

RAKOVA JELŠA AND SIBIRIJA – ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOODS IN TRANSFORMATION

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Abstract

Rakova Jelša and Sibirija are the only two neighborhoods in Ljubljana with a majority of non-Slovene population. They were formed with immigration from the former Yugoslavia since 1970s. This immigration to Slovenia and Ljubljana and correspondent development of ethnic neighborhoods Rakova Jelša and Sibirija are presented in the paper. Basic socioeconomic characteristics of both neighborhoods are analyzed on the basis of census data from 1981 to 2011. With the survey of local population we tried to evaluate the satisfaction with the quality of the living environment and analyzed the issue of integration of immigrants into the new environment.

Key words: Rakova Jelša, Sibirija, Ljubljana, ethnic segregation, ethnic area, immigration

RAKOVA JELŠA IN SIBIRIJA – ETNIČNI ČETRTOV PREOBRAZBI

Izvilleček

Rakova Jelša in Sibirija sta edini soseski v Ljubljani z večinskim neslovenskim prebivalstvom. Nastali sta s priseljevanjem prebivalstva iz območja nekdanje Jugoslavije od sedemdesetih let dalje. Predstavljen je proces priseljevanja prebivalstva iz nekdanje Jugoslavije v Slovenijo in Ljubljano ter nastajanje etničnih četrti Rakova Jelša in Sibirija. Na osnovi analize popisnih podatkov med letoma 1981 in 2011 so predstavljene osnovne socioekonomske značilnosti prebivalstva, z anketiranjem lokalnega prebivalstva smo ocenili tudi zadovoljstvo s kvaliteto bivalnega okolja in analizirali problematiko integracije priseljencev v novo okolje.

Ključne besede: Rakova Jelša, Sibirija, etnična segregacija, etnično območje, priseljevanje

I INTRODUCTION

Neighborhoods Rakova Jelša and Sibirija are the only parts of Ljubljana, where the proportion of the non-Slovene population exceeds 50%. This ethnic area was formed with immigration from the former Yugoslavia since the 1970s onwards. Housing construction was carried on mostly without building permits, so it is the largest area of illegally constructed housing in Ljubljana. Both neighborhoods have a reputation of a problematic, dangerous and unsettled part of the city. This was confirmed by research of Krevs (2002a) about the tophilia and topophobia in Ljubljana. Besides the specific ethnic composition of population, very low socioeconomic status of the population, substandard urban infrastructure and low quality of living environment are characteristic for the area studied. According to the described features one could conclude that the area has all the characteristics of ethnic ghetto and slum. On the other hand, both neighborhoods are distinguished by an excellent location near the city center and the ring highway. The majority of the population is relatively satisfied with the quality of the living environment and the urban infrastructure is gradually improving by the Urban Municipality of Ljubljana (UML). The advantage of neighborhoods is a quiet and green residential environment in the immediate vicinity of the city center of Ljubljana. Can we thus expect in the future that the process of gentrification will take place in both neighborhoods?

The process of immigration from former Yugoslavia to Slovenia and Ljubljana and correspondent formation and development of ethnic neighborhoods Rakova Jelša and Sibirija are presented in the introductory part of the paper. Basic socioeconomic characteristics and population changes of both neighborhoods are analyzed on the basis of census data from 1981 to 2011. With a survey of local population we tried to analyze the satisfaction with the quality of the living environment and the issue of integration of immigrants in the new environment.

The ethnic spatial segregation in Ljubljana is a consequence of heterogeneous ethnic structure of population as a result of intensive immigration of non-Slovene population after the Second World War. For areas with a high share of non-Slovene population, an above-average share of lower educated and unskilled labor force employed mainly in manufacturing and services is characteristic as well. This is a reflection of the social composition of the immigrant population from the former Yugoslavia. Causes for immigration to Slovenia were primarily economic: economic underdevelopment, rural overpopulation, shortage of jobs in less developed regions of Yugoslavia, and the demand for unskilled labor in Slovenia (particularly in manufacturing, construction and services), a relatively favorable solution to the housing problem of immigrants and similar (Pak, 1993). About 10% of the population living in Slovenia is non-Slovene, and in cities this share is usually significantly higher. The non-Slovene population moved into urban areas which offered the greatest number of jobs for a labor force with a low level of education and skills.

Due to the high share of people who did not specify their nationality in the 2002 population census, the exact number of ethnic minorities in Ljubljana is impossible to determine. The share of the population who identified themselves as Slovene is thus 74%. Of the remainder, only one half specified their nationality, and as a consequence, the share of

those with unspecified nationality is about 13%. In the last population census from 2011 data on nationality was not available. Data on the number and share of immigrant population was used instead. In Ljubljana, there were around 48,000 immigrants (18% of the total population) from the area of ex-Yugoslavia in 2011. This number does not include the second and third generation of immigrants.

Most of the non-Slovene population moved to Ljubljana in the 1970s and 1980s, in particular between 1975 and 1982 (Repolusk, 2000). After 1991 immigration from the former Yugoslavia contracted sharply; among the more recent immigrants there is the predominance of Bosnians and Albanians from Kosovo and Macedonia. Immigration from the former Yugoslavia, especially from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, began to increase noticeably again after 2002. The number of ethnic minorities is also growing through natural increase but, on the other hand, process of assimilation, particularly among the second and third generations of immigrants, is taking place. The substance and meaning of ethnic belonging is the subject of constant examination and reinterpretation at the level of the individual and the community, in accordance with social circumstances. This is also clear from the census data and studies which find that the inhabitants of Ljubljana change their statements regarding nationality, religious faith and even native language (Komac, Medvešek, Roter, 2007).

2 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The study of urban segregation has become one of main topics in urban geography over the last few decades. Many experts suggest that globalization and neo-liberal market economy has decisively contributed to a deepening of social and ethnic segregation in modern cities. Massive migration has added a new dimension to the already heterogeneous composition of many cities worldwide. Urban ethnic segregation has thus become the subject of heated discussions in Europe. Scholars disagree about positive and negative consequences of ethnic segregation. They have debated long over which combination of discrimination, economic factors and preferences can cause ethnic segregation. Neighborhoods with the preponderance of migrant-origin minorities may signify dangerous isolation from society at large, a concentration of social ills and potential ghettos (Savelsberg, 1984). The term ‘parallel society’, introduced by German sociologist Wilhelm Heitmeyer, refers to the self-organization of an ethnic or religious minority, often immigrant groups, with the intent of reducing or minimizing the spatial, social and cultural contacts with the majority society into which they immigrate. Such conditions can hasten the spread of social problems and lead to stigmatization of neighborhoods and reduce opportunities and participation in the labour market, educational system and political and cultural life (Beckoven, Kempen, 2003). On the other hand, ethnic enclaves may reduce the likelihood of conflict and compensate for welfare state mechanisms that have not been integrated well enough (Ireland, 2008). Segregation may thus enable the minority population to create a safe environment to form their own social networks. The formation of ethnic areas is thus the result of two main factors: on one side, the preservation of ethnic identity and easier inclusion in the new environment, and on the other side, discrimination

and hostility from mainstream society. The topic of ethnic segregation in urban areas has caught attention of Slovene urban geography already in the 1960s and the 1970s, with increasing migration of non-Slovene population to Slovenia. The main research topics were spatial distribution and segregation of non-Slovene population in urban areas and their assimilation and integration in the Slovene society.

The main goal of the paper is to analyze formation, development and transformation of ethnic neighborhoods Sibirija and Rakova Jelša. In the first part of the paper, we presented the main characteristics of immigration flows from ex-Yugoslavia to Slovenia, the process of ethnic segregation and the formation of ethnic areas Rakova Jelša and Sibirija. In this context we pointed out the main reasons and factors which contributed to development of ethnic areas on this locations. In the second part of the paper, we examined social and demographic structure and transformation of both neighborhoods and satisfaction of population with the quality of living environment. Different research methods were used to reach those objectives.

The main research method in exploration of social and demographic processes in the studied area was analysis and comparison of population census data from 1981, 1991, 2002 and 2011. This enabled us to delineate the main characteristics of ethnic, socio-economic and demographic structure of population. We compared those characteristics with average values for Ljubljana and Slovenia to underline the specificity of social and demographic structure of this area. One of the main problems which we encountered in this analysis is the quality and availability of population census data for this area. The data on national belonging on the level of census districts was available only for population censuses of 1981 and 1991. In 2002 population census, data on ethnic belonging was not available on this territorial level. In the last population census question about national self-identification was not included at all. To resolve partly this problem, we used data on immigration instead. In addition, in population censuses of 1991 and 2002 a large proportion of population was ethnically undefined and undeclared. Both population censuses were including several statistical categories: Yugoslavs, regionally declared, ethnically undeclared, the category unknown and the category of persons that decide not to answer the question on national belonging. The comparison of demographic characteristics between 1981 and 2011 was carried on the territorial level of former local communities. The area studied was divided into two local communities: Zeleni Log and Rakova Jelša. The data from all population censuses was recalculated and presented on the level of former local communities which enabled a chronological comparison.

For the study of satisfaction of inhabitants with living environment and the process of assimilation and integration, a survey was carried on in the study area. The survey was conducted in January 2015. 196 questionnaires were completed, which included about 10% of households in the area studied. The primary purpose of the survey was to determine the satisfaction of the population with the quality of the living environment and to examine the position and the degree of assimilation of immigrants into the mainstream society.

In the first part of the questionnaire, questions were related to the satisfaction of residents with the quality of living environment in the neighborhoods, accessibility to services and housing standard. The questions referred to the satisfaction with housing

standard, the quality of living environment in the neighborhood, the investments of UML into public infrastructure, accessibility of basic services, reasons for settling in this neighborhood and similar. The second part of the questionnaire was dedicated to the problem of assimilation and discrimination of ethnic minorities in Slovenia. Questions referred to the knowledge and use of Slovene and other languages, the experience of discrimination based on national belonging and the intensity of social interaction between the members of ethnic minorities. The results and analysis of the survey are presented in chapter 7.

3 IMMIGRATION FROM THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA TO SLOVENIA

The immigration from the former Yugoslavia to Slovenia was the result of differences in economic development between the former republics. Until the Second World War Slovenia was typical emigration area, emigrations being focused initially on overseas countries and later mainly to Western Europe. After the Second World War, with increasing economic development, Slovenia gradually became the area of immigration. For the end of Second World War until the mid-1950s, political migrations were characteristic. Migrations between the republics in the first postwar period were not numerous, the reassignment of the officers of the Federal Yugoslav Army to Slovenia have been the only major migratory flow between Slovenia and the other republics. The period after 1950 represents the beginning of thirty years of intensive economic immigration to Slovenia. Despite the increasing immigration to Slovenia from the former Yugoslavia at the beginning of the 1960s Slovenia still reminded an emigration area (Dolenc, 2007). The total number of emigrants exceeded the number of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia in the 1970s as well. This was the result of migration policy of the country which, due to the phenomenon of unemployment, started to encourage temporary work abroad. For Slovenia, emigration of highly qualified work force was typical, the educational level of the immigrant population from the former Yugoslavia was quite low in this period, comparable with the average qualification level of the Slovene work force. Almost half of the immigrants in this period came from Croatia. Immigrants from Croatia were dominant till 1969, but in the beginning of the 1970s, the leading role in migration flows to Slovenia took Bosnia and Herzegovina. The 1960s also represent the beginning of the immigration of the Albanians from Kosovo. Besides Kosovo, the source areas of immigration to Slovenia were the regions of Bosnian Krajina, Bosnian Posavina and Eastern and Southern Serbia. Those same regions remained the main source of immigrants to Slovenia also in the later decades. In the 1960s, about 25,000 persons of non-Slovene ethnicity immigrated to Slovenia and about 6,000 were born in Slovenia. The share of first- and second-generation immigrants from the former Yugoslavia still failed to reach 5% of the population of Slovenia (Dolenc, 2007, p. 80).

The year 1970 can be characterized as a turning point, because it means the beginning of the longer period of positive net migrations to Slovenia. The main reasons for this were the rapid economic growth and the demand for less skilled labor force in Slovenia, the

beginning of the restriction of immigration to the countries of Western Europe and high fertility rate of non-Slovene population. This led to rapid changes in the ethnic composition of the population in Slovenia in the next two decades (Dolenc, 2007, p. 80). A high proportion of immigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina (40%) and the increase in the proportion of the second generation of immigrants are characteristic for the 1970s. The number of ethnically undefined and those classified as 'Yugoslavian' increased significantly as well. The number of persons who identified themselves as 'Yugoslavian' has increased due to several reasons: the diverse ethnic composition of the population, mixed marriages, and tendencies to unitarism in Yugoslavia (Dolenc, 2007, p. 82). The Croats were still the most numerous ethnic group in Slovenia, but due to increased assimilation their share decreased. The share of the Serbs, who were immigrating from both Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina increased sharply.

In the 1980s, the migration flows from other republics of the former Yugoslavia to Slovenia started to ease slowly. The main reasons were the growing economic crisis in the whole country and the beginning of a period of political instability. The year 1988 is the dividing line, which ends a three-decade long period of economic immigration to Slovenia. The 1980s also represent an increase in the share of women among the immigrant population, as a result of a greater supply of jobs for women in services as well as the result of the process of uniting families.

After independence of Slovenia, the migration flows from the former Yugoslavia started to strengthen once again. More than 80% of all immigrants between 1991 and 2001 came from former Yugoslavia. The most numerous immigrant group in the 1990s were war refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Estimates of their number are several and range up to 70,000 (Dolenc, 2007, p. 89). Only a minor part of the refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina remained in Slovenia, their number is estimated by Dolenc at around 8,000 (Dolenc, 2007, p. 90). The phenomenon of illegal immigration was typical for the 1990s as well, Slovenia being a transitional area to other EU countries.

After 2001, the migration to Slovenia strengthened again. After entering of Slovenia in the EU, the share of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia, contrary to expectations, has not decreased. They represent 85% of the immigration of foreigners, mainly from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia (Dolenc, 2007, p. 93). The main reason for the enhanced immigration was a favorable economic situation and high economic growth between 2001 and 2008 in Slovenia. After 2009, significantly reduced immigration is noted as a result of the beginning of economic crisis and a reduction in the demand for foreign labor force. Recent immigrants to Slovenia are mostly low qualified workers employed in construction industry and other poorly paid occupations. Male immigrants in the age group from 20 to 39 years, mostly from Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, prevail.

Immigrants often do not have equal opportunities in education, employment and political participation. Socioeconomic status of immigrant population is thus an important indicator of their integration into mainstream society. Sociological studies have shown that the socioeconomic status of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia does not differ significantly from the socioeconomic status of Slovene population. The population of immigrants and their descendants has a comparable educational level with the Slovene

population. There are no major differences in the unemployment rate as well. Major differences are noticeable in professional structure with the population of immigrants and their descendants overrepresented in less paid and less reputable professions (Bešter, 2007, p. 251). A relatively favorable level of the socioeconomic integration of immigrants can be attributed to the fact that most of the immigrants had Slovenian citizenship and were legally equal, with the same rights as other Slovene citizens. Inferior knowledge of Slovene language could represent a problem for the integration of immigrants, but the majority of the immigrant population estimated their understanding of Slovenian language as very good (Bešter, 2007, p. 251). A comparison between different ethnic groups revealed the lowest socioeconomic position of Bosnians, Albanians and Montenegrins. In average, they have lower educational level, higher unemployment and lower incomes (Bešter, 2007, p. 252).

Due to the immigration from the former Yugoslavia, the ethnic composition of the population of Ljubljana started to change after 1971. The strongest influx of immigrants was recorded between 1975 and 1982 (Repolusk, 2000, p. 70). Ljubljana ranks among the Slovene settlements with the highest share of non-Slovene population. According to the 1991 census, in Ljubljana municipality (Urban Municipality of Ljubljana – UML) lived a quarter of the non-Slovene population (Repolusk, 2000, p. 72). In 1991, 78.0% of population of UML declared as Slovenes and 7.7% as ethnically undefined. Among the remainder of the population there were 6.2% Serbs, 4.0% Croats and 2.9% Bosnians. In 2002 census, only 86.6% of the population of UML declared their ethnic belonging, 73.8% as Slovenes. Among other ethnic groups the most numerous were Serbs (13,100 persons), Croats (7,222) and Bosnians (5,763). Due to high proportion of nationally undefined, it is difficult to assess the real proportion of non-Slovene population. We can assume that the majority of the nationally undefined population has different hindrances to ethnic self-identification. Most likely they are members of the second or third generation of immigrants and members of the ethnically mixed households. A share of the non-Slovene population in UML in 2002 could therefore be evaluated between 20% and 25%. In 2011 census, the question of national belonging has not been included, therefore more recent data on the ethnic composition of the population is no longer available. The indirect data which indicate the heterogeneity of the population in UML is the number of immigrants born in one of the republics of the former Yugoslavia (47,709 persons or 17.5%). Of all the people immigrated into the UML (122,445 persons), there are 52,569 first-generation immigrants and 32,107 second-generation immigrants. The proportion of the population with foreign citizenship is relatively low (7.7% or 19,474 persons), since most of older immigrants gained Slovene citizenship in 1991.

4 THE ETHNIC SEGREGATION OF THE POPULATION IN SLOVENIA AND LJUBLJANA

The non-Slovene population in UML is spatially quite unevenly distributed; the phenomenon of spatial ethnic segregation is thus present. Ethnic segregation is defined

as the uneven spatial distribution of an ethnic group relative to the rest of the urban population. Based on census data from 1991, 2002 and 2011, we found that ethnic segregation is present in Ljubljana. The greatest problem for all immigrants is, in addition to finding employment, the housing. Therefore, new immigrants move in with relatives, friends, and acquaintances, i.e. with people from their home countries, who offer them assistance in finding housing, employment and social contacts in the new environment. Due to low incomes, they seek the cheapest accommodation and settle in the areas with poor living and housing conditions. During the period of the most intensive immigration of the non-Slovene population into Ljubljana, settlements of barrack-type housing arose as well as neighborhoods of illegally constructed single-family houses at the southern outskirts of the city. A very typical form of accommodation are the so-called 'bachelor dormitories' belonging to various construction and industrial companies which use them to house their workers in minimal accommodation standards. As part of solving the housing problem of immigrants and improving barrack-type and other substandard settlements, some public housing neighborhoods were built, such as the row houses in neighborhoods of Kašelj, Tomačevo and Črnuče. Some of the new immigrants have found housing in the older working class areas of the city with substandard accommodation. A large part of the non-Slovene population moved into the newly built apartment blocks. All this influenced the spatial distribution of the non-Slovene population in Ljubljana.

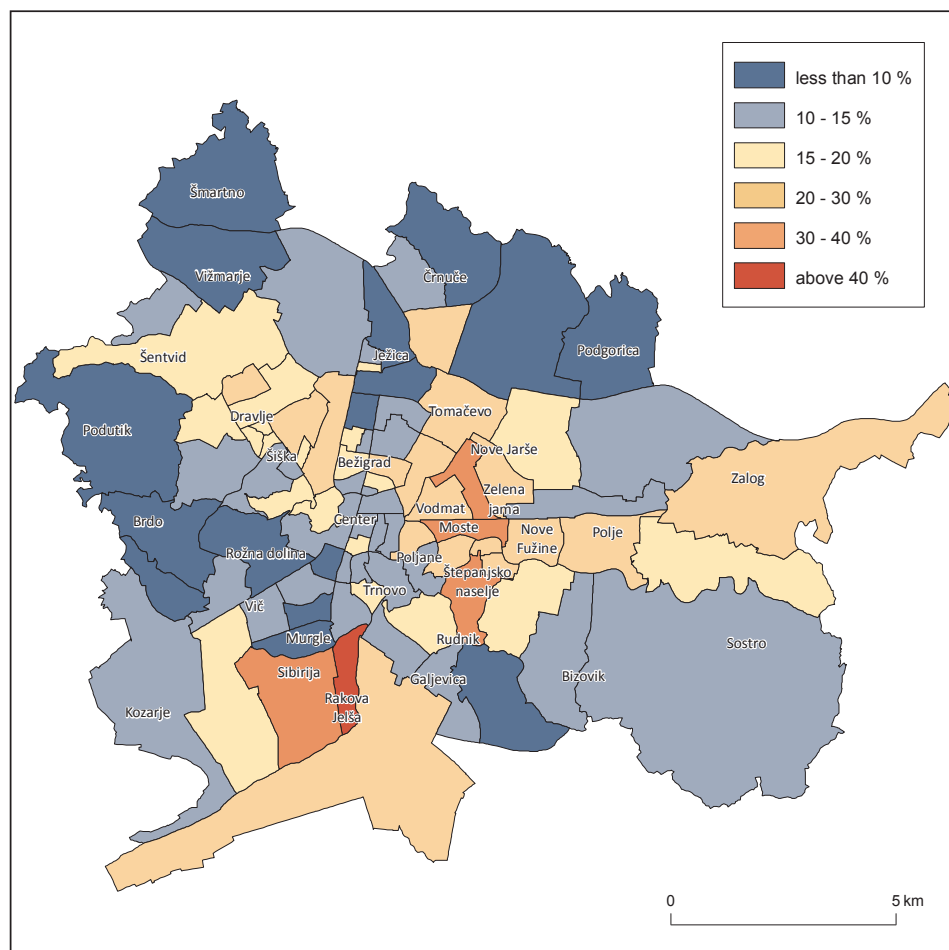
The highest shares of non-Slovene population are found in the following locations:

- substandard and illegally constructed neighborhoods of single-family houses in Rakova Jelša, Sibirija, Dolgi Most, Tomačevo and Zgornji Kašelj;
- areas of bachelor dormitories in Bežigrad between Topniška and Vojkova streets and the apartment blocks of Litostroj in Šiška;
- older working class neighborhoods with substandard housing such as Zgornje Poljane, Stari Vodmat and Zelena Jama;
- the high-rise housing estates from the 1970s and the 1980s in Nove Fužine, Spodnje Črnuče, Nove Jarše, Dravlje, Rapova Jama, Savsko naselje and Zalog.

The share of the non-Slovene population is the highest in the substandard neighborhoods of single-family houses, where it exceeds 50% and is as high as 70% in Rakova Jelša. Of the high-rise housing estates, the highest share is in Nove Fužine and Črnuče (40%), while it is somewhat lower in Savsko naselje, Nove Jarše, Rapova Jama and Dravlje. In the older working class districts it reaches about 30%.

Figure 1: The share of population in Urban Municipality of Ljubljana with first residence in one of the republics of former Yugoslavia in 2011

Slika 1: Delež prebivalcev v Mesni občini Ljubljana s prvim prebivališčem v eni izmed republik nekdanje Jugoslavije v letu 2011



Source/Vir: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2011

5 THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOODS RAKOVA JELŠA AND SIBIRIJA

Construction of low standard dwellings has a long tradition on the Ljubljansko barje, which has been reported by Vogeltnik (1938). In his study *Housing conditions*

in working class colonies in the area of the city of Ljubljana he examined the social and living conditions in the working class residential areas of Galjevica, Sibirija, Grad, Gramozna Jama and Vič. In the neighborhood Sibirija at southern outskirts of the city, 388 persons in 91 households lived in very bad conditions. He noted that one third of the residents live in the flats with less than 5 m² of living area per person. The expansion of low-income residential areas on the northern rim of Ljubljansko barje continued after the Second World War as well. The genesis of Sibirija and the Rakova Jelša can thus be traced to the period before Second World War. After 1955, illegal residential construction began on abandoned farm land, mainly by immigrants from other Yugoslav republics. Illegal residential construction reached a climax in the 1970s, when only in Rakova Jelša there were around 400 houses (Gantar, Kos, 1988, p. 40). Illegal or 'black' individual housing construction continued in the 1980s and 1990s as well. It is estimated that in 1988 around 4,000 persons lived in Rakova Jelša, among them about 20% Slovenes and 30% Serbs and Croats (Gantar, Kos, 1988, p. 40). In their study *The problems of social and spatial structure of the local community Rakova jelša* (Gantar, Kos, 1988), they suggested several reasons for the emergence of illegal residential settlements on this location. An important role had the tradition, since the area already developed as a working class slum in the 1920s. From the perspective of low-income immigrants, the location had several advantages: the excellent accessibility to the city center and southern ring road, building plots at very favorable price, green environment and possibility of urban farming (Gantar, Kos, 1988, p. 28). The Ljubljana-Vič municipality was partly responsible for the development and expansion of illegal housing as the master plan for the area was not passed on time and land was not purchased by the municipality. In the past, the northern edge of the Ljubljansko barje was less fertile marshy farm land used primarily for the production of horse fodder. When tractors replaced the horses, this kind of farming was abandoned. The market price of this less fertile agricultural land was very low. Because the municipality did not bought abandoned agricultural land, it was sold by owners to immigrants coming to Ljubljana as work force in manufacturing and services. When the land began to be of interest to prospective builders, the price substantially increased, although it was absolutely clear to all participants in the purchase that the land was not a building plot. Information about available land for prospective buyers was completely informal, through friendship and kin connections, such as 'I've heard that it is possible to buy cheap building plot on good location...'. It is of great interest that settlements Rakova Jelša and Sibirija were developed in the same time as neighboring high-income settlement of bungalow row houses Murgle. Murgle is an example of planned and very high-quality residential area with high-income population. The construction of Murgle has proven that even on marshy land development of housing of high standard is possible. In this way individual investors have gained experience how to use relatively simple building technics (sand and gravel mound) to improve the quality of housing on marshy land.

As a large proportion of housing in the area studied has developed in a form of illegal construction, this phenomenon will be presented briefly. The illegal individual housing construction in Slovenia was particularly widespread in the 1970s and the 1980s, but it

continued in later decades as well. Ravbar defines ‘illegal housing construction’ as any construction that permanently transforms the landscape or settlement without the prior approval of the urban planning administrative authority (Ravbar, 1976, p. 11). The causes for massive occurrence of illegal individual housing construction in Slovenia are several: the lack of building plots at convenient price, the high costs of municipal infrastructure and lengthy procedures in obtaining building permits, ineffective building inspection and praxis of tolerating illegal housing construction by local authorities. The emergence of illegal individual housing construction was most intensive in the 1970s and 1980s. The intensification of the phenomena coincided with the rise of individual private residential construction and suburbanization. The highest concentration of illegal residential areas is typical of Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje and the Coastal urban region. The northern edge of the Ljubljansko barje, i.e. the southern Ljubljana suburbs, is one of the largest areas of illegal residential construction in Slovenia.

Figure 2: The year of construction of buildings in the area of Sibirija

Slika 2: Leto izgradnje stavb na območju Sibirije

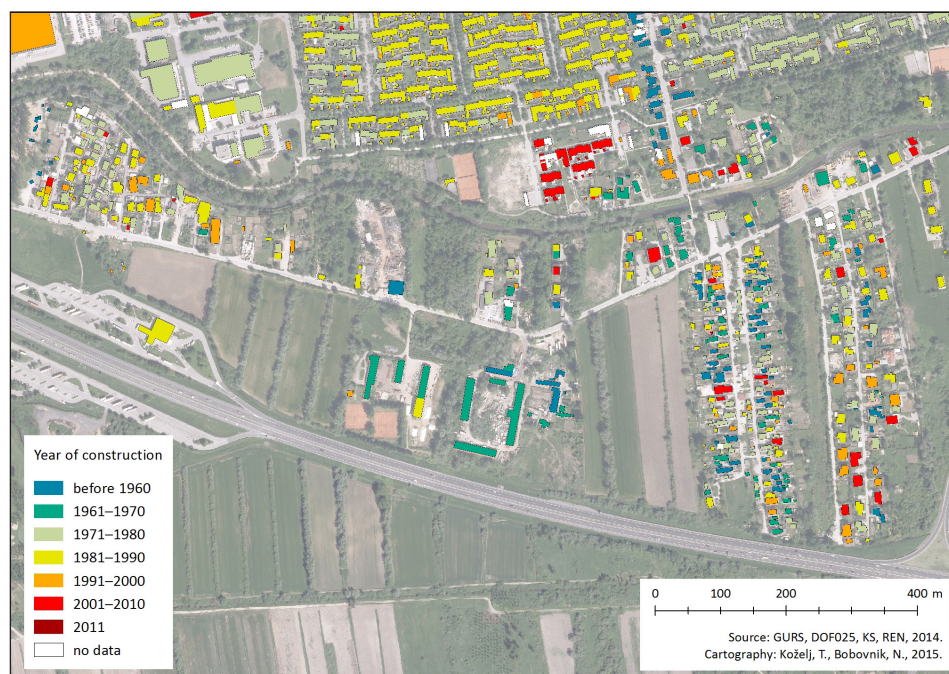
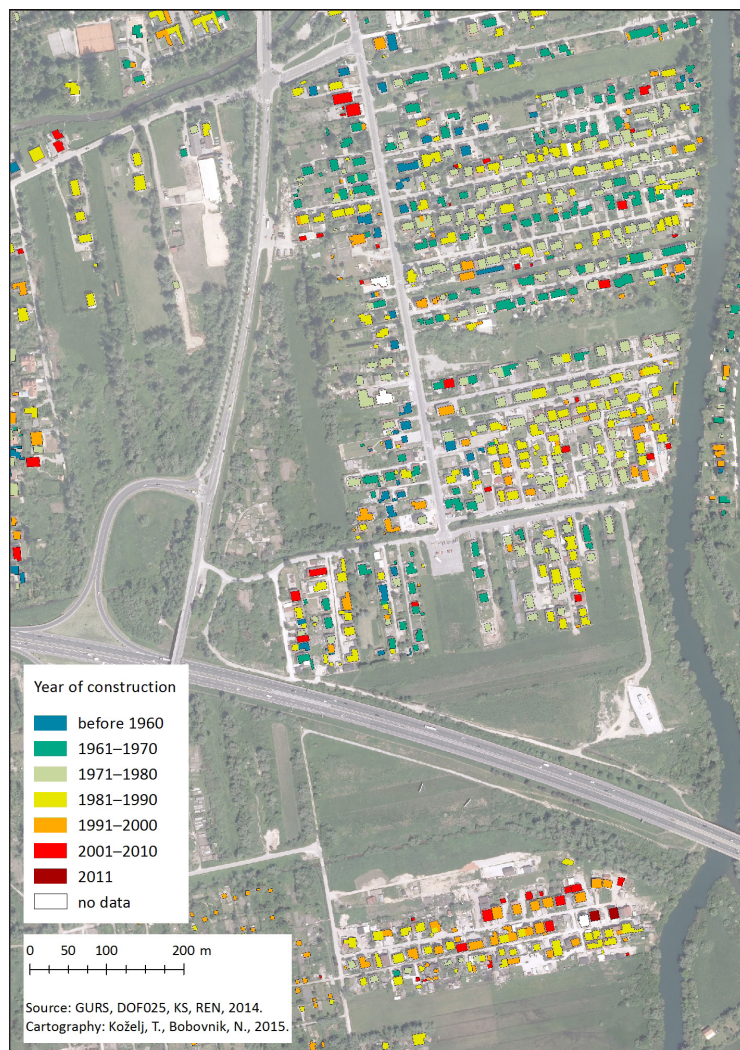


Figure 3: The year of construction of buildings in the area of Rakova Jelša
Slika 3: Leto izgradnje stavb na območju Rakove Jelše



As noted by Gantar and Kos (1988), this location has many advantages from the point view of individual investors: the proximity to the city center of Ljubljana, excellent transport accessibility, affordable land prices and the possibility of part-time agriculture. According to the president of the former local community Rakova Jelša (Kos, Gantar, 1988, p. 46), the location is very attractive, ‘as you are at the same time in the city and in the countryside and in addition the price of land is very affordable’. In addition, the

development of the city of Ljubljana has been directed to the north and west, whereas the southern edge of the urban region was neglected by the municipality and urban planning experts. Only the construction of neighborhood Murgle partly stopped the expansion of illegal housing construction in the area.

Of great interest is the emergence and expansion of southern part of Rakova Jelša, to the south of the highway, where the first building was set up in 1969. The one-family house was built by a couple from Serbia. In 1969, the house was completely isolated in the middle of marshland. According to investors, the low price of land was the only reason for choosing this location. This building acted as a ‘crystallization core’ for future expansion of illegally constructed houses. According to urban planners, the construction of Southern Ring highway was supposed to stop further expansion of Rakova Jelša, but it didn’t happen. The inhabitants were able to get basic municipal infrastructure (electricity, water, telephone) and official house address although they had no building permits. In 1989, the Ljubljana-Vič municipality adopted a building plan for the area which was a basis for legalization of buildings to the north of Southern Ring highway. For the buildings south of the highway demolition was planned. However, illegal housing construction continued after 1989 (Kos, Gantar, 1988, p. 47).

The main ‘infrastructure’ problem of Rakova Jelša remains the lack of public sewage system. Since the creation of the settlement, waste water flows into roadside open channels, then into the main channel along the Pot na Rakovo Jelšo street, then into the stream Curnovec and finally into the Ljubljanica river. Especially annoying is the smell, particularly during warm and dry weather. Unfinished sewage system presents a major environmental and potentially public health problem. Construction of sewage system and other municipal infrastructure (roads, pavements, public lights) in Rakova Jelša was and remains one of the most important urban development projects of the Ljubljana mayor Zoran Janković. Legalizing procedures with the objective of obtaining building permits were started by residents in collaboration with the Ljubljana municipality in 2007 and at the end of 2009 the first phase of the construction of sewage system and water purification plant was launched.

Prior to the beginning of the construction of sewage system, only 60 buildings had a building permit. Until April 2015, 300 buildings out of a total of 500 were legalized and only three owners didn’t start with legalizing procedures (UML Projects: construction of sewerage system). The first phase was completed in 2012, and since then 50 house owners in Pot na Rakovo Jelšo and Ulica Štefke Zbašnik streets have the possibility to connect to the public sewage system. In addition, in the first phase, roads, sidewalks, bike lanes and public lighting were arranged and other infrastructure (gas, electricity, telephone, optical cable) has been constructed. In the second phase, launched in 2015, the construction and renovation of urban infrastructure in the side streets is planned, which will allow the connection to public sewage system to further 100 users. The third phase is planned to be continued in 2016, in which the connection to the sewage system will be enabled to the rest of the users. Water purification plant for 8,500 units will be completed during the third phase as well. Ljubljana municipality has applied for European structural funds to co-finance this project. The sewage system is designed as a vacuum system, as

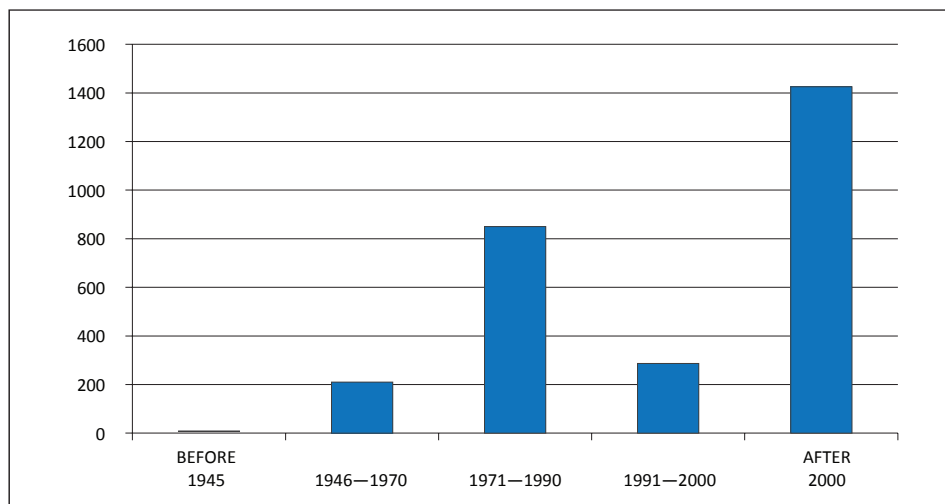
the soil structure, the high level of ground water and the existing buildings do not permit the construction of classical type of sewage system with gravitational wastewater drain. Communal wastewater treatment plant will allow adequate cleaning of the wastewater for 8,500 people and clean water will be directed into the Ljubljana river (Ljubljana – Green capital: Sewage system in the neighborhood Rakova Jelša).

6 THE SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION OF RAKOVA JELŠA AND SIBIRIJA

According to the 2011 census, 5,106 persons lived in the former local communities Rakova Jelša and Zeleni Log (Sibirija), a substantial increase in relation to years 2002 (4,092), 1991 (4,101) and 1981 (3,185). Population growth in the area studied was most intense in the 1970s and 1980s and after 2000. This is consistent with the general trends in migration flows from the area of the former Yugoslavia. The stagnation in population growth in the 1990s was a consequence of reduced immigration, due to the crisis and war in the former Yugoslavia, the return of part of non-Slovene population back to countries of origin and intraurban migrations. The number of immigrants in all periods exceeded the total population growth, which means that the substantial number of residents emigrated from the neighborhood. We can conclude that high mobility of the population is typical for both neighborhoods, which is often a characteristic of ethnic and low-income areas.

Figure 4: Number of immigrants by decades between 1945 and 2000 in the former local communities Rakova Jelša and Zeleni Log

Slika 4: Število priseljenih po desetletjih med letoma 1945 in 2000 v nekdanjih krajevnih skupnostih Rakova Jelša in Zeleni Log



Source/Vir: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2011

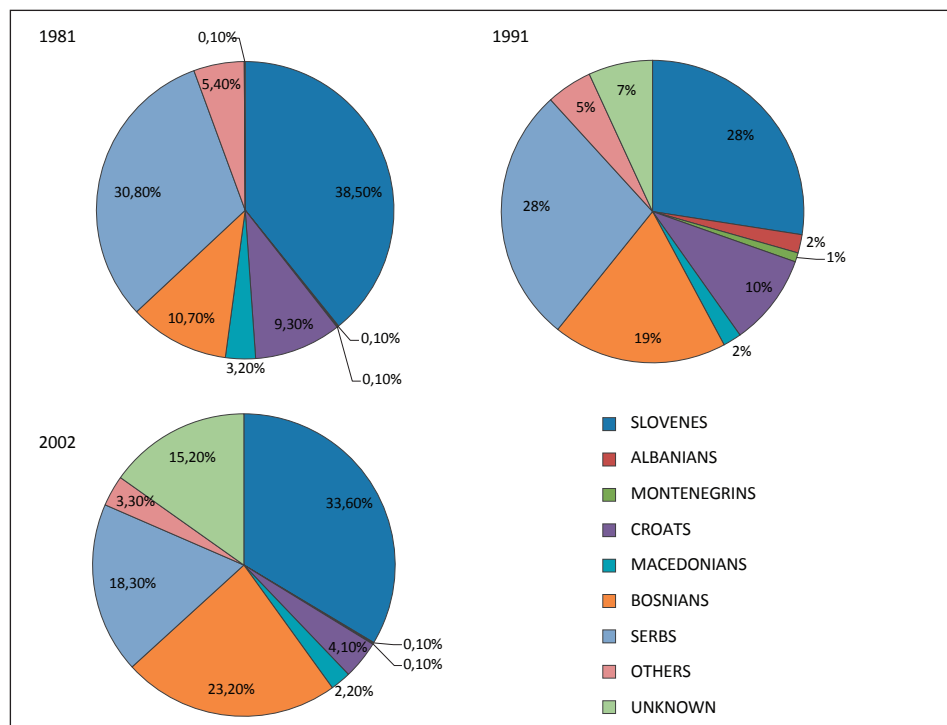
The main characteristic of the Rakova Jelša and Sibirija is a very heterogeneous ethnic composition (Figure 5). It is the only area in Ljubljana where the non-Slovene population has absolute majority. According to census data there were only 38.5% of Slovenes in 1981, 28.0% in 1991 and 33.6% in 2002. This is the only part of the city with the domination of non-Slovene population and for this reason the most typical ethnic neighborhood in the city.

It is necessary to draw attention to the changed methodology of population census 2002, when the people were asked for the first time about national affiliation without a set of possible answers. In addition, the national definition was no longer required, so the proportion of those who did not want to answer the question of national origin increased substantially. It is necessary to take into account changes in the methodology used in the censuses, when comparing the national composition of the population between different years. In the 2011 population census, data on ethnic origin is no longer available. Indirect information which indicates the heterogeneous ethnic structure of the population in Ljubljana is the share of the inhabitants with the first residence in one of republics of the former Yugoslavia.

A comparison of the ethnic structure between 1981, 1991 and 2002 indicates certain trends and changes. In particular, the progressive diminishing number of Serbs and Croats, as

Figure 5: The ethnic structure of the population in the former local communities Rakova Jelša and Zeleni Log in 1981, 1991 and 2002

Slika 5: Etnična sestava prebivalstva v nekdanjih krajevnih skupnostih Rakova Jelša in Zeleni Log v letih 1981, 1991 in 2002



well as increasing share of Bosnians can be noticed. This is mainly a consequence of changes in immigration flows to Slovenia from the former Yugoslavia. In particular, after 2000 the immigration from Bosnia and Herzegovina increased, and on the other hand decreased from Serbia and Croatia. Most of immigrants from Croatia came until 1970 and from Serbia in the 1970s. The increased share of Slovenes in 2002 was certainly a consequence of gradual assimilation of the second and third generation of immigrants and mixed marriages.

Table 1: Selected socioeconomic characteristics of population in the former local communities Zeleni Log and Rakova Jelša in 2011

Preglednica 1: Izbrane socioekonomske značilnosti prebivalstva v nekdanjih krajevnih skupnostih Zeleni Log in Rakova Jelša v letu 2011

	Foreign nationals (%)	Immigrants from the former Yugoslavia (%)	Unemployed (%)	Population with completed primary school or less (%)	Population with university degree (%)
UML	7.7	17.5	10.4	21.2	27.3
Zeleni Log	28.3	38.0	15.6	37.3	9.2
Rakova Jelša	37.6	58.0	12.8	41.4	5.7

Source/Vir: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2011

For Rakova Jelša and Sibirija, besides the specific ethnic structure, a low socioeconomic status of population is characteristic as well. As noted in the first part of the paper, socioeconomic status of non-Slovene population does not differ significantly from the socioeconomic status of the Slovenes. This means that the area of Rakova Jelša and Sibirija was settled mainly with immigrants with a lower socioeconomic status. A good indicator of under-average socioeconomic status of population is significantly lower educational structure compared with Ljubljana (Table 1). The share of population with lower education (completed primary school or less) is about twice as high as in Ljubljana, and the share of the population with a university degree is about three times lower. The low socioeconomic status of the population can also be determined by the data on income. In 1992, average per capita income compared to the average of UML reached only 53% in Rakova Jelša and 58% in Zeleni Log. In the high-income neighborhood Murgle, which is located in the immediate vicinity, per capita income was about three times higher than in studied area. In 1999, former local communities Rakova Jelša and Sibirija had the lowest income per capita as well, reaching only half of the average value for the entire city (Krevs, 2002b, p. 30). Low socioeconomic status of the population is also reflected in above-average unemployment rate.

Some specific demographic characteristics are typical for the studied areas as well. Despite the gradual ageing of the population in recent decades, population of Rakova Jelša and Sibirija is still significantly younger than in the rest of the city. Higher share of younger and middle generation (25 to 54 years) and lower share of older generation (over 55 years) is particularly characteristic. The share of children is similar to city average. A relatively low proportion of children is the reflection of very high proportion of

single-person households (51.3%). Such age structure is the reflection of immigration of younger generation and is typical for ethnic areas.

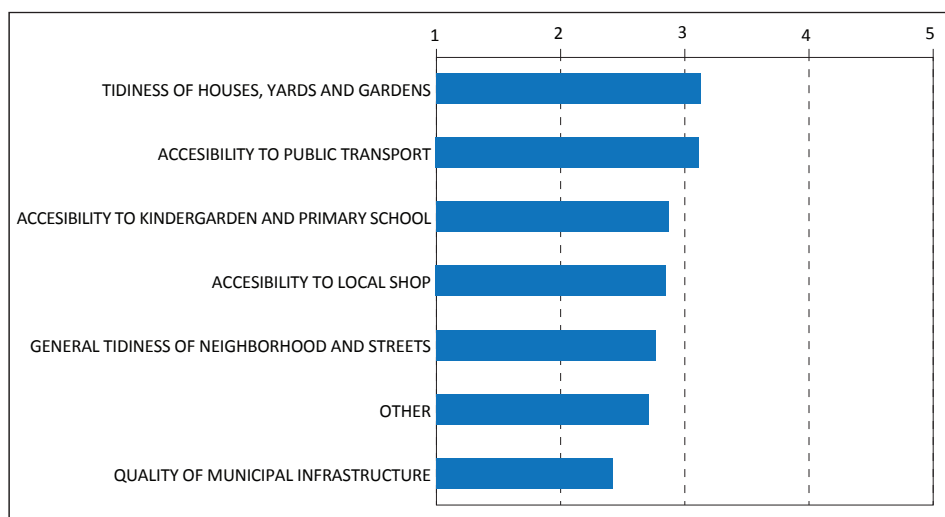
Low socioeconomic status of the population is reflected in low housing standard as well. The neighborhood is characterized by single-family houses; only some multi-residential units are present as well. Most of the houses have basic urban infrastructure (water, electricity), but the majority of them is not connected to the sewage system. Much lower housing area per person than in the rest of Ljubljana is also characteristic.

7 SATISFACTION OF THE POPULATION WITH THE QUALITY OF THE LIVING ENVIRONMENT

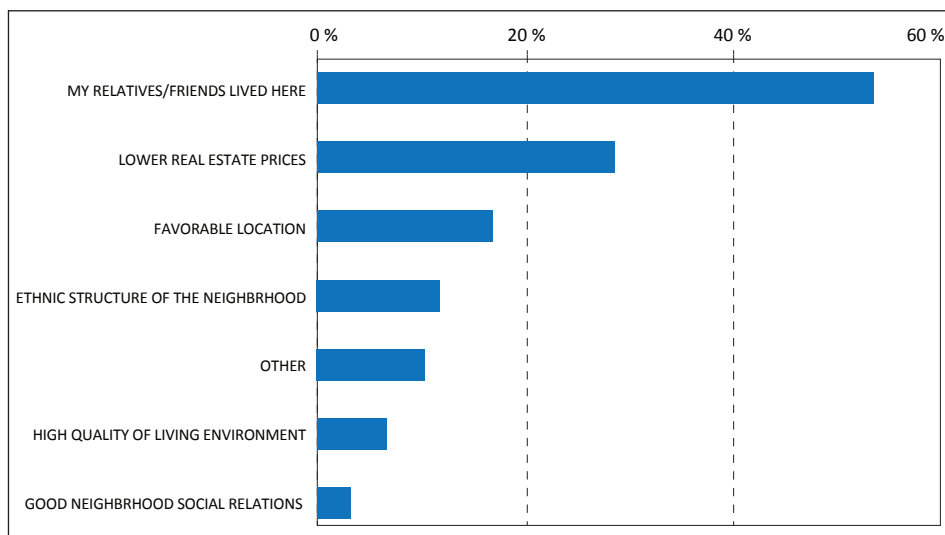
Despite the reputation of dysfunctional and problematic neighborhood, most of the surveyed population is relatively satisfied with the quality of the living environment (Figure 6). Residents are quite satisfied with the quality and maintenance of the houses, gardens and yards, and slightly less with general quality of living environment of the neighborhood. Most of them are satisfied or very satisfied with their house or apartment, despite the low housing area per person. Inhabitants are less satisfied with the accessibility to basic services and with the urban infrastructure in the neighborhood. In particular, they are not satisfied with the lack of sewage system, the accessibility to local food stores, kindergarten, primary school, public transportation, sport facilities and social center. They

Figure 6: Satisfaction of residents with the quality of the living environment (1 – very low, 2 – low, 3 – average, 4 – high, 5 – very high)

Slika 6: Zadovoljstvo prebivalcev s kvaliteto bivalnega okolja (1 – zelo nizko, 2 – nizko, 3 – povprečno, 4 – visoko, 5 – zelo visoko)



Source/Vir: Survey, 2015

*Figure 7: The main reason for settling in this neighborhood**Slika 7: Glavni razlog za naselitev v tej soseski**Source/Vir: Survey, 2015*

are also not satisfied with the general maintenance of the neighborhood (streets, public lighting). Residents are, on average, satisfied with the newest investments of UML in the neighborhood (construction of the sewage system and other urban infrastructure). Among the reasons for choosing this neighborhood, the following stand out: here are living my acquaintances, relatives or friends; low prices of housing; favorable location close to the city center and highway ring; a high proportion of the non-Slovene population (Figure 7).

As many as 60% of the surveyed population declared to be Slovenians, about 25% Bosnians, and the others Serbs, Croats, Albanians or Macedonians. The ethnic structure of the population included in the survey is thus quite different from the general ethnic structure of the neighborhood. Residents with Slovene nationality were obviously more willing to participate in the survey than the members of other ethnic groups. The survey is therefore not fully representative. It is clear that some degree of fear and distrust to participate in this kind of survey was present among the members of the other ethnic groups. Despite this fact, most of non-Slovene residents did not encounter any discrimination or intolerance because of their ethnic origin. They estimate their knowledge of Slovenian language as good or average. Most of the population feels accepted in the Slovene society. The results of the survey indicate a relatively high degree of assimilation of immigrants in a new environment.

8 CONCLUSION

Ethnic neighborhoods Rakova Jelša and Sibirija on the southern edge of Ljubljana are the only parts of the city with the majority of non-Slovene population. The area has

a reputation of a dangerous and unsettled neighborhood with a very low socioeconomic status of population. Demographic structure of the studied area is very specific and characteristic for ethnic areas: in average, population is younger, less educated and with lower incomes than the average for the whole urban area. The share of non-Slovene population is decreasing in spite of new immigration which indicates the process of assimilation of second and third generation into Slovene society. Low socioeconomic status of population is typical for ethnic areas and is confirmed by our research. Socioeconomic status of the population (education level, income, unemployment) is still low, but is gradually improving. Due to its good location and improved quality of living environment, the process of gentrification of the area can be expected in the future. The process of gentrification of the neighborhoods can be 'suspected' by new and more luxurious family houses but is still not confirmed by statistical data. Despite the gradual ageing of the population in recent decades, population of Rakova Jelša and Sibirija is still significantly younger than in the rest of the city. This is mainly a result of constant immigration of young population. The share of younger and middle generation and single households is particularly high, which indicates recent immigration.

Both neighborhoods are poorly equipped with municipal infrastructure; the main problem remains the lack of sewage system. In spite of that the quality of living environment was evaluated as good or average by the local population. Local population is not satisfied with accessibility to services, but the area has a very good location close to city center and highway ring. In recent years, Ljubljana municipality is investing in municipal infrastructure (roads, public transport, public lights and sewage system) and the quality of living environment is improving. Urban Municipality of Ljubljana has a goal to create a residential area with a comparable quality of living to other residential areas of the city.

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RAKOVA JELŠA IN SIBIRIJA – ETNIČNI ČETRTEV PREOBRAZBI

Povzetek

Območje Rakove Jelše in Sibirije je edini del Ljubljane, kjer delež neslovenskega prebivalstva presega 50 %. Gre torej za etnično območje oziroma etnično četrt, ki se je oblikovala s priseljevanjem prebivalstva iz območja nekdanje Jugoslavije od sedemdesetih let dalje. Stanovanjska gradnja je večinoma potekala brez gradbenih dovoljenj, gre za največje območje črnih gradenj v Ljubljani. Obe soseski imata 'sloves' problematičnega, nevarnega in neurejenega dela mesta. Poleg specifične nacionalne sestave prebivalstva so za preučevano območje značilni tudi močno podpovprečen socioekonomski položaj prebivalstva, pomanjkljivo urejena infrastruktura in splošna neurejenost bivalnega okolja. Glede na opisane značilnosti bi lahko zaključili, da imata Rakova Jelša in Sibirija značilnosti etničnega geta in sluma. Po drugi strani se soseski odlikujeta po odlični lokaciji v bližini mestnega središča in obvoznice. Večina prebivalcev je razmeroma zadovoljna s kvaliteto bivalnega okolja, postopoma se ureja tudi komunalna in infrastrukturna opremljenost.

V prispevku je v uvodnem delu prikazana problematika priseljevanja neslovenskega prebivalstva iz območja nekdanje Jugoslavije v Slovenijo in Ljubljano ter s tem povezan nastanek in razvoj etničnih četrti Rakova Jelša in Sibirija. V nadaljevanju so na osnovi popisnih podatkov opisane temeljne značilnosti socioekonomske sestave in preobrazbe prebivalstva omenjenih sosesk. S pomočjo anketiranja prebivalstva smo ugotavljali zadovoljstvo s kvaliteto bivalnega okolja in problematiko vključevanja priseljencev v novo okolje.

Stanovanjska gradnja nizkega standarda ima na Ljubljanskem barju že dolgo tradicijo, o čemer poroča že Vogelink (1938). Naseljevanje prebivalstva z nižjim socioekonomskim položajem na severnem obrobju Ljubljanskega barja, zlasti priseljencev iz območja nekdanje Jugoslavije, se je nadaljevalo tudi po drugi svetovni vojni. Nelegalna individualna stanovanjska gradnja se je nadaljevala tudi v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih 20. st. Z vidika črnograditeljev ima lokacija več prednosti: odlična prometna lega v bližini mestnega središča in blizu južne obvoznice, ugodna cena zemljišč in možnost dopolnilnega ukvarjanja s kmetijstvom.

Po popisu iz leta 2011 je na območju nekdanjih krajevnih skupnosti Sibirija in Rakova Jelša živelo 5106 oseb. Rast prebivalstva na preučevanem območju je bila najhitrejša v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih ter po letu 2000. To je skladno s splošnimi trendi priseljevanja prebivalstva iz območja nekdanje Jugoslavije. Poglavitna 'specifičnost' Rakove Jelše in Sibirije je heterogena nacionalna sestava prebivalstva. Gre za edino območje

v Ljubljani, kjer delež neslovenskega prebivalstva krepko presega polovico skupnega prebivalstva. Primerjava nacionalne sestave prebivalstva med leti 1981, 1991 in 2002 nakazuje na določene trende. Zlasti je očitno postopno zmanjševanje deleža Srbov in Hrvatov ter povečevanje deleža Bošnjakov. To je posledica spremenjenih tokov priseljevanja v Slovenijo iz nekdanje Jugoslavije. Povečan delež Slovencev v letu 2002 je prav gotovo posledica postopne asimilacije pripadnikov druge in tretje generacije priseljencev ter mešanih zakonov.

Območje Rakove Jelše in Sibirije poleg specifične nacionalne sestave opredeljuje tudi nizek socioekonomski položaj prebivalstva. Gre torej za etnično območje s koncentracijo prebivalstva nižjega socialnega sloja. Delež prebivalcev z nižjo izobrazbo (dokončana osnovna šola ali manj) je približno dvakrat večji kot v mestni občini Ljubljana, delež prebivalcev z univerzitetno izobrazbo pa približno trikrat nižji. Osnova za dohodnino na prebivalca v obeh nekdanjih krajevnih skupnostih je dosegla le nekaj nad polovico povprečne vrednosti za celotno mesto (Krevs, 2002b, str. 30). Nizek socioekonomski položaj prebivalstva se kaže tudi v nadpovprečni stopnji brezposelnosti.

V okviru raziskave smo izvedli tudi anketiranje lokalnega prebivalstva. Osnovni namen ankete je bil ugotoviti zadovoljstvo prebivalstva s kvaliteto bivalnega okolja ter preučiti položaj in asimilacijo priseljenega neslovenskega prebivalstva v novem okolju. Kljub 'slovesu' neurejene in problematične soseske je večina anketiranih prebivalcev razmeroma zadovoljna s kvaliteto bivalnega okolja. Prebivalci so manj zadovoljni z dostopnostjo do osnovne oskrbe in storitev ter s komunalno opremljenostjo soseske. Predvsem pogrešajo kanalizacijo, več trgovin z živili, vrtec, športni in družabni center, boljši dostop do postajališča mestnega avtobusa ter boljšo urejenost cest (pločnik, javna razsvetljava). Prebivalci so povprečno zadovoljni z urejanjem soseske s strani MOL.

Med razlogi za priselitev in bivanje v tej soseski močno izstopajo naslednji: tu so živel moji znanci, sorodniki ali prijatelji, nižje cene nepremičnin oziroma zemljišč, ugodna lokacija in visok delež neslovenskega prebivalstva. Večina neslovenskega prebivalstva ne zaznava etnične nestrpnosti oziroma zaradi svoje etnične pripadnosti ni imelo večjih problemov. Rezultati anketiranja kažejo na relativno visoko stopnjo asimilacije priseljencev v novo okolje.