most probably they will not return to Slovenia (IMAD 2008). These findings are confirmed by Drnovšek’s (2010) research, who found that contrary to some expectations, after Slovene independence in 1991 emigrants from Slovenia did not decide to return to their home country in large numbers.

Economic migrations from the ten new Member States that joined EU in 2004 are low, as people from new Member States represent just 0.2% of the inhabitants of the 15 older Member States (Medved 2006). In the EU, there is a larger proportion of migrants who seek seasonal and short-term employment. Furthermore, migrants from third countries are more common in the EU than mobility within the EU itself (Medved 2006). Thus, the fear during negotiations on EU expansion from 15 to 25 Member States of mass migrations of workers from new Member States to old Member States was politically and economically

motivated. Driven by this fear, the EU-15 reserved the right to fully facilitate the free movement of people within the EU only after seven years have passed from the ascension of new Member States in 2004. This also applies to Slovenian workers, although it was obvious from the time of negotiations onward that not many Slovenes would opt to work in the EU-15 (Malačič 2006).

The Public Opinion and Mass Communication Research Centre (2006) confirmed in its research that the culture of mobility in Slovenia is very low, as previously mentioned. It researched the opinions of Slovenes on the mobility of Slovenian workers in the search for employment in the EU and EEA. The respondents to the telephone questionnaire ranged from 18 to 45 years of age. As previously mentioned, Slovenes prefer to migrate to another city or town in Slovenia than to move to other EU/EEA countries. When Slovenes decide to migrate abroad, personal factors (partner and family) are more important than systemic factors such as official procedures, obtaining permits or the lack of knowledge of a foreign language. A gender analysis showed that females give more importance to systemic as well as personal factors than males. At the same time, respondents with a lower level of education (i.e. completed primary school or vocational school) give more importance to personal obstacles than individuals with post-secondary non-university education and higher education. The research also confirmed the aforementioned that young people are more prone to migrate to the EU than older people. People who were more prone to moving were men, younger people, those less attached to their partners, those from bigger cities and those with a higher education level. The data analysis showed that people who are dissatisfied with their present employment are more prone to think about working abroad (Kovačič and Vovk 2006).

According to IMAD (2008) the aforementioned negative migration increase does not threaten the demographic condition of Slovenia, nevertheless this organisation assumes that if this trend continues for several years, some demographic problems will appear.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING AS MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

One very important aspect of mobility in recent times is learning to tolerate and accept other cultures (cf. Drobnič J. 2006). It is important, therefore, that vocational education and training in Slovenia become multicultural. Slovenia does not have a tradition of multicultural education, but without it, education would not be able to address contemporary social issues such as mobility and migration. The fact is that all European societies are multicultural, and this holds true for Slovenia as well. "Multicultural education incorporates the idea that all students – regardless of their gender and social class and their ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics – should have an equal opportunity to learn in school" (Banks 2007: 3). At the same time multicultural education is a reform movement, the goal of which is that students from all groups will have equal access to learning.

The origin of multicultural education in Slovenia can be traced to 2007, when the

Ministry of Education and Sport, together with its partners, published the Strategy of the Inclusion of Migrant Children and Students into the Education System in the Republic of Slovenia. This strategy is also relevant for the students of vocational education and training. However, a significant amount of work lies ahead in order to implement this strategy. One of such attempts is a project called Intercultural Learning and Accepting the Differences for Successful Life, which was conducted by the Upper Secondary School of Economics in Ljubljana together with 12 partner schools from Slovenia.⁹ The main goal of the project is to increase the awareness of secondary school students regarding intercultural differences and to enhance positive attitudes toward diversity. Another important goal is to introduce and enhance activities whose goal is successful inclusion of migrant students into the school system. Activities for migrant students were carried out within the scope of the project (Sports day for migrant and other students, presentation of traditional cuisines from various countries, literary contest, a meeting for migrant students and their Slovene peers). Furthermore, the Upper Secondary School of Economics tried to increase the level of inclusion of migrant students' parents in schools, and organized workshops for them. The project will be concluded in September 2010. It can be considered a best practice which will hopefully spread to other schools and continue in some other form.¹⁰

The increased mobility of VET teachers and students in Slovenia is also needed (cf. Lebe and Rok 2006), as mobility would improve the intercultural competences of students and teachers, thus enabling them to deal with the diversity that is characteristic of every multicultural society. In international exchanges, people learn the language, improve their understanding of other cultures, learn to be flexible, open, and tolerant, and they possess an ability to practice dialogue (cf. Lebe and Rok 2006). Ultimately, intercultural competences represent some of the key competences, as defined by the European Commission, required for successful inclusion in contemporary societies. However, in addition to intercultural competences, teachers also need other competences in contemporary society, for example those enumerated by Javrh (2010), such as critical responsibility. It implies a high level of social and political participation by the teacher. A critically responsible teacher is also critical towards the school system (Javrh 2010). Teachers with such competence should encourage students to think critically as well.

The Vocational Education Act of 2006¹¹ lays down the basis for multicultural vocational education, by emphasising in Article 2 that one of the tasks of vocational and professional education is to educate for the “responsible protection of freedom, for tolerant and peaceful coexistence and the respect of people”. Educators are also tasked “to develop and maintain their own cultural traditions and to become familiar with other cultures and civilisations”.

⁹ The project is financed by the European Social Fund and the Ministry of Education and Sport of the Republic of Slovenia.

¹⁰ For evaluations of the project see Lukšič-Hacin Marina and Vrečer Natalija www.projektmigranti.si (4 September 2010).

¹¹ Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 79/2006.

CONCLUSIONS

In the globalisation period, migration and mobility are on the increase and societies are becoming increasingly multicultural. It is a challenge and a necessity for VET to respond to these challenges of contemporary society. In this article we performed an analysis of the literature on VET and employment-related mobility and migration. We researched the current national topics regarded the aforementioned topic and found that it has not been researched at all in Slovenia, because there are no books on this topic. However, as the aforementioned content was briefly mentioned in the scope of some other topics, we mentioned those research results as well. Those topics are: geographical and daily mobility, occupational mobility, immigration to Slovenia and emigration of Slovenes to foreign countries.

The research revealed that mobility in Slovenia is still very low, but nevertheless very important for the future of the country (cf. Drobnič J. 2006; Medved 2006). The fact is that Slovenes are not prone to moving. The improvement of geographical and occupational forms of mobility is one of the key challenges for a contemporary world (Drobnič J. 2006). Therefore, they need to be improved in Slovenia as well (cf. Skuber 2006). In order to enhance occupational mobility, employers must facilitate lifelong learning. They must also increase productivity by investing more in human resources (Hiršl 2008).

In 2006, the European Year of Workers' Mobility, several campaigns and other related events aimed at raising public awareness about the importance of mobility were carried out. In order to meet the challenges of contemporary multicultural society, VET should develop as multicultural education. However, it was found that Slovenian policymakers and researchers should pay more attention to the topic of VET and employment-related mobility and migration, as it is under-researched and not given sufficient attention. Interesting topics for future research include the following: how should VET respond to the fact that migrants represent an important potential for VET? What is the scale of commuting (living in one region or country and working in another), from which professions are people most prone to commuting in Slovenia and what are the implications of these movements of labour? What are the obstacles to mobility and migration in Slovenia? What conditions in Slovenia enhance the brain drain from our country? What is the role of VET in enhancing social mobility (upward mobility)?

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POVZETEK

POKLICNO IZOBRAŽEVANJE IN MOBILNOST POVEZANA Z ZAPOSLOVANJEM TER MIGRACIJE

Natalija Vrečer

Članek je rezultat analize literature o poklicnem izobraževanju in mobilnosti, povezani z zaposlovanjem ter migracijami v Sloveniji. Analizirana je bila literatura, ki je izšla med letoma 2004 in 2010, s posebnim poudarkom na slovenskih avtorjih. V Sloveniji tema poklicnega izobraževanja in mobilnosti, povezane z zaposlovanjem in migracijami, ni raziskana, in bi potrebovali tovrstne študije. Rezultati raziskave kažejo na to, da je za Slovenijo značilna nizka mobilnost. Slovenci se raje preseljujemo v drug kraj ali mesto kot pa v druge države. Po osamosvojitvi leta 1991 so notranje migracije postala ekonomska

nujnost, kljub temu pa regionalne migracije v Sloveniji niso zelo številčne, čeprav geografska mobilnost lahko izboljša poklicne možnosti. S pomočjo geografske in poklicne mobilnosti lahko rešimo strukturna neskladja na trgu dela. Glavni razlog za dnevno mobilnost je pomanjkanje služb na določenem območju. Zlasti je številčna dnevna migracija iz sosednjih območij v Ljubljano. Po priključitvi Slovenije k Evropski uniji se je povečalo število zunanjih dnevnih migracij v Sloveniji, več ljudi se vsak dan vozi v drugo državo na delo in nazaj. Prizadevati bi si morali za trajnostno mobilnost, ki je okolju prijazna in spodbuja uporabo koles ter javnih prevoznih sredstev. Izboljšanje geografske in poklicne mobilnosti je izziv za sodobne družbe, vključno s Slovenijo. Pomemben element poklicne mobilnosti so nacionalne poklicne kvalifikacije, ki se v Sloveniji izvajajo od leta 2000. Cilj certifikatnega sistema je spodbuditi poklicno mobilnost in izboljšati zaposljivost. Nacionalne poklicne kvalifikacije so zlasti primerne za osipnike, brezposelne in manj izobražene. Rezultati raziskav kažejo na to, da Slovenija zaradi staranja prebivalstva potrebuje migrante. Slednji se v Sloveniji v glavnem zaposlujejo na manj cenjenih in slabo plačanih delovnih mestih. Ko se Slovenci zaposlujejo v tujini, so zanje zlasti pomembni osebni (partner in družina), v manjši meri pa sistemski dejavniki (kot so uradni postopki, pridobivanje dovoljenj, pomanjkanje znanja tujega jezika). Ker je Slovenija multikulturalna družba, se mora poklicno izobraževanje razvijati kot večkulturno izobraževanje. Spodbujati je treba izmenjave dijakov in študentov s tujino, tako si namreč lahko pridobijo zmožnosti, ki jih potrebujejo za uspešno vključevanje v sodobno medkulturno družbo.

MEDKULTURNO IZOBRAŽEVANJE IN MEDKULTURNA OBČUTLJIVOST

Marijanca Ajša VIŽINTIN¹

COBISS 1.02

IZVLEČEK

Medkulturno izobraževanje in medkulturna občutljivost

Prispevek poskuša na podlagi dveh teorij (Nieto 2008; Bennett 2007) odgovoriti na vprašanje, kaj pomeni multikulturno izobraževanje. Le učitelj, ki je sam multikulturno izobražen in ima razvito multikulturno zmožnost, lahko omogoči razvoj multikulturnega učnega okolja. Poudarjena sta tudi pojem medkulturnega dialoga, v Evropski uniji še zlasti pogosto uporabljan od leta 2008, in njegov teoretični primanjkljaj.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: otroci priseljenci, medkulturno izobraževanje, medkulturna zmožnost, medkulturni dialog

ABSTRACT

Multicultural Education and Multicultural Sensitivity

This paper tries to answer the question of what is multicultural education on the basis of two theories (Nieto 2008; Bennett 2007). Only a multiculturally educated teacher with developed multicultural competence can create a multicultural learning environment. The idea of intercultural dialogue is also mentioned, as it has been used often in the European Union since 2008, and its deficit of theoretical concept.

KEY WORDS: immigrant children, multicultural education, multicultural competence, intercultural dialogue

UVOD

Pedagoški delavci, ki se soočajo z vključevanjem otrok priseljencev, potrebujejo nove oblike izobraževanja in možnosti za razvoj novih sposobnosti. V članku so predstavljene tri ameriške teorije multikulturnega izobraževanja (Nieto 2008; Bennett 2007), poudarjene pa tudi nekatere nevarnosti navidezne medkulturnosti (Gorski 2008; Schanz 2006). Načela multikulturnega izobraževanja so v Združenih državah Amerike v šolstvo začeli vpeljevati že v 80. letih 20. stoletja, zavedajoč se na eni strani vedno večjega števila temnopoltih učencev v integriranih razredih, na drugi strani pa njihovega doseganja nižjih

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učnih ciljev. S pomočjo multikulturenega izobraževanja so poskušali najti odgovore, kako doseči sobivanje vedno več različnih etničnih skupnosti.

MULTIKULTURNO IZOBRAŽEVANJE ZA VSE LJUDI

Sonia Nieto (2008) multikulturno izobraževanje definira z upoštevanjem družbeno-političnih razmer. Opozarja, da multikulturno izobraževanje ne obstaja v vakuumu. Upoštevati je treba zgodovino priseljevanja, družbeno, politično in ekonomsko neenakopravnost ter izključevanje, ki določajo preteklost in sedanost, še zlasti zgodovino izobraževanja. Upoštevanje družbeno-političnih razmer vključuje upoštevanje zakonodaje, predpisov, politike, prakse, tradicije in ideologije – zato šolstva ne moremo ločiti od družbe. »Učitelji so produkt izobraževalnega sistema, ki ima svojo zgodovino rasizma, izključevanja in slabe pedagogike« (Nieto 2008: 6), zato se multikulturno izobraževanje začne najprej pri njih.

Multikulturno izobraževanje je proces, ki zahteva obsežno šolsko reformo in vsem študentom omogoča temeljno izobraževanje, zavrača pa rasizem ter druge oblike diskriminacije v šoli in družbi. Sprejema in potrjuje pluralizem (etnični, rasni, jezikovni, verski, ekonomski, spolni, idr.), ki se odraža med študenti, skupnostjo in učitelji. Multikulturno izobraževanje prežema šolski kurikulum, vzgojne strategije in vzajemno delovanje med učitelji, študenti in družinami, prav tako pa tudi koncepte poučevanja. Za svojo prednostno filozofijo uporablja kritično pedagogiko, osredotoča se na znanje, razmišljanje in delovanje kot podlago za družbeno spremembo, zato multikulturno izobraževanje podpira demokratične principe družbene pravičnosti (Nieto 2008: 44–59). Po definiciji Nietove je multikulturno izobraževanje sestavljeno iz sedmih karakteristik: je 1. protirasistično, 2. temeljno, 3. pomembno za vse študente, 4. vsepovsod prisotno, 5. izobraževanje za družbeno pravičnost, 6. proces, 7. kritična pedagogika.

Protirasistično je zato, ker poudarja rasistične in diskriminatorne prakse v šolah – kot nasprotje dejstvu, da se rasizem v šolah le redko omenja. Samo s pogovorom o otrokovih pravicah pri študentih ne bomo dosegli, da bi ti postali nerasistični in nediskriminatorni, temveč se je treba z njimi pogovoriti o vsakem posameznem primeru neenakopravnosti. Mnogim ljudem pogovor o rasizmu zamaje njihove globoko zakoreninjene ideale o pravičnosti in enakopravnosti; tisti učitelji, ki se prepoznajo v vlogah žrtev ali mučiteljev, se ob omenjenih temah počutijo nelagodno. Tako učitelji kot študenti se morajo dvigniti nad občutke krivde in se odločati za pozitivna dejanja, ne pa da se skrivajo za očitki vesti.

Nasprotje multikulturenemu izobraževanju je monokulturno izobraževanje, ki odseva samo eno resničnost dominantne kulture. Umetnostna zgodovina na primer največkrat navaja umetnike iz Italije, Francije in Velike Britanije; klasična glasba je največkrat evropska glasba; etnocentrizem je razviden iz zgodovinskih knjig, v katerih so Evropejci in evropski Američani glavni akterji zgodovine. Kurikule bi morale odpreti različnim perspektivam in izkušnjam izključenih, neopaženih. Tisti, ki so v preteklosti pomembno in odločilno vplivali na razvoj umetnosti, književnosti, znanosti, bi morali postati vidni;

kot dober primer vključevanja »več glasov« in perspektiv so navedene sodobne književne antologije.

Nietova poudarja, da je multikulturno izobraževanje pomembno za vse, ne samo za pripadnike etničnih manjšin:

Multikulturno izobraževanje je po definiciji inkluzivno. Govori o vseh ljudeh, zato je za vse ljudi, ne glede na njihovo etnično pripadnost, sposobnosti, družbeni sloj, jezik, spolno usmeritev, vero, spol, raso ali drugo razliko. Prepričljivo lahko dokažemo, da potrebujejo študenti iz dominantne kulture več multikulturnega izobraževanja kot drugi, saj so običajno napačno izobraženi ali neizobraženi o različnosti (Nieto 2008: 51).

Multikulturno izobraževanje ni dejavnost za določeno obdobje dneva niti poseben šolski predmet, ki bi ga bilo treba uvesti. Multikulturni učitelj ni posameznik, ki hodi iz razreda v razred kot učitelj glasbe ali umetnosti. Pravi multikulturni pristop prežema vse: šolsko vzdušje, fizično okolje, kurikulum, odnose med učitelji, študenti in skupnostjo. Multikulturno izobraževanje je prisotno pri vsaki šolski uri, v vsakem učnem načrtu, enoti, objavi, uradnem pismu domov; vidno je pri nabavi knjig, avdiovizualnih sredstev za šolsko knjižnico, igrah med odmori, postreženem kosilu. Multikulturno izobraževanje je filozofija, pogled na svet, ne samo program ali učitelj.²

Družbena pravičnost je nujni del multikulturnega izobraževanja. Ta vabi študente in učitelje, da uporabijo svoje znanje za dejavnosti, ki omogočajo družbeno pravičnost. Nietova (2008: 11) definira družbeno pravičnost kot »filozofijo, stališče in dejavnosti, ki uresničujejo pošteno, spoštljivo, dostojanstveno in plemenito obnašanje do vseh ljudi«. To pomeni, da ima vsaka oseba možnost uresničiti svoje potencialne – ne samo z določili v zakonskih predpisih – ampak da ima vsak dejansko dostop do dobrin, oskrbe, družbenega in kulturnega kapitala, obenem pa lahko izraža svojo kulturo in nadarjenost ter kulturo skupine, s katero se identificira. Družbena pravičnost v izobraževanju je sestavljena iz štirih delov:

- Prvič: izziva napačne koncepte, neresnice in stereotipe, ki bi vodili do neenakopravnosti in diskriminacije, temelječe na rasi, družbenem sloju, spolu, ipd., ter jim nasprotuje. To pomeni, da učitelj z osebno razvito perspektivo v kurikulum zavestno

² Skubic Ermenčeva (2006) razume interkulturalnost v pedagogiki kot načelo, in ne kot posebno disciplino. Načelo interkulturalnosti v pedagogiki, aplicirano na raven vzgojno-izobraževalnega procesa, razčlenjuje v štiri temeljne sestavine. Interkulturalnost je pedagoško načelo, ki spodbuja: 1. razvoj enakopravnostnega odnosa do drugih kultur/etnijskih skupin, 2. pogled na drugačnega kot enakovrednega in ne deficitnega, 3. takšno vodenje pedagoškega procesa, ki omogoča realnejši uspeh manjšinskih skupin, 4. razvoj skupnostnih vrednot. »Če interkulturalnost razumemo kot načelo, to pomeni, da mora biti eden od kriterijev za presojanje o odločitvah na področju šolstva nasploh – ne samo v nekih parcialnostih, kot bi bila npr. lahko uvedba učenja materinščine za učence, ki jim učni jezik ni materinščina. Kot načelo funkcionira tudi kot kriterij za presojo kakovosti sistema. Če sistem v svojih sistemskih dokumentih zapiše, da bo skrbel za enake možnosti vseh, potem bo tak cilj med drugim dosegel tudi z upoštevanjem načela interkulturalnosti« (Skubic Ermenčeva 2006: 152).

vključuje teme o neenakopravnosti, pri tem pa spodbuja študente k delovanju za enakopravnost in poštenost v razredu in zunaj njega.

- Drugič: vsem študentom omogoča dostop do vseh virov za razvoj potencialov, vključno z materialnimi (knjige, kurikulum, denarna podpora) in s čustvenimi viri (vsi študenti so enako sposobni in vredni truda, so individualne osebe, do katerih imamo visoka pričakovanja in zahteve).
- Tretjič: črpati je treba iz sposobnosti in moči, ki jo študenti prinesejo v izobraževalni proces, vključujoč njihov jezik, kulturo in izkušnje. To zahteva zavrnitev deficitne perspektive, ki označuje izobraževanje marginaliziranih študentov. Vsi študenti imajo temelj za izobraževanje, ne samo tisti s privilegiranim ozadjem.
- Četrto: ustvariti je treba takšno učeče se okolje, ki podpira kritično razmišljanje in podpira delovanje za družbene spremembe.

Ker vključuje odnose med ljudmi, je multikulturno izobraževanje nikoli končan dinamičen proces. Dotika se pričakovanj o dosežkih, učnem okolju in drugih kulturnih spremenljivkah, pomembnih, da jih šole razumejo, če hočejo doseči uspehe pri vseh učencih. Nanovo je treba premisliti vlogo učiteljev; le (multikulturno) usposobljeni učitelji lahko pomagajo vzpostaviti učno okolje, v katerem delujejo (multikulturno) usposobljeni učenci. Razširiti je treba vlogo družine, da lahko v šoli odsevajo pogledi in vrednote skupnosti. Zahteva se nič manj kot popolna rekonstrukcija kurikula in reorganizacija šolstva. Proces je kompleksen, težaven, kontroverzen in dolgotrajen, a edini možen, če želijo šole res postati multikulturne.

Znanje ni niti nevtralnno niti apolitično. Vsaka odločitev o izobraževanju na katerikoli ravni s strani posameznega učitelja ali šolskega sistema odseva politično ideologijo in pogled na svet tistih, ki sprejemajo odločitve. Vse naše odločitve, ki jih sprejememo kot izobraževalci, ne glede na to, kako nevtralne izgledajo, lahko vplivajo na življenja in izkušnje naših študentov. To velja za kurikulum, knjige in preostalo posredovano gradivo. »Večina književnosti na univerzitetni ravni je na primer še vedno močno moško usmerjena, evropska in evropskoameriška. Pomembnost žensk, nebelih ras in tistih, ki pišejo v neangleškem jeziku, je namerno ali nenamerno manjša« (Nieto 2008: 55). Glavna težava pri monokulturnem kurikulumu je, da omogoča študentom samo en način gledanja na svet – kritična perspektiva pa podpira različne poglede, odgovore na vsa vprašanja. Pri multikulturni perspektivi ne gre za zamenjavo ene perspektive z drugo, ampak za spoznanje in soočanje različnih perspektiv. Učitelji in učenci morajo spoznati tudi perspektive, s katerimi se mogoče ne strinjajo, saj le tako lahko razvijejo kritičen odnos do slišane, prebranega, videnege. Kritična pedagogika »pomaga izpostaviti, demistificirati in demitologizirati nekatere resnice, ki jih imamo za samoumevne, in jih kritično analizirati« (Nieto 2008: 58). Pravica za vse, enakopravna obravnava pred zakonom, enake možnosti za izobraževanje niso vedno resničnost. Težava je v tem, da učence učimo, kot da bi bilo vse to vedno in brez izjem resnično. Kritična pedagogika nam dovoli, da verjamemo v te ideale, medtem ko se kritično sprašujemo o diskrepanci med ideali in resničnostjo.

Multikulturno izobraževanje je ponovni razmislek o šolski reformi. Odziva se na

mnoge težave, ki privedejo do nižjih dosežkov ali neuspehov v šoli.³ Če je multikulturno izobraževanje vključeno v šolsko reformo vsestransko, lahko preoblikuje in obogati izobraževanje vseh mladih ljudi. Kulture, jezike in izkušnje vseh učencev vzame za izhodišče izobraževanja ter učencem pomaga, da se razvijejo v poučene, kritično zavedne in (multikulturno) usposobljene državljane (Nieto 2008).

MULTIKULTURNA ZMOŽNOST IN UČNO OKOLJE

Christine I. Bennett (2007) navaja, da je glavni cilj multikulturnega izobraževanja razvoj intelektualnih, socialnih in osebnih potencialov vseh učencev do njihove najvišje ravni. Poudarja ključno vlogo učiteljev in zagovarja stališče, da učitelji lahko pomembno prispevajo k spremembam na lokalni, nacionalni in globalni ravni ter vplivajo na prihodnje državljane sveta: ti naj bi razumeli, da brez družbene pravičnosti ne more biti trajnega miru. Multikulturno izobraževanje je kompleksen pristop k poučevanju in učenju, in vključuje štiri elemente: 1. pravično/nepriistransko/enakovredno pedagogiko, 2. preoblikovanje kurikula, 3. razvijanje multikulturne zmožnosti, 4. družbeno pravičnost (Bennett 2007: 3–36).

Enakovredna pedagogika si prizadeva za doseg pravičnih in nepristranskih izobraževalnih možnosti za otroke vseh narodnosti, še zlasti pa etničnih manjšin in otrok, ki prihajajo iz družin z nižjimi prihodki. Poskuša preoblikovati šolsko okolje, še zlasti skriti kurikulum, izražen v pričakovanih učiteljev glede učenčevega učenja, razvrščanja učencev, vzgojne strategije, šolske disciplinske politike in prakse, odnose med šolo in skupnostjo, razredno vzdušje. Večja nepristanskost bi pripomogla, da bi otroci priseljenci in otroci iz družin z nižjimi dohodki dosegli najvišje standarde oziroma uresničili svoje največje potencialne.

Nujno je preoblikovanje tradicionalnega kurikula, v Ameriki temelječega predvsem na anglo-evropski perspektivi. Vključiti je treba multietnično in globalno perspektivo. »Za večino nas ta ponovni pregled zahteva aktivno poizvedovanje in razvoj novega znanja, razumevanje kulturnih razlik in zgodovine, prispevek sodobnih etničnih skupin in narodov, kot tudi različnih civilizacij v preteklosti« (Bennett 2007: 6).

Medkulturno zmožnost razvijejo tisti učitelji, ki so zmožni sodelovati s študenti,

³ Otroci priseljenci, podobno kot romski otroci, dosegajo v vzgojno-izobraževalnem sistemu bistveno slabše rezultate (Peček in Lesar 2006). Podpovprečne dosežke romskih otrok in otrok priseljencev potrjujejo tudi evropske raziskave (Heckemann 2008; Luciak in Khan - Svik 2008). Na področju uspešnega vključevanja otrok priseljencev v vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem se tako slovenska kot evropska politika šele oblikujeta (*Integrating Immigrant Children ... 2004, Strategija vključevanja otrok, učencev in dijakov migrantov v sistem vzgoje in izobraževanja v Republiki Sloveniji* 2007). Le načelno zavzemanje za medkulturnost ni dovolj za uspešno izobraževanje in vključevanje otrok priseljencev. Kroflič (2006) navaja, da v procesih izobraževanja slovenskih pedagoških delavcev ni bilo vzpostavljenih dovolj učinkovitih modelov za spreminjanje ukoreninjenih navad, stereotipov in predsodkov. Tudi Luciak in Khan - Svik (2008) zaznavata primanjkljaj medkulturnih vsebin v kurikulumih, in to na vseh stopnjah izobraževanja.

z družinami in učitelji drugih ras ali kultur. Pomembno je, da se naučijo razpravljati o različnosti med narodi, znotraj naroda in znotraj razreda, proces razvijanja multikulturene zmožnosti pa je pomemben cilj multikulturenega izobraževanja. Gudykunst in Kim (1984, po Bennett 2007: 8–10) opišeta multikultureno osebo kot osebo:

- z izkušnjami, ki so izzvale posameznikovo prepričanje (t. i. kulturni šok) in ga soočile z dejstvom, da je bil njegov pogled na svet oblikovan na podlagi prvotne kulture;
- ki lahko nudi pomoč in podporo pri vzpostavljanju stikov med kulturami;
- ki se je zmožna soočiti z izvorom svojega etnocentrizma in doseči objektivnost pri presojanju drugih kultur;
- ki pokaže kulturno empatijo, je zmožna razumeti pogled drugih na svet.

Poučevanje v smislu družbene pravičnosti nas zavezuje k boju proti rasizmu, seksizmu, razporejanju po razredih (in vsemu drugemu, kar krši individualne osnovne človekove pravice in dostojanstvo) s pomočjo razvoja razumevanja, védenja in družbenih veščin. Bennettova (2007: 15–16) navaja, da pripada v Ameriki 40 odstotkov otrok etničnim manjšinam, do leta 2020 naj bi bilo 'temnopoltih' (*children of colour*) šoloobveznih otrok že 45 odstotkov. Opozarja, da smo vsi udeleženci v globalni areni in da za medsebojno sodelovanje potrebujemo ljudi z razvito medkulturno zmožnostjo oziroma vsaj neko stopnjo medkulturnega razumevanja.

Za uspešen razvoj multikulturenega izobraževanja so poleg integracije (ne pa segregacije) in učitelja z razvito medkulturno zmožnostjo potrebni še trije pogoji: pozitivna pričakovanja učiteljev; učno okolje, ki spodbuja medskupinske stike, in multikultureni kurikulum. Bennettova (2007: 21–21) navaja številne raziskave, ki potrjujejo, da imajo mnogi belopolti učitelji pri doseganju učnih dosežkov nižja pričakovanja do afriških in mehiških Američanov kot do belopoltnih Američanov, do katerih se vedejo spodbudneje.⁴ Na drugi strani pa v ospredje postavlja raziskavo, ki je dokazala, da enakovredno pričakovanje učiteljev pri doseganju učnih dosežkov do vseh učencev pozitivno vpliva na učence: med temnopoltimi in belopoltnimi učenci je prišlo do večjih povezav in prijateljavanja. Nekatere raziskave dokazujejo, da pozitivno razredno vzdušje, v katerem se vsi počutijo sprejete, vpliva pozitivno na učne uspehe učencev. »Nižja pričakovanja učiteljev za posamezno raso ali etnično skupino so utemeljena na negativnih rasnih ali etničnih predsodkih. Učitelji, tako kot vsi ljudje, se pogosto ne zavedajo svojih predsodkov, posledično pa se ne zavedajo niti svojih nižjih pričakovanj do nekaterih študentov« (Bennett 2007: 22). Bennettova opozarja, da bi morali imeti učitelji enaka pozitivna pričakovanja do vseh

⁴ Tudi Pečkova in Lesarjeva (2006) pritrjujeta, da so stališča učiteljev ključna pri udejanjanju načel pravičnosti in pomembno vplivajo na stopnjo vključenosti in uspešnosti marginaliziranih in depri-viligiranih skupin učencev (otroci z različnim socialnoekonomskim statusom, razlike med spoloma, romski otroci, otroci priseljenci, otroci s posebnimi potrebami). Čeprav se učitelji sami ne prepoznava-jo kot pomemben dejavnik pri vključevanju drugačnih, Strmičnik (2003) poudarja prav nasprotno: učitelj je tisti, ki učne cilje, vsebino in tehnologijo prilagaja učencem, neposredno odloča o učnem procesu in zanj odgovarja. Znanje iz učnih in pedagoških predmetov mora učitelj poglobljati, širiti in dopolnjevati, imeti mora vpogled v različne teorije in koncepte pedagoške misli. Pri svojem delu mora biti inovativen, ustvarjal in kritičen, saj je od njega odvisna kakovost pouka.

učencev, ne glede na etnično ozadje; če pa želijo to doseči, morajo razumeti kulturne razlike v etnično raznolikih razredih.

Spodbudno in medkulturno učno okolje, ki omogoča medsebojne stike med pripadniki različnih kultur, pripomore k premagovanju ovir pri komuniciranju ter k preseganju stereotipov in predsodkov. Po Allportovi teoriji stikov (Allport 1954, po Bennett 2007: 23–24) se predsodki zmanjšajo, prijateljska stališča pa povečajo, kadar so izpolnjeni naslednji pogoji: spodbujanje sodelovanja med večinskimi in manjšinskimi skupinami pri različnih dejavnostih, ki omogočajo spoznavanje in skupno doseganje ciljev; medskupinski stiki morajo trajati dalj časa in ob različnih priložnostih; omogočeno mora biti individualno uresničevanje posameznikov; posamezniki morajo imeti enak socialni položaj;⁵ težnjo po pozitivnih odnosih med različnimi skupinami mora jasno izražati priznana avtoriteta ali vplivna tretja stran.

Uspešen trikotnik multikulturnega izobraževanja je po Bennettovi (2007) sklenjen z multikulturnim kurikulumom. Kadar je multikulturn, vsebuje več razsežnosti: razumevanje različnih zgodovinskih perspektiv, kar bo dopolnilo samo anglo-zahodnoevropsko perspektivo (soočena bi morala biti tako perspektiva manjšine kot večine), razvoj kulturne zavesti (vedenje, da naši svetovni nazori niso univerzalni, da se razlikujejo od drugih), razvoj medkulturne zmožnosti (zavest, da je tudi naša percepcija drugih kultur odvisna od naše lastne kulture), boj proti rasizmu in diskriminaciji (zmanjšati negativno vedenje, temelječe na spolu, rasi, kulturi, ipd., če se razlikuje od naše lastne).

NAVIDEZNA MULTIKULTURNOST IN TEORETIČNI PRIMANKLJAJ MEDKULTURNEGA DIALOGA

Pri oblikah vzpostavljanja multikulturnih stikov moramo biti pozorni na načine in cilje, ki jih želimo s tem doseči. Schanzova (2006) kritizira dejanja, ki jih pogosto razumemo kot multikulturne stike ali multikulturno izobraževanje: od priseljencev pričakujemo, da nam prikažejo svojo folkloro in hrano – pri čemer večina dojema manjšinske »etnijske kot negibljive monolitne bloke« (Schanz 2006: 27), ne zavedajoč se, da migrante

iz iste države ali dežele prečijo spolne, razredne, religiozne, svetovnonazorske, etnične, regionalne razlike, kar pomeni, da migrantske etnične skupnosti niso homogene, prav nasprotno. Poleg omenjenih jih prečijo tudi razlike med migranti glede na kraj, od koder so prišli, in glede na okoliščine v državah izselitve in priselitve, ko so emigrirali (Milharčič Hladnik 2007: 41).

⁵ Allport (1954, po Bennett 2008: 24) opozarja, da je najtežji pogoj enak socialni položaj, saj so družbeno-ekonomske razlike pogoste. Osebnostno menim, da so preostale tri točke teorije stikov spodbudne za razvoj stikov med pripadniki različnih etničnih skupin, medtem ko je težnja po enakem socialnem položaju nerealna in pravzaprav nasprotuje tako preostalim načelom teorije stikov kot načelom multikulturnega in integracijskega izobraževanja.

Od vsake posamezne šole je odvisno, ali bo prešla iz monokulturne in monolitne organizacije – brez zunanjih odredb, skupaj z učenci, s starši in z motiviranimi pedagoškimi delavci – v multikulturno šolo. Schanzeva poudarja, da zahteva koncept multikulturnega izobraževanja, ki je usmerjen na participacijo in enakopravnost, kulturno kritični pristop in

diskusije s tistimi, za katere gre, in ne diskusije o njih. Namesto enkratnih prireditev so nujne spremembe, ki dolgotrajno učinkujejo tam, kjer vsakodnevno doživljamo šolo: pri pouku, v ponudbah delovnih skupin in prostočasnih aktivnosti, sodelovanju s starši in z zunajšolskimi partnerji (Schanz 2006: 27).

Gorski (2008) kritično opozarja, da samo dobri nameni, kulturno zavedanje in razumevanje razlik niso dovolj. Poudarja, da sta najprej, tako v izobraževanju kot v družbi, potrebni pravičnost in enakopravnost. Če ni družbene pravičnosti in enakopravnosti, ne moremo govoriti niti o medkulturnem izobraževanju niti o medkulturnem dialogu, ampak gre za reprodukcijo nepravičnosti in neenakopravnosti pod pretvezo multikulturnosti, ki rabi le ohranjanju moči vladajočih na račun potlačenih. Zaveda se, da ima kot belec, heteroseksualec, angleško govoreči moški v Združenih državah Amerike družbene ugodnosti, ki jih večina ljudi druge barve, homoseksualcev, ljudi, katerih materni jezik ni angleščina, in žensk, nima – in ta diskrepanca je zanj nič drugega kot nezasluženi privilegij.⁶ Opozarja, da se mora dober učitelj »dekoloniziranega multikulturnega izobraževanja« zavedati družbenopolitičnega konteksta vladajočih, ki imajo moč, in ga pri svojih dejanjih upoštevati, pri tem pa tudi tvegati njihovo neodobranje.

In da odgovorim še na svoje vprašanje: ne, prikazovanje folklorne in hrane priseljencev ni multikulturno izobraževanje, še zlasti ne, če je to edina oblika sodelovanja s pripadniki manjšine. Samo takšna oblika spoznavanja drugih kulturnih skupnosti jih postavlja v položaj »tujega« in prepogosto proizvaja le poudarjanje »drugačne« moči večine.

MEDKULTURNI DIALOG

V političnih dokumentih Evropske unije se uporablja predvsem pojem medkulturni dialog. V *Beli knjigi Sveta Evrope o medkulturnem dialogu* (2009: 16) s podnaslovom *Živeti skupaj v enakopravnosti in dostojanstvu je medkulturni dialog opredeljen kot*

proces, ki zajema odprto in spoštljivo izmenjavo mnenj med posamezniki in skupinami z različnim etničnim, kulturnim, verskim in jezikovnim poreklom in dediščino na podlagi medsebojnega razumevanja in spoštovanja. Zahteva svo-

⁶ Primerjaj: model normalnega državljana temelji »na atributih telesno sposobnega heteroseksualnega belskega moškega. Kdor se je oddaljil od tega modela normalnosti, je bil podvržen izključitvi, marginalizaciji, prisilnemu molku ali asimilaciji« [...] Jasno je postalo, da se številne skupine – črnci, ženske, staroselci, etnične in verske manjšine, geji in lezbijke – kljub temu da imajo skupne državljsanske pravice, še vedno čutijo potisnjene na obrobje ali stigmatizirane« (Kyimlicka 2005: 457, 460).

bodo in sposobnost posameznika, da se izrazi, ter tudi pripravljenost in zmožnost poslušati mnenja drugih. Medkulturni dialog prispeva k političnemu, socialnemu, kulturnemu in gospodarskemu vključevanju ter k povezovanju družb z različnimi kulturami. Spodbuja enakopravnost, človeško dostojanstvo in občutek skupnega cilja. Želi razviti globlje razumevanje različnih svetovnih nazorov in praks za večje sodelovanje in udeležbo (ali svobodo izbire), da se omogočita osebna rast in preobrazba ter spodbujata strpnost in spoštovanje do drugih.

Medkulturni dialog naj bi spodbujalo pet ločenih, a med seboj povezanih političnih pristopov: demokratično ravnanje s kulturno raznolikostjo, demokratično državljanstvo in udeležba, učenje in poučevanje medkulturnih veščin, vzpostavitev prostorov za medkulturni dialog ter raba načel medkulturnega dialoga v mednarodnih odnosih. Poudarjam tretji pristop, učenje in poučevanje medkulturnih veščin, na kar vplivajo izobraževanje in izobraževalne ustanove s pedagogi:

Njihova naloga je mlade voditi in jih podpirati pri pridobivanju sredstev in oblikovanju stališč, potrebnih za življenje v vseh vidikih družbe, ter usvarjanju strategij za to ter jim pomagati razumeti in pridobiti vrednote, na katerih sloni demokratično življenje, z vključitvijo spoštovanja človekovih pravic kot osnove pri obravnavi različnosti in s spodbujanjem odprtosti do drugih kultur. [...] Pedagogi imajo na vseh ravneh temeljno vlogo pri spodbujanju medkulturnega dialoga in pripravi prihodnjih generacij na dialog. S svojo predanostjo in z dejanskim izvajanjem tega, kar poučujejo, so zgled svojim učencem (prav tam: 29–31).

Šola bi torej

poleg ključnih dejstev o normah glede človekovih pravic in mehanizmov za njihovo zaščito morala spodbujati vrednote, kot so spoštovanje drugih, nediskriminacija, enakost spolov in demokratična udeležba. Pri tovrstnem učenju je treba poudariti medkulturno razumevanje in spoštovanje, zato bi morali biti šolski učni načrti, učno gradivo, pedagoške metode in usposabljanje učiteljev skladni s temi prizadevanji (Plavšak Krajnc 2008: 55).

Navkljub letu 2008, ko je bilo v Evropi leto medkulturnega dialoga, pospremljeno s številnimi prireditvami tudi v Sloveniji, je pojem medkulturni dialog deležen številnih kritik, saj je

že dlje časa mogoče opaziti zaostajanje teorije, da bi našla ustrezno metodološko in pojmovno osmiselitev »medkulturnega dialoga«. Najpomembnejši vidik uspeha transmisije koncepta medkulturnega dialoga iz izobraževanja v širše družbeno življenje je oblikovanje splošnih in specifičnih kompetenc. Predpogoj formuliranja politike kompetenc za medkulturni dialog pa je, da se zagotovi ustrezen znanstveno teoretski in konceptualni model, ki večetično in večkulturno skupnostno interakcijo

razbremenjeni utečenih ideologij, predvsem etnocentrizma in nazadnjaškega, izključujočega patriotizma (Vidmar Horvat 2009: 57–58).

ZAKLJUČEK

Multikulturno izobražen pedagoški delavec potrebuje ob stiku z otroki priseljenci številne nove sposobnosti. Najprej mora sam razviti multikulturno zmožnost in biti multikulturno izobražen, da lahko svoje znanje v vzgojno-izobraževalnem procesu prenaša na učence. Multikulturno izobraževanje je namenjeno vsem ljudem, ne samo pripadnikom manjšin, mogoče pa je le ob izpolnitvi treh pogojev: pozitivnega pričakovanja učiteljev, spodbudnega in multikulturnega učnega okolja ter multikulturnega kurikula. Multikulturnost bi moralo biti pedagoško-didaktično načelo, eden med kriteriji za presojanje o odločitvah v šolstvu, od vsake posamezne šole pa je odvisno, ali se bo iz monokolturne spremenila v multikulturno ustanovo.

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SUMMARY

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND MULTICULTURAL SENSITIVITY

Marijanca Ajša Vižintin

The socio-political context of society must be considered when we talk about multicultural education. Multicultural education is antiracist and basic education, important for all students. It is education for social justice, a dynamic process and pervasive everywhere. It's basic component is critical pedagogy. Skubic Ermenc (2006) understands multiculturalism as a principle that has to be one of the criteria in judgement about decisions in the field of education in general. Nieto (2008) emphasizes that multicultural education is not intended only for members of ethnic minorities but for all people, and every individual should develop his or her own multicultural competence before transferring their knowledge to other people. Bennett (2007) thinks that intercultural education is possible if three conditions are fulfilled: positive expectations from the part of the teachers, an educational environment that supports contact among different groups, and a multicultural curriculum.

Schanz (2006) makes it clear that the change from monocultural to intercultural depends on every single school, while Milharčič Hladnik (2007) says that the cultures of ethnic groups cannot be put in the same common denominator, as the story of every single individual depends on many different circumstances, and it changes through time. Gorski (2008) warns about a colonized intercultural education that preserves the power of the majority. From 2008 on, the most widely used word has been intercultural dialogue, but Vidmar Horvat (2009) accuses it of theoretical deficiency.

Translated by: Ester Trobec

MIGRANTI NA TRGU DELA V SLOVENIJI

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IZVLEČEK

Migranti na trgu dela v Sloveniji

Na podlagi analize zakonodaje s področja zaposlovanja in dela migrantov, evalvacije protikriznih ukrepov in socialnih politik avtorice v članku kritično obravnavajo položaj migrantov iz »tretjih držav« na trgu dela v Sloveniji. Ugotavljajo, da aktualne politike, usmerjene v domnevno zaščito domačega trga dela (pred migranti) poglobljajo slabe delovne in življenjske razmere migrantov, ki se soočajo z nizko ali nikakršno stopnjo socialne varnosti, devalvacijo znanja in izobrazbe, jezikovnimi ovirami in diskriminacijo. Članek tudi prispeva predloge za oblikovanje prilagojenih politik, ki bi upoštevale potrebe migrantk in migrantov. KLJUČNE BESEDE: delovne migracije, trg dela, migracijske politike, državljani tretjih držav, Slovenija

ABSTRACT

Migrants in the labour market in Slovenia

Based on the analysis of policies that regulate employment and work of migrants, and assessing anti-crisis measures and social policies, the paper critically evaluates the position of migrants from "third countries" in Slovenia's labour market. We argue that current policies, which aim to protect the national labour market (from migrants), exacerbate the poor work and life conditions of migrants, who are faced with weak or no social protection, deskilling, language barriers and discrimination. The article offers recommendations for policy change in view of adaptability to actual needs of migrant men and women.

KEY WORDS: migration for work, labour market, migration policies, migrants from third countries, Slovenia

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UVOD

Mnogi migranti iz »tretjih držav« v Evropski uniji delajo kot nekvalificirana delovna sila, pogosto neodvisno od svoje izobrazbe in delovnih izkušenj. H gospodarski rasti prispevajo z zapolnitvijo delovnih mest, na katera se domači delavci ne prijavljajo. To pomeni, da opravljajo najtežavnejša dela v slabih delovnih razmerah za zelo nizka plačila; mnogi so izpostavljeni zlorabam, kršitvam delavskih pravic in delovne zakonodaje. Obenem mnogi opravljajo dela na neformalnem trgu dela, kjer so še manj zaščiteni, prepuščeni samovolji delodajalcev in tako potisnjeni v še večjo marginalnost.

Gospodarska rast in produktivnost sta bili v Sloveniji v preteklih desetletjih visoki, odpirala so se nova delovna mesta in rasla je zlasti potreba po delavcih za nekvalificirana dela. Kot druge države EU tudi Slovenija primanjkljaj zaradi upadanja števila delovno aktivnih prebivalcev nadomešča z migrantskimi delavci. Tudi za Slovenijo je značilen trend nizke rodnosti in podaljševanje pričakovanega trajanja življenjske dobe, kar prinaša manjše število mladih in delovno sposobnih ljudi ter večje število starejšega, delovno neaktivnega prebivalstva. Iz omenjenih razlogov je slovenska vlada iz leta v leto dvigovala število kvot za zaposlovanje tujih delavcev, ki so za opravljanje nizkokvalificiranih del v gradbeništvu, gostinstvu in skrbstvenem sektorju v glavnem prihajali iz držav nekdanje Jugoslavije. Konec leta 2008 se je slab položaj migrantskih delavcev še poslabšal: globalna gospodarska in socialna kriza, upad gospodarske rasti in aktivnosti, povečana odvisnost Slovenije od tujih trgov, zmanjšana proizvodnja in posledično manjša potreba po delavcih so pripeljali do množičnega odpuščanja zlasti v industrijskih panogah. Delavci migranti so se prvi znašli na seznamih za odpuščanje. Med protikriznimi ukrepi si je slovenska vlada zadala cilj zaščititi »domače« delavce tako, da je začela omejevati zaposlovanje migrantov, zlasti na podlagi Uredbe o omejitvah in prepovedih zaposlovanja in dela tujcev iz junija 2009. Protikrizne ukrepe je spremljala diskriminatorna retorika vladnih akterjev, po kateri migranti »odžirajo« delovna mesta domačim delavcem, kar naj bi bilo najbolje preprečiti s prepovedjo migrantskega dela in tudi nasploh s preprečevanjem migracij.

V članku obravnavamo položaj migrantov iz »tretjih držav« na trgu dela v Sloveniji, analiziramo migracijske in integracijske politike ter smo kritične do njihovih implikacij v praksi.² Namen članka je tudi prispevati predloge za oblikovanje politik, ki bi upoštevale potrebe migrantk in migrantov. Izhajamo iz teze, da trenutne migracijske politike v

² V članku se opiramo na izsledke, ki smo jih pridobile v okviru mednarodnega raziskovalnega projekta »PRIMTS, Perspektive za integracijo migrantov iz »tretjih držav« in njihov položaj na trgu dela: K politikam in delovanju«. Projekt je v šestih državah članicah EU (na Cipru, v Italiji, na Madžarskem, v Nemčiji, na Finskem in v Sloveniji) analiziral podatke o zaposlenosti in brezposelnosti državljanov »tretjih držav«, vključno s podatki o demografski strukturi, sektorjih in geografskih lokacijah zaposlovanja migrantov. Pozornost je bila posvečena analizi migracijskih politik na nacionalni ravni in na ravni EU. Osrednji del projekta je analiza migracijskih politik na podlagi terenskega dela: v Sloveniji smo opravili 18 poglobljenih narativnih intervjujev z migranti in migrantkami, z migranti in migrantkami pa smo razpravljali tudi v fokusni skupini; v ospredju so bile njihove izkušnje s prekarnimi oblikami dela. Projekt je potekal v obdobju 2008–2010, financirala ga je Evropska komisija, Evropski sklad za vključevanje državljanov tretjih držav. Več gl. <http://primts.mirovni-institut.si>.

Sloveniji, ki jih nekateri (Kovač 2003; King in Thompson 2008) definirajo kot restriktivne in sorodne politikam, ki so v južноеvropskih državah usmerjene najprej v preprečevanje migracij, pogosto vzdržujejo brezpravni položaj migrantov, kar za cela desetletja zaznamuje njihova življenja in življenja njihovih družin. Soočeni s hiperprekarizacijo, z izkoriščanjem na delovnem mestu, začasnimi službami, s slabimi delovnimi in življenjskimi razmerami, z nizko ali nikakršno stopnjo socialne varnosti, devalvacijo znanja in izobrazbe, jezikovnimi ovirami in diskriminacijo obstajajo na družbenem robu in zunaj integracijskih programov kot nevidni globalni delavci.

O DELOVNIH MIGRACIJAH V LITERATURI IN POPULACIJI MIGRANTOV V SLOVENIJI

Novodobne migracijske politike so zasnovane na kategoriziranju migrantov in ločujejo begunce, prosilce za azil, nelegalne migrante ali državljane »tretjih držav«. Državljeni tretjih držav so kategorizirani kot tisti, ki niso državljani EU in evropskega gospodarskega prostora (EGP), in zato zanje veljajo posebne omejitve vstopa v EU, položaja na trgu dela in nenazadnje socialnih pravic. Po Alainu Badiouju (2008) takšno kategoriziranje in ločevanje ljudi poustvarja delitev sveta na več neenakovrednih svetov, kot da obstajajo prvi, drugi in tretji svet, kot da migranti prihajajo z nekega drugega sveta. Skupaj z avtorjem bi lahko rekli, da migracijske politike postavljajo pod vprašaj eksistenco sveta kot enotnega prostora delujočih ljudi; migrante obravnavajo kot prišleke z nekega drugega, tretjega sveta.

Relevantna literatura o delovnih migracijah zlasti iz 70. in 80. let prejšnjega stoletja je v kontekstu industrializacije zahodnih družb odpirala podobna vprašanja, kot si jih zastavlja sodobna literatura, ki tematizira migracije v odnosu do aktualnega hiperkapitalizma. Michael Piore (1980) je že pred desetletji ugotavljal, da migrantski delavci, ki so že v 70. letih predstavljali okrog 10 odstotkov delovno aktivnega prebivalstva v zahodноеvropskih državah, opravljajo težavna in za »domače« delavce nezanimiva dela. Tako kot si je bilo takrat težko predstavljati razvoj industrializiranih zahodnih družb brez migrantskih delavcev (ibid.), danes govorimo o gospodarski rasti zahodnih kapitalističnih družb, ki jo omogočajo migranti zlasti z opravljanjem nizkokvalificiranih in skrbstvenih del (Sassen 1998; Bauman 2004; Schierup idr. 2006).

Obstoječa znanstvena in strokovna literatura v Sloveniji razen nekaterih izjem (Malačič 2008; Medica in Lukič 2010) redko obravnava migracije v povezavi z delom, prav tako maloštevilne (Bešter 2009; Cukut 2008) so študije, ki se specifično ukvarjajo z državljani »tretjih držav«. Največji poudarek je na obravnavi migracijskih politik in položaja migrantov, ki so že pridobili slovensko državljanstvo ali na t. i. drugi in tretji generaciji migrantov (Bešter 2005, 2007; Komac 2007), medtem ko primanjkuje raziskav, ki bi vzele pod drobnogled položaj tistih, ki so v Slovenijo migrirali z namenom zaposlitve in tu prebivajo na podlagi začasnega ali stalnega dovoljenja za bivanje.

Nekatere študije, predvsem s področja ekonomije in demografije (Kovač 2003; Glazer 2008; Malačič 2006, 2008), se osredotočajo na pojasnjevanje razlogov za povečanje

obsega zaposlovanja državljanov »tretjih držav« v obdobju hitrega razvoja slovenskega gospodarstva. Avtorji ugotavljajo, da migrantska delovna sila blaži učinke starajočega se in vedno manj delovno aktivnega prebivalstva in zapolnjuje delovna mesta predvsem v deficitarnih poklicih in sektorjih, kjer se »domača« delovna sila ne zaposluje. Literatura o delovnih migracijah se sicer najpogosteje osredotoča na deskriptivne opise zakonodajnih postopkov v povezavi z zaposlovanjem in delom tujcev ter na mehanizme omejevanja zaposlovanja tujcev, kot so na primer sistemi kvot in delovnih dovoljenj. Pogosto strokovna literatura obravnava nekatera pravna vprašanja, povezana z delovnimi migracijami. Tako je mogoče zaslediti podrobne razlage členov zakonov ter drugih pravil in pravnih postopkov v zvezi z zaposlovanjem in življenjem tujcev (Golja 2007, 2008). Nekateri (Glazer 2008) se lotevajo praktičnih problemov zaposlovanja migrantov, kot so načini komunikacije med sodelavci, predsodki do migrantov, specifične dela v medkulturnih delovnih okoljih, ipd. Nekaj študij (Brezigar 2006; Bešter 2005, 2007; Medvešek 2007) se ukvarja z diskriminacijo in ugotavlja, da je razlike na trgu dela, zlasti ko te ne izhajajo iz izobrazbe, mogoče pripisati etnični diskriminaciji. Literatura o delovnih migracijah predvsem zaobide vprašanje, kaj obstoječe migracijske in integracijske politike za migrante pomenijo v praksi; namen pričujočega besedila je v premoščanju te vrzeli.

Ob koncu leta 2008 so tujci predstavljali 3,5 odstotka (70.723) celotnega prebivalstva Slovenije, v primerjavi z, na primer, 2,4 odstotka (48.968) leta 2005. Med njimi je 74 odstotkov moških, ki večinoma prihajajo z namenom dela. Velika večina migrantov je iz »tretjih držav«, nekaj več kot 90 odstotkov vseh migrantov prihaja iz republik nekdanje Jugoslavije, sledijo državljani nekdanjih republik Sovjetske zveze, predvsem Ukrajine in Rusije. V zadnjih letih je tudi več migracij iz Afrike, Azije in Latinske Amerike, čeprav številke v primerjavi z migriranjem iz Evrope ostajajo nizke, saj ti predstavljajo le 2,4 odstotka vseh državljanov tretjih držav.³

Državljanom držav z območja nekdanje Jugoslavije je izdanih tudi največ delovnih dovoljenj.⁴ Med njimi prevladujejo državljani Bosne in Hercegovine, ki so julija 2010 predstavljali kar 51 odstotkov vseh imetnikov veljavnih delovnih dovoljenj, državljani preostalih držav nekdanje Jugoslavije pa imajo skupaj 43 odstotkov vseh delovnih dovoljenj, torej je državljanov drugih »tretjih držav« zgolj 6 odstotkov (od tega največ državljanov Ukrajine). Tudi podatki o skupnem številu stalnih in začasnih dovoljenj za bivanje ob koncu leta 2009 kažejo podobno sliko. 94 odstotkov dovoljenj za stalno in 93 odstotkov

³ Uradni statistični podatki, dostopni na http://www.stat.si/letopis/2009/04_09/04-33-09.htm (dostop 14. 8. 2010).

⁴ Julija 2010 so imeli državljani držav naslednic nekdanje Jugoslavije kar 94 odstotkov vseh veljavnih delovnih dovoljenj (70.103), od tega več kot polovico državljani Bosne in Hercegovine (38.249 oziroma 51 odstotkov), 11,4 odstotka državljani Hrvaške (8.526), 8,8 odstotka Makedonije (6.609), 8,4 odstotka Srbije (6.247), 7,9 odstotka Kosova (5.871) in 6,2 odstotka državljani Srbije in Črne gore (4.413 zavedeno za obe državi skupaj in 188 delovnih dovoljenj za državljane Črne gore). Sledijo imetniki delovnih dovoljenj iz Ukrajine (1.167 oziroma 1,56 odstotka), Kitajske (728 delovnih dovoljenj), Ruske federacije (478), Moldavije (227), Tajske (175), Dominikanske republike (164), ZDA (133), Albanije (109), Filipinov (83) in Turčije (76) (http://www.ess.gov.si/trg_dela/trg_dela_v_ste-vilkah/zaposlovanje_tujcev, dostop 18. 8. 2010).

za začasno bivanje imajo državljani republik nekdanje Jugoslavije, med katerimi sta skoraj dve tretjini moških. Statistični podatki kažejo, da je bila povprečna starost tujcev v Sloveniji leta 2008 nekaj manj kot 33 let.⁵ Po podatkih o veljavnih delovnih dovoljenjih za julij 2010 je največ tujih delavcev, skoraj 29 odstotkov, starih med 30 in 40 let, sledi delež tistih, ki so stari med 40 in 50 let (25 odstotkov), deleža mladih med 25. in 30. letom ter starejših, med 50. in 60. letom starosti, pa sta skoraj enaka (15 odstotkov).⁶

Podatki Zavoda za zaposlovanje za julij 2010 potrjujejo, da se največ migrantov zaposluje v gradbeništvu (41 odstotkov), sledi zaposlovanje v predelovalnih dejavnostih (12 odstotkov), prometu in skladiščenju (6 odstotkov), raznovrstnih poslovnih dejavnostih (5 odstotkov), vidno je tudi zaposlovanje migrantov v gostinstvu (4 odstotki) in trgovini ter pri vzdrževanju in popravilih motornih vozil (4 odstotki). Podrobnejši podatki o sektorjih zaposlitve migrantskih delavcev za leto 2008 kažejo, da v gradbeništvu pričakovano prevladujejo državljani republik nekdanje Jugoslavije, še zlasti Bosne in Hercegovine, medtem ko se večina državljanov Kitajske, Dominikanske republike in Indije v Sloveniji zaposluje v gostinstvu. Hkrati je opazno zaposlovanje tajskih državljanov, predvsem žensk, v masažnih salonih in wellness centrih, in migrantov iz Ruske federacije v strokovnih, znanstvenih in tehničnih dejavnostih. Podatki kažejo tudi na razslojevanje po sektorjih glede na spol; številne migrantke iz Moldavije in Ukrajine se zaposlujejo v gostinstvu, kar lahko razložimo s pogostostjo prehajanja migrantk med delom plesalk v nočnih barih in delom v gostinskih dejavnostih. Podatki za leto 2008 kažejo tudi na povpraševanje po takrat še možnem sezonskem migrantskem delu predvsem v gradbeništvu, ki je predstavljajo kar 85 odstotkov vseh sezonskih delovnih dovoljenj. Na omenjenih delovnih mestih so delali moški, večinoma državljani republik nekdanje Jugoslavije, medtem ko so se migrantke sezonsko večinoma zaposlovale v gostinstvu.

ANALIZA ZAKONODAJE S PODROČJA ZAPOSLOVANJA IN DELA MIGRANTOV

Kot članica EU Slovenija oblikuje pravni red na področju migracij na podlagi direktiv EU, pri čemer velja dodati, da prenos direktiv v nacionalni pravni red še ne zagotavlja njihove implementacije v praksi. Med relevantnejšimi direktivami Sveta EU, ki so povezane s položajem državljanov »tretjih držav« in jih je Slovenija prenesla v svoj pravni red, so Direktiva o rasni enakosti, Direktiva o začasni zaščiti, Direktiva o pravici do združitve družine, Direktiva o statusu državljanov tretjih držav, ki so dolgoročni rezidenti, Direktiva o sankcijah zoper delodajalce državljanov tretjih držav, ki nezakonito prebivajo v EU, in Regulacija 1408/71, ki od leta 2003 poleg zaščite pravic delavcev iz EU ureja tudi nekatere pravice delavcev iz »tretjih držav«. Aktivnosti, namenjene urejanju statusa in pravic državljanov »tretjih držav« v EU sicer pomenijo pomemben premik, vendar deklarativno

⁵ Podatki, dostopni na http://www.stat.si/novica_prikazi.aspx?id=2666 (dostop 16. 8. 2010).

⁶ Podatki, dostopni na http://www.ess.gov.si/trg_dela/trg_dela_v_stevilkah/zaposlovanje_tujcev (dostop 18. 8. 2010).

zagotavljanje pravic na podlagi posameznih direktiv v odsotnosti celovite sistemske obravnave položaja delavcev migrantov še ne zagotavlja izboljšanja njihovega položaja na trgu dela. Intervjuji z migranti v Sloveniji⁷ potrjujejo, da je poleg zagotavljanja pravnih norm treba vzpostaviti mehanizme za njihovo implementacijo. Sprejetje direktiv ob odsotnosti politične volje namreč še ne prinaša dejanskega izvajanja določil. Kot primer naj navedemo Direktivo o izobraževanju otrok migrantov, ki določa, da imajo otroci migrantov pravico do brezplačnih učnih ur v maternem jeziku. V Sloveniji te pravice mnogi otroci migrantov nimajo, saj šole zaradi pomanjkanja financ ali kadrov tovrstnih učnih ur ne zagotavljajo.

Sedanji sistem upravljanja z delovnimi migracijami poteka na podlagi Zakona o zaposlovanju in delu tujcev. Ta določa najvišje število tujih delavcev, ki ne sme presežati 5 odstotkov delovno aktivnega prebivalstva Slovenije. Kvote za največje dovoljeno število delovnih dovoljenj, ki se jih letno lahko izda za zaposlitev državljanov »tretjih držav«, vlada določi vsako leto. Naša analiza je pokazala, da kvotni sistem s specifikacijo deficitarnih⁸ in nizko plačanih del omejuje že tako majhne zaposlitvene možnosti migrantov. Kvote so namreč definirane izključno na podlagi potreb nacionalnega trga dela in ne upoštevajo položaja migrantov. Obenem se kvote lahko izdajo šele takrat, ko obstaja uradna potrditev o pomanjkanju domače delovne sile za določeno vrsto dela.

Zakon določa tudi diferenciacijo delovnih dovoljenj glede na obseg in pravice. S tem se je uveljavilo eno osnovnih načel migracijske politike, in sicer ločevanje med novim (začasnim) zaposlovanjem tujcev in zaposlovanjem tujcev, ki že dalj časa prebivajo in delajo v Sloveniji. Velike razlike v pravicah, obsegu in načinu dela se ustvarjajo zlasti glede na vrste delovnega dovoljenja. Pravni red v Sloveniji loči tri vrste delovnih dovoljenj: 1. osebno delovno dovoljenje, 2. dovoljenje za zaposlitev, ki ga pridobi delodajalec in se izda, če na slovenskem trgu dela ni ustreznih domačih brezposelnih oseb (ali z njimi izenačenih oseb, tj. državljanov držav članic EU in EGP), 3. dovoljenje za delo, ki ga pridobi slovenski ali tuji delodajalec za napotene delavce, sezonske delavce, delavce na usposabljanju in izpopolnjevanju, tuje zastopnike ter tujce, ki izvajajo individualne storitve. V praksi to pomeni, da sta dovoljenje za delo in dovoljenje za zaposlitev bolj restriktiven tip delovnih dovoljenj, saj določata migrantom, da delajo le za enega delodajalca, medtem ko lahko migranti z osebnim delovnim dovoljenjem zamenjajo delodajalca oziroma se lahko tudi samozaposlijo in prijavijo na Zavodu za zaposlovanje kot aktivni iskalci zaposlitve, medtem ko drugi dve vrsti delovnih dovoljenj tega ne omogočata.⁹

Po podatkih iz intervjujev z migranti in migrantkami je v praksi osebno delovno

⁷ V okviru projekta »Primts« smo leta 2009 opravili 18 delno strukturiranih narativnih biografskih intervjujev z migranti in migrantkami iz »tretjih držav«, ki so v Slovenijo iz različnih razlogov migrirali v zadnjem desetletju. V intervjujih so nas zanimale predvsem izkušnje migrantov in migrantk na trgu dela, zlasti pri opravljanju del, ki ne zahtevajo kvalifikacije; več o metodi je dostopno v Pajnik in Bajt (2009).

⁸ Do februarja 2009, ko je v veljavo stopil Pravilnik o spremembah pravilnika o delovnih dovoljenjih, prijavi in odjavi dela ter nadzoru nad zaposlovanjem in delom tujcev, so se migranti lahko zaposlili v deficitarnih poklicih brez kontrole trga dela.

⁹ Obstoječa zakonodaja določa, da se na Zavod za zaposlovanje v primeru brezposelnosti lahko prijavijo zgolj imetniki osebne delovnega dovoljenja ali stalnega dovoljenja za bivanje v Republiki

dovoljenje težko pridobiti, pa tudi v primeru izdaje takšnega dovoljenja je težko govoriti o enakosti migrantov z »domačimi« delavci. Intervjuji namreč kažejo na pogosto diskriminacijo predvsem na podlagi jezika in etničnosti, ko imajo torej tudi migranti z osebnim delovnim dovoljenjem velike težave pri pridobivanju zaposlitve. Intervjuji tudi kažejo neustreznost povezovanja veljavnosti delovnega dovoljenja z dovoljenjem za bivanje, saj se zato migranti brez dovoljenja za stalno bivanje v Sloveniji pogosto znajdejo v dolgotrajnih postopkih za pridobitev ali podaljšanje veljavnosti omenjenih dovoljenj in so zato izpostavljeni še večjemu izkoriščanju na trgu dela. Rigidnost v pridobivanju delovnih dovoljenj prinaša slabo pogajalsko moč delavca v odnosu do delodajalca, še zlasti če nima osebnega delovnega dovoljenja. Če na primer delavec migrant ne sprejme delovnih, pogosto izkoriščevalskih pogojev delodajalca, mu grozi odpust, izguba dovoljenja za bivanje oziroma ilegalni status.¹⁰

Med protikriznimi ukrepi, ki jih je Vlada RS sprejela leta 2009, je tudi Pravilnik o spremembah pravilnika o delovnih dovoljenjih, prijavi in odjavi dela ter nadzoru nad zaposlovanjem in delom tujcev, ki določa, da se lahko ponudi delo tujcu le, če za razpisano delovno mesto ni mogoče najti ustrezno usposobljenega slovenskega (ali EU/EGP) državljana. To je prineslo ponovno uvedbo nadzora nad t. i. deficitarnimi poklici, za katere se sicer ni preverjalo trga dela, in dodatno krčenje zaposlitvenih možnosti migrantov. Diskriminatornost omenjenega ukrepa se kaže v tem, da preferira zaposlitev delavca zgolj na podlagi dejstva, da ima slovensko državljanstvo.

PROTIKRIZNI UKREPI KOT UKREPI PROTI MIGRANTOM

Vlada RS je na aktualno gospodarsko in socialno recesijo odgovorila s sprejetjem ukrepov za preprečevanje in omejevanje dela migrantov iz »tretjih držav« ob odsotnosti socialno usmerjenih mehanizmov. Medtem ko so kvote do leta 2008 iz leta v leto naglo naraščale, se je to leta 2009 spremenilo: Vlada je še leta 2008 razpisala kvoto 32.000 dovoljenj, leta 2009 24.000, v letu 2010 pa se je število prepopolovilo na 12.000.

Število brezposelnih v Sloveniji je naraslo, med migranti v še večji meri. Še zlasti ranljivi so delavci migranti, ki so v Sloveniji na začasnem delu ali delo opravljajo na podlagi pogodb za določen čas. Uradne statistike so sicer pomanjkljive, saj beležijo le število brezposelnih migrantov, ki imajo pravico, da se prijavijo na Zavodu za zaposlovanje. To

Sloveniji. Pogoj za zaposlitev za osebno delovno dovoljenje z veljavnostjo treh let pa je, da je bil migrant zadnji dve leti pred vložitvijo vloge neprekinjeno zaposlen pri istem delodajalcu.

¹⁰ Po veljavnih določilih Zakona o zaposlovanju in delu tujcev (gl. člen 10.b) mora biti delavec za pridobitev osebnega delovnega dovoljenja dve leti neprekinjeno zaposlen pri istem delodajalcu. Po zadnjem predlogu (maj 2010) bi moral biti delavec pred pridobitvijo osebnega delovnega dovoljenja, ki omogoča nekoliko boljši položaj na trgu dela, v državi neprekinjeno zaposlen 22 mesecev, ne glede na delodajalca. Predvidena sprememba še vedno določa (pre)dolgo dobo in menjava delodajalca je vse prej kot lahka. Bolj verjetno kot to, da bo delavcu uspelo zamenjati delodajalca in ohraniti neprekinjeno zaposlitev toliko časa, je, da bo moral zapustiti Slovenijo, ker mu bo potekel vizum, ali pa bo ostal v državi brez ustreznih dovoljenj.

pa so le tisti z osebnim delovnim dovoljenjem ali s stalnim dovoljenjem za bivanje. Ker imajo številni migranti dovoljenja za zaposlitev ali delo in zgolj začasna dovoljenja za bivanje, mnogo tistih, ki izgubijo zaposlitev, izpade iz uradnih statistik, posledično pa se ustvarja vtis, da je problem brezposelnosti migrantov minimalen, saj so uradni statistični deleži zelo nizki. Uradne statistike ne upoštevajo, da se morajo migranti, ki jim preneha delovno razmerje, brezposelni vrniti v svojo državo rojstva, saj jim z delovnim dovoljenjem preneha veljati tudi dovoljenje za bivanje. Brezposelni in brez kakršnihkoli pravic do finančnega nadomestila zaradi izgube dela ter z minimalnimi možnostmi za izterjavo neizplačanih obveznosti, so migranti z izgubo dela in pravice do bivanja prisiljeni zapustiti Slovenijo. Obenem takšne razmere proizvajajo nedokumentirane migrante; ker se mnogi ne morejo vrniti, v državi ostanejo nelegalno in delajo na črno. V brezpravnem položaju in strahu pred izgonom so ranljivi in izpostavljeni še večjim izkoriščanjem delodajalcev.

V prvi polovici junija 2009 je slovenska vlada sprejela Uredbo o omejitvah in prepovedih zaposlovanja in dela tujcev, ki prepoveduje izdajanje novih dovoljenj za sezonsko delo, razen za sezonsko delo v kmetijstvu in gozdarstvu. Uredba je prinesla prepoved sezonskega migrantskega dela v gradbeništvo in turizmu, sektorjih, ki v veliki meri zaposlujeta migrante. Uredba je tudi omejila zaposlovanje migrantov s Kosova in prepovedala izdajo dovoljenja za delo za zastopnike, tujce s prebivališčem na območju Kosova, ki nimajo dovoljenja za bivanje v Sloveniji. Problematičnost omenjenega ukrepa je predvsem v tem, da daje pravno podlago za omejevanje in prepovedovanje zaposlovanja glede na nacionalnost, zaradi česar bi uredba morala biti prepoznana kot ukrep, ki je v nasprotju s slovensko ustavo. Uredba omejuje tudi zaposlovanje žensk migrantk iz »tretjih držav«, saj prepoveduje izdajo dovoljenja za zaposlitev delodajalcem za poklice iz zabavnega in umetniškega programa v nočnih lokalih, kjer se večinoma zaposlujejo ženske, ki za vstop v državo potrebujejo vizum. Po utemeljitvi naj bi se z ukrepom zmanjšalo tveganje za spolno izkoriščanje in trgovanje z ljudmi. Raziskave (Pajnik 2008) kažejo, da je učinek takšnih ukrepov običajno ravno nasproten od želenega, da namreč takšne prepovedi ne zaustavijo trgovanja z ljudmi, ampak ženske, ki migrirajo, prisilijo v večja tveganja oziroma jih zaradi nevarnejših poti, na katere se trgovanje preusmeri, izpostavijo večjim nevarnostim in izkoriščanju. V tem primeru se pokaže, da ukrepi, ki uzakonijo prepovedi zaposlovanja, ne morejo imeti pozitivnega učinka na migrantke. O teh bi lahko govorili, če bi uredba predvidevala nasprotno, če bi torej omogočala zaposlovanje žensk migrantk in predpisala programe za zaščito žrtev trgovanja.

Ti ukrepi kažejo, da je prav migrantska populacija tista, ki je prva in najbolj občutila posledice krize v Sloveniji. Protekcionizem vladnih ukrepov kaže tudi na naraščajočo ksenofobijo, saj se med masovnimi odpuščanji in povečano brezposelnostjo v medijih vse pogosteje stigmatizira tujce kot grožnjo »domačemu delavcu« (prim. Kralj 2008). V zadnjem obdobju je opazen tudi porast t. i. domoljubnih skupin in združenj, ki promovirajo nacionalne vrednote »slovenstva« in v nasprotju z zatrjevano toleranco dejansko delujejo izključevalno, celo hujskaško proti vsakršni drugačnosti (predvsem izstopa distanca do Romov, LGBT skupnosti, muslimanov in pripadnikov narodov nekdanje Jugoslavije). Nacionalistični diskurz in rasistični predsodki so neredko prisotni tudi v politični retoriki.

Aprila 2009 je predstavnik Slovenske nacionalne stranke na vlado naslovil pobudo, v kateri je pozval »k pripravi programa racionalizacije zaposlovanja tujih državljanov« in s tem zmanjšanja kvot delovnih dovoljenj. Pobudo je utemeljil, češ da »zaposlovanje tuje delovne sile slabi družbeni bruto proizvod in jemlje še tako potrebna delovna mesta slovenskim državljanom«. ¹¹ Zaskrbljujoče je, da se je vlada na to pobudo odzvala s sprejetjem Uredbe o omejitvah in prepovedih zaposlovanja in dela tujcev.

SOCIALNE POLITIKE IN DRUGORAZREDNOST MIGRANTOV

Intervjuji z migranti potrjujejo neustreznost zapletenih in dolgotrajnih postopkov, ki so jim izpostavljeni državljanji »tretjih držav«, kadar želijo pridobiti vizum, delovno dovoljenje ali dovoljenje za bivanje. Dolgotrajni in zapleteni postopki ob hkratnem pomanjkanju informacij od zaposlovanja migrantov odvrtaajo tudi delodajalce. Postopki trajajo tudi tako dolgo, da se status migrantov vmes spremeni in nekateri izgubijo priložnost za delo. Migranti poročajo tudi o pomanjkanju informacij o prezapletenih postopkih, o neskladjih med uradi, pomanjkanju pravne pomoči in svetovanja, zaradi česar so prepuščeni lastni iznajdljivosti. V intervjujih in fokusni skupini so nekateri poudarili, da bi moralo biti informiranje in svetovanje urejeno tako, da bi jim prihranilo mesece in leta spoznavanja z birokracijo. Omenjali so tudi jezikovne ovire, saj je bila do pred kratkim večina dokumentov in navodil na voljo le v slovenskem jeziku. Poleg racionalizacije postopkov in urejenega informiranja so intervjuvanci kot nujen ukrep poudarili potrebo po izobraževanju uradnikov, ki delajo z migranti, in tudi možnost zaposlovanja migrantov v oddelkih za tujce. To bi pripomoglo k bolj učinkoviti komunikaciji in bi rešilo marsikatero dilemo o dokumentaciji, ki jo morajo migranti pridobiti in je različna od države do države. Eden takih primerov je potrdilo o državljanstvu ali izpisek iz matične ali rojstne knjige, ki ga Slovenija zahteva za ureditev določenih dovoljenj, nekatere države pa takšnega potrdila ne izdajajo. To pomeni, da dokumenta, ki ne obstaja, migranti v državi rojstva ne morejo pridobiti, na uradih pa ga kljub temu zahtevajo.

Izkušnje s terena kažejo na številne kršitve delovne zakonodaje, ki so jim migranti izpostavljeni še bolj kot »domači« delavci. Med pogostejšimi so neplačevanje socialnih prispevkov, kršenje zakonsko določenega 40-urnega delavnika, preprečevanje koriščenja dopusta, neplačevanje malice, regresa in nenazadnje tudi plač oziroma izplačevanje nižjih plač, kot so te določene v pogodbi ali kot je bilo ustno dogovorjeno. Migranti morajo v primerjavi z »domačimi« delavci na enakem delovnem mestu pogosteje opravljati težavnejša dela, dela ob koncu tedna in pogosto neplačane nadure. V prvi polovici leta 2010 je bil tudi medijsko najbolj izpostavljen primer delavcev migrantov, ki delajo v gradbeništvu v izjemno slabih delovnih razmerah, izpostavljeni nevarnostim pri delu, ekstremnim vremenskim razmeram in ki za delo prejemajo izjemno nizko plačilo oziroma so povsem

¹¹ Pobuda Zmaga Jelinčiča z dne 23. 4. 2009 je dostopna na http://www.dz-rs.si/index.php?id=94&auth_or=57&o=10&unid=VPP|553E77B8BAA32267C12575A100252878&showdoc=1 (dostop 17. 8. 2010).

odvisni od samovolje delodajalcev tudi v primeru neizplačanih plač. Ne samo delovne, tudi bivalne razmere so izjemno slabe, zaradi česar se mnogi utrujeni in slabo hranjeni komaj prebijejo čez mesec in v tako slabih razmerah poskušajo vzdrževati še družine v Bosni, Srbiji, Makedoniji ali Črni gori.

Dotadni problem je neučinkovita implementacija zakonodaje, kakor tudi odsotnost sankcioniranja delodajalcev, ki kršijo pravice iz dela. Migranti so v intervjujih potrdili, da obstoječa zakonodaja, zlasti povezanost dovoljenja za bivanje z delovnim dovoljenjem, in oteženi pogoji za pridobitev osebnega delovnega dovoljenja stimilirajo samovoljo delodajalcev, kar med drugim povzroča, da migranti v strahu pred izgubo dela in zaradi grožnje z deportacijo o kršitvah pogosto molčijo.

Lahko se pritožuješ kolikor hočeš, dobil ne boš nič, lahko samo spokaš svoje in, saj veš, kaj mislim ... (Tomislav, 41, Bosna in Hercegovina, strojnik, FS)¹²

On [delodajalec] ti je dolžan dve plači za, za vizo, ti nimaš vize. On ti ni plačal dveh plač, kam da greš, ne moreš domov, a ne, ampak kje pa dobiš denar, pa hrano, kaj boš jedel ... (Aki, 27, Črna gora, montažer klimatskih naprav, FS)

Da, imam pogodbo za eno leto in delovno dovoljenje. To zdaj v januarju poteče in ne vem, ali mi bodo podaljšali ali ne. Nihče ti nič ne reče do zadnjega dne, kar mislim, da ni fer. Nikoli ne veš do zadnjega dne, bi pa bilo lepo, če bi nam kdo povedal vsaj mesec ali dva prej. To je: »Mi smo zadovoljni s tem, kako delaš, samo ni dela.« Jaz to sprejemem, samo ne pa, da sem do zadnjega dne v situaciji, ko pridejo in mi rečejo, da sedaj me pa ne potrebujejo več. Ampak dobro, ljudje, zakaj ne poveste tega?! Jaz bi si v roku meseca ali dveh našel drugo službo. Tako da ne bi bilo potreba, da se obnašajo do nas kot do majhnih otrok in nam rečejo, da imamo tri dni, da zapustimo Slovenijo, drugače nas bodo aretirali. (Milutin, 49, Srbija, voznik avtobusa)

Migranti pogosto tudi zelo težko dokažejo izobrazbo in delovne izkušnje, pridobljene zunaj Slovenije. Zaradi njihovega nepriznavanja ali kot posledica prezahtevnih in dolgotrajnih postopkov priznavanja izobraževanja mnogi migranti opravljajo dela, ki niti približno ne ustrezajo njihovi izobrazbi; tako višja medicinska delavka denimo dela kot pomivalka posode, diplomirana pravnica pa opravlja gospodinjstva dela. Ni nenavadno, da univerzitetno izobraženi migranti delajo na gradbiščih kot gradbeni delavci ali v drugih nekvalificiranih poklicih. Težave s socialnim in z zdravstvenim varstvom, o katerih poročajo migranti, so povezane z neplačevanjem prispevkov s strani delodajalcev. Zakon o zdravstvenem varstvu in zdravstvenem zavarovanju med zavarovance šteje vse osebe, ki so v delovnem razmerju v Sloveniji, kar omogoča obvezno zdravstveno zavarovanje tudi migrantskim delavcem, in obenem določa, da je zavezanec za plačilo prispevkov pravna oseba, pri kateri je oseba zaposlena. Mnogi delavci migranti šele takrat, ko prvič

¹² Intervjuji so potekali v jezikih, ki so si jih izbrali intervjuvanci; v članku so izseki nekaterih prevedeni v slovenščino. V oklepaju navajamo psevdonim intervjuvanca, starost, državo rojstva in delovni status med intervjujem. Izseki razgovorov iz fokusne skupine so označeni z okrajšavo »FS«.

poiščejo zdravniško pomoč, ugotovijo, da jim delodajalci kljub zakonskim obveznostim in dogovorom niso plačevali prispevkov za zdravstveno zavarovanje ali pa so bila vplačila nižja od dogovorjenega zneska oziroma migrantom zaračunajo več ali odtegnejo od plače več, kot so dejansko odvedli za zavarovanje.

Po omenjenem zakonu sta nujna zdravstvena pomoč in oskrba brezplačni za vse ljudi, in to neodvisno od urejenega zdravstvenega zavarovanja. V praksi, kot je v intervjuju pojasnila socialna delavka (Pajnik idr. 2006), se je izkazalo, da vsi zdravstveni delavci ne poznajo tega določila in tako zavrnejo oskrbo nezavarovane osebe ali pa po zdravljenju zahtevajo plačilo računa pred odpustom iz bolnišnice. Primeri iz prakse so tudi pokazali na potrebo po širši opredelitvi brezplačne zdravstvene pomoči zaradi problematičnosti arbitrarnega presojanja o tem, kateri primer je nujen in kateri ne. Dodatna ovira je tudi jezik; mnogi migranti ne obvladajo slovenščine, administrativni delavci pa ne njihovega jezika, pojavljajo se tudi primeri neenakega obravnavanja zaradi nepoznavanja slovenščine.

In sem prišla na občino, ker sem si sama urejala papirje, ker on [mož] je voznik tovornjaka in ga ni bilo v Sloveniji. In sem govorila na jugoslovanskem jeziku, da sem pač Ukrajinka in ne znam slovensko, znam pa tako. In ji začnem razlagati [uslužbenki]. Pa še priimek je imela takšen jugoslovanski. In mi je rekla: »Gospa, jaz vas ne razumem,« da ne bo govorila, da naj pridem s prevajalcem. (Kristina, 27, Ukrajina, brezposelna)

Vprašanje jezika je povezano tudi z Uredbo o integraciji (2008), ki je pomanjkljiva zaradi neupoštevanja dejanskih potreb migrantov in migrantk ter izključevanja upravičencev do programov integracije na podlagi diferenciacije njihovih statusov. Tako Uredba kot tudi predlagana Uredba o spremembah in dopolnitvah Uredbe o integraciji tujcev (september 2010) sta omejeni zgolj na elemente prilagajanja tujcev slovenski družbi ob odsotnosti hkratne enakovredne pripravljenosti za medkulturno učenje in širše razumevanje integracije. Izkušnje s terena potrjujejo, da bi bilo treba omogočiti brezplačno udeležbo na jezikovnih tečajih in v programih seznanjanja s slovensko zgodovino, kulturo in ustavno ureditvijo vsem tujcem, ki to želijo, brez omejevanja glede na status bivanja ali državljanstvo. Še več, udeležba na tečajih bi jim morala biti zagotovljena takoj po prihodu v državo. Ob trenutni ureditvi se zastavlja vprašanje, ali so tečaji organizirani tako fleksibilno, da omogočajo udeležbo vsem zainteresiranim (delavci, ki ves dan delajo, se tečaja lahko udeležijo le v večernih urah). Zakonodaja obenem pozablja na vse tiste migrante, ki so se osnov jezika naučili samoiniciativno in bi se jim moralo omogočiti učenje jezika na višji, ne zgolj na osnovni ravni, saj bi to vsaj formalno omogočalo večje možnosti migrantov tudi pri integraciji na trg dela.

Pravice iz naslova socialnega varstva so v glavnem odvisne od vrste delovnega dovoljenja in še zlasti omejene za imetnike dovoljenja za delo in dovoljenja za zaposlitev. Migranti, ki plačujejo prispevke in davke, tako pogosto ne morejo uveljavljati pravic iz socialnega varstva. Pravico, da se prijavijo na Zavodu za zaposlovanje, imajo zgolj migranti z osebnim delovnim dovoljenjem, za pravico do prejema nadomestila v primeru

brezposelnosti pa je potrebno celo dovoljenje za stalno bivanje. Le migranti z določenim statusom so torej lahko vključeni v programe za aktivno iskanje zaposlitve in se udeležujejo različnih tečajev, ki jih Zavod organizira za brezposelne osebe. V primeru izgube zaposlitve se morajo delavci zgolj s pravico do začasnega bivanja vrniti v državo rojstva. S prekinitvijo dela jim preneha veljati tudi dovoljenje za bivanje, s tem pa tudi vsaka pravna možnost za uveljavljanje kakršnihkoli pravic, predvsem pravice do koriščenja plačanih prispevkov.

Intervjuvanci so opozarjali na izjemno slabe bivalne razmere, v katerih živijo zlasti gradbeni delavci in delavci, ki opravljajo druga dela, za katera ni potrebna kvalifikacija, kot tudi nekatere migrantke, ki delajo v nočnih lokalih, in žrtve trgovanja z ljudmi. Nekateri so poročali, da so bili v stanovanjih, sobah oziroma zabojskih brez tople vode ali elektrike, brez kuhinje in kopalnice, majhne in pretesne prostore pa so delili z več drugimi. Za nedostojne bivanjske razmere so plačevali velike vsote oziroma so jim največkrat delodajalci sami od plač odtegnili previsoke stroške za najemnino. Migrantom je pogosto kršena pravica do izbire stanovanja, dodatna težava je v tem, da kljub Pravilniku o minimalnih tehničnih zahtevah za graditev stanovanjskih stavb in stanovanj zakonodaja za migrante ne določa minimalnih pogojev bivanja, kar pomeni, da lahko najemodajalci oddajajo v najem stanovanja, ki niso vredna dostojnega življenja.¹³

Stanovanja so najslabša recimo po samskih domovih, a več [...] To so, to je katastrofa živa ... Nula, kar se tiče higijene, to je nula, to je nič. Kar se tiče upravnikov samskih domov, nič od njih, ampak vsak plača, samski dom te pride recimo, ena postelja te pride recimo 120 evrov. Ampak v sobi imaš štiri ljudi, recimo to je 480 evrov, ena soba za 480 evrov. Jaz mislim, da za 480 evrov bi lahko ... Ampak za teh 480 evrov oni nimajo nikakršnih pogojev. [...] In poleg samskih domov imaš potem še ljudi, ki spijo po kontejnerjih, v kontejnerjih spijo, to je živa muka [...] Nima pogojev, enostavno človek nima pogojev, da bi bil urejen. Enostavno nima pogojev. Saj on ne more biti urejen, če pa nima redno svojega tuširanja, če nima redno svojega spanja, če nima svoje redne čistoče. Ne more biti, recimo, en kuhalnik tak električni za kuhanje, pa ne more en kuhalnik poskrbeti za kuhanje za sto ljudi, ne more. (Fikret, 40, Bosna in Hercegovina, gradbinec)

Poleg tega obstoječa stanovanjska zakonodaja migrantom ne omogoča najema socialnih ali neprofitnih stanovanj v lasti države, občin ali Stanovanjskega sklada. Državljeni »tretjih držav« v Sloveniji tudi ne morejo kupiti nepremičnine. Udeleženci fokusne skupine so dali pobudo za spremembo zakonodaje, ki državljanom »tretjih držav« ne dovoljuje nakupa nepremičnin.¹⁴ Predlagali so, da bi zakon nakup omogočal vsaj na podlagi sklenjenih bilateralnih sporazumov z državami, iz katerih migranti prihajajo. Tako bi spre-

¹³ Novost je pravna podlaga za urejanje nastanitve tujcev, saj je pripravljena uredba, ki bo določala minimalne standarde, od velikosti prostorov do števila toalet, vendar še ni bila sprejeta (september 2010).

¹⁴ Tujci lahko na podlagi 68. člena ustave pridobivajo lastninsko pravico na nepremičninah zgolj pod pogoji, ki jih določata zakon ali mednarodna pogodba, ki jo ratificira državni zbor. Tako je omogo-

menili aktualne razmere, ko se morajo migranti, ki želijo postati lastniki nepremičnine, odpovedati svojemu državljanstvu in prevzeti slovenskega ali pa, na primer, lastništvo nepremičnine prenesejo na sorodnike s slovenskim državljanstvom.

Naštete pomanjkljivosti veljavne zakonodaje se med drugim odražajo tudi v različnih odzivnih praksah migrantov in migratk, ki se za pomoč pri, na primer, zapletenih birokratskih predpisih pogosto lahko obrnejo zgolj na svoje prijatelje ali sorodnike, ki so podobne upravne postopke že uspešno prestali.

Ampak, evo nazadnje sem šla nekaj urejati. Ne zase, za svojega prijatelja, ker vem točno, kaj rabi. Sem zrihtala vso dokumentacijo in sva prišla tja in so začeli komplicirati, da ni to to in da rabijo nekaj drugega. Če ne bi jaz natanko vedela, da rabi to in da nič več ne rabijo, a ne, in sem vztrajala, da pokličejo načelnika ali nekoga, da razloži, da jaz imam prav, a ne, in sem zato uredila s prijateljem. Drugače bi naju kar poslali stran in sploh ne bi vedela (nasmeh) kaj zdaj, kam naj se obrnem. (Olga, 28, Ukrajina, brezposelna)

Samoorganizacija in neformalne mreže pomoči so pomembna strategija spoprijemanja s težavami, na katere naletijo migranti, še zlasti v razmerah recesije in množičnega odpuščanja. Kot pogosta strategija preživetja se tako pokaže vztrajanje mnogih migrantov v slabih delovnih, tudi bivanjskih razmerah, saj so v strahu pred izgubo zaposlitve prisiljeni ostati pri istem delodajalcu do izteka dveh let, ko po veljavni zakonodaji večina šele lahko zaprosi za osebno delovno dovoljenje.

SKLEP

Sodobne migracije so povezane z internacionalizacijo trga dela in globalizacijo trga dobrin ter storitev, ki pospešeno potekajo tudi pod vplivom informacijskih in komunikacijskih tehnologij. Predvsem velike razlike v gospodarski razvitosti med državami, iskanje ustrežnejšega življenjskega okolja v smislu večje stabilnosti na političnem, ekonomskem, socialnem, zdravstvenem in izobraževalnem področju so glavni spodbujevalci migracij v države EU. Vse bolj realni postajajo dvomi, ali bo EU zaradi staranja prebivalstva, manjše stopnje delovno aktivnega prebivalstva oziroma pomanjkanja delovne sile v prihodnosti sposobna doseči pričakovano stopnjo učinkovitosti in konkurenčnosti gospodarstva, kar si zadaja kot cilj razvojnih politik. V tem kontekstu se zdi, da bi bile učinkovitejša migracijske politike, ki bi izhajale iz omogočanja in ne preprečevanja in omejevanja migracij.

Rečeno z Badioujem je migracijska in integracijska politika zasnovana na predpostavki o obstoju več svetov, s čimer neenakosti na globalni ravni ne razrešuje, ampak jih reproducira. Udejanjanje imperativa, da obstaja en sam svet živečih ljudi (Badiou 2008), bi v kontekstu migracij pomenilo sprejemanje ravno nasprotnih ukrepov, kot se sprejemajo

čen nakup državljanom EU, EGP, Švice, ZDA in državljanom kandidatk za EU članstvo, če obstaja vzajemnost. Državljanji Ukrajine in Rusije, na primer, te pravice nimajo.

danes. Zlasti gre za potrebo po obratu od politik preprečevanja in omejevanja k politikam omogočanja in globalne odgovornosti. V praksi bi to pomenilo politike izenačevanja in ne diferenciacije migrantskih delavcev od delavcev, pripadnikov etnične večine. Migracijski in integracijski ukrepi v državah EU ne ustvarjajo razmer, po katerih bi bosanski ali afriški delavec pripadal istemu svetu kot pripadnik večine v nekem prostoru in tako spodbujajo imperativ o globalni odgovornosti in pripadnosti enemu svetu.

V članku smo pokazale, da migracijske politike v Sloveniji, ki jih nekateri definirajo za bolj restriktivne in primerljive z migracijskim modelom južnoevropskih držav, potreb migrantov in migrantk ne upoštevajo dovolj. Politike s področja dela in zaposlovanja primarno izhajajo iz potrebe po zaščiti nacionalnega trga dela in se v kriznem obdobju še bolj intenzivno oblikujejo na podlagi imperativa o zaščiti »domačega« delavca (pred migranti). Politike trga dela, ki uravnavajo delo migrantov, praviloma ne slonijo na vnaprej pripravljenih analizah, ampak se oblikujejo kot *ad hoc* mehanizmi in so zato za migrante največkrat škodljivi, vprašljiv pa je tudi njihov domnevno pozitiven učinek na slovensko gospodarstvo. Podatki za nekatere evropske države kažejo, da zapiranje nacionalnega trga dela za migrante praviloma ne povzroča povečevanja zaposlovanja domačih delavcev; večina migrantov namreč opravlja dela, tradicionalno nezanimiva za »domače« delavce, na primer v gradbeništvu, tekstilni industriji, gostinstvu, ter gospodinjska in skrbstvena dela.

V besedilu smo kritično ovrednotile nekatere politike s področja migrantskega dela, med njimi sistem kvot in aktualno ureditev delovnih dovoljenj, ki migrante prepušča samovolji delodajalca in jih prikrajšuje za številne socialne pravice. Opozorile smo, da protikrizni ukrepi, ki so usmerjeni v domnevno zaščito nacionalnega trga dela, dodatno otežujejo življenje migrantov in jih postavljajo v neenak položaj v primerjavi z »domačimi« delavci. Intervjuji z migranti kažejo na potrebo po migracijskih in integracijskih politikah, ki bi presegle potrebo po enosmernem prilagajanju migrantov in bi bile zasnovane kot večsmerni proces učenja. Enosmernost aktualnih politik se kaže v tem, da za pridobitev različnih dovoljenj zahtevajo prilagajanje migrantov, ki večinoma zgolj odgovarjajo na potrebe trga dela in opravljajo težka, tudi nevarna in slabo plačana dela. Poleg tega obstoječe integracijske politike in postopek naturalizacije od njih pričakujejo, da se naučijo jezika, opravijo test poznavanja ustave, zgodovine in kulture, ipd., ne vključujejo pa programov medkulturnega učenja. Politike so tudi primarno zasnovane na nacionalni ravni in jim umanjka programov na lokalnih, občinskih ravneh, kjer komunikacija dejansko poteka.

Kljub temu da je v Sloveniji v zadnjih letih prišlo do določenih sprememb v zakonodaji, ki naj bi olajšale postopke pridobivanja dovoljenj za bivanje in delo tujcev, ostaja področje zaposlovanja državljanov »tretjih držav« restriktivno in kratkoročno usmerjeno v zaščito nacionalnega trga dela in »domačega« delavca. Delavci migranti so tako razumljeni predvsem kot prehodna, krožna delovna sila, ki naj se zgolj prilagaja potrebam slovenskega gospodarstva. Socialne politike migrante, ki bivajo v državi na podlagi začasnih dovoljenj, pogosto povsem izključijo ali pa je razkorak med zakonodajo in dejanskim izvajanjem določil v praksi prevelik. Analize kažejo na potrebo po pozitivnem vrednotenju migracijskih trendov, kar je v nasprotju z aktualnimi razmerami, ko se migrante najprej obravnava kot grožnjo nacionalnemu gospodarstvu. Treba je zagotoviti učinkovito zaščito

pravic migrantskih delavcev, kar na primer pomeni preseganje tega, da so iz dela izhajajoče pravice odvisne od določenega statusa. Predvsem pa analiza obstoječih politik in naracije migrantov kažejo na potrebo po dolgoročnem načrtovanju in oblikovanju takšnih politik, ki bodo upoštevale položaj in potrebe migrantskih delavcev.

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SUMMARY

MIGRANTS IN THE LABOUR MARKET IN SLOVENIA

Mojca Pajnik, Veronika Bajt, Sanja Herič

Many migrants from “third countries” are recruited to the European Union labour markets for unskilled labour, often with no regard to their actual skills and education. They contribute to the growth of the EU economy by filling in positions that are unattractive to the “domestic” workforce, responding to job demands where many are exposed to abuse, violations of contracts or exploitation in the informal market. The article responds to these challenges by considering precarious labour market positions of “third country” migrants in Slovenia. Based on the analysis of policies that regulate employment and work of “foreigners”, and assessing recent anti-crisis measures and social policies, we argue that current policies, which aim to protect the national labour market, exacerbate the poor work and life conditions of migrants. “Third country nationals” are especially prone to encounter labour market positions with weak or no social protection, they frequently experience deskilling, language barriers and discrimination. By drawing on biographical narrative

interviews and focus group with “third country” migrants in Slovenia, the article critically addresses working and living conditions of migrants and also offers recommendations for policy change in view of adaptability to the actual needs of migrant men and women.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING: REFLECTIONS ON THE SLOVENIAN CASE

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ABSTRACT

Human Rights and Human Trafficking: Reflections on the Slovenian Case²

The article is based on the paradigm of human rights as the basis for formulating policies against global trafficking in human beings. As a rule, the responses of national policies and intergovernmental organizations involve a migration management strategy based on restrictive border regimes, quotas, and other mechanisms to limit the inflow of migrants and regularize their stay. Instead of the preferred regulatory approach, aimed at protecting the national state, this paper advances human rights protection for the victims of organized criminal activities. "Modern slavery" requires greater sensitization of global policies and commitment to the protection and rights of vulnerable individuals. The paper calls for individualized and gender-specific treatment of human trafficking victims, in particular sex industry victims.

Keywords: human rights, trafficking in human beings, migration, victim's perspective, the case of Slovenia

IZVLEČEK

Človekove pravice in trgovanje z ljudmi: Refleksije študije primera Slovenije

Članek temelji na paradigmi človekovih pravic kot ključnem izhodišču pri oblikovanju politik preprečevanja globaliziranega trgovanja z ljudmi. Odzivi nacionalnih politik in medvladnih organizacij so praviloma usmerjeni k upravljanju z migracijami, slednje pa temelji na restriktivnih mejnih režimih, kvotah in drugih omejevalnih mehanizmih vstopa in regularizacije bivanja imigrantov. Tekst nasproti sistemskemu pristoru, ki preferira varovanje nacionalne države, izpostavlja varovanje človekovih pravic žrtev organiziranega kriminala. »Novodobno suženjstvo« zahteva večjo senzibilizacijo svetovnih politik in usmerjenost k zaščiti in pravi-

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² An earlier version of this article appeared as a part of the conference "Trafficking of Women in Post-Communist Europe," April 18, 2008 at Stanford University, USA. I am very grateful to Katherine Jolluck for the invitation to the conference and especially for her helpful comments and suggestions on an earlier version of this paper. The second phase of my research on trafficking in women was carried out in the framework of the project "Professional Bases, Strategies and Theoretical Frameworks of Education for Intercultural Relations and Active Citizenship" at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU), Slovenian Migration Institute in Ljubljana.

cam ranljivega posameznika/-ice. Besedilo poudarja individualizirano in spolno specifično obravnavo žrtev trgovanja z ljudmi, zlasti žrtev v spolni industriji.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: človekove pravice, trgovanje z ljudmi, migracije, perspektiva žrtve, primer Slovenije

INTRODUCTION

Human trafficking is present as a global migration trend in a number of countries of origin, transit, and destination. Particularly in the last decade, combating human trafficking from, through, or to specific countries or regions has become a major priority in most countries, irrespective of their geographical position, political or other orientation. Some areas or countries are denoted as being typically or primarily countries of origin; in the European context these are the Balkan and Eastern European countries. Other countries can be classified as typical transit countries on the route to the migrants' destination – Western Europe. A fact deserving more research attention than defining the status of individual countries (which can change: transit countries can become countries of origin or destination countries, destination countries can turn into transit countries etc.) is that human trafficking is a crucial issue in human rights protection.

Let's take a look at this phenomenon in terms of figures or, better, available estimates. The number of victims is large. The International Organization for Migration provides the following comprehensive data: "Although the global scale of human trafficking is difficult to quantify, as many as 800,000 people may be trafficked across international borders annually, with many more trafficked within the borders of their own countries."³ Several experts, analysts, and non-governmental organizations believe that the actual figures are considerably higher. Human trafficking is obviously a fast-growing criminal industry and strategies at the level of preventing human trafficking and providing assistance to its victims are crucial.⁴

The topic of this paper is trafficking in human beings with an emphasis on the future prospects of human rights protection. This point of departure is the only legitimate one in order to individualize the issue of human trafficking, and to focus on the individual victims of modern "white slavery", as described by a number of authors (e.g. Petra de Vries). From the historical perspective, trafficking in women has largely been a prostitution-related issue; as suggested by Petra de Vries (2003), the late 19th and early 20th centuries already saw the use of terms like the 'white slave trade' and 'white slavery campaign'. Contempo-

³ IOM, <http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/counter-trafficking> (1 Jan. 2010).

⁴ Referring to the IOM's anti-trafficking activities, it should be noted that the IOM has been working actively to counter trafficking in persons since 1997; in this period, nearly 500 projects were implemented in 85 countries, providing direct assistance to several thousands of trafficked persons (see more in: *The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking*, 2007). This data is important in terms of existing know-how, although it is evident that many other players, especially NGOs, have a crucial role in assisting victims or survivors of trafficking.

rary discussions often employ the term ‘modern slavery’, directly referring to the living conditions and circumstances in which trafficked women work and live, and indirectly referring to the attitude toward the victims, i.e. the perception and social construction of human trafficking. Firstly, because of the elements of coercion and exploitation in the victim’s life; victims are frequently forced to engage in prostitution, and their freedom of choice is thus taken away from them; they work in ‘isolation’, are supervised and coerced by threats and violence, and receive meagre or no payment. Secondly, because of the attitudes other social participants adopt towards the victims; among the most significant is the attitude of the state and its specialized agencies for migration issues, gender relations, gender discrimination, and human rights.

In this article, we first draw attention to the urgent need for anti-trafficking policies to focus on the victims, as well as on individualized and gender-specific treatment.

In the past decade, sociological studies have pointed to the diverse dimensions of trafficking in human beings, establishing that most of this organized criminal activity is highly gender specific, e.g. sex trafficking involving primarily women and children (adolescent women). Trafficking in women for the purpose of sexual exploitation, in particular for prostitution, was initially dealt with in the studies of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), presenting case studies in particular crisis areas, e.g. the Balkans and regions or countries which are a major source of sex-trafficking victims, e.g. Romania, Ukraine, Moldavia⁵ etc. As noted in this paper, these studies mainly pointed out the issue’s basic dimensions, trafficking routes, causes of migration, and the methods used to recruit migrants/future victims. Academic research followed suit with some delay, but provided better contextualization and, in particular, a basis for action policies by placing trafficking in human beings in the context of modern migration trends, indicating that neither restrictive border policies nor carefully considered entry regulations can put a stop to the individual migration projects of migrants and their aspirations.

Research into trafficking in human beings falls within the domain of several disciplines and a variety of approaches. It seems that a range of disciplines have addressed human trafficking within the academic tradition, including sociology, geography, political and gender sciences, as well as various cross-sections of the mentioned disciplines. In my opinion, gender theory and political science in particular can provide a useful perspective by focusing first on gendered migrations and the central position of the victim and, subsequently, on the issues of the sovereign state, entry, freedom of movement, and borders. Such an intersection of gender theory and international relations was suggested by Jacqueline Berman (2003) – and is discussed below – in terms of common points of departure for research into trafficking in women. There seem to be two diametrically opposite approaches to the treatment of human trafficking, both in academic research

⁵ See more in the following studies: IOM: *Vulnerability to Trafficking in Human Beings of Young Female Population in Romania*, Bucharest, 1999; IOM: *Research on Trafficking in Unaccompanied Minors for Sexual Exploitation in the European Union*, Brussels: 2001; IOM: *Victims of Trafficking in the Balkans. A Study of Trafficking in Women and Children for Sexual Exploitation to, through and from the Balkans Region*, Vienna: 2001.

and the production of policies: the first approach is regulatory, the second individualized (illustrated below in arguments by Jordan, Berman, Zavratnik, Pajnik, Hopkins, Nijboer). The regulatory approach stems from the aspect of security – protecting the “national body” from migrants, in particular female migrants, who cross national boundaries and, as participants in the sex industry, moral boundaries as well. The protection of countries and national systems against the immigrant “time bomb”, as termed in the language of biopolitics, is the basic mechanism of migration management. From this position, the individualized perception of a person as a victim of organized criminal activity falls critically short. States clearly set their migration policies with a view to provide a selection mechanism for a global population policy. In general, population movements are limited by restrictive border regimes, but selection mechanisms are further introduced for migrants who have already entered the country (e.g. deportation of “unwanted immigrants”, readmission agreements, etc.). All these mechanisms support the regulatory approach, but at the expense of an individualized approach to the treatment of victims. Such mechanisms are in fact aimed at removing the perceived threat to the system instead of providing prompt treatment, protection and assistance to the victims of organized criminal activities.

In the Slovenian context, the first comprehensive study on trafficking in women was carried out by the IOM Office and the Peace institute in Ljubljana in 2003 (Zavratnik et al. 2003). In the assessment study “Where in the Puzzle: Trafficking From, To and Through Slovenia”, the questions posed at the beginning of the research process concerned the international and local contexts in which the processes of human trafficking take place (origin, transit and destination areas), the structure and extent of the phenomenon in the Slovene environment, related governmental policies, and the responses of other participants in the field of international and non-governmental organizations. In addition, the study concentrated on the perception of trafficking in women among different public groups, from ‘general’ public opinions to those of narrower groups, including the secondary school population. Last but not least, given that the media have played the most significant role in publicizing the phenomenon, the research framework concentrated on media constructions of human trafficking, traffickers, and their victims. Regarding methodology, various data collection techniques were used: descriptive data and reviews of existing data collected at the national level and in European countries, interviews with key officials dealing with human trafficking in Slovenia, interviews with victims of trafficking (at the time the study was carried out, no victim of trafficking had been identified in Slovenia). Interviews with victims – 15 altogether – were provided by governmental, non-governmental, domestic, and international sources. In Slovenia, the interviews with victims of trafficking were conducted by a member of the research team. One of the authors’ key emphases is that due consideration should be given to integration strategies to be provided by the state for the benefit of the victims. It may be noted that, so far, such victim-centred approach has remained underutilized in practice.

In this paper, many cases refer specifically to the sexual exploitation of migrant women; foreigners forced to engage in prostitution. It is important to understand that in certain respects trafficking in women and prostitution are closely connected and inter-

twined; however, the paper does not explore this correlation in detail. Reflecting on the Slovenian case, this aspect of trafficking in women is the core issue, analysed in detail already in the 2003 study. In order to avoid any misunderstandings, it is essential to note at this early point that focusing on women's perspectives in human trafficking implies gender-specific research, without claiming in any way that the victims of sex trafficking are exclusively women.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING: A HUMAN-RIGHTS CENTRED APPROACH

In their introduction to a special issue of the journal *International Migration* entitled 'Rights of Migrants', Reginald Appleyard and Patrick Taran (2002) note that mobility processes have advanced from being peripheral issues published on the back pages of newspapers to the front pages of global reporting. The authors suggest that despite the recent rapid shift, the position of migrants, immigrants and refugees as individuals has received consideration merely in the form of footnotes to numerous political debates, government sessions, and academic contributions. Discourse on human rights entered the migration debate relatively late, and according to analysts of migration processes it was actually influenced by media reports on tragic deaths in smuggling or trafficking migrants, abuse of women and children in the sex industry, forced labour at large construction sites, in restaurants, etc. In recent years, human rights have become the framework that exerts the most significant influence on the formation of migration policies at various levels, governmental, inter-governmental, as well as non-governmental. From the perspective of the protection of human rights, Appleyard and Taran remind us of the fundamental principle developed in the fifty-year tradition of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

...human rights are universal (they apply everywhere), indivisible (political and civil rights cannot be separated from social and cultural rights); and inalienable (they cannot be denied to any human beings). However, their de facto extension to many vulnerable groups has been a long and difficult process, by no means complete. Migrants and indigenous persons, in particular, experience strong resistance to recognition of their human rights. (Appleyard and Taran 2002: 3)

The implementation of this fundamental principle, in particular from the perspective of vulnerable groups and individuals within these groups, is undoubtedly a long and sensitive process, subject to very diverse influences, ranging from momentary or coincidental factors, such as the short-term political priorities of political parties, which are either more or less favourably disposed toward migrants, to arguments related specifically to demographic trends and developmental changes in economies.

Additional significance should be attributed to the approach that recognizes human rights as a framework for implementing policies in the broader field of migration, not exclusively or primarily related to forced migration, where the protection of human rights

serves as a logical starting point.⁶ Regardless of the approach used in the treatment of migration, whether based on political, economic, cultural, or other criteria, the concept of human rights today provides a framework that can no longer be circumvented by migration policies and debates, not to mention that migration has become a highly politicized question, calling for political responses at the local and global levels. A significant step toward the protection of the rights of migrants was made by the 1990 Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families; the Convention does not reduce migration to the field of the labour market, but takes into account the broader aspect of everyday life. Regardless of the status they are accorded or granted by individual states, the spirit of the Convention implies that migrants shall be recognized as social entities, as people who exist beyond the labour market. The text gave ‘more face’ to the migrants who work and pay taxes; the shift concerns the guest worker, who has become a neighbour, consumer, lover, member of a soccer club, family father, etc. Another significant element introduced by the Convention is the consideration of migrants together with their families. Furthermore, the Convention also introduced consideration of the rights of all immigrants, including ‘undocumented’ migrants, who are or should be the starting point for the formation of policies acknowledging equal treatment for migrants and their families, without excluding ‘undocumented’ migrants for being ‘illegal immigrants’, ‘foreigners without citizenship’ or ‘temporary guests’.

The recent situation in the field of policy responses of different agencies to human trafficking on global and local levels is illustrated in an analysis by Mojca Pajnik:

Although the majority of contemporary international conventions, protocols and agreements refer to the protection of human rights, it is “illegal” migrations and organized crime that are still the imperatives for governmental as well as non-governmental campaigns against human trafficking. Under the growing pressure of restrictive migration policies, human trafficking is also increasingly becoming an “illegal” migration phenomenon. [...] “Illegal” entry into a country and unregistered residence are criminalized, while migrants’ experiences (not considered active citizen practices) are not receiving any serious attention. Anti-trafficking policies create a situation in which the state becomes a victim of human trafficking and of the migrants who cross its borders and the individuals who assist them. (Pajnik 2008: 84)

At this point, the debate on human trafficking cannot ignore the “biopolitical dimension” and the question of managing and directing the human lives of migrants, including trafficked persons. Jacqueline Berman analyzes Michel Foucault’s notion of biopower in the context of migration management, arguing that:

...the narratives surrounding human trafficking often include biopolitical language,

⁶ Practical policies as responses to forced migrations derive from the concept of human rights protection and refer to the regulation of refugee status, asylum legislation, institute of temporary protection, etc.

describing it as an “epidemic,” an “HIV time bomb,” [...] These images seem to demand a response to trafficking that can manage people metaphorized into bodily and biological threats to the “body” of the nation and citizenry. Thus narratives once again seem to be engaged in engendering panic as well as obscuring how receiving countries are themselves implicated in a global flow of peoples that maintains global inequalities and benefits. (Berman: 2010: 89)

Berman (2010) shows that migration management, including responses to trafficked persons, involves the surveillance, discipline, and control of populations through the marking of individual bodies. As such, these practices constitute acts of biopolitical management. In Berman’s words: “Migration becomes a contested site at which state control can be performed over borders and bodies in the service of the demands of global security and capital.” (Berman: 2010: 89) Furthermore, the human rights protection approach is crucial to the treatment of human trafficking in relation to the gender dimension. Human trafficking is generally analyzed from viewpoints that focus on concepts of safety, prevention of organized crime, and supervision of borders and migrations, while secondary attention is paid to the victims and the analysis of their position. At this point, it seems that the state (which first considers the victim through the lens of his or her status, i.e. as an undocumented migrant) and the victim (including the recognition that her or his fundamental human rights are violated) have different interests, and this may result in the interest of the state being placed above the interest of the victim; the victim does not actually compete with the interest of the state, but could rather and ideally present an opportunity for essential improvement of the state, to the benefit of both the state and the victim.

The competition of these three aspects – human trafficking as illegal migration, organized crime, and violations of human rights – is discussed by Dutch researchers Ruth Hopkins and Jan Nijboer (2004). They point out that the protection of human rights is clearly stated in international conventions, contracts and treaties, but also that international and national legal systems mainly concentrate on illegal migration and organized crime. A legitimate question (and a key problem for practical implementation) is that of the shift in the practical approach to the benefit of the victims, ensuring that their protection will become more than simply an aesthetic corrigendum to the priority of crime suppression. A further stance of vital importance is that appropriate protection of the rights of victims of human trafficking is not exclusively or largely a matter of adopting adequate legislation; in addition to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, several other binding legal instruments can be cited,⁷ which are not always directly related to the

⁷ Hopkins and Nijboer (2004) suggest that significant documents among these are the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979), the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment (1984), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 (ibid.). The importance of the issue of human rights in migrations is confirmed by the appointment of a special rapporteur of

protection and rights of trafficked victims, but are relevant in the broader context of the protection of vulnerable groups and individuals.

The key problem lies in the fact that the principles provided by these legal instruments can only be implemented consistently in the presence of a positive political culture, i.e. in circumstances where the importance of human rights is recognized and the public is sensitive to their violation. Only efforts toward developing a culture of human rights can bring about higher sensitivity to the protection of vulnerable groups and individuals, as well as the elaboration of adequate instruments for preventing violations of the rights of the most marginalized (including victims of human trafficking, which are often subjected to exclusion at several levels). An illustration of a model case – that of trafficking women for the purpose of exploitation in the sex industry – might be helpful at this point: the victim appears as a ‘complete foreigner’ with no documents, and as a woman employed in the sex industry; she remains invisible as a citizen⁸ or works as a ‘foreign body’. As numerous cases reveal, human rights seem not to be compatible with an ‘illegal immigrant woman’ or ‘prostitute’, and within this perception she can hardly be considered a victim. The recognition of a victim in this context is not only a question of legal interpretation, but also of morals. Trafficked and traded women are frequently participants in the sex industry, simultaneously trespassing not only national but also ‘moral’ boundaries, and thus reinforcing the tendency to perceive them as criminal. In relation to this aspect, Jacqueline Berman (2003) points out the simultaneity of the portrayal of criminals and victims. From the perspective of government policies, the criminal act of trafficking in women is frequently discussed indirectly, often without considering the victim’s human rights, or as Ann Jordan put it:

They view trafficking as a problem of organized crime, migration, and/or prostitution, rather than as a human rights abuse. Thus, advocates bear the burden of educating authorities on the rights and needs of trafficked persons. A particular difficult aspect of this work involves demonstrating to authorities that women who are trafficked into forced prostitution, forced domestic work, and other forms of forced labour should not be deprived of their rights on the grounds that they are undocumented migrants who ‘knew’ what to expect and so deserved what they ‘got’. (Jordan: 2002: 29)

The de-marginalization of human rights, which is thought to have genuinely happened

the UN for the human rights of migrants, which indicates the practical and symbolic demarginalization of an issue that was considered peripheral not long ago.

⁸ When using the term ‘citizenship’, I rely on the conception presented by Marshall (1992) of the triad of civil, political and social rights that provide a concrete starting point for the theoretical structuring of the problem of the exclusion of victims of trafficking. Stephen Castles and Alastair Davidson (2000) expand the model of citizen rights to cultural rights and rights deriving from the gender perspective. Within the context of the analysis of trafficking victims, stances of citizenship as a field of active operations (participation of individuals) – in contrast to explanations considering citizen rights as related to the status of ‘being a citizen’ – emerge as relevant.

in relation to migrants, may provide a significant opportunity for a consistent approach to trafficking in women, focusing on the victim's perspective and introducing individualized experience as the foundation for adequate trafficking prevention policies, as well as victim assistance and protection programs. As suggested by Mojca Pajnik, the media framing of human trafficking in Slovenia adheres to an approach centred on criminality and illegality, without expanding the debate to broader social issues:

Media perspectives on trafficking rehearse and reinforce the assumption that the phenomenon is first and foremost an issue of organized crime, necessitating fighting criminals and saving the victims. Consequently, more complex social and economic circumstances are neglected. Trafficking is framed as a global panic in mediated representations, which helps to construct a context in which the anti-trafficking paradigm is promoted as 'natural' response, one that is necessary for the survival of the nation-state and of the world social order, and that is also in the interest of the victims. (Pajnik 2010: 49)

According to other authors (e.g. Berman's analysis), this approach dominates in most world media reporting. Contemporary media reporting simply seems to agree with the discourse that human trafficking is just another form of crime, and consequently adheres to the paradigm of protecting all citizens through increasingly restrictive border controls. My argument is that this 'systemic' or regulatory approach, as referred to in the introduction to this article, cannot yield efficient answers for contemporary anti-trafficking policies, which should put the victim at the core of policy formulation. In addition to practical policy questions, this viewpoint challenges us to differentiate: Which approaches are necessary? What methodology will enable us to monitor the diversity and dynamics of the phenomenon? How can we establish and sustain contact with vulnerable individual women and men who have become victims of trafficking? Finally, how can we construct a recognized research field of human trafficking that will enable a focused approach, while simultaneously strengthening the specific nature of the recognized disciplines, e.g. gender studies, sociology, economy, international relations, criminology, etc.? The list is not exhaustive, but recent research evidence has provided some guidelines and recommendations.

THE RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE: MARGINALIZE THE VICTIM'S PERSPECTIVE OR FOCUS ON IT?

Research into human trafficking falls within the domain of several disciplines and a variety of approaches. As a rule and given the diversification of information, aspects, emphases, suggestions, and solutions, broad interdisciplinary research has several advantages. Nevertheless, interdisciplinary analyses can result in the absence of a clear anchorage for focused research into a particular phenomenon. Human trafficking often seems to be devoid of such an anchorage. The resulting impression is that the phenomenon is studied

with insufficient focus. Of the various disciplines and their theoretical and methodological approaches, two contribute significantly to a specifically profiled approach to trafficking in women (more than to human trafficking in general): gender studies and studies in international relations (in Jacqueline Berman's terms), or in a broader sense: political science. Although it seems that these two disciplines only rarely coincide, I believe that their meeting points provide an opportunity for developing a focused research perspective. The emphasis should be that combining them unites several key elements: the perspectives of gender and human rights within the contextual framework of global mobility processes and a world divided into sovereign national states. Safety, sovereignty, borders and nation-states are the dominant concepts in the analyses of migration trends; reflecting the real state of affairs in the examined research field, they are not controversial *per se*. What gives reason for concern is the insufficient focus on the gender perspective within the theory of contemporary international relations, as pointed out by Jacqueline Berman:

As many feminist IR theorists have argued, gender and women provide the study of security and sovereignty with an axiomatic frame of analysis. In the case of discourses of sex-trafficking, a gendered frame helps to reveal how the issue of trafficking in women is directly related to the status of the state in international affairs in a globalizing world. Among the many effects of these discourses is an attempt to reinvigorate the state as the defender of 'white' women, punisher of illegal immigrants and criminals and protector of the political community. Despite their central relevance to such fundamental issues in IR as the nation and of globalization as immigration, however, gendered analysis continues to be marginalized, if not ignored, in much of the disciplinary literature. (Berman 2010)

Another point, which has to be introduced or at least briefly mentioned, concerns the debate on prostitution and its close link to trafficking in women. The discourse on prostitution draws one of the principal demarcation lines between voluntary and forced prostitution. The dichotomy has been transferred to the field of human trafficking, or as Zavratnik Zimic and Pajnik suggest, to trafficking in women and the victim's perspective:

The differentiation between 'forced' and 'voluntary' prostitution was applied in the field of trafficking in women, which deepened the marginalization of the victim. In contemporary analyses, this controversial differentiation applied to the field of trafficking in women results in diverting attention from a serious treatment of the position of the victim. The inclusion of trafficking into the context of voluntary migration or even voluntary sex labour contributes to an emphasized treatment of trafficking in women as criminal acts while not paying adequate attention to the treatment of the position of the victim, the question of victimization. In addition, at the practical level it does not trigger the need for the implementation of victim protection and integration programs. (Zavratnik Zimic and Pajnik 2005)

Some aspects of the dichotomy between voluntary and forced prostitution are remi-

niscent of aspects inherent to the issue of legal and illegal migration. Ironically, human trafficking often involves both. The emphasis is on the possibility of choice, although the possibility that 'I can make my own choice' does not reveal anything about the nature of the woman's work – exploitation, constraints, abuse – that is or may be the result of this choice. Therefore, the victim is no less a victim because of it. In real life migration and human trafficking the possibilities of choice are significantly limited, if not eliminated entirely.

The selection of the research perspective or, rather, its construction, is not a simple theoretical and methodological venture. Gender-related perspectives bear additional importance because they consider trafficked women as the most vulnerable group, with emphasis on diversity in the sense of exploring the diversity of their experiences, i.e. recognizing diversity in terms of gender differentiation, specific needs, and level of vulnerability. This perspective introduces an explanation of the approach to female victims of trafficking without establishing the position of the victim as an absolute one. In the feminist approach, the position of the victim in the context of violence (rape) is often subject to criticism for its connotation of the woman's passive role. Elizabeth Kelly (2002: 17) defines an alternative denomination – the term 'survivor' – which, however, is not adequate in the field of trafficking: many women in fact do not survive their exploitation.

In research on trafficking, the emphasis should clearly be on the victim's perspective. In fact, the very term 'trafficking' is devoid of any recognition of its relation to victimization and exploitation. In addition to striving for focused research into the issue, based on adequate knowledge from gender studies, international relations, and sociological findings on globalization, several other questions should be considered: how to demarginalize the victim, how to place her at the core of the research and consequently increase her visibility without undue exposure and subsequent secondary victimization. Non-governmental organizations and advocacy networks, which often speak on behalf of vulnerable groups and individuals, seem to have become the most successful intermediaries.

A further determinant in the research of human trafficking is connected with the relation between research practices and life practices, which do not always overlap, as confirmed among others by John Salt's findings based on empirical research in the European sphere, mostly conducted by the IOM:

What is revealed is that the enormous interest and concern for trafficking and human smuggling in governmental, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, in the media and popular opinion, is running ahead of theoretical understanding and factual evidence. (Salt 2002: 32)

These findings are also applicable to Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries, including Slovenia. The research is packed with data acquired for the needs of strategically-oriented public policies, focusing on statistical data and estimates remaining at the level of recording 'evidence'. The resulting interpretations are often reduced to descriptive narratives of the phenomenon of trafficking in women, which is causing 'problems' at

the state, regional, local, or global level. Estimates are often related to the geographic location of the analyzed country, in particular its status as a country of origin, transit or destination in the context of the routes of organized human trafficking. In addition to theoretical reflection, the applied methodology generates a need for comprehensive analyses: firstly, systematic collection of data provided by different sources and their cross verification (governmental, inter-governmental, non-governmental, independent expert groups, and individuals), and secondly, the transfer of focus from recording statistics to data contextualization. The collection of reliable data on the scope and structure of human trafficking is an extremely difficult, if not impossible enterprise; hence, what is required is a transition from statistics and groups to individuals and individualized life experiences. It is essential for indirect sources to be supplemented by direct ones, based on repeated interviews with the victims.

In contemporary research, the victim's perspective is often obscured by the broader issues of the economy, migration trends, and the fight against organized crime. As determined by Elizabeth Kelly (2002: 7–8), past research into trafficking for sexual exploitation focused on estimates of the problem's scope, research of routes, recruiting methods, control mechanisms, violations of human rights, and critical overviews of current legal and policy frameworks, as well as recommendations for further action. In addition, attention ought to be drawn to another finding proposed by Kelly that may be considered as a methodological guideline:

A large part of the data collected has been limited to official statistics and responses to short questionnaires/interviews by women who are either included in return programmes or who have been deported. (Kelly 2002: 8)

Interviews, in particular repeated ones, which enable the researcher to trace the victim's testimony in the form of her life story, seem to be the best available methodological instrument for a comprehensive study on the position of human trafficking victims. This yields another reason for emphasizing the importance of an interviewing mechanism that would strengthen the role of the victim in the entire process, without reducing her role to that of a passive respondent who is 'obliged' to provide information to government institutions. An interview must not resemble an interrogation, but rather be supportive of the victim so that she can, by means of the interview, reflect on past events, her current position, and future life. As part of a series of interviews, attempts should be made to reach an agreement on the victim's future.

TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN IN SLOVENIA: "WHERE IN THE PUZZLE?"

The question in the title of this chapter was one of the central motifs of the research team that analyzed human trafficking in Slovenia (Zavratnik Zimic et al. 2003). The

following sections present the first two mentioned components – the issue of the social (economic and political) context in which human trafficking in ‘United Europe’ is taking place, and some empirical data shedding light on the phenomenon’s local extent in Slovenia compared to the international situation.

Trafficking in Women: Eastern Europe – Western Europe, closed borders, and poverty

When concentrating on Europe, human trafficking, and in particular trafficking in women for the purpose of sexual exploitation, should be traced along the routes connecting Eastern and Western Europe, bearing in mind that the emergence of ‘a single Europe’ also resulted in the abolition of once impassable borders. At the time when Europe was still divided into two blocks, freedom of movement was an exception granted only to a chosen few. The dissolution of borders is thus a significant achievement for the parts of the now united Europe. The process of attempting to establish a united Europe has resulted in numerous changes, significantly influenced by economic factors. The transition to a capitalist market economy resulted in enormous social differences, which weak welfare systems were unable to cope with. Poverty was inflicted upon numerous women, who were suddenly unable to find employment in their local environment and consequently decided to emigrate. The economies of the former socialist societies with typical ‘full employment’ – unemployment was virtually unknown or at very low levels – changed and led to increasing deprivation, difficulties in finding employment in the domestic labour market, and widespread inability to attain a ‘decent’ standard of living even when employed.

A study conducted in Slovenia (Zavratnik Zimic et al. 2003) demonstrated that the majority of the victims originate from Eastern European and Balkan countries in transition with relatively low standards of living, extensive poverty, and high unemployment rates. An environment bereft of economic opportunities, in particular for women, has been listed as one of the crucial factors for emigration. As a rule, the victims were unemployed or working at temporary and poorly paid jobs before they emigrated. Many victims had never been employed or had only limited work experience. In addition, we should consider that numerous trafficking victims are young women, including minors, who had yet to begin their professional careers or had planned to enter the labour market after emigrating. Based on the testimonies of the victims, we can conclude that a significant motive for migrating is the hope of providing for the family left behind, in particular of the migrants’ children, who usually remain in the country of origin and are taken care of by other family members. The compilation of a ‘victim profile’ may be questionable or controversial, but the empirical data reveal important findings. When interviewed, the victims of human trafficking⁹ frequently identify poverty and the lack of job opportunities as the main push factor.

⁹ The study included 15 interviews with victims of trafficking. Although the number of interviews can

Excluding cases of more or less voluntary decisions to emigrate, the expectations about the West harboured by the emigrants proved illusory in most instances. We cannot claim that the entire phenomenon of female migration falls within the framework of organized human trafficking, but we do believe that a significant portion of the migrants are *a priori* forced to engage in illegal activities, given that the borders are still virtually impassable for unwanted migrants. This is one of the key problems of migration management in the contemporary world. When the borders are closed and the legal channels highly selective, migrants whose evident target destination is Western Europe turn to smugglers and traffickers. The ‘lucky’ ones only pay the smugglers to help them cross the border, while those less fortunate fall victim to organized crime and human trafficking. The data provided by IOM’s study *Victims of Trafficking in the Balkans* (2001) reveal that while in Central and Eastern Europe trafficking had been on the increase since the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Balkans and neighbouring countries seem to have turned into a region of origin, transit and destination for trafficked women only in the mid-1990s, in the wake of the humanitarian crisis and wars in the former Yugoslavia. (IOM 2001)

Slovenia: the shift from a non-existent to an evident phenomenon

The next section summarizes the results of a study conducted in Slovenia (Zavratnik Zimic et al. 2003). What needs to be pointed out, however, is the problem of limited information. Due to the lack of available data, attempts to explicitly and precisely evaluate the scope of trafficking through, to and from Slovenia have only just begun. The problem of limited information and the absence of a database of cases of human trafficking both derive from the phenomenon’s ‘specific’ nature and inadequate legislation. Consequently, the authors found that:

The registered number of trafficked women has been relatively low in recent years, while until the end of the 1990s cases of trafficking in women had been even more rarely reported. Still today, only a very small percentage of the actual extent of trafficking in human beings is registered; the prosecution of traffickers is the exception rather than the rule, and not many victims receive appropriate assistance. It is evident that trafficking in women for sexual exploitation has been given very low priority in Slovenia. In fact, if trafficking in human beings is not being explicitly measured and registered, the issue appears to be non-existent. (Zavratnik Zimic et al. 2003: 23)

A logical consequence of the lack of data or the failure to address the phenomenon is the non-existence of public policies that would provide solutions to problems in specific fields. The period before 2000–2002 seems to have been marked by ‘concealment’ – an

be considered low, these were the only ones accessible. The interviews were conducted by different sources – six by the IOM Office in Ljubljana, five submitted by foreign non-governmental organizations, five conducted by local non-governmental organizations, and one broadcast on a TV show.

almost total disregard of human trafficking. After 2002, a slight increase in systematic sources is recorded. The research practice, with the exception of a handful which indirectly addressed the issue of organized crime, entered the research into human trafficking relatively late, even when compared to the other countries of Eastern Europe and the Balkans.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the existing data on prostitution in Slovenia can shed at least some light on the local extent of the phenomenon of human trafficking.¹¹

The results of the study revealed that Slovenia contributes fragments of all three pieces of the global puzzle of human trafficking: origin, transit, and destination. The results of the questionnaires sent abroad showed that 90% of respondents believed that Slovenia is primarily a transit country for victims of trafficking because of its geographical position and proximity to the Balkans and Western Europe (Zavratnik Zimic et al. 2003: 27).

The non-governmental organization Ključ (Key) estimates the number of victims annually crossing the territory of Slovenia on their way to Western Europe to be between 1,500 and 2,500, even if the number of registered cases is considerably lower. The Ministry of the Interior, for example, recorded 50 victims of human trafficking in 2002: 21 from Bulgaria, 15 from Moldavia, 10 from Romania, 2 from Estonia, 1 from Yugoslavia, and 1 from Albania. In addition, some foreign non-governmental organizations reported cases involving networks of human trafficking across Slovene territory. A Ukrainian non-governmental organization, for instance, reported 110 known cases in the period since 1999;¹² two further cases were reported by a Moldavian non-governmental organization, and one case by Norway.

Slovenia is also a country of destination for trafficking victims. According to a Slovene non-governmental organization, between 1,500 and 2,000 girls are trafficked to Slovenia every year, mostly from the Ukraine and Moldavia. However, this number is a crude estimate because the authorities are unable to provide statistical data on trafficked persons identified in the country. According to data from the Ministry of the Interior, 32 cases of victims of human trafficking were recorded in 2001, and 25 in 2002. Non-governmental organizations from the Ukraine and Moldavia reported cases of victims from these countries identifying Slovenia as the country of destination. Moreover, in 2001–2002, the IOM in Ljubljana provided assistance to six victims from the Ukraine, Russia, Moldavia, and Bulgaria.

Furthermore, Slovenia appears to be a country of origin as well. Data from the Ministry of the Interior confirm that Slovenia was the country of origin of five victims

¹⁰ In Slovenia, research into trafficking in human beings began relatively late, compared to both Western and Eastern European countries. In the latter, several case studies were initiated in the mid-1990s (e.g. in Poland, Hungary, Romania), while Western Europe is characterized by research into human trafficking within the domain of various disciplines (gender studies, sociology, law, political science, geography, anthropology, and history). The majority of studies on human trafficking in the former socialist Europe were conducted as part of the IOM's research programme; some of their studies focused on the local extent of the phenomenon; e.g. *Victims of Trafficking in the Balkans* (2001).

¹¹ In particular the work by the research journalist Jurij Popov (1999).

¹² The period from 1999 to the beginning of 2003, when the study began.

who were sold abroad in 2002. According to the estimates of a local non-governmental organization, Slovenia is the country of origin of around 100 Slovenian girls and women. Most of them were sold when still minors to Western European countries such as Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, and Germany (Popov 2002). In 2002, the Ministry of the Interior dealt with a well-organized international criminal group which had sold five Slovene girls and women to traffickers in different Western European countries. In 2002, a Slovene non-governmental organization assisted three Slovene girls who were potential victims of trafficking,¹³ providing psychosocial help to one girl who had become a victim of trafficking a few years earlier. International sources also reported Slovene victims of trafficking: from a total of 751 trafficking victims established in Austria between January 1994 and June 1995, seven were from Slovenia (CATW 1996). Other data can be added, depending on different sources and times of observation. In 1998, for instance, seven victims from the Balkans and neighbouring countries were recorded in the Netherlands, including one from Slovenia. In the same year one Slovene girl was recognized as a victim in Spain; in 1999/2000 and in the same country, of 10 BNC victims three were Slovene. In 1999/2000, five women from the BNC were identified as trafficked women in Germany, including two from Slovenia (IOM 2001). In 1998, the British police recorded 71 women trafficked to the United Kingdom, some of them being Slovene (no information on the exact number is available).

Recent research in Slovenia includes the work of the Peace Institute in Ljubljana and the regional IOM. In 2007,¹⁴ the researchers analysed the supply of and demand for sexual services and their connections to human trafficking in Slovenia and the wider Central European region. In Slovenia, the main observation was that prostitution has grown since the country's independence and that specific forms have emerged. There is no street prostitution, for instance, and the most common form is so-called "mobile prostitution" in which mainly Slovenian women participate, while foreign women are involved in night club and hotel prostitution (Bianchi et al 2007: 18–19). The research included the demand for sexual services, i.e. the clients of prostitutes. It is interesting to note that prostitution clients in Hungary declared (Ibid.: 18–19) that in the event of meeting a prostitute whom they could identify as a victim of violence or trafficking, they would call an NGO dealing with trafficking victims. Clients in Slovakia expressed a similar opinion, showing that they had more confidence in NGOs than in the police. The distrust of police was even greater among the prostitutes, who would also prefer to contact an NGO. Most clients were willing to call a safe number, but anonymously, probably reflecting their fear of the sex industry providers. Information on the extent of human trafficking is scant. Researchers established that the data on human trafficking in Hungary, Slovakia, and Slovenia are based on police and court statistics, reporting about 20 to 50 cases per year, with some differences between the countries.

¹³ They denied it, but there were indications that they may have been victims of trafficking.

¹⁴ See more in comparative study of Gabriel Bianchi et al (2007). The Slovene researchers in the international team were Mojca Pajnik and Urša Kavčič.

Mojca Pajnik's (2008) research provides a more detailed picture, where the interviewees (prostitutes, clients) distinguish between voluntary and forced prostitution, supporting non-punishment of voluntary prostitution, but rigorous persecution of forced prostitution and human trafficking, which the respondents considered totally unacceptable and connected with criminal groups (Ibid: 128–129). Attention should be paid to the fact that the users of sexual services stated that the prostitutes they had visited had not been forced into prostitution, admitting at the same time that it would be difficult to identify trafficking victims among them (Ibid: 130); this further increases the vulnerability of such victims in the work they perform and, last but not least, in their everyday life.

Positioning the victim: individualized experiences

As mentioned above, the Slovene case study from 2003 analyzed 15 interviews with victims of human trafficking. The interviews were provided by various domestic and international, non-governmental and inter-governmental sources. Some interviews were submitted by foreign non-governmental organizations. In Slovenia the interviews with the victims were conducted by a member of the research team. The research practice highlighted numerous practical and theoretical problems concerning the methodological approach to research into human trafficking and the position of the victim in the research process.

The study confirmed the findings of researchers who claimed that interviews are a key methodological instrument for data acquisition. In my opinion, interviews have a two-fold function: they may provide support to the victim and are a mechanism for collecting data from the broader context that is essential to research into the diverse aspects of human trafficking (e.g. methods for recruiting vulnerable individuals who begin their migration journey by contacting intermediaries, including human traffickers). Interviews enable us to identify typical recruiting methods and the initial steps the victims take in the process of human trafficking. In addition, they allow us to follow events through the lens of a direct life story.

Nevertheless, an analysis of the existing interviews revealed flaws as well. The testimonies of the victims are incomplete; they may provide essential information on the victims and the circumstances of trafficking, but it is often insufficient and inaccurate. For instance, the interviews do not include detailed information on the future – the end of the story, so to speak – after the victim's contact with the police or another state institution. They do not constitute a conversation about the current position of the victim nor on the options for short-term solutions (e.g., types of assistance, integration processes, etc.) or the future of the victim. Still, the data collected by means of interviews provide important information for elaborating strategic policies for the victims of human trafficking. One research goal should therefore be the elaboration of a sensitive interview, which provides assistance to the victim and bears as little resemblance as possible to an interrogation.

Moreover, when such an interview is accepted as a standardized tool in communicat-

ing with potential trafficking victims, it is necessary to make its use standard practice. This means that the proposed “Protocol of an interview with a potential human trafficking victim” (as the tool may be called) actually replaces a police interview. At the practical level, it is in any case important to include NGOs with adequate skills and expertise in the process of approaching and supporting victims. In Slovenia, the Ključ association is such an NGO and it is important to provide for its regular operation and the cooperation of governmental and non-governmental sectors.

FINAL OBSERVATIONS

Recently, human trafficking, migration, and female migration have been the subjects of discussions at numerous academic conferences, meetings of non-governmental organizations and other similar public events, as well as government sessions at the level of specialized international expert groups. In the daily media, human trafficking and especially sex trafficking is reported mostly in the crime section, taking the form of reports on ‘such and such woman has been sold’ and rarely among seriously treated topics. In these cases, when the victim becomes a ‘news item’, we often read that she is a foreigner and that in ‘such and such’ country she engages in prostitution or related activities. In brief, she is a sex worker. In my opinion, this is one of the crucial points in determining the responses and policies of different public sectors in relation to trafficking in women: in other words, whether we recognize the double labelling constructed around the recognition of trafficked women. Both issues, foreigners/immigrants and prostitution/sex work, are surrounded by piles of litter from the domains of (negative) emotions, stereotypes, and phobias. The inefficiency of public policies seems to stem from the complex recognition that trafficking in women is fraught with the fears and challenges of contemporary society; trafficking in women is a central issue in the context of migration – issues of policies toward foreigners, the possibility of social cohesion, adaptation to multiculturalism, and the coexistence of ethnic and cultural diversity. In addition, it also relates to the issue of gender inequality, dominance in the gender hierarchy and the ensuing re-actualization of topics concerning modern slavery, both from the perspective of gender relations and that of the specific services provided by sex workers.

It doesn’t come as a surprise then when constructions of women or human trafficking generally reflect biased notions of what the reality of ‘being sold’ actually entails for the victim of the process. The scope of the issue, encompassing the entire field of migration and essentially requiring a specialized approach to enable focused analysis and action, even seems to have cornered research practice. Research appears to be lagging behind the events in the real world. Human trafficking is the subject of interest of several social sciences: sociology mainly focuses on mobility processes, economics is interested in labour and labour force markets, criminology concentrates on the prevention of organized crime, geography analyzes the overlapping areas of some of the above mentioned aspects. And we could go on. However, two fields – gender studies and the study of international

relations – deserve special attention because they contribute significantly to bringing us closer to the specialized study of trafficking in women. Although it seems that these two aspects rarely coincide, I believe that the meeting points of the two provide an opportunity for developing a focused research perspective. Research is often based on economic models, considering human trafficking as an economic activity within the broader context of migration, and focusing on the research of the labour market principle; migrations are often analyzed in terms of the push-pull theory, i.e. the pull factors of the immigration environment and the push factors of the environment of origin. Both perspectives often fail to consider the most vulnerable participants in the process – its victims.

Migration, including human trafficking, has been studied from the perspective of human rights only in recent years, and the studies can make a significant contribution to our understanding of migrants and the broader field of migration. In human trafficking, in particular trafficking in women, it is essential to establish links to human rights and other specific aspects deriving from gender policies. Being gender-specific, the abuse of trafficked women is mostly related to their work in the sex industry.

At the practical level, emphasis must be put on the need for efficient communication between theoretical and applied research, assistance programs for victims, and the formation of policy by the protagonists in the governmental and non-governmental sectors. Such communication can make a significant contribution to understanding the local characteristics of human trafficking and its role in the global context. Efficient and inventive policies can only be developed as a result of perceptive communication between research and the victim's everyday experience, including the experiences of networks of local non-governmental and international inter-governmental organizations which are in direct contact with the victims. Given that it provides vulnerable individual victims with an opportunity to participate in institutionalized policies for the prevention of human trafficking, the victim's perspective should play an essential role. The central concepts in this field – borders, migrations, and crime – have to be supplemented with defining the victim's position; the concept of security – mainly understood as national security – must be amended with consideration for the vulnerability of the victim and her or his security.

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POVZETEK

ČLOVEKOVE PRAVICE IN TRGOVANJE Z LJUDMI: REFLEKSIJA ŠTUDIJE
PRIMERA SLOVENIJE

Simona Zavratnik

V besedilu utemeljujem paradigmo človekovih pravic kot temeljno izhodišče obravnave problematike globaliziranega trgovanja z ljudmi, zlasti trgovanja z ženskami. V taki poziciji je regulatorna politika nacionalnih držav in mednarodnih organizacij, ki temelji na varovalnih mehanizmih (selektivna, neprehodna meja, kvote, sporazumi o vračanju migrantov, itd.), soočena s perspektivo individualiziranih, senzibilnih politik, ki v središče postavljajo žrtve trgovanja z ljudmi, žrtve t. i. »novodobnega belega suženjstva«. Regulatorna perspektiva temelji na zagotavljanju varnosti »za nacionalno državo in njene državljane«, pri čemer so migranti potencialna grožnja. V taki poziciji pa kritično umanjka individualizirana obravnava posameznika kot žrtve organiziranega kriminala, ki ima le malo ali nikakršne možnosti za izhod iz stanja popolnega nadzora in odvzema osebne svobode s strani »lastnikov«, nenazadnje mu/ji je odvzeta tudi svoboda razpolaganja s svojim telesom.

Zato je pomembno, da so sodobne politike osredotočene k ranljivim posameznicam in posameznikom, k žrtvam trgovanja z ljudmi; da so individualizirane in spolno specifične.

Spolno specifičnost politik preprečevanja trgovanja z ljudmi prikažemo na primeru zelo razširjenega trgovanja z ženskami z nameni izkoriščanja v spolni industriji, to je zlasti prisilni prostituciji. Žrtev trgovanja se pogosto ne povezuje s kršenjem njihovih temeljnih človekovih pravic, za kar je razlog v njihovem statusu – kot tujke ali nedokumentirane migrantke so v družbi povsem nevidne, pa tudi brez državljanskih pravic. Polega dejstva, da so številne žrtve prestopile nacionalne meje nelegalno, so z delom v seksualni industriji prestopile tudi moralne meje, ki jih glede prostitucije prakticirajo številne družbe. Kot migrantka in spolna delavka pa posameznica nima nobene možnosti, da je v javnem prostoru percepirana kot žrtev. Javne politike so torej tisti mehanizem, ki mora legitimizirati pozicijo žrtve, zavarovati temeljne človekove pravice in ji hkrati zagotavljati ustrezne mehanizme pomoči.

V besedilu opozarjam na v praksi premalo prakticirane možnosti integracijskih politik za žrtve, ki želijo ostati v okoljih, kamor so se priselile. Hkrati poudarjam nujnost ustreznih mehanizmov obravnave, to je predvsem komunikacije z žrtvijo. Izpostavljam, da je poglobljen in večkratni intervju z žrtvijo standardno orodje pri vzpostavljanju zaupne komunikacije – taka komunikacija na podlagi standardiziranega intervjuja vključuje po eni strani življenjsko zgodbo žrtve (njen migracijski projekt), prav tako pa je usmerjen k prihodnjim strategijam vključevanja v novo družbo. Predlagam, da bi tak standardiziran instrument (delovno ga poimenujem Protokol pogovora s potencialno žrtvijo trgovanja z ljudmi) nadomestil k zaslišanju usmerjen policijski intervju. Slednje pa pomeni, da bi

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tak protokol postal standard, ki bi ga v praksi morale v sodelovanju izvajati policija in specializirane nevladne organizacije.

K N J I Ž N E O C E N E

B O O K R E V I E W S

Nataša Gregorič Bon, *Prostori neskladij: Etnografija prostora in kraja v vasi Dhërmi/Drimades, južna Albanija, Založba ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana, 2008, 263 str.*

Monografija *Prostori neskladij: Etnografija prostora in kraja v vasi Dhërmi/Drimades, južna Albanija* avtorice Nataše Gregorič Bon je sodobna antropološka razprava o neskladjih v konstrukcijah pomenov prostora in kraja v vasi Dhërmi/Drimades v južnoalbanski obmejni pokrajini Himarë/Himara. Delo sestavljajo štiri sklopi, ki z razpravami o različnih reprezentacijah lokalnosti, zgodovinski neskladnosti utemeljevanja pomenov prostora in konceptualnih pozicioniranjih vasi na širšem geopolitičnem zemljevidu bralca seznanijo z nenehnimi redefinicijami pomenov prostora in kraja na tem območju. Temeljna teza dela je, da je prostor nikoli dokončan proces kulturne, socialne in politične konstrukcije, ki pa je vselej sporna, nestabilna. Prostor in kraj sta vedno v nastajanju in prehajanju, sta družbeno konstruirana in pomensko ovrednotena koncepta, konstrukcije njunih pomenov pa nihče ne monopolizira, saj so relacijski in odvisni od najrazličnejših okoliščin in dejavnikov. Procesi konstrukcije krajev, prostorov in njihovih pomenov so vpeti v tri glavne značilnosti: mobilnost (migracije, vračanja, turizem), razmejevanja (vas in zunaj vasi, domačini, tujci) in razmerja moči, ki se kažejo skozi spornost. »Nasprotovanja, neskladja in spori, ki so tako produkti kot producenti razmejevanj med 'mi' in 'oni', so del razmerij moči, v katerih skuša vsak posameznik uveljaviti svoje razumevanje in doživljanje kraja in s tem določiti položaj vasi« (210).

Avtorica svojo tezo gradi na bogatih etnografskih, zgodovinskih in publicističnih virih, teoretsko pa se opira predvsem na sodobne antropološke razprave o prostoru, ki so v devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja redefinirale odnos med človekom in prostorom. Kritike antropološkega raziskovanja domnevno zaključenih in zamejenih skupnosti so močno zamajale nekatere esencialistične predpostavke o prostoru kot nekakšnem statičnem, objektivnem dejstvu. Raziskovalna pozornost se je preusmerila na konstrukcijo pomenov prostorov in identitet, ki so utemeljene na prostorskih kategorijah (ozemlje skupnosti, nacionalne države, meje, itd.), oziroma v pričujočem delu na redefiniciji in rekonfiguraciji krajev in prostorov, ki jih porajajo dvoumja, spori in neskladja. »Procesi konstrukcije so vselej sporni in nestabilni, saj vključujejo diskontinuiteto, odpor in spremembe« (33). Kljub dobremu poznavanju in predstavitvi teoretskega okvira raziskave pa avtorica zanemari vrsto starejših in nekaj relevantnih sodobnih sorodnih del, s katerimi bi lahko pokazala na daljši razvoj uporabljenih raziskovalnih in analitičnih orodij ter bi dobila dodatne možnosti interpretacij.

Metodološko monografija sloni na poglobljeni in zelo temeljiti etnografski terenski raziskavi, ki jo je avtorica opravila med letošnjim bivanjem v vasi Dhërmi/Drimades, obenem pa predstavi in analizira tudi vrsto drugih virov, kot so zgodovinopisna dela, arhivski viri, upravni in politični dokumenti, starejša potopisna literatura, leposlovje, lokalno časopisje, itd. Avtorica uvodoma predstavi srečanje »s terenom« med sondažno raziskavo, ki je zaradi bližine grško-albanske meje nemudoma napeljalo na neskladja in konceptualno premakljivost položaja vasi. To odraža že dvojno ime vasi, dvojezičnost oziroma strategije rabe grškega ali albanskega jezika ter pozicioniranje vasi v odnosu do

albanske države, meje, izseljencev v Grčiji in Italiji, potovanj in selitev, pa tudi v odnosu do Evropske unije, itd. »V takšnem zemljevidenju se nenehno postavlja hierarhija krajev, kjer se moči in kraji dinamično in vzajemno konstituirajo v odvisnosti od zgodovinsko naključnega, politično oblikovanega in družbenega konteksta« (40).

Prvo poglavje o vasi Dhërmi/Drimades in njenih ljudeh je etnografsko bogat opis vaškega življenja, obenem pa prikaže kompleksnost raznovrstnih in spornih pomenov in reprezentacij vasi in območja, ki jih uveljavljajo prebivalci vasi, geografi, demografi, politiki, itd. Premakljive lokalnosti in razmejevanja se pojavljajo že med samimi prebivalci vasi, ki imajo različno poreklo. Domačini, ki izvirajo iz vasi, priseljeni delavci iz drugih krajev Albanije in izseljenci, ki se poleti vračajo v svojo vas, različno pojmujejo lokalnost in pozicioniranje vasi, identifikacije pa pomensko ovrednotijo. V diskurzih in praksah je prisotno hierarhično konstruiranje lokalnosti. Domačini se bolj kot na Albanijo navezujejo na območje in na Grčijo (krajevna raba grškega govora, religija, politične identifikacije, upravna možnost izkaznic soetničnosti in olajšan prehod meje), priseljence pa pogosto označujejo s slabšalnimi izrazi (npr. Turki) ali jim pripisujejo nižjo moralo. Zanimivo je opažanje, da izseljenci ali njihovi potomci, ki živijo v Grčiji, intenzivno vlagajo v ohranjanje svojega »mesta v vasi«, denimo z obnovo ali gradnjo hiše in rednim vračanjem »domov«. Lokalnosti kot del identifikacij so konstruirane relacijsko skozi razmerja moči, razlikovanja in razmejevanja. Prav tako je del ustvarjanja lokalnosti tudi utemeljevanje avtohtonosti (npr. specifična raba jezika, pravoslavna religija).

Analiza diskurzov, reprezentacij in praks, ki zadevajo konstrukcijo lokalnosti, podpre tezo, da prostora ne določa njegova domnevna homogenost, temveč »celota razmerij« (96). Z vpetjem v zgodovinske in družbeno-politične kontekste pa tudi jasno pokaže na nikoli dokončano procesualnost konstrukcije krajev, prostorov in identifikacij. Drugo poglavje zelo podrobno obravnava zgodovine neskladij oziroma zgodovinsko kontinuiteto konstrukcij krajev in prostorov ter porajajočih neskladij, dvoumnosti in celo konfliktnosti pri utemeljevanju in redefiniranju prostorskih kategorij v južni Albaniji, ki predstavljajo tudi hierarhiziran sistem uveljavljanja moči. Opiše prostorske manifestacije in prakse komunističnega sistema, kot so na primer arhitektura, bunkerji kot del krajine, zaprte meje, delo v kmetijskih zadrugah, omejitve dobrin in potovanj ter selitve med regijo Himarë/Himara in drugimi območji Albanije.

Avtorica je na tem mestu zelo kritična do družbenih, političnih in znanstvenih diskurzov, ki so imela aktivno vlogo na primer pri utemeljevanju nacionalizma in nacionalnih držav, gradnji domnevne kulturne, etnične in jezikovne čistosti in homogenosti, saj so utrjevali »podobo naroda kot zaprte in homogene 'entitete'« (99). Nacionalna (in nacionalistična) zgodovinopisja pogosto temeljijo na »mitozgodovinah« (101, 108–110) in diskurzih o avtohtonosti in avtentičnosti ter kot taka dejansko predstavljajo družbeno-politična razmerja moči. Kritika sodobnih raziskovalcev, ki naj bi »namesto razlik« raje raziskali »povezave in razmerja med kulturami, družbami in zgodovinami« (99), pa se zdi preveč posplošujoča in površna, saj se je relacijsko-konstruktivistični raziskovalni pristop uveljavil že vsaj v šestdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja. Zanimarja namreč pomembno in zelo močno polje antropoloških raziskav, ki so preko osredotočanja na socialne in simbolne

interakcije (npr. Gofman 1959) s pomočjo mrežnih analiz (npr. Bott 1957; Mitchell 1969), kritike antropoloških esencialističnih konceptov lokalnosti (npr. Leach 1954) ter analize povezav med identifikacijami in mejami kot kulturnimi in prostorskimi konstrukti (Barth 1969) v preteklih desetletjih spodbudili celo vrsto raziskav, ki so kraje, prostore, lokalnosti, etničnosti, nacionalnosti in meje obravnavali relacijsko in kot socialne, kulturne in politične konstrukcije. Tudi v relativno spregledani slovenski etnologiji in antropologiji (npr. Brumen 2000; Kravanja 2007). Obenem pa avtorica pravilno ugotovi, da so razvoj družboslovne in humanistične vednosti močno zaznamovali kulturni esencializmi, bodisi v obliki nacionalnih projektov, oblikovanja lokalnosti bodisi razmejevanja na podlagi konstruirane avtohtonosti, itd. Z vztrajanjem na analizi diskurzov in praks se avtorica kljub manevriranju med obilico socialnih in kulturnih kategorij (nacionalnost, lokalnost, itd.) uspešno izogiba esencializiranju uporabljenih kategorij.

V tretjem poglavju, naslovljenem *Morje in gore*, avtorica obravnava zgodbe, pripovedovanja, spominjanja in zemljevidenja, ki pozicionirajo vas med morje in gore ter definirajo odnos med vasjo in drugimi kraji, albansko državo, Grčijo, Italijo, Ameriko, Evropsko unijo, itd. Z diskurzivno analizo prefinjeno razkriva preplaščenost družbenih in prostorskih razmerij, ki jih oblikujejo ljudje med gibanjem, selitvami, utemeljevanjem pomenov različnih krajev in definiranjem razlik med kraji. Avtorica zgodbe razume kot »prostorske poti, ki vključujejo časovna gibanja in prostorske prakse« (162), na primer opredeljevanje vasi v odnosu do meje, Grčije, morja in gora, ki akterjem omogoča nenehno vzpostavlanje, organiziranje in preoblikovanje kraja in prostora in utemeljevanja pomenov.

Zgodbe so dejanje spominjanja in pripovedovanja, ki kraje s pomočjo reprezentacij, razumevanj in podob kognitivno ustvarjajo, spreminjajo in premikajo oziroma jim določajo mesto v prostoru. Zgodbe gibanj, potovanj in selitev prav tako ustvarjajo pomenske povezave med lokacijami in jih s tem prostorsko opredeljujejo. Vaščani so pred komunizmom s potovanji in trgovanji ustvarjali skupni prostor današnje južne Albanije, Epira in otoka Krfa. S prepovedjo prehoda meje po letu 1945 so bili tovrstni stiki prekinjeni, kar je posledično spremenilo prostorske konfiguracije in zgodbe. *Morje, gore* in državna meja so posebni kraji nestabilnosti in dvoumnosti, ki so lahko prostori povezovanj ali razmejevanj (npr. trgovske in pomorske povezave, prehodi meje in obmejni status občin in prebivalcev). »Pripovedovalčevi spomini [...] kartirajo družbene zemljevide. Na njih je vas središče, glede nanj se razporejajo in primerjajo drugi kraji. Takšne prostorske (pre)razporeditve redefiniirajo in vseskozi umeščajo vas in ustvarjajo različne položaje vasi« (174).

Z zemljevidenjem, na primer s tem, ko pripovedovalci ustvarjajo in izpogajajo prostor svoje vasi (in svoj prostor v vasi), oblikujejo tudi prostorske opozicije (npr. Evropa – Balkan) oziroma prostorsko hierarhijo. Domačinskost, ki jo na primer utemeljujejo s poreklom oziroma z rojstvom v vasi, ni le prostorska kategorija, saj ima tudi kulturne, politične, socialne in moralne razsežnosti. Četrto poglavje obravnava pogajanja o smeteh kot praksah, znotraj katerih se manifestirajo prostorska hierarhičnost in spornost ter neskladnost razumevanja, konstrukcije in prisvajanja kraja in prostora. Poglavje je osredotočeno na prakse in diskurze glede smeti, odlaganja odpadkov ter (ne)odgovornosti do čiščenja vasi in obale, kar je še posebej poudarjeno v kontekstu razvoja turizma. Prav ti diskurzi pa

kažejo tudi na vselej prisotno tendenco razmejevanj in nenehnih vzpostavljanj lokalnosti in tujosti. »Lokalni lastniki, prišleki, izseljenci in turisti zarisujejo ločnice med 'nami' kot tistimi, ki 'spadajo' v kraj, in 'drugimi', ki so 'zunaj' njega« (184). Identifikacije, ki nastajajo in se nenehno redefinirajo, so odvisne od medosebnih in simbolnih interakcij – so spremenljive in sporne, nenehni predmet pogajanj ter odvisne od razmerij moči in ustvarjanja neenakosti – in so vedno tudi prostorsko opredeljene (npr. domačini, tujci).

Monografija z veliko teoretično širino, bogatimi etnografskimi opisi in raznovrstnimi zgodovinskimi viri prinaša spoznanja o kompleksnosti konstrukcije prostora v južnoalbanski vasi Dhërmi/Drimades. S podrobnimi interpretacijami pogosto spornih in neskladnih zgodovinskih, vaških, nacionalnih in akademskih diskurzov o tem prostoru razkriva nenehne rekonfiguracije krajev in prostorov ter njihovih pomenov. Teh pomenov nihče ne monopolizira, saj so vedno predmet sporov, pogajanj in identifikacij. Analiza zgodovinskih kontekstov je zelo izčrpna, čeprav občasno mehanična in težko berljiva. Je tudi izčrpno etnografsko delo, ki bralca s številnimi zgodbami sogovornikov in etnografskimi podrobnostmi doživeto vodi skozi avtoričino terensko delo. V splošnem delo prinaša pomemben tematski doprinos v slovensko antropologijo in poglobljeno vednost o južni Albaniji.

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Jaka Repič

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- **predlog vrste prispevka** (izvirni, pregledni ali kratki znanstveni prispevek, strokovni članek);
- **izvleček** (slovenski naslov članka in slovenski izvleček, skupaj s presledki do 600 znakov);
- **ključne besede** (do 5 besed);
- **abstract** (angleški prevod naslova članka in slovenskega izvlečka);

- **key words** (angleški prevod ključnih besed);
- **članek** (1. skupaj s presledki naj ne presega 45.000 znakov oz. 25 tipkanih strani; 2. celotno besedilo naj bo označeno z »Normal« – torej brez oblikovanja, določanja slogov in drugega; 3. pisava Times New Roman, brez poravnave desnega roba; 4. odstavki naj bodo brez vmesnih vrstic, prazna vrstica naj bo pred in za vsakim naslovom in predvidenim mestom za tabelo ali sliko; 5. odstavki za naslovi so brez zamikov, ročno mora biti narejeno morebitno označevanje in oštevilčevanje vrstic in odstavkov; 6. naslove označite ročno, podnaslove prvega reda z velikimi tiskanimi črkami in okrepljeno, podnaslove drugega reda z malimi tiskanimi črkami in okrepljeno);
- **summary** (angleški naslov članka z velikimi tiskanimi črkami, ime in priimek avtorja, sledi angleški povzetek članka, skupaj s presledki do 5.000 znakov, dodajte tudi ime prevajalca).

Poročila in ocene morajo imeti sestavine, ki si sledijo po naslednjem vrstnem redu:

- **poročila s konferenc in drugih dogodkov, razmišljanja:** naslov dogodka (velike tiskane črke, okrepljeno), datum poteka, ime in priimek avtorja (male črke, odebeljeno, vse središčno poravnano, celotno besedilo naj bo označeno z »Normal« – torej brez oblikovanja, določanja slogov in drugega; odstavki za naslovi so brez zamikov, ročno mora biti narejeno morebitno označevanje in oštevilčevanje vrstic in odstavkov), besedilo naj obsega med 5.000 in 15.000 znaki skupaj s presledki;
- **knjižne ocene:** ime in priimek avtorja ali urednika knjige, ki je predmet ocene, naslov knjige, založba, kraj, leto izida, število strani (male tiskane črke, avtor in naslov naj bosta okrepljena), besedilo naj obsega med 5.000 in 15.000 znaki skupaj s presledki, na koncu v desnem kotu sledi ime in priimek avtorja ocene.

V besedilih **se izogibajte** podčrtavanju besed in okrepljenemu tisku. Želeni poudarki naj bodo označeni s poševnim tiskom. S poševnim tiskom označite tudi navedene naslove knjig in časopisov.

3. Citiranje v člankih

V reviji *Dve domovini* je **citiranje** možno **med besedilom** in v obliki **opomb pod črto**, vendar naj avtorji uporabijo le enega od načinov.

Avtorji naj pri **citiranju med besedilom** upoštevajo naslednja navodila:

- **Citati**, dolgi pet ali več vrstic, morajo biti ročno oblikovani v ločenih enotah, zamaknjeni, brez narekovajev, za in pred vsakim citatom je prazna vrstica, pri odstavku za citatom ni zamika v prvi vrstici; citati, krajši od petih vrstic, naj bodo med drugim besedilom v narekovajih in pokončno (ne poševno).
- Pri **navajanju avtorjev** med besedilom (ne v oklepaju) prvič navedite ime in priimek avtorja v celoti, sicer navajajte samo priimek avtorja.
- Navajanje avtorja v oklepaju naj sledi temu vzorcu: oklepaj, priimek, leto, dvopičje in strani, ki so ločene s stičnim pomišljajem, zaklepaj, pika (Anderson 2003: 91–99); več navedb naj bo ločenih s podpičjem in razvrščenih po letnicah (Hobsbawm 2007: 23–45; Anderson 2003: 91–99).
- **Seznam literature in virov** je v tem primeru na koncu besedila, enote naj bodo razvrščene

po abecednem redu priimkov avtorjev, enote istega avtorja pa razvrščene po letnicah; če imamo več del istega avtorja, ki so izšla istega leta, jih ločimo z malimi črkami (Anderson 2003a; 2003b). Seznam literature in virov je **brez zamikov**. Upoštevajte naslednji vrstni red in načine zapisov pri različnih navedenih enotah:

- navajanje pri knjigah: priimek in ime avtorja, (leto izida), *naslov knjige*, kraj, založba (primer: Anderson, Benedict (2003). *Zamišljene skupnosti: o izvoru in širjenju nacionalizma*. Ljubljana: Studia Humanitatis.);
- pri člankih v zborniku: priimek in ime avtorja, (leto izida), naslov članka, *naslov zbornika* (ime urednika), kraj, založba, strani (primer: Drnovšek, Marjan (2004). *Izseljenke v očeh javnosti. Zbornik referatov 32. zborovanja slovenskih zgodovinarjev* (ur. Aleksander Žižek). Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 383–393.);
- pri člankih v revijah: priimek in ime avtorja, (leto izida), naslov članka, *naslov revije*, letnik, številka, strani (primer: Brightman, Robert (1995). *Forget Culture: Replacement, Transcendence, Relexification*. *Cultural Anthropology* 10(4): 509–546.);
- seznam literature in virov naj vsebuje vse v članku citirane vire in literaturo in naj ne vsebuje enot, ki v članku niso citirane.

Avtorji naj pri **citiranju v opombah pod črto** upoštevajo naslednja navodila:

- Pri citiranem delu naj navedejo: ime in priimek, *naslov*, kraj, založba, leto izida (primer: *Zvone Žigon, Izzivi drugačnosti: Slovenci v Afriki in na Arabskem polotoku*, Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2003.).
- Upoštevajo pa naj tudi naslednje: **citati**, dolgi tri ali več vrstic, morajo biti ročno oblikovani v ločenih enotah, zamaknjeni, brez narekovajev; citati, krajši od treh vrstic, naj bodo med drugim besedilom v narekovajih in pokončno (ne poševno); pri navajanju avtorjev med besedilom (ne v oklepaju) prvič navedite ime in priimek avtorja v celoti, sicer navajajte samo priimek avtorja.

Pri citiranju **arhivskega gradiva** morajo biti navedeni naslednji podatki:

- ime arhiva, signatura fonda ali zbirke, ime fonda ali zbirke, ime dokumenta in njegov datum, oznaka arhivske enote, oznaka tehnične enote (primer: Arhiv Republike Slovenije, AS 33, Deželna vlada v Ljubljani, Zapisnik 3. redne seje z dne 14. 2. 1907, a. e.1567, škatla 15.).

Pri citiranju **virov z medmrežja** pa morajo biti navedeni naslednji podatki:

- če sta avtor in naslov enote znana: priimek in ime avtorja, (leto izida), naslov članka, naslov strani in datum ogleda (primer: Becker, Howard (2003). *New directions in the Sociology of Art*, <http://home.earthlink.net/~hsbecker/newdirections.htm> (1. 2. 2008));
- če avtor ni znan, navedite le naslov članka, naslov strani in datum ogleda (primer: *Interaction: Some ideas*, <http://home.earthlink.net/interaction.htm> (1. 2. 2008));
- med besedilom prispevka v prvem primeru navedite avtorja, na primer (Becker 2003), v drugem primeru pa le prvo besedo iz naslova članka oziroma vira, na primer (*Interaction*).

4. Grafične in slikovne priloge

- **Fotografije, slike, zemljevidi** idr. – z izjemo tabel, narejenih v urejevalniku Word, ki

pa morajo biti oblikovane za stran velikosti 16,5 x 23,5 cm – naj ne bodo vključeni v Wordov dokument. Vse slikovno gradivo oddajte oštevilčeno v **posebni mapi** z vašim priimkom in imenom. Opombe v podnapisih ali tabelah morajo biti ločene od tekočega teksta.

- **Lokacijo slikovnega gradiva v tekstu** označite na naslednji način:
- Fotografija 1: Kuharica Liza v New Yorku leta 1905 (avtor: Janez Novak, vir: Arhiv Slovenije, 1415, 313/14) ali Preglednica 1: Število prebivalcev Ljubljane po popisu leta 2002 (vir: Statistični urad RS, Statistične informacije, str. 14)).
- Za grafične in slikovne priloge, za katere nimate avtorskih pravic, morate dobiti **dovoljenje za objavo**.

INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS FOR THE PREPARATION OF ARTICLES FOR *DVE DOMOVINI/TWO HOMELANDS*

1. Orientation of the Journal

The Journal *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* welcomes the submission of scientific and professional articles, reports, debates and book reviews from the fields of humanities and social sciences, focusing on migration and related phenomena. The Journal, published since 1990, is multidisciplinary and multilingual. Two volumes are published per year in printed and electronic version on the internet (<http://isi.zrc-sazu.si/?q=node/436>). All articles undergo a review procedure.

Articles should be prepared according to the instructions stated below and sent to the editorial board at the following address:

Institute for Slovenian Emigration Studies SRC SASA

P. P. 306, SI Ljubljana;

Telephone: +386 1 4706 485, Fax: +386 1 4257 802;

E-mail: kristina.toplak@zrc-sazu.si, or spelam@zrc-sazu.si

Articles should be submitted in **two printed versions** and an **electronic version**.

Manuscripts that are accepted for publishing by the editorial board of *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* are not to be sent for consideration and publishing to any other journal. Authors are responsible for language and style proficiency.

With the publication of articles in Journal *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* authors also agree to publish the articles in electronic version.

2. Elements of Contributions

Articles should contain the following elements in the stated order:

- **Title** (in capital letters, bold, alignment center)
- **Name and surname of the author** (alignment center, after the surname a footnote should be inserted stating: 1. author's education and title (e.g. PhD, MA in History, Research Fellow); 2. author's full postal address (e.g. Institute for Slovenian Emigration Studies, Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana); 3. author's e-mail address, phone and fax number);
- **Type of the contribution** (original, review or short scientific article; professional article)

- **Abstract** (title of the article and abstract, up to 600 characters together with spaces);
- **Key words** (up to 5 words);
- **Article** (1. together with spaces it should not exceed 45.000 characters or 25 typed pages; 2. style of the entire text should be “Normal”; 3. font Times New Roman, alignment left; 4. paragraphs should not be separated by an empty line, empty line should be used before and after every title and intended space for a chart or picture; 5. paragraphs following the titles should not be indented, bullets and numbering of lines and paragraphs should be done manually; 6. titles should be marked manually, headings 1 with bold capital letters, headings 2 with bold small letters; 7. titles should be aligned center;
- **Summary** (title of the article with capital bold letters, name and surname of the author, summary of the article, together with spaces up to 5000 characters).

Reports and reviews should contain the following elements in the stated order:

- **Reports from conferences and other events, debates:** title of the event (in bold capital letters), date of the event, name and surname of the author (bold small letters, alignment center, style of the entire text “Normal”; paragraphs should be indented manually (with the tabulator; paragraphs following the titles should not be indented, bullets and numbering of lines or paragraphs should be done manually), between 5000 and 15000 characters including spaces;
- **Book reviews:** name and surname of the author or editor of the book, title of the book, name of publisher, place of publication, date of publication, number of pages (small letters, author and title in bold), between 5000 and 15000 characters including spaces, on the top right hand corner include the name and surname of the reviewer.

In all texts **avoid** underlining and writing in bold. Italic should be used when emphasising a word or a phrase. Italic should also be used for citing titles of books and newspapers.

3. Citation in Articles

Citations in the journal *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* are possible either within the text or in footnotes.

When **citing within the text** authors should follow the instructions below:

- **Long citations** (five lines or more) should be typed as an indented paragraph (with the use of “tab”), in italic, without quotation marks, the first line of the paragraph after the citation should not be indented; citation shorter than five lines should be included in the main text and separated with quotation marks, in normal font (not in italic).
- When **naming the author** within the text (not in brackets) for the first time, include both full name and surname of the author, then continue using only last name.
- When naming the author in brackets use the following form: bracket, surname, year, colon, pages separated by hyphen, full-stop (Barthes 1999: 91–99); when naming more authors separate their names with semicolon and name them according to the year of publishing in ascending order (Said 1999: 98–99; Ford 2006: 14–45).
- **List of references** should be placed at the end of the written text and arranged in the alphabetical order according to author’s surname. Multiple references by one author should be arranged according to the year of publishing. Multiple references by one au-

thor published in the same year should be separated with small letters (e.g. Ford 1999a; 1999b). Use the following style:

- books: surname and name of the author, (year of publishing), *title*, place of publishing, publisher (e.g. Žitnik Janja (1995). *Orel in korenine med "brušenjem" in cenzuro*. Ljubljana: Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU);
- articles in series: surname and name of the author, (year of publishing), title, *title of the volume* (name of the editor), place of publishing, publisher, pages (e.g. Drnovšek, Marjan (2004). Izseljenske v očeh javnosti. *Zbornik referatov 32. zborovanja slovenskih zgodovinarjev* (ed. Aleksander Žižek). Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 383–393.);
- articles in journals: name and surname of the author, (year of publishing), title, *title of the journal*, year, number, pages (e.g. Brightman, Robert (1995). Forget Culture: Replacement, Transcendence, Relexification. *Cultural Anthropology* 10(4): 509–546.);
- list of references should include all cited sources and literature.

When **citing in footnotes** authors should follow the instructions below:

- When citing works state: name and surname, *title*, place of publishing, publisher, year of publishing (e.g. Žitnik, Janja, *Orel in korenine med "brušenjem" in cenzuro*, Ljubljana: Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 1995);
- Long **citations** (three lines or more) should be typed as an indented paragraph (with the use of "tab"), in italic, without quotation marks, the first line of the paragraph after the citation should not be indented; citation shorter than three lines should be included in the main text and separated with quotation marks, in normal font (not in italic); when naming the author within the text (not in brackets) for the first time, include both full name and surname of the author, then continue using only last name.

Citation of archive material should include:

- The name of the archive, book or fond number, name of series or fond, name of document and its date, archive unit, technical unit (e.g. Archive of the Republic of Slovenia, AS 33, Deželna vlada v Ljubljani, Zapisnik redne seje z dne 14. 2. 1907, a. e.1567, škatla 15.)

Citation of internet sources should include:

- when the author and title of the unit are known: name and surname of the author, (year of publishing), title, web page address and date of viewing (e.g.: Becker, Howard (2003). New directions in the Sociology of Art, <http://home.earthlink.net/hsbecker/newdirections.htm> (1. 2. 2008));
- when the author is unknown, cite only the title of the article, web page address and date of viewing (e.g. Interaction: Some ideas, <http://home.earthlink.net/interaction.htm> (1. 2. 2008));
- in the first case state the author within the text, e.g. (Becker 2003), in the second case use the first word from the title of the article or source e.g. (Interaction).

4. Graphics and illustrations

- **Photographs, pictures, maps** etc. – with an exception of charts originating from Word programme, which have to be adjusted to the page size 16,5 x 23,5cm – should not be included into the Word document. All illustrative material needs to be numbered and submitted separately in another folder with author's name and surname.

Location of illustrative material in the text should be marked as follows:

- Photograph 1: Cook Lisa in New York in 1905 (author: Janez Novak, source: Archives of Slovenia, 1415, 313/14) or Chart 1: Population of Ljubljana after the 2002 census (source: Office for Statistics RS, Statistics, p. 14)).
- For graphic and illustrative material without copyrights, **permission for publishing** needs to be obtained.