d76

Since 1960

treatises and documents

Journal of Ethnic Studies

razprave in gradivo

Revija za narodnostna vprašanja

June / Junij 2016

t d

treatises and documents
Journal of Ethnic Studies

razprave in gradivo
Revija za narodnostna vprašanja

June / Junij 2016

Treatises and Documents, Journal of Ethnic Studies
Razprave in gradivo, Revija za narodnostna vprašanja

Editor-in-Chief / *Odgovorni urednik*
Sara Brezigar (Institute for Ethnic Studies, Slovenia / *Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Slovenija*)

Editor / *Urednica*
Emma Lantschner (University of Graz, Austria, and European Academy Bozen, Italy / *Univerza v Gradcu, Avstrija, in Evropska Akademija v Bocnu, Italija*)

Technical Board / *Tehnični odbor*
Romana Bešter, Meta Gostinčar-Cerar, Sonja Kurinčič Mikuž (indexing and sales /*indeksiranje in prodaja*)**, Mojca Medvešek** (on-line edition / *e-izdaja*)**, Janez Pirc**

Abstracting and indexing services / *Vključitev v baze podatkov*
The journal is currently noted in the following / *Revija je vključena v:*
CSA Sociological Abstracts, CSA Worldwide Political Science Abstract, International Political Science Abstracts (IPSA), FRANCIS, IBZ, IBSS, SCOPUS.

Contacts / *Kontakti*
Editorial correspondence should be addressed to / *Pošto za uredništvo revije naslovite na*:
Institute for Ethnic Studies / *Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja*, Erjavčeva 26, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia,
e-mail: editortd@guest.arnes.si
Ordering information / *Naročila*: **Sonja Kurinčič Mikuž**, Institute for Ethnic Studies / *Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja*, Erjavčeva 26, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, e-mail: sonja.kurincic@guest.arnes.si

Disclaimer / *Pojasnilo*
The published articles express authors' viewpoints. / *Objavljeni prispevki izražajo stališča avtorjev.*

The Journal was published as follows / *Revijo smo izdajali:*
1960-1986: Razprave in gradivo (Treatises and Documents) ISSN 0034-0251;
1987-1989: Revija za narodnostna vprašanja – Razprave in gradivo
(Journal of Ethnic Studies - Treatises and Documents) ISSN 0353-2720;
1990-2010: Razprave in gradivo: Revija za narodnostna vprašanja
(Treatises and Documents: Journal of Ethnic Studies) ISSN 0354-0286.

Table of contents / Kazalo

ARTICLES / ČLANKI

Romana Bešter, Mojca Medvešek, Janez Pirc

Vloga romskih pomočnikov v Sloveniji pri vključevanju romskih otrok v sistem vzgoje in izobraževanja

V članku obravnavamo prispevek romskih pomočnikov k vključevanju romskih otrok v slovenski vzgojnoizobraževalni sistem. Z različnimi pristopi in metodami evalviramo delo romskih pomočnikov v okviru projekta Skupaj do znanja v letih 2014 in 2015. Pri tem se osredotočimo na štiri tematske sklope: obiskovanje pouka, sodelovanje med starši in šolo, opravljanje šolskih obveznosti in znanje slovenskega jezika. Ugotavljamo, da je delo romskih pomočnikov v šolah in vrtcih koristno, potrebno ter dobro sprejeto s strani šol, vrtcev in romske skupnosti ter da prispeva k izboljšanju situacije na vseh obravnavanih področjih. Ključni prednosti večine romskih pomočnikov v primerjavi z učitelji sta znanje romskega jezika in poznavanje romske kulture, kar pripomore k lažjemu komuniciranju z romskimi otroki in njihovimi starši ter pomaga pri vzpostavljanju medsebojnega zaupanja.

Ključne besede: romski pomočniki, Romi, vzgoja in izobraževanje, Slovenija.

The Role of Roma Assistants in Inclusion of Roma Children into Slovene Educational System

The article discusses the contribution of Roma assistants to the inclusion of Roma children into the Slovene educational system. Through different approaches and methods we evaluated the work of Roma assistants within the research project titled Together to knowledge, which was going on in the years 2014 to 2015. We focused on: class attendance, cooperation between parents and school, performance of school obligations and command of the Slovene language. The work of Roma assistants in schools and kindergartens has been found useful, necessary and positively accepted on the part of schools, kindergartens and Roma community, having been instrumental in improving the situation in all areas under consideration. School directors and mentors of Roma assistants recognized this institute as highly useful and positive. The key advantage of most Roma assistants as compared to teachers is command of Roma language and culture, which contributes to better communication with Roma children and their parents, and helps to establish mutual trust.

Keywords: Roma assistants, Roma, education, Slovenia.

Correspondence address: Romana Bešter, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja/Institute for Ethnic Studies, Erjavčeva 26, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, e-mail: romana.bester@inv.si; Mojca Medvešek, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja/Institute for Ethnic Studies, Erjavčeva 26, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, e-mail: mojca.medvesek@inv.si; Janez Pirc, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja/Institute for Ethnic Studies, Erjavčeva 26, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, e-mail: janez.pirc2@guest.arnes.si.

1. Uvod

Institut romskega pomočnika je danes uveljavljen v številnih evropskih državah. Ponekod so ga začeli uvajati že v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja (npr. Španija, Češka, Slovaška, Finska, Francija in Romunija) (Rus 2006, 8). Naloge romskih pomočnikov se od države do države razlikujejo, prav tako zahtevane kvalifikacije, ki jih morajo imeti osebe, da lahko opravljajo to delo. V nekaterih državah romski pomočniki predvsem pomagajo romskim učencem v šoli (sodelujejo z učiteljem v razredu, med poukom), druge opravljajo bolj delo povezovalca med romsko skupnostjo in šolo (kar vključuje tudi delo v romskih naseljih). Nekatere države postavljajo za pogoj, da mora biti romski pomočnik pripadnik romske skupnosti, v drugih državah lahko to funkcijo opravljajo tudi Neromi. Ponekod je naloga romskih pomočnikov pomagati izključno romskim učencem, drugje je njihova pomoč namenjena vsem učencem, ki jo potrebujejo (s čimer se želita preprečiti dodatno izpostavljanje in stigmatiziranje Romov). Različna so tudi sama poimenovanja, na primer romski pomočnik, romski koordinator, romski mentor, tudi (romski, medkulturni) mediator, ali pa samo pomočnik učitelja, pedagoški asistent.[1] Prav tako obstajajo razlike v načinih zaposlovanja romskih pomočnikov. Ponekod gre za sistemizirana delovna mesta v šolstvu, ki se financirajo iz proračuna, spet drugje so romski pomočniki zaposleni prek projektov ali nevladnih organizacij. Razlike se pojavljajo tudi glede organizacije izobraževanja in usposabljanja romskih pomočnikov, ki v večini držav ni sistemsko urejeno (Rus 2006, Bačlija & Grabner 2014).

Tudi v Sloveniji ostaja v praksi status romskega pomočnika oziroma romskega koordinatorja še vedno dokaj nejasen. Kot je zapisano v Strategiji vzgoje in izobraževanja Romov v Republiki Sloveniji (2004, 26, v nadaljevanju SVIR), se je institut romskega pomočnika pri nas začel uvajati v nekaterih vrtcih že pred letom 2004. V SVIR je že več kot deset let zapisana potreba po prilagoditvi pravnega okvira, uvedbi ustreznega programa izobraževanja in zagotovitvi finančnih sredstev za uvedbo romskega pomočnika. Opredeljene so tudi naloge in vloga romskega pomočnika v vrtcu in šoli. Tako v vrtcu kot v šoli naj bi romski pomočnik opravljal delo na treh ravneh: na ravni oddelka ali razreda, na ravni vrtca ali šole in na ravni romske skupnosti. Predvsem pa naj bi bilo delo romskega pomočnika fleksibilno in v skladu s potrebami posameznega vrtca ali šole (SVIR 2004, 31–34). Že na samem začetku uvajanja romskega pomočnika v vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem se je kot ključnega pomena pokazala potreba po ustrezni stopnji izobrazbe in primerni usposobljenosti romskih pomočnikov za delo v vrtcu in šoli. V začetnem obdobju – zlasti to velja za jugovzhod Slovenije – ni bilo lahko pridobiti kandidata z ustrezno stopnjo izobrazbe in znanjem romskega jezika, ki bi bil pripravljen opravljati delo romskega pomočnika v sklopu javnih del (Bešter & Medvešek 2007, 170). Sprva vsi romski pomočniki niso imeli ustrezne izobrazbe, za delo so se usposabljali na delovnem mestu s

pomočjo šolskega osebja ali pa v okviru različnih projektov, ki sta jih sofinancirala Ministrstvo za delo, družino in socialne zadeve ter Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport. Na podlagi pridobljenih izkušenj je leta 2007 Center za poklicno izobraževanje oblikoval dva poklicna standarda, romski pomočnik in romski koordinator,[2] ki sta bila sprejeta na Strokovnem svetu za poklicno in strokovno izobraževanje. S tem so bile oblikovane potrebne normativne podlage za sistemsko umeščanje poklicev romski pomočnik in romski koordinator. Kljub temu do sistemizacije romskega pomočnika oziroma romskega koordinatorja v vzgojno-izobraževalnem sistemu še ni prišlo. Delovanje romskih pomočnikov oziroma romskih koordinatorjev se zagotavlja v okviru javnih del in pa znotraj posameznih projektov.

Ne glede na oblikovan poklicni standard prihaja do različnih razumevanj in interpretacij opisa del romskega pomočnika ter do različnih pogledov na to, ali romski pomočnik nudi tudi učno pomoč in je neke vrste pedagoški delavec, ali je praviloma predstavnik romske skupnosti, ki vzdržuje povezavo med romsko skupnostjo in šolo (Strategija vzgoje in izobraževanja Romov v Republiki Sloveniji (Dopolnilo k Strategiji 2004) 2011, 15, v nadaljevanju SVIR-DOP). Izhajajoč iz SVIR-DOP (2011, 15) je cilj uvedbe romskega pomočnika odpravljanje oziroma ublažitev posledic neznanja slovenskega jezika in neuspešnega vključevanja romskih otrok v slovenski vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem. Romski pomočnik naj bi otrokom pomagal prebroditi čustveno in jezikovno oviro ter naj bi predstavljal neke vrste most med vrtcem in šolo ter romsko skupnostjo.

Kakšen je prispevek romskih pomočnikov k vključevanju romskih otrok v vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem in na kakšen način (s katerimi aktivnostmi) romski pomočniki to dosegajo, sta dve glavni vprašanji, s katerima se bomo ukvarjali v tem prispevku. Pri ugotavljanju, kakšni so učinki delovanja romskih pomočnikov v praksi, bomo izhajali iz ocen in mnenj ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov ter samih romskih pomočnikov, ki so bili zaposleni v okviru projekta Skupaj do znanja – uresničevanje ciljev Strategije vzgoje in izobraževanja Romov v Republiki Sloveniji.[3] Pretekle evalvacije dela romskih pomočnikov (Nećak Lük idr. 2005, Bačlija 2008, Brezovšek 2008, Ljudska univerza Kočevje 2014, Bačlija & Grabner 2014) so pokazale, da je bila uvedba instituta romskega pomočnika pozitiven ukrep, vseeno pa so se kazale potrebe po določeni nadgradnji. V omenjenem projektu so bile zato uvedene nekatere spremembe, zlasti je bil dan večji poudarek delu romskih pomočnikov tudi v romskih naseljih, ne zgolj v šolah. Poleg tega so številni romski pomočniki v tem obdobju opravili zahtevana usposabljanja in predpisan izobraževalni program (SVIR-DOP 2011, 16), kar bi po pričakovanjih moralo prispevati k še večji uspešnosti in učinkovitosti njihovega dela.

V nadaljevanju članka je najprej predstavljena metodologija, ki smo jo uporabili za evalvacijo delovanja romskih pomočnikov. Temu sledi osrednje poglavje, kjer smo prek štirih tematskih sklopov (spodbujanje rednega obiskovanja šole,

8

spodbujanje sodelovanja med romskimi starši in šolo, pomoč in spodbuda romskim otrokom pri opravljanju različnih šolskih obveznosti in domačih nalog ter pomoč pri premagovanju jezikovnih ovir) preverjali, s katerimi dejavnostmi in na kakšen način romski pomočniki prispevajo k izboljšanju položaja na vsakem izmed teh področij. Rezultate smo strnili v sklepnih ugotovitvah.

2. Metodologija evalvacije delovanja romskih pomočnikov v osnovnih šolah in vrtcih

V projektu Skupaj do znanja – uresničevanje ciljev Strategije vzgoje in izobraževanja Romov v Republiki Sloveniji (Bešter idr. 2015, v nadaljevanju Skupaj do znanja) je bilo zaposlenih 22 romskih pomočnikov,[4] ki so delovali na 29 osnovnih šolah[5] in v 3 vrtcih.[6] 12 romskih pomočnikov je opravljalo svoje delo na 1 osnovni šoli ali v 1 vrtcu, ostali pa so delali na 2 ali 3 vzgojno-izobraževalnih ustanovah hkrati.

Za ugotavljanje prispevka romskih pomočnikov k vključevanju in uspešnosti romskih otrok v vzgojno-izobraževalnem sistemu smo uporabili različne znanstvene pristope in metode:

- analizo znanstvene in strokovne literature ter sekundarnih virov;
- analizo dokumentacije, ki je nastala v času delovanja romskih pomočnikov (časovnice, vsebinska poročila romskih pomočnikov, zapisniki evalvacijskih sestankov);
- izvedbo ankete med ravnatelji izbranih osnovnih šol, mentorji romskih pomočnikov in romskimi pomočniki.

Zlasti nas je zanimalo, kako delo in vlogo romskih pomočnikov ocenjujejo njihovi mentorji ter ravnatelji šol in vrtcev, kjer delajo, zato smo v mesecu aprilu 2015 med njimi izvedli anketo s strukturiranim vprašalnikom, ki je večinoma vključeval vprašanja zaprtega tipa. Vprašalnik je vrnilo 53 ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov iz 28 osnovnih šol ter 4 ravnatelji in mentorji iz 3 vrtcev.[7]

Zanimalo nas je tudi, kako romski pomočniki sami ocenjujejo svoje delo. Med njimi smo januarja 2015 prav tako izvedli anonimno anketo s strukturiranim vprašalnikom, s katerim smo ugotavljali stališča o pogojih dela, o medosebnih odnosih na delovnem mestu – v šoli ali vrtcu, o odnosih s starši učencev, o organizaciji dela, o njihovi usposobljenosti za delo in o potrebah po nadaljnjem usposabljanju. Med 21 romskimi pomočniki, ki so izpolnili anketni vprašalnik, je bilo 18 žensk in 3 moški. Povprečna starost romskega pomočnika je bila 33,2 leta. Med romskimi pomočniki je bila večina (57,1 odstotka) takih, ki je svoje delo opravljala že več kot 5 let.[8] Pregled njihove izobrazbene strukture je pokazal, da so 4 romski pomočniki (19 odstotkov) imeli dokončano osnovno šolo, 15 (71,4 odstotka) jih je imelo dokončano srednjo šolo, 1 romski pomočnik (4,7

odstotka) je imel dokončano visoko oziroma višjo šolo in 1 romski pomočnik je imel dokončano fakulteto (4,7 odstotka). Ob zaključku projekta Skupaj do znanja je 9 romskih pomočnikov uspešno opravilo poklicno maturo po programu predšolske vzgoje.

V povprečju so romski pomočniki vsak mesec delali s 506 romskimi otroki v vrtcih in osnovnih šolah.

Preglednica 1: Povprečno mesečno število romskih učencev, s katerimi so delali romski pomočniki v okviru projekta Skupaj do znanja v letih 2014 in 2015

razred	vrtec	1. r.	2. r.	3. r.	4. r.	5. r.	6. r.	7. r.	8. r.	9. r.	skupaj
št. romskih učencev	29	80	75	89	72	53	36	27	26	20	506

Vir: Bešter idr. 2015, 74.

Razvidno je, da so romski pomočniki v večji meri delali z učenci iz prve triade, sledili so učenci iz druge triade, najmanj pa je bilo učencev iz tretje triade. Razlogov za to je več. Eden izmed njih je ta, da je romskih učencev v prvi triadi največ, v višjih razredih pa jih je zaradi ponavljanj in zapuščanja osnovne šole pred zaključkom 9. razreda vse manj. Drugi razlog je ta, da je pri delu z romskimi otroki običajno poudarek prav na delu z učenci prve triade, ki naj bi jim s tem omogočili boljše začetne osnove za delo v višjih razredih. Tretji razlog pa je nezadostna usposobljenost nekaterih romskih pomočnikov za pomoč učencem v tretji triadi.

Pri tem je treba dodati, da so razlike med romskimi pomočniki glede števila učencev, s katerimi se ukvarjajo, precej velike (od 10 pa do 67 romskih otrok na 1 romskega pomočnika). 35 odstotkov romskih pomočnikov je vsak mesec delalo s povprečno 10–15 romskimi otroki, 25 odstotkov jih je delalo z 19–23 romskimi otroki, 20 odstotkov z 29–32 romskimi otroki, 10 odstotkov s 37 romskimi otroki, 1 romska pomočnica je delala z 48 romskimi otroki in prav tako 1 romska pomočnica s 67 romskimi otroki. Ne glede na to je večina ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov (70,2 odstotka) menila, da je na njihovi šoli oziroma v vrtcu romski pomočnik zadolžen za ustrezno število otrok, medtem ko jih je 26,3 odstotka menilo, da je romski pomočnik zadolžen za preveliko število romskih otrok.

Do razlik v obremenjenosti romskih pomočnikov je prišlo zaradi različnega števila romskih otrok na posameznih šolah in tudi (ali predvsem) zato, ker so nekateri romski pomočniki delali le na eni šoli ali v vrtcu, drugi pa na dveh ali celo treh. Preveliko število romskih učencev, za katere so bili zadolženi romski pomočniki, in tudi deljena prisotnost nekaterih romskih pomočnikov na več lokacijah sta povzročala številne probleme, tako logistične kot vsebinske, kar se je odražalo tudi na zadovoljstvu samih romskih pomočnikov z njihovim delom, pa tudi na zadovoljstvu romskih otrok, staršev in šolskih delavcev. Prav delitev romskih pomočnikov med več šolami ali vrtci se je izkazala za enega izmed

glavnih problemov v programu romskega pomočnika, zato bi bilo v prihodnje nujno zagotoviti večje število romskih pomočnikov in njihovo zaposlenost le na eni instituciji.

10

3. Evalvacija dela romskih pomočnikov

Pri evalvaciji dela romskih pomočnikov smo izhajali iz dejavnikov, ki se pogosto omenjajo kot glavni razlogi za učni neuspeh in slabšo vključenost romskih učencev v šolo[9] (cf. SVIR-DOP 2011, 11–12, Vonta idr. 2011, 40, Urh 2011, Bešter & Medvešek 2007, 139, Peček & Munda 2015, 426–427, Komac & Barle Lakota 2015, Brezovšek 2008, 74, Pirc 2013). Preverjali smo, kako delo romskih pomočnikov prispeva k odpravljanju ali zmanjševanju vpliva teh dejavnikov. Nekateri dejavniki so povezani z družbenimi in sistemskimi ureditvami (cf. Komac & Barle Lakota 2015, 28–29), na katere romski pomočniki nimajo neposrednega vpliva, zato smo se pri analizi osredotočili le na 4 dejavnike, pri katerih bi zaradi dela romskih pomočnikov lahko pričakovali spremembe. Ti dejavniki so:
- neredno obiskovanje pouka,
- nesodelovanje staršev s šolo (oziroma širše – nespodbudno domače okolje, nepodpora staršev),
- neopravljanje šolskih obveznosti (slabe delovne navade, nemotivacija za delo in učenje, neopravljanje domačih nalog),
- slabo znanje slovenskega jezika.

Analizo smo zasnovali v 4 tematskih sklopih, od katerih je vsak vezan na enega izmed omenjenih dejavnikov. Pri vsakem tematskem sklopu smo preverjali, s katerimi aktivnostmi oziroma na kakšen način romski pomočniki prispevajo k izboljšanju situacije in kako njihovo delo ter vlogo ocenjujejo ravnatelji in mentorji romskih pomočnikov.

3.1 Spodbujanje rednega obiskovanja šole

Ravnatelji in mentorji romskih pomočnikov so neudeležbo pri pouku postavili na drugo mesto (tako jih meni 90,5 odstotka) med glavnimi razlogi za slabši uspeh romskih učencev v šoli. Hkrati so neredno prisotnost otrok v šoli ali vrtcu postavili na drugo mesto (tako jih meni 61,4 odstotka) med največjimi izzivi, s katerimi se srečujejo pri delu z romskimi otroki.[10] Romskim pomočnikom se neudeležba romskih otrok v šoli ali vrtcu zdi malo manj pereč problem, saj so jo postavili na četrto mesto (66,6 odstotka) med glavnimi razlogi za slabši uspeh romskih otrok v šoli,[11] in prav tako so neredno prisotnost otrok v šoli postavili na četrto mesto (52,3 odstotka) med največjimi izzivi, s katerimi se srečujejo pri delu z romskimi otroki. Razlogi za pogosto odsotnost romskih otrok od pouka so različni in kompleksni. Na eni strani so povezani z osebnostnimi last-

11

nostmi, vrednotami in ambicijami posameznega otroka in njegove družine ter z njihovim socialno-ekonomskim položajem,[12] po drugi strani pa s pogoji, ki so vezani na šolsko okolje – kako odprto in vključujoče je to okolje do romskih otrok, kako se otroci v njem počutijo, kakšne možnosti imajo za uresničevanje svojih potencialov.

Vse aktivnosti, ki jih izvajajo romski pomočniki, so na nek način usmerjene in prispevajo k spodbujanju rednega vključevanja romskih učencev v šolo in različne šolske dejavnosti, ki se odvijajo izven šole (izleti, ekskurzije, športni dnevi itd.). Težko pa je izbrati indikatorje, ki bi merili konkreten prispevek oziroma vpliv posameznih aktivnosti na rednejše obiskovanje pouka in drugih šolskih dejavnosti. S tem ko romski pomočniki spremljajo romske učence pri pouku oziroma nudijo pomoč učencem med poukom v razredu (temu je bilo v okviru projekta namenjeno približno 53 odstotkov delovnega časa romskih pomočnikov) ali jim pomagajo pri učenju med poukom izven razreda (temu so romski pomočniki namenili približno 15 odstotkov delovnega časa), pomagajo romskim otrokom, da laže spremljajo pouk in usvajajo učno snov, zaradi česar se otroci v šoli počutijo bolje in raje prihajajo k pouku. Romski pomočniki so večkrat tudi zaupniki ali posredniki pri reševanju problematičnih situacij (temu namenijo 8 odstotkov delovnega časa), v katerih se znajdejo romski otroci, zlasti v primerih, ko je ključnega pomena znanje romskega jezika (tako pri komunikaciji z otroki kot njihovimi starši). Tudi takšno sprotno reševanje problemov pripomore k boljšemu vključevanju romskih otrok v šolo, saj bi v primeru, da se problemi ne razrešijo ali celo kopičijo, romski otroci zelo verjetno pogosteje izostajali od pouka. Nekateri romski pomočniki spremljajo romske otroke tudi v podaljšanem bivanju, na šolskih avtobusih in na različnih dejavnostih, kot so šolski izleti, obiski gledališča, športni dnevi ipd. (temu so romski pomočniki namenili približno 20 odstotkov delovnega časa).[13] Na podlagi pogovorov z romskimi pomočniki in njihovimi mentorji ter ravnatelji šol lahko zapišemo, da romski pomočniki večkrat po telefonu pokličejo starše romskih otrok, ki jih ni pri pouku, se pozanimajo za razlog, zakaj otrok ni, in spodbujajo starše, da otroke vseeno pošljejo ali pripeljejo v šolo, če je to možno. "Moja naloga je, da pričakam učence ob prihodu v šolo, preverim, ali so prišli vsi, in če ne, pokličem starše," je povedala ena izmed romskih pomočnic iz jugovzhodne Slovenije. Nato je še dodala: "Del mojega dela so tudi obiski po naseljih, razlog pa so lahko izostanki pri pouku ali nedosegljivost staršev." Podobne izkušnje ima tudi romska pomočnica, ki prav tako deluje na šoli z območja jugovzhodne Slovenije:

> V moje delo je vključeno tudi terensko delo, ki se navezuje na romske otroke in obiskovanje pouka. Na naši šoli je število romskih otrok zelo veliko. Na žalost se še vedno dogaja, da mnogi ne obiskujejo pouka redno, zato jih je treba vedno znova opozarjati in motivirati. V prvi vrsti starše in potem še otoke. Romi imajo veliko težav, zato je treba razumeti njihov način življenja, ki se zelo razlikuje od našega. Terensko delo me zelo veseli, saj se z Romi rada družim in pogovarjam o najrazličnejših stvareh.

12

Včasih se romski pomočniki odpravijo tudi od hiše do hiše v romskem naselju in zjutraj trkajo na vrata, zbujajo romske otroke ter jih potem pospremijo do šole.

O tem, ali delo romskega pomočnika vpliva na bolj redno vključevanje romskih otrok v šolo in vrtce, smo povprašali ravnatelje in mentorje romskih pomočnikov. Ti imajo dober vpogled v stanje, kakršno je bilo pred zaposlitvijo romskega pomočnika, in stanje danes. Poleg tega so v rednih dnevnih stikih z romskim pomočnikom ter spremljajo njegovo delo in učinke tega dela. V anketi je na vprašanje, ali menijo, da delo romskega pomočnika na šoli/v vrtcu vpliva na večjo prisotnost romskih učencev pri pouku/v vrtcu, 89,5 odstotka ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov odgovorilo pritrdilno.

Če primerjamo rezultate naše raziskave z ugotovitvami evalvacijskega poročila o projektu Uspešno vključevanje Romov v vzgojo in izobraževanje II (v nadaljevanju UVRVI II), v okviru katerega so bili v preteklosti zaposleni romski pomočniki (gre pretežno za iste osebe kot v projektu Skupaj do znanja), lahko vidimo, da se mnenja ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov iz naše raziskave skladajo z ugotovitvami iz projekta UVRVI II (Ljudska univerza Kočevje 2014, 49). Avtorji evalvacijskega poročila o tem projektu so med zaključne ugotovitve zapisali, da je bil skozi vsa šolska leta, ko so na šolah delovali romski pomočniki v okviru tega projekta, viden upad osipnikov, zelo se je povečal obisk pouka, vzpostavil se je sistem posredovanja opravičil v primeru odsotnosti učenca in dvignil se je odstotek romskih učencev, ki so uspešno opravili zahtevane šolske obveznosti in napredovali v višji razred ali uspešno zaključili osnovnošolsko izobraževanje (Ljudska univerza Kočevje 2014, 49).

3.2 Spodbujanje sodelovanja med romskimi starši in šolo

Vloga staršev v izobraževalnem procesu otroka je izjemno pomembna, saj raziskave kažejo, da je vključevanje staršev v izobraževanje otrok pozitivno povezano s kakovostjo učenja in učno uspešnostjo otrok (Flecha & Soler 2013, 454, Puklek Levpušček & Zupančič 2009, 102–105, Henderson & Mapp 2002, Henderson & Berla 1994, Vonta idr. 2011, 145–147). Tudi v anketi, ki smo jo izvedli med ravnatelji in mentorji romskih pomočnikov, prevladuje mnenje o veliki pomembnosti vloge staršev za šolski uspeh učencev, kar 95,3 odstotka romskih pomočnikov pa je kot glavni razlog za slabši uspeh romskih učencev navedlo, da romski starši premalo spodbujajo otroke k učenju.

Podobno raziskave v drugih državah (na Madžarskem, v Avstriji) zaznavajo, da učitelji prevladujoč delež neuspeha romskih učencev pripisujejo razlogom, povezanim z družino in njenim načinom življenja (cf. Hegedűs & Forrai 1999, 177–178, Luciak & Liegl 2009). Na tem mestu bi veljalo opozoriti na problematičnost zaznavanja in lociranja odgovornosti za (ne)uspešno vključevanje romskih učencev v šolski sistem pretežno na romske družine. Podobno kot opozarjata že Hegedűs in Forrai (1999, 178) na primeru Madžarske, tudi

v Sloveniji večina anketiranih ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov razloge za neuspeh in nevključenost romskih učencev išče v romski skupnosti (otrocih in starših), zelo majhen delež razmišlja delno tudi v drugo smer in meni, da lahko vzroke iščemo tudi na strani učiteljev, šol in učnega programa.[14] Iz anketnih odgovorov pa večinoma ni razbrati, da bi anketiranci razmišljali tudi o globljih sistemskih vzrokih za obstoj in vztrajnost omenjenih dejavnikov ter o (so)odgovornosti večinske družbe za obstoječe stanje. Takšno (ne)razmišljanje je skrb vzbujajoče in je verjetno tudi eden izmed dejavnikov, ki prispevajo k ohranjanju *statusa quo*.

Preglednica 2: Odgovori ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov na vprašanje, kako po-membne so po njihovem mnenju navedene aktivnosti staršev za šolski uspeh učencev (N = 57)

	zelo pomembno		pomembno		niti pomembno niti nepomembno		nepomembno		zelo nepomembno		ne vem		skupaj	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
spodbujanje otrok k rednemu obiskovanju šole	50	**87,7**	3	5,3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	53	100
pomoč pri domačih nalogah	21	36,8	26	**45,6**	4	7,0	2	3,5	0	0	0	0	53	100
pomoč pri učenju	21	36,8	25	**43,9**	4	7,0	3	5,3	0	0	0	0	53	100
obiskovanje roditeljskih sestankov	27	**47,4**	19	33,3	6	10,5	1	1,8	0	0	0	0	53	100
obiskovanje pogovornih ur	33	**57,9**	15	26,3	5	8,8	0	0	0	0	0	0	53	100
sodelovanje na šolskih prireditvah	16	28,1	21	**36,8**	15	26,3	0	0	0	0	1	1,8	53	100

Vir: Bešter idr. 2015, 81.

Ne glede na to je spodbujanje aktivnejše vloge in sodelovanja romskih staršev v izobraževanju njihovih otrok ena izmed aktivnosti, ki so ključnega pomena za doseganje boljših rezultatov romskih učencev v izobraževalnem sistemu, vendar se morajo šole zavedati svojega deleža odgovornosti za vzpostavljanje stikov z romskimi družinami. V preteklih letih smo raziskovalci v okviru drugih projektov (npr. Dvig socialnega in kulturnega kapitala v okoljih, kjer živijo predstavniki romske skupnosti) ugotavljali, da nekatere šole oziroma posamezni učitelji ne znajo ali nimajo interesa pristopiti k romskim staršem (pa tudi otrokom) na drugačen način, ki bi jih morda bolj spodbudil k sodelovanju (cf. Vonta idr. 2011, 80). Razredniki staršev romskih otrok osebno pogosto sploh ne poznajo. Večina učiteljev ni še nikdar bila v romskih naseljih, iz katerih prihajajo njihovi učenci. V tem oziru je skrb vzbujajoč podatek, da tudi bodoči učitelji, sedanji študenti

13

14

Pedagoške fakultete v Ljubljani, glede na rezultate raziskave, ki so jo izvedle Peček, Macura-Milovanović in Vujisić-Živković (2014), ne zaznavajo potrebe po obiskih romskih družin na njihovih domovih oziroma se s takšno obliko sodelovanja z romskimi družinami ne strinjajo. Prav obiski učiteljev na domu (ali v romskem naselju) so eden izmed načinov, ki bi jih lahko šole pogosteje uporabile za izboljšanje sodelovanja s starši romskih otrok. Takšna oblika vzpostavljanja ali utrjevanja stikov s starši ima lahko številne pozitivne posledice (cf. Peček, Macura-Milovanović & Vujisić-Živković 2014) tako za učni uspeh otrok kot za povečanje zaupanja in aktivnega sodelovanja staršev. Predstavlja pa tudi priložnost za učitelje, da razširijo svoje védenje in zavedanje o življenju svojih učencev ter na podlagi tega morda drugače in z večjo kulturno senzibilnostjo pristopijo k romskim učencem. Aktivna vloga šol v procesu spodbujanja sodelovanja in vključevanja romskih staršev v izobraževanje njihovih otrok je ključnega pomena, konstantno iskanje inovativnih pristopov in delovanje izven utečenih (etnocentričnih) oblik pa sta nuja, če želimo priti do drugačnih rezultatov. Romski pomočniki na tem področju predstavljajo veliko pomoč šolam in vrtcem, saj zaradi poznavanja romskega jezika in kulture ter pogosto tudi lastnega bivanja v romskem naselju lažje vzpostavljajo stike z romskimi družinami in pridobivajo njihovo zaupanje. Nekateri romski pomočniki, zlasti tisti, ki tudi sami živijo v romskem naselju, so imeli vsakodnevne stike z romskimi starši, ki jih je težko v celoti dokumentirati. Romska pomočnica z območja jugovzhodne Slovenije, ki živi v romskem naselju, je tako opisala svoje delo s starši: "Vsak dan imam stike s starši v šoli, pa tudi v naselju. Starši me največkrat prosijo za pomoč pri učenju njihovih otrok in za razlago šolskih obvestil, katerih ne razumejo. Poleg tega jih skušam motivirati, da bi oni sami skrbeli za stike s šolo, se sami informirali o delu in uspehu svojih otrok."

Nekateri drugi pa v romskih naseljih praktično nikdar niso bili in so se srečevali z romskimi starši le v šoli ali pa so z njimi komunicirali po telefonu. Romska pomočnica iz jugovzhodne Slovenije je o stikih s starši povedala naslednje:

> S starši sodelujem po telefonu, v osebnih stikih. Nekateri se držijo tudi urnika govorilnih ur v popoldanskem času, nekateri pa si čas za govorilne ure določijo kar sami. Vesela sem, da so me sprejeli dobro in da razumejo moje delo, ki ga opravljam; sami so mi tudi povedali, da nekateri učenci radi obiskujejo pouk in se zanašajo name. Vedo tudi, da sem jim v veliko pomoč in da se vidijo spremembe v šoli.

Romski pomočniki priskočijo na pomoč tudi pri jezikovnih ovirah med starši in učitelji. "Kot romska pomočnica sem izboljšala komunikacijo med učitelji in starši, saj jim po potrebi tudi prevajam iz romskega v slovenski jezik," je povedala romska pomočnica iz severovzhodne Slovenije.

V anketi je večina (85,7 odstotka) romskih pomočnikov zapisala, da so s starši romskih otrok v stiku pogosto (dnevno, nekajkrat tedensko). Zgolj 3 romski

RAZPRAVE IN GRADIVO REVIJA ZA NARODNOSTNA VPRAŠANJA **76 / 2016**
R. BEŠTER, M. MEDVEŠEK, J. PIRC Vloga romskih pomočnikov v Sloveniji pri vključevanju romskih …

15

pomočniki so odgovorili, da so v stiku z romskimi starši le nekajkrat mesečno, nihče pa ni izbral odgovora redko. Tudi ravnatelje in mentorje romskih pomočnikov smo povprašali o tem, kako pogosto romski pomočniki obiskujejo romske družine na njihovih domovih. Po njihovem mnenju romski pomočniki to počnejo večinoma nekajkrat na mesec (tako jih meni 40,4 odstotka) oziroma po potrebi ali ob posebnih priložnostih (tako jih meni 50,9 odstotka). Vprašali smo jih tudi, ali kdaj spremljajo romskega pomočnika pri njegovih obiskih v romskem naselju. Približno 60 odstotkov ravnateljev ali mentorjev to naredi občasno (vsaj enkrat mesečno, nekajkrat letno ali kadar je to nujno potrebno).

Preglednica 3: Odgovori ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov na vprašanje, ali kdaj spremljajo romskega pomočnika pri njegovih obiskih v romskih naseljih, iz katerih prihajajo učenci (N = 57)

	število	%
da, vsaj enkrat mesečno	3	5,3
a, nekajkrat na leto	16	28,1
da, kadar je to nujno potrebno	15	26,3
ne, nikoli	15	26,3
v našem šolskem okolišu ni romskih naselij	8	14,0
skupaj	57	100,0

Vir: Bešter idr. 2015, 84.

Ravnatelje in mentorje romskih pomočnikov smo tudi povprašali, kako po njihovem mnenju starši romskih otrok sprejemajo romskega pomočnika na njihovi šoli/v vrtcu. Prav vsi so menili, da starši romskega pomočnika sprejemajo. Velika večina jih je odgovorila, da ga sprejemajo dobro (35,1 odstotka) ali zelo dobro (47,4 odstotka). Romske pomočnike pa smo povprašali, kako ocenjujejo svoj odnos s starši romskih otrok. Dobrih 80 odstotkov romskih pomočnikov je svoj odnos s starši romskih otrok opisalo kot dober, slabih 20 odstotkov pa kot zadovoljiv.

Po oceni večine (91,2 odstotka) ravnateljev in mentorjev prisotnost romskega pomočnika na šoli/v vrtcu prispeva k boljšemu sodelovanju med šolo/vrtcem in starši romskih otrok. 31 odstotkov ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov je menilo, da romski pomočnik na njihovi šoli prav s stiki s starši in povezovanjem z romskim naseljem najbolj pomaga romskim otrokom. Stiki s starši (pomoč učiteljem pri navezovanju stikov s starši, pomoč staršem pri urejanju formalnosti) so po oceni ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov tudi druga najpogostejša aktivnost, ki jo izvajajo romski pomočniki.

Očitno je, da je institut romskega pomočnika prepoznan kot zaupanja vreden in koristen tudi pri veliki večini romskih staršev in zaposlenih v šolah/vrtcih, saj se je med drugim z njegovo pomočjo povečal pretok informacij med straši in šolo, šolski delavci pa so dobili širši in globlji vpogled v posebnosti življenja romskih učencev. Kljub temu je sodelovanje staršev s šolo področje, na katerem

16

bo treba tudi v prihodnje intenzivno delati, saj je 59,6 odstotka ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov (ne)sodelovanje s starši postavilo na tretje mesto med največjimi izzivi, s katerimi se srečujejo pri delu z romskimi otroki.

3.3 Pomoč in spodbuda romskim otrokom pri opravljanju različnih šolskih obveznosti in domačih nalog

71,7 odstotka ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov in 66,6 odstotka romskih pomočnikov je med različnimi možnimi odgovori izbralo nemotivacijo otrok za izobraževanje kot enega izmed glavnih razlogov za slabši uspeh romskih učencev v šoli. Razlogi za (ne)motivacijo otrok so kompleksni, se razlikujejo od primera do primera[15] in jih nikakor ne moremo posplošiti na celotno romsko skupnost.[16] Med dejavniki, ki pozitivno vplivajo na motivacijo posameznika, je na primer zaupanje posameznika v njegove sposobnosti, da opravi zadano nalogo, s čimer se, kot kažejo raziskave (cf. Peklaj & Puklek Levpušček 2007), povečujejo možnosti, da nalogo uspešno opravi. Romski pomočniki s tem, ko učencem pomagajo z dodatnimi razlagami, s prevajanjem v romski jezik, če je to potrebno, in po možnosti z navezavo snovi na kulturni kontekst, ki je romskim učencem bolj domač in poznan, prispevajo k dvigu samozavesti in samozaupanja učencev v to, da so kos nalogi, ki bi se jim brez te dodatne pomoči morda zdela neizvedljiva. S tem se lahko povečuje tudi njihova motivacija za šolsko delo in opravljanje domačih nalog. Z nudenjem učne pomoči, s pomočjo učencem med poukom in s pomočjo pri domačih nalogah romski pomočniki po oceni ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov najbolj pomagajo romskim učencem (tako meni 42,1 odstotka vprašanih). Učna pomoč in pomoč pri izdelavi domačih nalog sta po oceni večine (84 odstotkov) ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov tisti aktivnosti, ki jim romski pomočniki namenjajo tudi največ svojega delovnega časa. Rezultati iz mesečnih poročil romskih pomočnikov sicer kažejo nekoliko drugačno sliko – romski pomočniki v skladu s temi poročili največ, to je dobro polovico svojega delovnega časa, namenjajo pomoči učencem v razredu (med poukom), približno 15 odstotkov delovnega časa pa individualni pomoči učencem izven razreda.

Če smo prej omenili, da posameznikovo zaupanje v njegove sposobnosti povečuje verjetnost za uspešno izvedbo naloge ali aktivnosti, pa v nasprotju s tem strah pred določeno nalogo zmanjšuje verjetnost za njeno uspešno izvedbo (Pintrich & Schunk 2002). Zaradi strahu pred neuspehom se učenci večkrat nalog/aktivnosti izogibajo – na primer manjkajo v šoli ob dnevih, ko je predvideno pisno ali ustno preverjanje znanja, se ne udeležijo naravoslovnih, tehniških, športnih dnevov in drugih dnevov dejavnosti. Vloga romskih pomočnikov je zato tudi na tem področju zelo pomembna. Že sama njihova prisotnost na dnevih dejavnosti lahko predstavlja določeno varnost, oporo in spodbudo romskim otrokom, da se teh dejavnosti udeležijo in na njih aktivno sodelujejo.

Še pomembnejša pa je vloga romskih pomočnikov pri tem, da romskim staršem in učencem prenesejo natančne informacije o aktivnostih, ki se bodo odvijale, in o tem, kaj se od otrok na teh aktivnostih pričakuje. Prav neseznanjenost staršev (pa tudi otrok) glede namena in poteka takšnih dejavnosti je pogosto razlog za negotovost, strah in nezaupanje tako učencev kot staršev, zaradi česar se večkrat odločijo, da otroci na dnevih dejavnosti raje ne bodo sodelovali. Da prisotnost in delo romskega pomočnika na šoli vplivata na boljše sodelovanje romskih učencev pri različnih šolskih dejavnostih, kot so športni, kulturni, naravoslovni in drugi dnevi, je menilo 86 odstotkov ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov.

Za primerjavo lahko navedemo, da so romski pomočniki v projektu UVRVI II, v okviru katerega so bili zaposleni štiri leta pred zaposlitvijo v okviru projekta Skupaj do znanja, tudi sami ocenili, da je njihovo delo prispevalo k boljšemu šolskemu obisku romskih otrok; k večji motiviranosti za učenje in posledično k boljšemu učnemu uspehu, boljši socializaciji oziroma vključenosti v razred in k boljšemu sodelovanju med poukom; k zmanjšanju izostankov od pouka in k povečanju deleža pravočasno opravičenih izostankov; k večji udeležbi na šolskih ekskurzijah in šolskih prireditvah (Ljudska univerza Kočevje 2014, 33).

Zaposlitev romskih pomočnikov na šoli lahko prispeva tudi k odpravljanju pogostih prepričanj Romov o neuporabnosti v šoli pridobljenega znanja in izobrazbe ter o tem, da Romi zaradi svoje etnične pripadnosti tudi z izobrazbo ne morejo dobiti zaposlitve (Pirc 2013, 2014, 140, Urh 2011, 21). Romski pomočniki so dokaz o nasprotnem, kar lahko predstavlja spodbudo in zgled romskim učencem pri učenju ter motivaciji za dokončanje in nadaljevanje šolanja.

Motivacija za sodelovanje otrok pri pouku je odvisna tudi od tega, kako se otroci v razredu počutijo. Različne raziskave (Peček & Munda 2015, 426–427, Flecha & Soler 2013) dokazujejo, da se motivacija otrok zmanjša, če je šolsko okolje do njih hladno, tuje, indiferentno, in poveča, če otroci verjamejo, da je učitelju resnično mar za njih, in če so v razredu dobro sprejeti. Romski pomočniki lahko pozitivno prispevajo k občutku sprejetosti in vključenosti romskih otrok v razredno in širšo šolsko skupnost. Z vnašanjem elementov romske kulture v šolski prostor ustvarjajo okolje, ki ga tudi romski učenci lahko prepoznavajo kot svojega, v romskem pomočniku pa najdejo lik, s katerim se lahko identificirajo, ne da bi se jim bilo treba sramovati svoje kulture ali etnične pripadnosti. Seveda je pri tem pomembno, da tudi celoten šolski (učiteljski) kolektiv sprejema romskega pomočnika kot enakopravnega člana.

Dvig motivacije otrok za učenje in njihovo sodelovanje pri različnih aktivnostih ostaja po mnenju ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov na prvem mestu (64,9 odstotka) med izzivi, s katerimi se srečujejo pri delu z romskimi otroki. Romski pomočniki pa so motivacijo otrok za učenje postavili na drugo mesto (57,1 odstotka) med največjimi izzivi, s katerimi se srečujejo pri delu z romskimi otroki, takoj za učnimi težavami.

3.4 Pomoč pri premagovanju jezikovnih ovir med romskimi otroki, starši in šolo

18

Romski otroci ob vstopu v šolo pogosto ne obvladajo ali pa slabo obvladajo slovenski jezik, zato je pomoč, ki jim jo nudi romski pomočnik pri razumevanju vsebine učnega procesa in domačih nalog, zelo dobrodošla. "V veliko pomoč sem prvošolčkom, ki potrebujejo pomoč predvsem pri premagovanju strahu pred nepoznanim okoljem in pri nerazumevanju slovenskega jezika," je povedala romska pomočnica, ki deluje na jugovzhodu Slovenije. Pozitivna je tudi izkušnja romske pomočnice iz jugovzhodne Slovenije, ki je tako opisala prehod malčkov iz vrtca v osnovno šolo: "V skladu z urnikom sem sodelovala z učiteljicami in vzgojiteljicami, pomagala pri izvajanju aktivnosti v razredih in dodatno motivirala učence, da se niso več sramovali romskega, maternega jezika, na stenah so viseli dvojezični napisi." Enako velja za izkušnjo romske pomočnice iz severovzhodne Slovenije, ki je "pomagala tudi pri pisanju romsko-slovenskega slovarja."

Slabše znanje slovenskega jezika ostaja težava pri nekaterih romskih učencih tudi v višjih razredih. "Pri delu z romskimi otroki opažam, da jim največji problem predstavlja slovenski jezik, katerega nerazumevanje privede do nezainteresiranosti za učno snov", je menila romska pomočnica iz jugovzhodne Slovenije. Po mnenju 75,5 odstotka ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov, ki so sodelovali v naši raziskavi, je prav slabše znanje slovenskega jezika eden izmed glavnih razlogov za slabši uspeh romskih učencev v osnovni šoli. Podobno meni tudi 80,9 odstotka romskih pomočnikov. Poleg tega je 45,2 odstotka ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov ter 47,6 odstotka romskih pomočnikov navedlo težave pri sporazumevanju zaradi jezika kot enega izmed največjih izzivov, s katerimi se srečujejo pri delu z romskimi otroki.

Preglednica 4: Odgovori ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov na vprašanje, koliko učiteljev na njihovi šoli oziroma v vrtcu se lahko z otroki in starši sporazumeva v romščini (N = 57)

	vsi		večina		nekateri		nihče		b. o.		skupaj	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
razumejo nekaj besed	1	1,8	8	14,0	33	57,9	14	24,6	1	1,8	57	100
razumejo večino povedanega	0	0	0	0	16	28,1	40	70,2	1	1,8	57	100
govorijo nekaj besed	0	0	1	1,8	30	52,6	25	43,9	1	1,8	57	100
znajo povedati nekaj osnovnih stavkov, sporočiti osnovne podatke	0	0	1	1,8	18	31,6	37	64,9	1	1,8	57	100
govorijo tekoče	0	0	0	0	2	3,5	54	94,7	1	1,8	57	100

Vir: Bešter idr. 2015, 84.

RAZPRAVE IN GRADIVO REVIJA ZA NARODNOSTNA VPRAŠANJA **76 / 2016**
R. BEŠTER, M. MEDVEŠEK, J. PIRC Vloga romskih pomočnikov v Sloveniji pri vključevanju romskih ...

19

Kot izhaja iz odgovorov ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov, le redki učitelji na osnovnih šolah in vzgojitelji v vrtcih govorijo romski jezik. Nekateri razumejo in znajo povedati nekaj besed, vendar je to premalo za potrebno komunikacijo z romskimi otroki in starši.

Romski pomočniki po narodni pripadnosti niso vsi Romi in tudi vsi ne znajo romskega jezika. Velika večina jih vseeno tekoče govori romski jezik, dva izmed njih pa razumeta le nekaj besed. To velja oceniti kot pozitivno izboljšavo glede na podatek, ki ga je pokazala raziskava iz let 2007/08, ko 37,5 odstotka romskih pomočnikov ni govorilo romsko (Brezovšek 2008, 96).

Preglednica 5: Ocene znanja romskega jezika, ki so jih podali romski pomočniki (N =21)

Svoje znanje romskega jezika ocenjujem kot ...	število	%
razumem nekaj besed	2	9,5
razumem večino povedanega	1	4,8
govorim nekaj besed	0	0
znam povedati nekaj osnovnih stavkov	0	0
govorim tekoče	18	85,7
skupaj	21	100

Vir: Bešter idr. 2015, 80.

85,7 odstotka romskih pomočnikov je navedlo, da pri svojem delu uporabljajo predvsem slovenski jezik in le malo romski jezik, 14,3 odstotka romskih pomočnikov pa pri svojem delu uporablja predvsem romski jezik in le malo slovenski jezik. "Moja učna pomoč je pri vseh predmetih, to je pri slovenskem jeziku, matematiki itd. Največji poudarek pa je na spoznavanju slovenskega jezika, zato se z otroki veliko pogovarjamo in zapisujemo povedi v slovenskem jeziku," je povedala romska pomočnica iz jugovzhodne Slovenije. Podobne rezultate je pokazala tudi raziskava iz let 2007/08, v kateri so skoraj vsi anketirani romski pomočniki (94,1 odstotka) dejali, da spodbujajo učence h govorjenju v slovenskem jeziku, nihče pa jih ni spodbujal k temu, da bi govorili v romskem jeziku. Po mnenju romskih pomočnikov so tudi romski starši v veliki večini želeli, da romski pomočniki z njihovimi otroki govorijo v slovenskem jeziku[17] (Bačlija 2008, 134).

31,6 odstotka ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov je v anketi navedlo, da romski pomočniki prav z znanjem romskega jezika najbolj pomagajo romskim učencem. 10,5 odstotka pa jih je med aktivnostmi, ki jih najpogosteje izvajajo romski pomočniki, navedlo premagovanje jezikovnih ovir. Čeprav je prav znanje romskega jezika pogosto izpostavljeno kot eden izmed ključnih elementov pomoči romskega pomočnika romskim učencem, pa se romski pomočniki v šoli in vrtcu po mnenju ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov z romskimi učenci večinoma pogovarjajo v slovenskem jeziku.

20

Preglednica 6: Odgovori ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov na vprašanje, v katerem jeziku se romski pomočnik v šoli/vrtcu večinoma pogovarja z romskimi učenci (N = 57)

	število	%
v romskem jeziku	3	5,3
v slovenskem jeziku	44	77,2
v drugem jeziku*	4	7,0
drugo**	6	10,5
skupaj	57	100,0

Vir: Bešter idr. 2015, 80.

* v romskem, slovenskem in albanskem jeziku (2); slovensko in albansko (2)

** v romskem jeziku večinoma s prvošolci in drugošolci, v slovenskem jeziku z učenci višjih razredov (1); oba jezika, tako slovenski kot romski, sta prisotna (5)

Velika večina ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov (78,9 odstotka) tudi meni, da je tako prav in da se romski pomočnik mora z romskimi učenci pogovarjati večinoma v slovenskem jeziku.

Preglednica 7: Odgovori ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov na vprašanje, v katerem jeziku bi se po njihovem mnenju moral romski pomočnik večinoma pogovarjati z romskimi učenci (N = 57)

	število	%
v romskem jeziku	2	3,5
v slovenskem jeziku	45	78,9
v drugem jeziku*	2	3,5
drugo**	8	14,0
skupaj	57	100,0

Vir: Bešter idr. 2015, 80.

* slovensko in albansko (2)

** odvisno od potreb (1); slovensko in romsko (7)

Ob tem se zastavlja vprašanje, ali je res romski pomočnik tisti, ki bi moral romskim učencem približevati slovenski jezik s tem, da se z njimi pogovarja pretežno v slovenščini. Ali ne bi bilo morda bolj učinkovito, če bi romski pomočniki sicer pomagali romskim učencem pri razumevanju slovenskega jezika, vendar jih hkrati spodbujali k uporabi in nadaljnjemu učenju njihovega lastnega maternega jezika, katerega znanje je pri romskih otrocih prav tako na nizki ravni? Ali ne bi bilo bolj učinkovito, če bi v šole vpeljali druge načine dodatnega učenja slovenskega jezika za romske otroke, romske pomočnike pa spodbujali in usposabljali za to, da pomagajo romskim otrokom ohranjati in razvijati romski jezik?

4. Sklepne ugotovitve

Mnogi razlogi za slabšo uspešnost romskih otrok v slovenskem izobraževalnem sistemu so evidentirani že vrsto let (Šiftar 1970, Krek & Vogrinc 2005, Vonta idr. 2011, Munda & Peček 2013, Komac & Barle Lakota 2015). Za izboljšanje uspešnosti romskih otrok v šolskem sistemu so predvidene različne oblike pomoči, kot so na primer dodatne ure dopolnilnega pouka, prilagajanje metod in oblik dela, individualna in skupinska učna pomoč, dodatna strokovna pomoč, subvencionirana prehrana in šolski pripomočki ter ne nazadnje uvedba romskega pomočnika v vrtcih in šolah.[18] V več kot desetletnem obdobju, odkar se v vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem vključujejo romski pomočniki, se njihova vloga, naloge in pogoji dela v posameznih točkah izpopolnjujejo.

Namen prispevka je bil predstaviti izbrane aktivnosti romskih pomočnikov ter prikazati stališča ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov o prispevku romskih pomočnikov k vključevanju romskih otrok v vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem v letih 2014 in 2015. Zbrani podatki o izvajanju aktivnosti romskih pomočnikov ter mnenja in ocene samih romskih pomočnikov, njihovih mentorjev in ravnateljev vrtcev in osnovnih šol o opravljenem delu nakazujejo, da je delo romskih pomočnikov na šolah in v vrtcih potrebno, koristno in dobro sprejeto tako s strani šol kot s strani romskih otrok in njihovih staršev.

Velika večina ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov je mnenja, da prisotnost in delo romskega pomočnika na njihovi šoli/v vrtcu vplivata na boljši učni uspeh romskih učencev, večjo prisotnost romskih učencev pri pouku/v vrtcu, boljše sodelovanje med šolo/vrtcem in starši romskih otrok ter na boljše sodelovanje romskih učencev pri različnih šolskih aktivnostih, kot so športni dnevi, ekskurzije ipd. Na tistih šolah, kjer si romskega pomočnika delijo še z drugo/drugimi šolami ali vrtci, so v glavnem vsi izrecno poudarjali potrebo po tem, da bi romski pomočnik v celoti deloval samo na eni instituciji. Ravnatelji in mentorji romskih pomočnikov na šolah z večjim številom romskih učencev so izrazili potrebo po tem, da bi imeli več kot enega romskega pomočnika. Situacija med šolami je zelo različna in tako je romski pomočnik ponekod zadolžen za 10, drugod pa tudi za več kot 60 romskih otrok. Pogoji in učinkovitost dela so zaradi tega seveda tudi različni in praktično neprimerljivi.

V primerjavi z učitelji, ki so zadolženi za dodatno pomoč romskim otrokom, sta ključni prednosti večine romskih pomočnikov njihovo znanje romskega jezika in poznavanje kulture, zaradi česar veliko lažje komunicirajo tako z romskimi otroki kot z njihovimi starši in si na ta način lažje pridobijo njihovo zaupanje. Ob tem je treba dodati, da vsi romski pomočniki ne obvladajo romskega jezika (niti niso vsi Romi). Glede na pomen sposobnosti komunikacije v romskem jeziku pa je zanimivo, da po poročanju ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov romski pomočniki z romskimi otroki večinoma komunicirajo v slovenskem jeziku. Večina ravnateljev in mentorjev romskih pomočnikov to tudi podpira.

21

Na večini šol in vrtcev ravnatelji in mentorji romskih pomočnikov opažajo napredek pri delu romskih pomočnikov zaradi dodatnih izobraževanj in znanj, ki so jih pridobili v zadnjih letih. Na tem področju so romski pomočniki izkazali velik interes in pripravljenost za dodatno usposabljanje, ki ga je od njih terjalo izobraževanje v programu predšolske vzgoje. Poleg tega so izrazili še interes za različna dodatna usposabljanja, zlasti s področij psihologije, pedagogike in didaktike ter posameznih predmetov, ki se poučujejo v višjih razredih. Romski pomočniki svoje delo z veseljem opravljajo in večina si ga želi opravljati tudi v prihodnje.

Na podlagi evalviranja vloge in učinkovitosti dela romskih pomočnikov lahko ugotovimo, da institut romskega pomočnika prinaša širše koristi na več ravneh hkrati. Najprej naj omenimo korist za romske učence v smislu njihovega lažjega, hitrejšega in uspešnejšega vključevanja v šolski sistem. Kot drugo lahko omenimo korist za šole oziroma vrtce, ki jim romski pomočnik pomaga pri spoznavanju in razumevanju romske kulture ter pri vnašanju elementov romske kulture v šolske dejavnosti in učno snov. Kar nekaj romskih pomočnikov organizira in izvaja na šoli dodatne dejavnosti oziroma krožke, povezane z romsko kulturo, plesom itd. Zaposlovanje Romov kot romskih pomočnikov prispeva tudi k večji etnični občutljivosti šol/vrtcev in pripomore k odpravljanju institucionalnega rasizma (cf. Dominelli 1995). Koristi od delovanja romskih pomočnikov imata dejansko celotna romska in širša skupnost – romski pomočniki vzpostavljajo in spodbujajo stike med obema skupnostma, pomagajo pri medsebojni komunikaciji, od-pravljanju medsebojnega nezaupanja, preseganju (obojestranskih) predsodkov in stereotipov, vzpostavljanju strpnega medetničnega dialoga in enakopravnejših medetničnih odnosov. Romski pomočniki s svojim delovanjem na dolgi rok lahko prispevajo k dvigu izobrazbene ravni romske skupnosti ter s tem k boljši vključenosti in večji enakopravnosti v širši družbi. In ne nazadnje moramo omeniti še pomen instituta romskega pomočnika za same romske pomočnike. Njim opravljanje poklica romskega pomočnika omogoča dvig lastne izobrazbene ravni, poleg tega pa predstavlja eno izmed redkih zaposlitvenih priložnosti za pripadnike romske skupnosti, ki sicer pogosto živijo v ekonomsko šibkejših regijah Slovenije z malo zaposlitvenimi možnostmi, ki so zaradi diskriminacije za Rome še toliko manjše (Urh & Žnidarec Demšar 2005, Urh 2006). Kakovostno opravljanje dela romskega pomočnika prispeva tudi k rasti njihovega osebnega ugleda oziroma prepoznavnosti v lastni skupnosti in širše.

Vpeljava instituta romskega pomočnika v šolski sistem predstavlja ukrep, ki ga lahko označimo kot pozitivno diskriminacijo in bi zato moral biti začasne narave, se pravi, da lahko obstaja le, dokler se ne doseže enakopraven položaj Romov na področju izobraževanja. Romski pomočniki tako s kakovostnim opravljanjem svojega dela prispevajo k odpravljanju dejavnikov, ki opravičujejo njihov obstoj. A glede na obstoječo situacijo v Sloveniji se verjetno še nekaj (deset) let ni treba bati, da bi se to zgodilo.

Opombe

[1] Odločitev za etnično nevtralno poimenovanje instituta so sprejeli na primer v Srbiji, kjer so leta 2010 romskega pomočnika preimenovali v pedagoškega asistenta, ki nudi pomoč vsem učencem marginaliziranih skupin (Battaglia & Lebedinski 2015, 2–3).

[2] Poklicna standarda romski pomočnik in romski koordinator sta bila objavljena v Pravilniku o spremembah in dopolnitvah Pravilnika o nomenklaturi poklicev (Uradni list RS 31, 2007). Medtem ko je romski pomočnik opredeljen kot pomočnik vzgojitelja predšolskih otrok v vrtcu in opravlja zlasti delo s predšolskimi in šolskimi otroki ter starši, je poklicni standard romski koordinator opredeljen bolj splošno in predvideva več delovanja tudi zunaj izobraževalnih ustanov, zlasti na področju zaposlovanja. Do leta 2016 je bilo izdanih 40 certifikatov za romskega pomočnika in 14 certifikatov za romskega koordinatorja. Velja omeniti, da Strategija vzgoje in izobraževanja Romov v Republiki Sloveniji (dopolnilo k Strategiji 2004) (2011, 16) med predvidenimi aktivnostmi navaja odpravo dvojnega poimenovanja romski pomočnik oziroma romski koordinator.

[3] Projekt je potekal od aprila 2014 do novembra 2015 pod vodstvom Centra šolskih in obšolskih dejavnosti. Sofinancirala sta ga Evropska unija iz Evropskega socialnega sklada ter Ministrstvo za izobraževanje, znanost, kulturo in šport Republike Slovenije. Avtorji prispevka so bili sodelavci pri projektu.

[4] 1 romska pomočnica je v času trajanja projekta odšla na porodniški dopust in jo je nadomestil drug romski pomočnik, zato je skupno število 23 oseb.

[5] 15 osnovnih šol je bilo iz jugovzhodne Slovenije, 14 osnovnih šol pa iz severovzhodne Slovenije.

[6] 2 vrtca sta bila iz jugovzhodne Slovenije, 1 vrtec pa iz severovzhodne Slovenije.

[7] V posameznih primerih je lahko ravnatelj tudi mentor romskega pomočnika.

[8] Primerjava z izsledki raziskave, izvedene med romskimi pomočniki v letih 2007/08, v kateri je bilo 5,9 odstotka romskih pomočnikov zaposlenih že več kot 5 let in 23,4 odstotka 3–5 let (Brezovšek 2008), kaže na postopno oblikovanje stabilnejšega jedra romskih pomočnikov.

[9] Pri evalvaciji smo se osredotočili zlasti na delo romskih pomočnikov na osnovnih šolah, saj je bilo v projekt vključenih premalo vrtcev, da bi lahko evalvacijo v širšem obsegu izvedli tudi za ta segment.

[10] Podobno zaznavajo tudi druge raziskave (Vonta idr. 2011, 118).

[11] V večjih deležih so slabši uspeh romskih učencev pripisali nespodbudi staršev (95,3 odstotka), težkim socialnim razmeram, v katerih živijo romske družine (80,9 odstotka), in slabšemu znanju slovenskega jezika (80,9 odstotka).

[12] Ekonomski položaj mnogih romskih družin je slab, kar pomeni, da morajo tudi otroci prispevati s svojim delom v družinski proračun, bodisi v času sezonskih opravil bodisi kot pomoč v domačem gospodinjstvu (varstvo mlajših bratov in sester) – vse to pa pogosto vpliva na njihovo izobraževanje in je tudi razlog za marsikatero odsotnost (Klopčič & Munda Hirnök 2013, 20–21). Raziskave iz Bolgarije in Romunije kažejo, da je glavni razlog, zakaj romski starši ne pošiljajo otrok v šolo, v tem, da otroci nimajo primernih oblačil (Andruszkiewicz 2006, 90).

[13] Deleži delovnega časa, ki ga romski pomočniki namenijo posameznim nalogam, so oblikovani na podlagi njihove oddane mesečne dokumentacije in predstavljajo povprečne vrednosti, izračunane na podlagi seštevka ur vseh romskih pomočnikov skupaj. Upoštevati velja, da obstajajo razlike med romskimi pomočniki, ki so posledica več dejavnikov, kot na primer: različnega načina organizacije dela na šolah, kombinacije dela v vrtcih in v šolah ali na dveh različnih šolah, števila romskih otrok in njihovih potreb, socialno-ekonomske situacije v romskih naseljih, angažiranosti romskega pomočnika.

23

24

[14] Do podobnih ugotovitev sta prišli tudi Mojca Peček in Irena Lesar (2006). Ravno obratno pa je raziskava iz let 2007/08 (Bačlija 2008, 135) zaznala, da so učitelji večjo vlogo za težave romskih učencev pripisali šolskemu sistemu (neprilagojenim učnim programom, preobilici snovi, ki jo morajo učenci usvojiti v enem šolskem letu) in ne učencem. V nasprotju z učitelji pa so romski pomočniki razloge za učne težave romskih učencev pripisali predvsem neenakemu predznanju in sposobnostim romskih učencev ter njihovi neudeležbi pri pouku (Bačlija 2008, 135).

[15] Raziskava na populaciji 77 romskih otrok v Mariboru je na primer pokazala precejšnjo motivacijo romskih otrok za izobraževanje: 84,4 odstotka romskih učencev je povedalo, da radi hodijo v šolo, in 70,1 odstotka jih želi nadaljevati s šolanjem tudi po končani osnovni šoli (Peček & Munda 2015, 439). Vendar gre v tem primeru za precej netipično romsko skupnost, ki se po socialno-ekonomskem položaju in bivanjskih razmerah razlikuje od večine romskih skupnosti drugje po Sloveniji (Peček & Munda 2015, 428–429).

[16] Ob tem velja opozoriti, da je romska skupnost v Sloveniji zelo heterogena tako glede jezika, vere, priselitvenega oziroma avtohtonega statusa, socialno-ekonomskega položaja, bivanjskih razmer, vključenosti v širšo družbo, pa tudi etničnega (samo)opredeljevanja. Glede na zapisano je verjetno na mestu primeren razmislek o ustreznosti uporabe enotnega obravnavanja teh skupnosti tako v raziskovanju kot pri načrtovanju različnih politik za populacije, ki jih naslavljamo z enotnim imenom Romi. Na to opozarjajo tudi nekatere novejše znanstvene obravnave avtorjev, ki se ukvarjajo z romskimi študijami (McGarry 2014; Messing 2014; Tremlett 2014).

[17] Romščina nasploh kot jezik izobraževanja oziroma poučevanja nima tradicije. Jezik je, tako kot njegovi govorci, stigmatiziran in se ga navadno bolj pojmuje kot oviro v izobraževanju, ne pa kot predmet izobraževanja (Halwachs 2012, 35).

[18] Več o politikah in ukrepih za vključevanje romskih otrok v slovenski izobraževalni sistem glej Nećak Lük in Novak Lukanovič 2011.

Literatura in viri

Andruszkiewicz, M., 2006. Romani Children in European Schools: Recent Experience. V E. Roberts-Schweitzer, V. Greaney & K. Duer (ur.) *Promoting Social Cohesion through Education: Case Studies and Tools for Using Textbooks and Curricula.* World Bank, Washington D.C., 81–106.

Battaglia, M. & Lebedinski, L., 2015. Equal Access to Education: An Evaluation of the Roma Teaching Assistant Program in Serbia. *World Development* 76, 62 –81.

Bačlija, I., 2008. Romski pomočniki v slovenskem osnovnošolskem sistemu: prednosti in pomanjkljivosti izredne učne pomoči romskim učencem. *Šolsko polje* 19(5/6), 121–142.

Bačlija, I. & Grabner, A., 2014. Professional Development of Roma Teaching Assistants in Slovenia. *International Journal of Management in Education* 8(4), 362–373.

Bešter, R. & Medvešek, M., 2007. Education of the Roma Children in Slovenia: Evaluation of the Education Policy Defined in National Action Plan on Social Inclusion. V M. Komac & R. Varga (ur.) *Social Inclusion of Roma.* Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana; Regionalna razvojna agencija Mura, Murska Sobota, 129–183.

Bešter, R., Medvešek, M. & Pirc, J., 2015. *Poročilo in evalvacija programov romski izobraževalni inkubator in romski pomočnik: projekt Skupaj do znanja - Uresničevanje*

ciljev Strategije vzgoje in izobraževanja Romov v Republiki Sloveniji. Ministrstvo za izobraževanje znanost in šport, Center šolskih in obšolskih dejavnosti, Evropski socialni sklad, Ljubljana.

Brezovšek, M., 2008. *Reševanje romske problematike v Sloveniji s poudarkom na socialni inkluzivnosti Romov v šolski sistem: končno poročilo*. Univerza v Ljubljani, Fakulteta za družbene vede, Inštitut za družbene vede, Center za politološka raziskovanja, Ljubljana.

Dominelli, L., 1995. Antirasistične perspektive v evropskem socialnem delu. *Socialno delo* 34(3), 181–194.

Flecha, R. & Soler, M., 2013. Turning Difficulties into Possibilities: Engaging Roma Families and Students in School through Dialogic Learning. *Cambridge Journal of Education* 43(4), 451–465.

Halwachs, D., 2012. Romani Teaching in Austria. *Treatises and Documents / Razprave in gradivo* 68, 34–51.

Hegedűs, A. T. & Forrai, K., 1999. Teachers on the Gypsy Culture. V C. Fényes, C. McDonald, & A. Mészáros (ur.) *The Roma Education Resource Book*. Open Society Institute, Budapest,174–178.

Henderson, A. T. & Berla, N. (ur.), 1994. *A New Generation of Evidence: The Family is Critical to Student Achievement*. National Committee for Citizens in Education, Washington D.C., http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED375968.pdf (8. 4. 2016).

Henderson, A. T. & Mapp, K. L., 2002. *A New Wave of Evidence: The Impact of School, Family, and Community Connections on Student Achievement*. Southwest Educational Development Laboratory (SEDL), Austin (Texas) http://www.sedl.org/connections/resources/evidence.pdf (8. 4. 2016).

Klopčič, V. & Munda Hirnök, K., 2013. *Izzivi, dileme, rešitve: izobraževanje Romov v praksi nekaterih držav*. Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja. Ljubljana.

Komac, M. & Barle Lakota, A., 2015. Breaking the Glass Ceiling: The Case of the Roma Ethnic Minority in Slovenia. *Dve domovini* 41, 23–34.

Krek, J. & Vogrinc, J., 2005. Znanje slovenskega jezika kot pogoj šolskega uspeha učencev iz jezikovno in kulturno različnih ter socialno depriviligiranih družin – primer začetnega opismenjevanja romskih učencev. *Sodobna pedagogika* 56(2), 118–139.

Ljudska univerza Kočevje, 2014. *Evalvacijsko poročilo o delu romskega pomočnika v okviru projekta Uspešno vključevanje Romov v vzgojo in izobraževanje II v šolskih letih 2011/12, 2012/13 in 2013/14*. Interna projektna dokumentacija.

Luciak, M. & Liegl, B., 2009. Fostering Roma Students' Educational Inclusion: A Missing Part in Teacher Education. *Intercultural Education* 20(6), 497–509.

McGarry, A., 2014. Roma as a Political Identity: Exploring Representations of Roma in Europe. *Ethnicities* 14, 756–774.

Messing, V., 2014. Methodological Puzzles of Surveying Roma/Gypsy Populations. *Ethnicities* 14, 811–829.

25

Munda, M. & Peček, M., 2013. Aspiracije in vključenost romskih staršev v izobraževanje svojih otrok. *Socialna pedagogika* 17(3/4), 133–157.

Nećak Lük, A. & Novak Lukanovič, S., 2011. Inclusion of Roma children into education in Slovenia: The Language Competence and Cultural Dimensions. *The Open Education Journal* 4 (Suppl 2-M6), 164–173.

Nećak Lük, A., Brejc, M. & Vonta, T., 2005. *Integration of Roma Children into Mainstream Education in Slovenia. Final Reasearch and Evaluation Report*, http://www.osi.hu/esp/rei/Documents/SLovenia%20REI%20Evaluation%20report%202005%20Final.pdf (15. 9. 2007).

Peček, M. & Lesar, I., 2006. *Pravičnost slovenske šole: mit ali realnost*. Sophia. Ljubljana.

Peček, M., Macura-Milovanović, S. & Vujisić-Živković, N., 2014. The Cultural Responsiveness of Teacher Candidates Towards Roma Pupils in Serbia and Slovenia – Case Studies. *Journal of Education for Teaching: International Research and Pedagogy* 40(4), 359–376.

Peček, M. & Munda, M., 2015. Roma Pupils' Attitudes towards Education – A Case Study. *Intercultural Education* 26(5), 425–443.

Peklaj, C. & Puklek Levpušček, M., 2007. *Students' Motivation and Academic Success in Relation to the Quality of Individual and Collaborative Work During a Course in Educational Psychology*, http://www.pef.uni-lj.si/atee/978-961-6637-06-0/147-161.pdf (5. 4. 2016).

Pintrich, P. R. & Schunk, D. H., 2002. *Motivation in Education: Theory, Research and Applications* (2nd ed.). Prentice Hall, Merill, Upper Saddle River, N. J.

Pirc, J., 2013. *Od skritosti do točke na zemljevidu. Socialno-prostorski razvoj izbranih romskih naselij v Sloveniji*. Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana.

Pirc, J., 2014. Factors of (Non)exclusion of the Roma in the Cases of their Settlements in Slovenia. V *Learning Peace – an Integrative Part of Peace Building. Experiences from the Alps-Adriatic Region*. Drava, Klagenfurt/Celovec, 127–143.

Puklek Levpušček, M. & Zupančič, M., 2009. *Osebnostni, motivacijski in socialni dejavniki učne uspešnosti*. Znanstvenoraziskovalni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, Ljubljana.

Pravilnik o spremembah in dopolnitvah Pravilnika o nomenklaturi poklicev, Uradni list RS 31 (6. 4. 2007).

Rus, C., 2006. *The situation of Roma School Mediators and Assistants in Europe*. Council of Europe, DGIV/EDU/ROM(2006)3, http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/roma/Source/Mediators_Analyse_EN.pdf (25. 3. 2016).

SVIR - Strategija vzgoje in izobraževanja Romov v Republiki Sloveniji, 2004. Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport, Ljubljana.

SVIR-DOP Strategija vzgoje in izobraževanja Romov v Republiki Sloveniji (Dopolnilo k Strategiji 2004), 2011. Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport, Ljubljana.

Šiftar, V., 1970. *Cigani: minulost v sedanjosti*. Pomurska založba, Murska Sobota.

Tremlett, A., 2014. Making a Difference without Creating a Difference: Super-Diversity as a new Direction for Research on Roma Minorities. *Ethnicities* 14, 830–848.

Urh, Š., 2006. Socialna izključenost Romov v Beli krajini. *Socialno delo* 45 (1/2), 41–49.

Urh, Š., 2011. Izključenost romskih otrok iz izobraževanja. *Vzgoja in izobraževanje,* 42(1/2), 17–23.

Urh, Š. & Žnidarec Demšar, S., 2005. Izključujoči mehanizmi vključevanja Romov. *Poročilo Skupine za spremljanje nestrpnosti* 4. Mirovni inštitut, 36–51.

Vonta, T., Jager, J., Rutar Leban, T., Vidmar, M., Baranja, S., Rutar, S., Mlekuž, A., Jaklič Šimnic, A., Vidmar, J. & Balič, F., 2011. *Nacionalna evalvacijska študija uspešnosti romskih učencev v osnovni šoli: končno poročilo*. Pedagoški inštitut, Ljubljana.

Klara Kožar Rosulnik, Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik, Nives Ličen

Women's Narratives on Learning through Migration

The article focuses on the migration experiences of women as a source for research into learning. The theoretical framework for the phenomenological research comprises biographical and transitional learning, i.e., biographical learning that takes place at life transitions. This kind of learning is considered as a process that occurs during experiences in everyday life that involve the reconstruction of identity, knowledge, skills, attitudes and values. Transitional learning theory is used because migrations represent important life passages that are complex heterogeneous experiences, creating possibilities for learning which are experienced in various ways by different individuals. The research is empirical, being based on the analysis of selected narratives of women who have immigrated to or emigrated from Slovenia. From the narrations themes are inductively designed that define learning as a cumulative process. The analysis of each thematic section identifies the strategies of learning and the types of knowledge involved. On the basis of these findings, a model for interpreting migration-related biographical learning is formed.

Keywords: migration, biographical learning, women, (auto)biographical method, narration.

Ženske pripovedi o učenju skozi izkušnje migracije

Članek obravnava učenje in oblikovanje identitete pri ženskah z izkušnjo migracije. Teoretični okvir za fenomenološko empirično raziskavo temelji na biografskem in tranzicijskem učenju. Migracije predstavljajo pomembne segmente življenja, ki prinašajo kompleksne in heterogene izkušnje, kakor tudi možnosti za učenje, ki jih posamezniki uresničujejo na različne načine. Empirična raziskava temelji na analizi pripovedi izbranih žensk. Naše ugotovitve potrjujejo obstoj štirih strategij tranzicijskega učenja, ki so pomembne za izgradnjo znanja. S pomočjo le-teh smo izoblikovali model za interpretacijo z migracijami povezanega biografskega učenja.

Ključne besede: *migracije, biografsko učenje, ženske, (avto)biografska metoda, pripovedi.*

Correspondence address: Klara Kožar Rosulnik, Predoslje 10, 4000 Kranj, Slovenia, e-mail: klara.kozar@gmail.com; Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik, ZRC SAZU/Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije/Slovenian Migration Institute, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, e-mail: hladnik@zrc-sazu.si; Nives Ličen, Univerza v Ljubljani/ University of Ljubljana, Filozofska fakulteta/Faculty of Arts, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, e-mail: nives.licen@guest.arnes.si.

1. Introduction

Migrations represent important life passages that create possibilities for learning. In our analysis, this kind of learning has been defined using the biographical (Kožar Rosulnik & Ličen 2015) and transitional (Tedder & Biesta 2007, Alheit & Dausien 2002, Wildermeersch & Stroobants 2009) learning theory. The theory of biographical learning is derived from social constructivism. Biographical learning is a holistic development which changes an individual through a combination of processes such as thinking, feeling, and acting. Through the learning process, experiences, knowledge, skills, norms, new ways of thinking, feeling and acting, as well as the construction of an identity – all may form or transform a person. In examining biographical learning during experienced events, various conceptualizations are used, among them transitional learning; this is examined by Stroobants (Wildermeersch & Stroobants 2009) in her research on the transitions between employment and unemployment. For the interpretation of biographical learning during migration, we use in our research the model of transition learning; this is understood as a type of biographical learning that occurs at some kind of transition; this last term is used to mean a biographical disjunction, i.e., a period when the individual is faced with unpredictable changes in the dynamics between the course of his/her life and its context. This theory introduces four different strategies of learning that come into play when one faces new situations, that is, during integration into new sociocultural settings, either by adapting new social roles, or by experiencing passages through different life phases. These strategies are: adaptation, growth, distinction (the development of an individual life style), and resistance (Wildermeersch & Stroobants 2009).

In order to categorise the types of knowledge that are created because of the migrating experience, we follow P. Tynjälä (2013), who classifies knowledge as follows: theoretical or conceptual knowledge, practical or experiential knowledge, self-regulative knowledge, and sociocultural knowledge.

The purpose of our research is to find out how a woman who has been exposed to migration uses various learning strategies to construct her knowledge and (re)construct her identity. We were interested in finding out which types of knowledge we encounter given various strategies. Moreover, we wanted to highlight an area of research that has long been neglected, i.e., women as the agents of migration processes. In the most recent decade they have become a subject of research interest in the Slovenian area, particularly with the efforts of feminist researchers (Cukut Krilić 2009, Milharčič Hladnik & Mlekuž 2009, Lukšič-Hacin & Mlekuž 2010, Antić Gaber 2011, Vidmar Horvat 2014).

This research was designed with the help of the principles of phenomenological methodology and grounded theory. By analyzing the selected narratives, we tried to find out what the life of our respondents was like in their countries of origin, what their motives for migration were, how they perceived the crossing

of borders, how migration influenced their (non-)self-empowerment, what their lives are like in the new country (society), and how – according to their accounts – their identities have changed. On the basis of these data we attempted to create a model for the interpretation of biographical migration-related learning, and thus point to the importance of knowledge that is generated through the migration experience.

31

2. Method

Migration experiences in daily practices create challenges which we – while wanting to phenomenologically[1] understand personal experience as a source of learning – often analyze with the use of ethnographic and (auto)biographic methods (Eastmond 2007, Trifanescu 2013).

The empirical part of our research follows the principles of the phenomenological approaches to researching personal experiences (Moustakas 1994, Price 2013). Our research, which was conducted in 2015, included 27 women. These women left Slovenia and emigrated to Great Britain, the Netherlands, United Arab Emirates, Luxemburg, India, Canada, Belgium, Ethiopia, Germany, Cyprus, Denmark, Sweden, and Japan. Women who came to Slovenia, left France, Spain, Ukraine, Russia, Kosovo, Canada, Nigeria, and Finland. Their ages were between 24 and 76. For most of our interlocutors, this was not their only migration experience.

Of our interviewees, 3 finished high school; most had been educated at the university level, and 4 had a Master's degree and 4 of them had PhDs. The fact that most (24 of 27) were educated at the university level could be seen as a limitation in this research, as we do not know what the results would be if we had had a more dispersed sample, in terms of women's formal education. All the women were purposely selected with the help of the snowball sampling method (also known as chain sampling).

We collected our data in two ways, using:
(a) narrative autobiographical interviews (4 face-to-face and 1 by Skype) and
(b) electronic interviews (22 interviews by e-mail).

A narrative interview is an unstructured or partially structured detailed interview that is frequently used in social science or migration studies research (Edwards & Holland 2013, Milharčič Hladnik 2007, Pajnik & Bajt 2009, Petitmengin 2006). We were particularly interested in the migration experiences and migration-related practices, so we prepared some guiding questions.

Since our sample also included women who left Slovenia, conducting face-to-face interviews with the complete selection of women was impossible. Hence we decided to collect our data also via e-mail; this is a research procedure that had been used before (Ramšak 2004, Meho 2006, Milharčič Hladnik 2009,

Ratislavová & Ratislav 2014). With this method the research subjects themselves create the conditions, the time, the depth and the scope of the communication, all adjusted to whatever makes them feel most comfortable. This technique gives the respondents the necessary time and privacy, as well as the opportunity to additionally reflect on their thoughts and edit what they have written. We corresponded with all via e-mail, as this enabled us to ask for additional explanations.

This technique of data-collecting has its shortcomings. We faced the challenge of creating a proper kind of trust, as this is much easier to achieve with direct contact. Despite our efforts to gain trust, some women did not want to open up in the e-mail interviews when they wrote about their life paths and past experiences. Some answered with only one word or a brief sentence, so we could not have any insight into their lives before migrating.

When the documentation was collected (autumn 2015), we analyzed it and defined thematic sections[2] based on the learning timeline (before and after migration), and on the change in personal status of these women (sense of self-empowerment, sense of one's own identity):
(1) life in the country of origin and the decision to migrate
(2) travel abroad to a different life
(3) life in the new society
(4) change of personal status: (non) self-empowerment
(5) process of change of identity: multiple belonging

Within each of these thematic sections, we searched for characteristics and then classified the strategies of learning and the types of knowledge. We introduce these findings in separate thematic sections.

3. Results

3.1 The decision to migrate: multiplicity of motives

Most of the time, the reason for migrating was connected with several factors, and this also influenced the knowledge that these factors help create. The respondents often listed as a key factor the connection of the desire to obtain an education and/or to work and/or to pursue a sports career with the desire to live with their partners. "I decided to move to pursue the study of classical singing. I very much wanted to broaden my knowledge outside Slovenia, somewhere in Europe. The fact that my then boyfriend was Dutch contributed to me moving to the Netherlands." (Klavdija).[3] "As a skier, I got a chance to join a university team and continue with my sports career as well as my education. This was possible in Slovenia, as I'd have to set aside one thing or the other. I moved together with my husband who also skied and continued skiing on our university team." (Tanja).

Not all the respondents linked their migration with their relationships and marital life. Mateja and Sonja decided to move because they were unemployed. Each migrated alone.

Apart from the explicitly noted rational and emotional migration-related factors, personal characteristics also co-influenced the decision to move. These characteristics were: curiosity, openness, courage, a desire to learn, self-confidence, adjustability and the like. In a few cases only, the motive behind migrating was explicitly connected with economic reasons (despite the fact that we are experiencing an economic crisis and difficult job market conditions). This low proportion goes against the so called classical migration theories' presuppositions; these include, e.g., the push-and-pull migration model, which has been among researchers of migration a kind of standard classical model. According to this model, individuals are supposed to migrate particularly for economic reasons (Anthias 2000).

For the respondents, the learning in the pre-migration phase was mostly connected with the gathering of general information: about the country and the city to which they were about to move, about the economic and political situation, the climate, culture, and employment possibilities. They started learning a new language, or they revised the linguistic knowledge they had already acquired. The learning topics and themes were mostly connected with the motives behind their migration. It is interesting to note that those women who went abroad for purposes of work put less effort into their preparations for their life abroad.

The pre-migration learning process of our respondents was also influenced by the type of migration with regard to periods of time. When migration was only temporary, there was less learning and less adaptation going on; when migration was long-term or permanent, the desire and motivation to learn, to collect information in the pre-migration time was stronger.

Almost all of our respondents had either visited or had even (for a short period of time) lived in the country they moved to. This way, they gradually familiarized themselves with the new way of life, they collected the necessary information out in the field. The respondents gathered most of the information they needed prior to moving via the internet, or with the help of acquaintances, relatives, and friends who lived in the country they wanted to move to. One of the respondents pointed out the importance of experience. Getting information over the internet, or visiting a specific place as a tourist, meant something different from the actual life in a foreign country.

> I've always wanted to live here and that was because my idea of this country was completely unreal. Visiting a place as a tourist is nothing like actually living in a foreign country, leading an actual life there. However, you don't really know that unless you try. I was lured by false glitter. I'd never seen misery until I came here. By misery I mean people being uneducated, class divisions, as well as the carefree attitude of these people when they don't do their jobs properly and yet confidently ask for payment. I thought

that anyone could succeed. Success is sadly closely linked to the nationality listed in your passport -USA, Canada, UK, Australia. (Ida, Bachelor's degree in Economics; moved with her Egyptian husband to the United Arab Emirates).

In some case, we also noticed a non-learning, or an unwillingness to learn. The latter was most frequently connected with dissatisfaction caused by the move to a new country. The non-learning happened when the immigrants made their employer responsible for their move, and later on, for settling in a new environment.

3.2. Across the Border to a Different Life

In general and in various writings, the concept of the border has been explained and interpreted quite variously (Friedman 2007); in our analysis it is postulated as a state border. Our respondents experienced the crossing of the border merely in relation to bureaucratic procedures that followed their migrating. Those who migrated within the EU did not face serious problems, while some others were exposed to various procedures. This implies a great deal of learning related to those procedures. Our respondents mostly perceived them as an obstacle and not as learning experience. Julija, who moved to Slovenia from the Ukraine, was told about her need to marry in order to gain rights to live in Slovenia and to choose her citizenship:

> Regarding citizenship: unfortunately, Slovenia does not have an agreement with my country, namely, I have to renounce my citizenship and only then I can get Slovenian citizenship. The procedure is long-lasting and calls for a lot of documentation, a lot of nerves, and lastly, a lot of money. (Julija).

Renouncing her primary citizenship could prove to be problematic if Julija wanted to return to her homeland, as she would need to once again face the complicated and tedious procedures of re-gaining her Ukrainian citizenship.

In some cases, the bureaucratic procedures were so long and mentally demanding that some of our respondents did not even choose to go through with them.

Migration is a special kind of dislocation that requires adjustments to self-image and influences the forming of self-knowledge. Our respondents mostly experienced fear, excitement, loss of security, pride, curiosity, joy, as well as sadness and a feeling of being lost. These feelings were really strong and influenced the women's perception of themselves. The respondents were therefore creating knowledge about themselves. They mostly talked about their feelings:

> After living for twelve years in a small village and then moving to a large international city, I felt fear and loss of safety. Great excitement, joy and curiosity, aroused by

everything new, unknown, a desire to be independent. Also, I felt proud that I succeeded. And I was in love / … / that too goes with it. I feel that for two years I kind of tried to find myself, I was drifting here and there but then slowly everything in me started to calm down. Such a step is a mirror of your own personality and personal growth, which is a wonderful thing, but sometimes also something hard. A feeling that every slip, as well as every achievement, in such situation is bigger and stronger. Everything seems extreme. (Klavdija).

Klavdija talked about her feelings related to her failing a few times. These feelings were intensified in the process of migration. If the same event (falling in love, marriage, unsuccessful studies and the like) had happened in her home environment, her feelings would not have been as intense as they were during migration (which she defined as a two-year process).

Ida felt lost and unprepared for life in a totally different cultural environment. She felt fear, confusion and pressure. Her self-image lost continuity:

To be an independent person in Slovenia and to start operating in a new country is extremely difficult. In an instant, you feel like you know nothing and everything you know cannot be applied to your new life, and keeps getting more and more complicated. You feel incompetent and dumb because you are not open to and ready for all the 'niceness' that is happening to you on a daily basis. (Ida).

Some of the women we selected also spoke about their feeling of social loneliness. Migration is an event that cuts through social structures and forces one to re-establish one's relations. Elira initially attributed her loneliness to a sensitive phase of her life, related to her age, as well as to the change of her living environment: "Once you are done with high school, it is more difficult to connect, especially in a foreign environment." (Elira).

With our respondents, leaving the safe environment and entering the unknown triggered intense emotions and sensations as well as the self-reflection which is an essential part of biographical learning. They experienced feelings of fear, incompetence, inferiority, sadness, loneliness, but also curiosity, joy, and enthusiasm. Stressful events related to their move cut into the continuity of self-image and caused its change. It was mostly those women who considered themselves to be indecisive and shy that perceived in their narration a changing attitude towards self-perception. After crossing the border and defeating fear and formal barriers, the women started perceiving themselves as brave and proud. The crossing of the border not only brought formal knowledge but also – through (self-)reflection and personal growth – knowledge about oneself, or, in other words, a reconstructed identity.

3.3. Life in a New Society

By moving to a new environment, the women faced many challenges: learning a new language, facing new, unknown situations, learning new roles, lack of social networks and loneliness. Their strategies of adjustment and of integration played out on various levels, and hence we will analyze them according to various sub-thematic sets.

3.3.1. Language Learning

Almost all the women pointed to language learning as an important, in some cases even the most difficult, part of their integration into the new society. The reasons for this difficulty were several and they differed. Most of them went to official language courses, some hired private teachers or started learning the language by themselves or with the help of their partners or friends.

Nataša admitted that her not knowing the new language was her biggest obstacle while looking for a job. She learned some German in high school and, after she had decided to move, learned more at a language course; her knowledge was, however, not good enough for successful operation in the new linguistic environment. Learning a new language, as is normal, took time and connected to this was the realization that she could not learn the language unless she actually started working in the new environment. Once she had a job, her language skills improved fast.

Klavdija learned Dutch merely through listening and conversation. She often asked her friends to correct her mistakes. After three years of learning on her own she became fluent. Julija found it of great help to talk to her child, who mastered Slovene quite fast. She also received a lot of help from her Slovenian husband.

While learning the new language, they also felt somewhat uncomfortable, i.e., they noticed feelings of shame, stage fright, actual fear. Nataša's fear mostly stemmed from her thinking that she might embarrass herself. She was still hurt every time people laughed at her mistakes. When this happened she often just switched to English.

The knowledge of a foreign language, that of the new environment, is key for successful operation therein. Some women did not choose to study the new language, but simply used English. Spoken language in most intercultural relationships is English. Our women pointed out that they most easily expressed their emotions in the language that – apart from their native language – they had managed to master best. There was less interest and less need for learning a new language in places where English became the everyday language (i.e., for communication at home and at work).

3.3.2. Facing New Situations

When asked what situations they considered to be completely new and un-known, the women talked mostly about different traditions, mentalities, life styles, and ways of socializing.

Janja married into a very traditional Indian family, and this transition asked for a lot of adaptation to the new way of life; still, she gained a lot of sociocultural knowledge in this way. Before migration Indian culture had been entirely un-known to her, so everything new that she encountered was hard to understand. She described the Indian connection of everyday life with religion and various religious practices. The days were filled with prayers and rituals. There were many holidays there, too, connected with special rituals, and our respondent was gradually getting to know them. Also the way of life was different from what she imagined.

For Klavdija new situations in a different cultural environment meant an opportunity for personal growth, for searching of answers to questions, such as: Who am I? What are my wishes? What matters to me in life? Who do I want to become? The international environment and her separation from her parents contributed to self-reflection.

In addition to describing the differences between cultures and new socio-cultural findings, individual women also spoke about the feelings that they faced in the new environment. For some, the foreign land meant peace, tranquility, and freedom; to others, it brought on feelings of anxiety and depression.

Anastasija felt safer in Slovenia than she did in Russia. She liked Slovene spontaneity and the peacefulness of the cities. She was very happy for her children who feel more relaxed in Slovene schools.

Metka had already during her studies and previous visits become familiar with the cultural environment that she moved to, so she never experienced any kind of cultural shock. However, she did face the feeling of non-belonging, not fitting in. In Slovenia, everyone kept asking her When will you go back? and she felt like a foreigner, being distinguished from the locals already because of her appearance.

While Anastasija and Metka found peace abroad, some of our respondents faced anxiety and depression when they moved. For some of the women, new situations caused an identity crisis.

When dealing with and adapting to the new environment, the women acquired certain sociocultural and conceptual knowledge. New situations, new roles and conditions enabled personal growth and the acquiring of self-know-ledge. What surprised us was their reports on unpleasant feelings, such as anxiety, depression, panic attacks, the feeling of non-belonging. They tried to control these unpleasant feelings by themselves, either through activity (sports), or dedication (they kept their life style, they respected the habits of the new

37

environment, but they stuck to their own routines rather than accepted the new ones). The strategies of learning were thus varied and the types of knowledge the women acquired also varied. These women searched for answers to questions, such as: who they were, what were their wishes for the future, what their life path would be like. They were getting to know their bodies, their responses to stress related to migration and the ways to combat stress. The learning process was happening on the level of knowledge about self-guidance (socio-emotional knowledge).

3.3.3 Ways of Adapting to Life in a New Environment

Most women pointed out that socializing helped them adapt to a foreign environment the most, especially socializing with people who themselves migrated from somewhere. After that came adopting the traditions and holidays, going to local celebrations. Some of our respondents said that they recognized cultural differences and they still respected them, but they never wanted to adopt them, internalize them, as they felt this would be too big a diversion from their own values. They formed an alternative life style.

The change of the environment cuts off previous daily social relations and calls for establishing of new ones. Most of the times, these women found new friends – new social connections – at language courses. When they were in the company of other immigrants, they saw that they were not the only ones facing social integration issues. Mateja migrated alone, so her sense of loneliness was that much stronger. She said that one had to surpass one's own limitations when one found oneself alone in a foreign environment, when one had to start a new life in an unknown environment when already middle-aged. She tried to integrate through the expatriate community association. Helena wanted to surround herself with people of similar beliefs, so she attended various events. She went to various workshops where she felt safe and in this way she created her social network. She also used the Meetup.com portal.

Emma also searched for friends over the Internet. She created her profile on the language exchange website and got in touch with a Slovene girl who wanted to talk in English.

Janja adapted to the new cultural on every level of her life, as she knew she was a newcomer. She adapted the Indian way of dressing, completely accepted their eating habits and their way of life:

> Many times my colleagues tell me that I could be an Indian from the North and that they never feel like I come from another country. But the fact is that we are a few worlds apart and that in seven years I have not managed to become close friends with a single Indian female, with the exception of those who have lived in the West for at least a few years and thus extensively broadened their horizons. (Janja).

RAZPRAVE IN GRADIVO REVIJA ZA NARODNOSTNA VPRAŠANJA **76 / 2016**
K. KOŽAR ROSULNIK, M. MILHARČIČ HLADNIK, N. LIČEN *Ženske pripovedi o učenju skozi izkušnje …*

39

The process of adopting new ways of living seems normal and expected to her, because she is of the opinion that the newcomer should adjust one's life to the new circumstances. Moreover, she thinks that those with a broader capacity can adjust more easily: "For instance, my mother-in-law / … / it would be pointless to try and make her see my point of view, as she just can't and won't understand it." (Janja).

She used to ask herself whether, due to her constant adjustments in her life, she might be losing her identity, but in time she realized that the new life only made her a better, more mature and a stronger person. The strategy of adjustments, sometimes even subordination, led Janja towards personal growth, towards the reconstruction of her identity.

Ida, however, also faced the issues of personal growth and reconstruction of identity, but not so much because of adjustments, but because of her opposition to the new culture. She explicitly said that she did not want to integrate into the new culture, but in order to function better in everyday life, she changed herself: "I became aggressive, demanding, and determined. You can't survive otherwise." (Ida).

The women tried to adjust to the new environment mostly through creating new social contacts, the kind that gave them a sense of security. We noticed that their social networks mostly consisted of people with an immigrant experience. Through self-reflection and getting to know their new culture, they were able to find out whether the values and norms of the new culture matched their own values and norms. When they found the new values to be similar or in some cases even totally in line with their own values, they decided to adopt the new culture: new ways of acting, new norms and values, new ways of dressing, eating, language learning. When the dissonance between the two sets of norms was too great, the women opted for an alternative life style. Despite the fact that some explicitly claimed that they did not want to change, this does not mean that the changes were not happening. It is possible that they stayed at the level of tacit knowledge, i.e., the kind of knowledge that is not articulated by the subject, but it is used in the situations in which the subjects finds themselves. Identity reconstruction happened when these women practiced self-reflection, the investigation of their identity, their values and norms and thus decided what kind of individuals they wanted to become.

3.4 Change of Status: (non-)self-empowerment

Migrating in itself is an act of opposition to powerlessness, i.e., it is an act of empowerment, taking control over one's life. We wanted to know if the migration improved or worsened the women's situation, predominantly with regards to social power, in the context of their family life, relationships, work, and education.

40

Most of these women obtained jobs abroad that were in line with their professional qualifications. Some of them had the opportunity to hold very responsible job positions which, in their opinion, they would never obtain in their homeland. Sara, for example, found a job at the international news agency Reuters and was eventually promoted to a TV program editor. As the only woman working at a sports program there, she is in charge of a team made up of men only. Her work is demanding and responsible, but she is motivated by results, achievements, praise, and a good salary. She would never get such an opportunity in Slovenia.

Mojca, the sole provider for her family, secured a job at the Slovenian Embassy in Denmark. In order to fulfill her wish to work in diplomacy abroad, she needed to move to another country. Her job brought her more social power, and this also has a positive influence on the micro social environment (the family): "When we moved, our family became even more connected, as we could only rely on each other; we didn't have any relatives or friends in this country, that is." (Mojca).

Some of our respondents did not find a job in their field of expertise after the move, or, for various reasons, they gave up their careers. Ida, who holds a Bachelor's degree in Economics, never found a job in her new country. She felt completely lost in the new cultural context, as life there was totally different from her expectations. Her degree and her work experience were of no help in the new environment because she could not use them there. Due to the loss of inner power, her self-image was completely destroyed: "I've become dependent, I've lost self-confidence, I'm full of anger, at times depressed ..." (Ida). But while she felt miserable because of her job situation, she still felt fulfilled in her partnership: "My husband is better than all the Slovenes I've met and we have a wonderful relationship." (Ida).

Migration changed almost every aspect of our respondents' lives: work, education, family, partnership. For some of them, the new environment brought improvements, for others, the situation worsened. Regardless of the outcome, for these women, a reconstruction of identity was taking place, mostly through self-reflection and the strategy for personal growth; the sense of power and control over their lives grew. Also, those women who were overqualified to do the jobs that they found still felt that they had control over their lives, because they were making more money, for example (greater financial power). When interpreting their social power and the way in which they handled their lives, the women showed changes in their views and judgments, for instance, the way they viewed the meaning of connectedness in their micro-social group – the family – in relation to their professional lives. Some were not employed in their field, but they felt socially empowered in their environment because they themselves chose their way of operating within their family (the possibility to choose). In their accounts, they frequently connected their learning and various kinds of knowledge (of a foreign language, of a foreign culture, of worldliness) with an

inner feeling of control and power that normally complements the process of self-empowerment.

3.5 The Process of Identity Changing: Multiple Belonging

My heart is torn. / … / I don't feel at home anywhere anymore. / … / I don't belong anywhere; I live between two worlds. / … / These brief thoughts are taken from the accounts of our respondents and point to problems with a sense of belonging; those are the questions that most immigrants face – where they belong and who they are. Some of our respondents said that they did not belong anywhere anymore – not to their country of origin and not to the new homeland.

Janja expressed her sense of non-belonging to the new society and a very strong sense of belonging to her original society, but she also stated that she became too Indianized to be able to live in the old society again. She felt that she had outgrown it and that she could not really return to it anymore.

Because of her love for the society in which she now lives, one of our respondents, Metka, decided to study sinology and Japanese. At first, she identified strongly with the new culture, but this gradually turned into resentment. The resentment was caused by her feeling that she had lost too much when she left Slovenia:

> I miss Slovenia and the people I care about; they are far away – some of them are getting older and they might die before we come back. I have a feeling that I am becoming indifferent to Japanese arts and culture which I, once, very much appreciated and admired. I have a feeling that I can't make myself love it again, because my heart is torn between Slovenia and Japan. (Metka).

On the other hand, when she visited Slovenia, she felt that she could not subscribe to the values that most Slovenes hold, as these were no longer her own values.

These examples point to the fact that, when faced with the new culture, the respondents became aware of their own values and were constantly engaged in thinking about whether the values of the new country were in line with their values. Their identity got reconstructed by (auto-)reflective analysis of their experiences, findings and emotions in the space between the two cultures. Their frame of reference was tied to this mid-space; and through it they perceived and interpreted themselves and the world. This space between the two cultures, the so called mid-space, enabled them to absorb elements of both cultures, which led to the connection with and transformation of a frame of reference which was not in line with either culture. This could make some of the women feel joyous or angry. In some other cases, this mid-space created a symbolic field within which the women felt their belonging to several cultures at the same time; they felt at home in several cultures.

Emma is one of them. Because of her triple citizenship, her childhood was marked with the question Who am I? She was born in Canada, her mother is American and her father is Slovene. Her father had a huge influence on her education, so she most of all felt like a Slovene during her childhood. However, she was also influenced by the socio-cultural environment in which she lived, so she was often unsure about her sense of belonging. She decided to temporarily migrate to Slovenia to find out who she really was. During our interview which took place shortly before her return to Canada, she said: "I am three people. I have three identities." (Emma). During her nine-month period of learning and discovering of herself, she realized that she can be all three things together – a Slovene, a Canadian and an American – without denying either one of these identities.

A sense of belonging to the new society was achieved more easily and in a faster manner by those women who, already before they migrated, felt a stronger sense of belonging to multiple cultures and societies at once. Nataša was one such example and she was not ashamed of her double belonging:

> I'm certainly proud to be a Slovene with Bosnian roots and I'll never be ashamed of this. Maybe it's been a little easier for me, as I've been used to double identity; I've been exposed to it since my birth. This makes it easier for you to integrate when you come to a new environment. I am a Slovene with Bosnian roots who lives in Germany now. / … / I will start feeling German when I master their language. (Nataša).

She connected her belonging with citizenship, her roots, and, in the new society, with speaking the new language.

It is common that when people live abroad their affinity for their homeland strengthens. This also happened to Ida, who could only identify with Slovenia. Yet, she always wanted to leave Slovenia, as she never felt closely connected to it. But now she changed her opinion:

> I'm Slovene and I can't identify with an Arab country that doesn't have its own identity, or rather, its identity consists of top-notch American marketing and surreal realities. I will never identify with Egyptian identity, because they are simply heading really quickly back into the Middle Ages. (Ida).

Some of our respondents did not feel any kind of belonging based on citizenship or geographic origin; rather, they identified with other groups. Elira feels most connected with universal values:

> I can't really see myself waving a flag from the top of Triglav or the Šar Mountains, even though we all sometimes find ourselves involved in these mass rituals supporting national symbols. I'm skeptical towards the 3S multiculturalism: even though I eat

burek or the Carniolan sausage, and I sing Albanian or Slovenian songs, I'm not doing it out of some need to confirm my identity on a symbolic level, but simply because I like doing these things! (Elira).

Adults don't strengthen their identity on purpose; our identity is formed by means of informal learning which can be either conscious or subconscious. We gather from these accounts that our respondents were mostly interested in learning when it was connected to things and places they liked, and which made them feel good, calm, and accepted. The last-mentioned respondent explicitly stated that she did not like flags with symbols (visual markers), but instead, she liked songs (sound). However, that does not mean that her sense of belonging was not formed also through that which she refuses.

In their accounts on the construction of their identity through language, our respondents pointed out the emotional characteristics of belonging. Both emotional and process aspects of belonging are characterized by a high degree of uncertainty. This has proven to be true with our respondents who expressed their non-belonging to both their original culture as well as their adopted culture, and also in cases where they expressed their belonging to the original country but at the same time admitted that they would no longer be able to live there, as they had outgrown those cultures. They realized that their values in the new environment had changed and were not in line with those held by the majority of the population. The insecurities of life paths of this kind are common for most immigrants.

Those respondents who were already aware of and openly talked about their combined identity in their country of origin found it easier to face insecurities related to the construction of their sense of belonging. Those women more easily and quickly started feeling at home in the new society, as they had created a symbolic field within which they felt they belonged to several cultures at the same time. The same goes for those women who mostly identified with their professional life and activities and not so much with their national belonging.

4. Discussion: A Model for the Interpretation of Migration-related Biographical Learning

In this concluding part we create a model for interpreting biographical learning which is based on strategies and types of knowledge. At first sight, it seems that learning while emigrating into a new environment is connected mostly with adjustments; our respondents, however, used four strategies of learning: adjustment (i.e., adaptation), growth of identity, development of individual life style and resistance. Learning was carried out under the influence of several factors: environment, daily practices, knowledge, beliefs, values and personal traits. We now focus on the key characteristics of learning.

44

With the adaptation/adjustment strategy, the women put emphasis on social demands within which they developed the kind of knowledge that was called for by the environment. They adapted to the new environment through language learning, adopting certain habits and ways of dressing, and by abiding the rules and the norms. We have to bear in mind that this kind of adjustment was a consciously chosen strategy, hence we can speak of active adjustments of women as doers. This sort of adjustment was not connected with devotion or passive behavior; the women were active in their acquisition of knowledge.

The second strategy was their identity growth. The change of environment evoked existential questions in women. They asked themselves who they were, what their values were, and what sort of individuals they wanted to become. Learning about oneself (i.e., forming self-knowledge) was also done by being different from the others. By getting to know new cultures, mentalities and values, these women became aware of their own values and constantly evaluated them to see which they could identify with and which were too strange for them. Women who did not identify with the values of the new environment used the third strategy, i.e., the strategy of forming their own individual life style. Among them, were also those who, due to their beliefs and/or way of life, felt misunderstood or simply unaccepted in their country of origin. For them, migration was a way of freeing themselves from the expectations of their original society, and a possibility to create a life style that suited them, regardless of the demands of the environment.

The fourth strategy, developed only by a few of our respondents, was a strategy of resistance, which meant active intervention into the culture and society of the new environment. With their social engagement within their diasporic communities, the women clearly expressed their views and beliefs and thus actively connected their new and their original culture and society. All the strategies used by our respondents that we have described led towards acquisition and/or development of various types of knowledge. The content of these learning processes varied: learning the language, adopting new eating habits, collaborating with broader social systems and the like. Each of the types of the learning process was connected with a specific strategy and a specific type of knowledge.

Our respondents developed theoretical and conceptual knowledge, practical and experiential knowledge, self-knowledge and socio-cultural knowledge. Conceptual knowledge developed within each of these categories. The same is true of self-knowledge and knowledge about a specific culture.

With our respondents, we noticed the acquisition of theoretical knowledge mostly in the sense that they acquired new language skills (e.g., the learning of new words and of new concepts), they came to know migration-related bureaucratic rules and regulations (e.g., knowledge related to prepare the necessary documentation). Practical or experiential knowledge involves proce-

dures for the use of knowledge in certain processes or routines; we may therefore call it procedural knowledge or knowledge which helps towards the realization of something. With our respondents, we identified this practical knowledge in the way their prepared dishes related to their new culture, in the way they practiced the routines of the new life, and the like. Self-knowledge mostly referred to existential questions and questions about one's values, thoughts, beliefs, emotions.

With the help of (self-)reflection and (self-)analysis, the women came to know formed meanings, they analyzed themselves, and (re)constructed their identity. Self-knowledge was mostly revealed through their accounts of the problems they had with learning a new language, familiarizing themselves with the new environment, their self-perception, the feelings they faced when their identity was changing. The sociocultural knowledge of these women mostly refers to their understanding cultural specifics and differences, and their adopting views and beliefs that were formed on the basis of their experience in a specific social and cultural environment. The acquired their sociocultural knowledge through getting to know a new culture and society, its norms, beliefs, values, and traditions. This sociocultural knowledge enabled them to integrate and operate within a new cultural and social context.

5. Conclusion

The narratives of the selected women provided us with an insight into the migration-related complexity and heterogeneity of learning and of gathering experience. The women's learning usually started with unpleasant or intense feelings of elation and curiosity (disjuncture), both caused by unknown and often even unpleasant situations and experiences in the new environment. The women were constantly faced with new situations that encouraged in them self-reflection and reflection on their frames of reference and values; thereby they were forced to learn and change. However, a new experience itself did not lead to a learning process. For learning, critical reflection was necessary, followed by a change (or sometimes an absence of change) on the basis of a decision. The learning occurred as a combination of processes in which an individual physically and mentally experienced a social situation; then she perceived the content cognitively, and emotionally and/or practically transformed and integrated it into her biography, which led her to a (re)structuring of her identity, or to her transformation.

On the basis of our analysis of the narratives, we formed a model for the interpretation of biographical learning which stems from the theory of transitional learning (strategy) and the 3-P model (types of knowledge) (Tynjälä 2013), and includes learning as an existential process, i.e., a process of the individual's changing under the influence of the sociocultural environment. The model had

proven to be a suitable tool that can help us analyze and interpret migration-related learning. Our research opens up possibilities for further research; it contributes to our understanding of the way adults (women) integrate into a new social environment and learn in that process, which encourages individual learning; and it sheds additional light on the area of everyday learning.

Notes

[1] Phenomenological approaches are suitable for the model of biographical learning, as we follow someone's experiential living experiences; these lead to the completeness of a living experience which includes — in addition to rational knowledge — also emotional, spiritual, embodied knowledge, studied from the perspective of the individual who is in fact experiencing this knowledge.

[2] The research of T. Učakar (2014) also influenced our naming of these thematic sections.

[3] The names of our respondents have been changed to help protect their anonymity.

References

Alheit, P. & Dausien, B., 2002. The Double Face of Lifelong Learning: Two Analytical Perspectives on a Silent Revolution. *Studies in Education of Adults,* 34(1), 3–22.

Anthias, F., 2000. Metaphors of Home: Gendering New Migrations to Southern Europe. In F. Anthias & G. Lazaridis (ed.) *Gender and Migration in Southern Europe.* Berg, Oxford, 15–47.

Antić Gaber, M. (ed.), 2011. *Na poti do lastne sobe.* i2, Ljubljana.

Cukut Krilić, S., 2009. *Spol in migracija. Izkušnje žensk kot akterk migracij.* Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana.

Eastmond, M., 2007. Stories as Lived Experience: Narratives in Forced Migration Research. *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 20(2), 248–264.

Edwards, R. & Holland, J., 2013. *What is Qualitative Interviewing?* Bloomsbury, London.

Friedman, S. S., 2007. Migration, Diasporas and Borders. In D. Nicholls (ed.) *Introduction to Scholarship in Modern Languages and Literatures.* MLA, New York, 260–293.

Kožar Rosulnik, K. & Ličen, N., 2015. Preplet migracij in učenja: biografsko učenje kot formiranje identitete in znanja ob migracijskih izkušnjah. *Dve domovini / Two Homelands,* 41, 151–162.

Lukšič-Hacin, M. & Mlekuž, J. (ed.), 2009. *Go girls!: When Slovenian Women Left Home.* Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana.

Meho, L. I., 2006. E-mail Interviewing in Qualitative Research: A Methodological Discussion. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology,* 27(10), 1284–1295.

RAZPRAVE IN GRADIVO REVIJA ZA NARODNOSTNA VPRAŠANJA 76 / 2016
K. KOŽAR ROSULNIK, M. MILHARČIČ HLADNIK, N. LIČEN Ženske pripovedi o učenju skozi izkušnje …

47

Milharčič Hladnik, M., 2007. Avto/biografičnost narativnosti: metodološko teoretični pristopi v raziskovanju migracijskih izkušenj. *Dve domovini / Two Homelands,* 26, 31–46.

Milharčič Hladnik, M., 2009. Moje misli so bile pri vas doma, Poti prehodov v pismih. In M. Milharčič Hladnik & J. Mlekuž (ed.) *Krila migracij: po meri življenjskih zgodb*. Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana.

Milharčič Hladnik, M. & Mlekuž, J. (ed.), 2009. *Krila migracij: po meri življenjskih zgodb*. Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana.

Moustakas, C., 1994. *Phenomenological Research Methods*. SAGE, Thousand Oaks.

Pajnik, M. & Bajt, V., 2009. Biografski narativni intervju: aplikacija na študije migracij. *Dve domovini / Two Homelands,* 30, 69–89.

Petitmengin, C., 2006. Describing One's Subjective Experience in the Second Person: An Interview Method for the Science of Consciousness. *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 10(12), 3–23.

Price, F., 2013. Proximal Ethnography: "Inside-out-side" Research and the Impact of Shared Methaphors of Learning. *Teachers and Teaching*, 19(6), 559–609.

Ramšak, M., 2004. Včasih znam tudi molčati, čeprav se zdi to malo verjetno: pripombe k mizoginim stereotipom o ženskem opravljanju. *Etnolog,* 14=(65), 121–138.

Ratislavová, K. & Ratislav, J., 2014. Asynchronous Email Interview as a Qualitative Method in the Humanities. *Human Affairs*, 24, 452–460.

Tedder, M. & Biesta, G., 2007. *Learning from Life and Learning for Life: Exploring The Opportunities for Biographical Learning in The Lives of Adult.* http://www.tlrp.org/project%20sites/LearningLives/papers/working_papers/WORKING%20PAPER%207.pdf (23. 3. 2016).

Trifanescu, L., 2013. Learning Dynamics in Feminine Precarious Migration: A Qualitative Perspective. *Romanian Journal for Multidimensional Education* 5(2), 85–100.

Tynjälä, P., 2013. Toward a 3-P Model of Workplace Learning: A Literature Review. *Vocations and Learning*, 6, 11–36.

Učakar, T., 2014. Dom, domovina in identiteta: priseljenke v slovenskem prostoru. In K. Vidmar Horvat (ed.) *Ženske na poti, ženske napoti: migrantke v slovenski nacionalni imaginaciji*. Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, Ljubljana, 169–188.

Vidmar Horvat, K. (ed.), 2014. *Ženske na poti, ženske napoti: migrantke v slovenski nacionalni imaginaciji*. Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, Ljubljana.

Wildemeersch, D. & Stroobants, V., 2009. Transitional Learning and Reflexive Facilitation: The Case of Learning for Work. In K. Illeris (ed.) *Contemporary Theories of Learning: Learning Theorists – In Their Own Words*. Routledge, London, New York, 218–232.

Veronika Bajt

Who "Belongs"? Migration, Nationalism and National Identity in Slovenia

Setting nationalism and national identity in the theoretical framework of migration, the paper asserts that nation-states remain in strong control over who belongs and who is categorised as a foreigner. The nationalising effects of state policies perpetuate the embeddedness of membership in the exclusionary community of the nation rather than effectively promulgating enactments of inclusive civic state membership. Drawing on the chosen example of Slovenia as a relatively new nation-state and a recent country of immigration, the paper offers new insights into migrant experiences as illustrations of the need to relegate to the dustbin of history the existing practices of preferential treatment for members of the dominant nation. Arguing that it is essential to study migration in conjunction with nationalism, the paper urges a more inclusive theoretical perspective which would take account of migrants.

Keywords: nationalism, migration, nation-state, national identity, migrant integration, belonging, Slovenia.

Kdo "pripada"? Migracije, nacionalizem in nacionalna identiteta v Sloveniji

Članek, ki obravnava teoretični vidik nacionalizma in nacionalne identitete v okviru migracij, ugotavlja, da nacionalne države ohranjajo močan nadzor nad tem, kdo pripada in kdo je kategoriziran kot tujec. Nacionalizacijski učinki državnih politik bolj prispevajo k ohranjanju članstva v izključevalni skupnosti naroda kot k učinkovitemu udejanjanju vključevalnega članstva v državi. Članek izhaja iz izbranega primera Slovenije in prinaša nov vpogled v migrantske zgodbe kot dokaz nujnosti, da bi morali obstoječo prakso preferencialnega obravnavanja pripadnikov večinskega naroda poslati na smetišče zgodovine. Avtorica, ki opozarja, da bi morali migracije preučevati skupaj z nacionalizmom, poudarja potrebo po bolj inkluzivni teoretski perspektivi, ki bi upoštevala tudi migrante in migrantke.

Ključne besede: *nacionalizem, migracije, nacionalne države, nacionalna identiteta, integracija migrantov, pripadnost, Slovenija.*

Correspondence address: Veronika Bajt, Mirovni inštitut/The Peace Institute, Metelkova 6, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, e-mail: veronika.bajt@mirovni-institut.si.

1. Introduction

Given recent large population movements, transnational migration is said to represent the biggest challenge to the self-contained nature of the nation-state, outweighing the globalising role of international institutions (Morris 1997). Arguing that we are faced with the emergence of what he dubs the migration state, Hollifield (2004) explains this qualitatively different state form as a consequence of ever-increasing migration, particularly as far as the core industrial democracies after the Second World War are concerned. Managing transnational migration thus takes centre stage next to the traditional state's role of providing economic stability and the well-being and general security of its citizens. In addition to being bordered power-containers with monopolised means of violence (Giddens 1985), nation-states play a crucial role in defining outsiders, especially, by retaining the power over migration policies and access to citizenship.

Nation-states have indeed been experiencing an erosion of sovereignty that has accelerated with processes of globalisation and the diffusion of power at sub- and supra-state levels; they remain, however, in strong control over the question of who belongs and who is consigned to the position of the foreigner. The categorisation of members and non-members relates primarily to the nation-state's classification of citizens and non-citizens, the key mechanism for constructing difference between mere residents and fully enfranchised nationals. Even though a number of studies have critically assessed Marshall's classical work on citizenship and its failure to question the constitution of the community of reference, i.e., the nation-state (Morris 1997, Yuval-Davis 2006), the persisting prevalence of conflating the nation and the state – as epitomised in the term nation-state – leads to a frequent inability to recognise that the processes of national identity formation and exclusion are underpinned by state practices. And despite the shifting vantage point of the emerging new modalities of membership (Benhabib 2004), the world remains "divided into sharply bounded citizenries" of distinct nation-states with "intrinsically exclusive immigration and citizenship policies" (Joppke 2010, 14). This has become impossible to ignore within the framework of the EU's failed response to the so-called refugee crisis (cf. Kogovšek Šalamon & Bajt 2016).

Soysal's (1994) influential argumentation for a model of post-national membership that derives its legitimacy from universal personhood, rather than from national belonging, has highlighted the need for an updated understanding of the new era in migrant rights and claims that extend beyond the confines of the nation-state. The development of post-national citizenship involves the extension of rights to non-citizen immigrants, and this blurs the dichotomy between nationals and foreigners, and hence – even though it is true that contemporary migrations challenge the premises of the nation-state model –

Soysal, in writing (1994, 32) "All states develop a set of legal rules, discursive practices, and organizational structures that define the status of foreigners vis-à-vis the host state," neither suggests that the nation-state boundaries are fluid, nor argues for the withering away of the nation-state.

Prolific academic research about transnationalism has enabled the debates about migration to also tackle various challenges to migrants' transnational experiences and diasporic realities, including discussions of multiple, hybrid and postnational identities (e.g. Hedetoft & Hjort 2002, Pajnik 2011). By taking account of individual biographies of migrating populations, migrants' practices have hence emerged as a reality of multiple existences; this reality should reflect the need for migration and integration policies to address shifting identities and legitimise transnational modalities of living (Pajnik & Bajt 2012). Yet while research of this kind has significantly exemplified the emerging transnational patterns of migrants' lives, there is a continued need to address the shortcomings of contemporary migration and integration policies that still predominately focus on preserving the privileged position of the national. Theoretically rethinking nationalism and national identity in the framework of global migration, this paper thus points out the persistence of nationalising state practices and nationalist exclusion of the Other.

The article adopts a bottom-up approach to investigating how nationalism affects migrant integration in one particular nation-state: Slovenia. By exemplifying some of the numerous obstacles encountered by migrants, it questions, in particular, those exclusionary practices of the nation-state that remain burdened by an ethnicised understanding of national identity. Yet in no way should nationalist exclusion be understood as associated only with so-called ethno-cultural nations, for it permeates all nation-states. This paper thus attempts to not only critique the so-called ethno-cultural model of a select nation-state's treatment of migrants, but argues for the need to surpass the civic/ethnic divides in our understanding of the phenomena of nationalism altogether. It is thus difficult to distinguish between Western/civic and Eastern/ethnic types, and ample research confirms the complex coexistence of and permeability between civic and ethnic elements in nations and nationalisms. Contemporary theoretical debates have discarded such dualist models, focusing, rather, on the multivocality of nationalism and national identity construction as a starting point for situating the contemporary practices of nationalist exclusion. Moreover, this paper points out the complex relationship between formal definitions of integration as a two-way process involving both migrants and local communities and national policies (i.e., integration bills, citizenship, social and labour policies) that remain embedded in the implicit centrality of national identity as defined by particular nation-states. It is therefore my contention that, more than ever before, it is necessary to study migration processes in conjunction with nationalism, especially if we are to understand anti-immigrant policies and prejudice. Nation-

states – including established democracies (e.g., the United Kingdom, France, Spain) – regularise and domesticate nationalism, incorporating it into the very structures of politics (Hearn 2006); nationalism is therefore deeply embedded in contemporary state policies. State laws on immigration, naturalisation, minorities, and integration, as well as the very functioning of national institutions and policies, reveal a complex interdependence between the dominant nation and various disprivileged minorities, which are marginalised and excluded through the nationalist (and racist) logic of non-belonging. Moreover, migrants' experiences with prejudice and discrimination speak of the need to confront the exclusionary and nationalist practices of the nation-state.

It is beyond the scope of this article to explore the complex link between nationalism in terms of state policies that produce nationalising exclusionary effects and the multifarious and complex workings behind national identity construction, in terms of people's individual prejudiced attitudes towards the Other. The connection between nationalising practices of the nation-state and the everyday nationalism enacted in numerous varieties of xenophobic reactions is very apparent in migrant narratives which exemplify it. In its first part this article thus connects a conceptualisation of national identity construction as applied in nationalism studies with questions of migrant exclusion, particularly when seen through contemporary integration polices. Drawing on the chosen example of Slovenia as an example of a relatively new nation-state and a recent country of immigration, migrant narratives of experiences with prejudice and discrimination in the second part of the article qualitatively illustrate how nation-states remain in strong control over the question of who belongs and who is consigned to the status of a foreigner.

2. Methodology

The present analysis draws on biographical narrative interviews with migrants in Slovenia. Applying narrative interview methods (Schütze 1977, Rosenthal 1993), it draws on two data sets: interviews with 26 migrant women that were conducted between 2006 and 2007 as part of the 6FP project FeMiPol (Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society), and 18 interviews with migrant men and women conducted in 2009 as part of the project PRIMTS (Prospects for Integration of Migrants from Third Countries and their Labour Market Situations).[1]

This empirical material is used to reveal gaps in contemporary nationalism and migration research by exploring the effects on migrants of the host society's exclusivist understanding of national belonging. The 44 biographical narrative interviews are with migrant men and women between 22 and 55 years of age who migrated to Slovenia from different countries in the last two decades.[2] It comprises respondents with very diverse socio-economic and educational back-

grounds (so-called labour or family reunification migrants, seasonal workers, asylum seekers; from highly educated to low-skilled), coming from different geopolitical contexts (from within and from outside Europe), and living and working in various social situations (from undocumented workers to professionals, as well as some unemployed). The narrators' names are not provided to ensure their anonymity.

This diversity of the sample reflects the official statistical trends of Slovenia's migrant composition; the narratives are therefore a unique window into individual migrant experiences. They are valuable method of exploring how contemporary migration requires reflection about concepts such as national identity, belonging and integration; these concepts extend beyond the mere legal and formally prescribed conditions of migrants' status acquisition, particularly when they are faced with rigidly ethnic conceptions of nationality.

3. National Identity and Migrant Integration: Who Belongs?

Several studies have shown that native populations expect migrants to make a strong effort to adapt to the host society (e.g. Ersanilli & Koopmans 2010). Migrants – who are treated as outsiders even after prolonged periods of stay, even though many become citizens – are at the same time expected to share a sense of belonging and identity, to learn the language and to respect and embrace the values of the country of stay, all of which are considered to indicate their will to integrate. This is at odds with official EU proclamations of integration as a two-way process (Pajnik 2007), and a noticeable trend has been identified in several member states in terms of adopting obligatory integration requirements such as language tests and more rigorous knowledge about the host country for migrants (e.g. Goodman 2010, cf. Joppke 2010), while the native population's willingness to accept foreigners as equals remains hesitant. Moreover, even when formal requirements such as permanent residence, language acquisition, observance of local civic customs, and the attainment of citizenship, have all been achieved, people frequently continue to experience social, political and economic exclusion on account of their migrant background. This is augmented by their disappointment at still being perceived as foreigners, which is particularly experienced by people stigmatised as non-Europeans (cf. Brezigar 2012). Current debates on integration, though claiming to reflect a fundamental conceptual shift, have not in fact succeeded in fully surpassing the older, now discredited, attempts to assimilate migrants; to ensure their supposedly disruptive Otherness is, if not eradicated, at least relegated to the private sphere.

Pronouncing the death of multiculturalism, even where no such policies ever really existed, several European states have introduced more rigid and comprehensive citizenship tests, mandatory integration courses, and more

54

rigorous language requirements that extend the understandably useful voluntary local language acquisition of newcomers. At the same time, liberal norms are seen as replacing the (old) boundary markers associated with nationalism. The restrictive change in naturalisation policies and the trends of re-ethnicisation of citizenship (Joppke 2010) have encouraged an increasing number of scholars to also study the workings of so-called aggressive civic integrationism (Triadafilopoulos 2011), attempting to discern paradoxes of illiberal liberalism (Orgad 2010). This offers important new insights regarding the complex relationship between migration, nationalism, identity, belonging, and liberalism, focusing on the arguably illiberal migrant integration policies of the liberal-democratic state. When, increasingly, "the ties of territory and socialization are downgraded while the ties of blood and descent are upgraded" this cannot be seen as a liberalising but as a restrictive trend (Joppke 2010, 64).

What these debates are missing, however, is the recognition of the interweaving of liberalism and nationalism. Liberal-democratic state is premised on the nationalist nation-state ideal type, in the sense that its key power mechanisms remain embedded in the ideas of **national** sovereignty and the pursuit of **national** interests. Nation-states are pervaded by nationalism, and this results in it also being deeply embedded in electoral régimes and civil societies (Hearn 2006). And while analyses of everyday nationalism in established nation-states have had a notable resonance within the field of nationalism research (e.g. Billig 1995), apart from notable exceptions (Kofman 2005, Pajnik 2007, Yuval-Davis 2006), migration research would benefit from an extended study of the implications of nationalism and national belonging for exclusionary anti-immigrant nationalist prejudice and practice. This is especially relevant for the current 2015-2016 period, when exceptional numbers of refugees have started coming to Europe, particularly via the Western Balkan route.

Defining the Other forms the core of nationalism; in all its forms nationalism is always preoccupied with boundaries and distinctions between Us (the members of the nation) and Them (the outsiders). A modern phenomenon of a fluid and dynamic nature, national identity is understood here as a collective sentiment based on the belief of belonging to a selected nation, which is considered to be distinct (Guibernau 2007). National identities, which are habitually attributed to citizens of a nation-state, are upon a closer look revealed as tending to represent attachments to **nations** (understood as sharing certain ethnic and/or cultural bonds), not **states** (as political communities of elective membership). In other words, even though humanity is a patchwork of multicultural, multilingual and multiethnic co-existence, nation-states for the most part remain secluded in ideals of monocultural national identities, constructing national myths and histories in order to demarcate separate symbolic national memberships. Rather than being grounded in the elective civic membership in a community of multiethnic and multicultural solidarity, national identity

frequently remains understood in the primordial confines of blood and belonging, and thus cannot be elective but is perceived as given, e.g., by birth.

Despite the varying intensity of beliefs in sharing common descent, culture, and so on, it is precisely the ambiguity of the non-definition of nationhood that allows room for elaborations of ethnicised understandings of national identity. These are just as present, even if less pronounced, in so-called Western democracies or old countries of immigration that are supposedly based on civic membership. While one should be wary of reifying the nation-state, its inextricable historical and ideological link to modernity and the phenomenon of nationalism has often been overlooked in recent explorations of migrant integration. It is hence in the covert and illusive essential core of national identity that nationalist prejudice and exclusion are based and able to thrive, despite the rising trend of universalism in integration mechanisms and naturalisation procedures. Joppke (2010), for instance, speaks of Western states being caught in the paradox of universalism: attempting to integrate immigrants into their community, they cannot define any particulars of such a membership. Despite the universalist proclamations of allegiance to liberal-democratic values, migrant naturalisation is still presented as joining a distinct national community, and a closer look at loosely defined values and norms frequently reveals a particularistic exclusionary bias of either ethnic, cultural or even civilisational difference (e.g., in relation to Islam).

While the complex processes of forming and promulgating national identities are by no means limited to host countries, but importantly also mould the migrants' collective attachments to their primary communities, we here nevertheless focus on the nationalisation of countries of immigration. How the nation-states prescribe their naturalisation and integration mechanisms and how they define their asylum and immigration policies are only cogs in the wheel of a complex set of interrelated processes of key nationalising institutions (e.g., the educational system, the construction of national symbols, public memory and rituals). National identity thus becomes grounded in people's perceptions of what constitutes their **national culture** and in this way a supposedly unique and separate nation-ness is promulgated. National identity is here regarded, therefore, as having a powerful effect on people regardless of its fluidity and its polymorphous character. Moreover, the implicit connection between national identity and the nation-state affects even the most instrumentalist conceptions of nationhood, which means that people are influenced by nationalising policies regardless of their personal positioning. Hence, when confronted with nationalist prejudice and discriminated against because of their supposed Otherness, immigrants have no doubt that they are excluded from the We of the host nation; they are deemed not to share the national identity, they are not admitted as members of the nation. National identities therefore function as (self)categorisations of members and non-members, and they profoundly affect

the ways in which migrants may become accepted as co-nationals or remain excluded as outsiders.

4. Nationalism and Migration in Slovenia

The selection of Slovenia as a case study is significant on at least three counts. Independent since 1991, it represents a paradigmatic example of what has been termed a late-comer in terms of achieving statehood. Grappling with state-building processes in parallel to the supra-national devolution of its sovereign powers to the EU, Slovenia represents an illustration of a nationalising state in times of globalisation and post-national world realities. In this, it is similar to Croatia, Slovakia and Czechia, to name just a few newly emergent post-socialist sovereign states with intensive nation-building policies. At the same time, the historical trajectory of the Slovenian national movement provides important insights into the complexity of national identity construction, comparable to Guibernau's nationalism in so-called nations without states (1999). Complete with an ethnicised conception of nationhood and its heavy reliance on language and cultural identity, the Slovenian case transcends a mere case study by reflecting the wider debates on national identity in the context of transnationalism and globalisation, which are particularly salient in today's challenges to the EU's attempts to forge a European identity. It is timely, and has been so especially since the summer of 2015, with Europe facing pronounced nationalist and racist opposition to hosting Middle Eastern and African refugees.

Official statistics show that almost 5 per cent of Slovenia's population are foreign citizens. Migration to Slovenia began in the late 1950s when it was still one of Yugoslavia's republics. Pronounced economic migration followed in the 1970s and these trends continue, since most migrants (about 90 per cent of the total foreign-born population) came from Yugoslavia's successor states. Only less than 3 per cent of all migrants are from countries outside Europe, more than half of them from Asia (China, Thailand). And though the numbers of migrants from Africa, Asia, and Latin America are very small, their numbers have increased in recent years (Pajnik & Bajt 2011). Hence, the majority of Slovenia's immigration comes from so-called third countries; EU migrants represent only 6 per cent. Many non-EU migrants lost their jobs in times of recession (especially in the period 2008-2011) and fewer than in previous years can now obtain employment, and so some have returned to their countries of birth.

Over 70 per cent of migrants are men, most of whom arrive to Slovenia for work, while women's migration is more frequently connected to family reunification provisions – a highly relevant policy area with gendered effects. This is connected to the fact that there are more male migrant workers living in Slovenia, many of whom eventually request reunification with their families. Yet even though migrant women tend to be cast as followers or "secondary

migrants", research shows migrating women do not simply follow men, despite the fact that official statistics note their migration as predominantly that of family reunification. Both migrant men and women experience the same formal treatment in terms of their legally stipulated rights, whereas migrants as a group face exclusion and encounter prejudice and discrimination (Medvešek & Bešter 2010, Medica & Lukić 2011, Pajnik & Bajt 2011).

In spite of Slovenia's relatively peaceful detachment from Yugoslavia and thus comparatively more subdued intolerant public discourse than what was seen in other republics, research in the early 1990s confirmed a rise of nationalism that was "associated with the intolerant views of the autochthonous population towards the immigrants from the other former Yugoslav republics" (Klinar 1992, 89-90). Apart from being a political movement that mobilised people in order to create the sovereign Slovenian state, Slovenian nationalism has therefore also included negative attitudes towards the Other, i.e., mainly members of the other Yugoslav nations living in Slovenia. The Other is therefore defined predominantly as any foreigner arriving from the south or east of Slovenia.

Slovenian nationalism, as all nationalisms, is no exception in its ambiguity and can be described as not only Janus-faced but three-headed: in addition to a) ethno-cultural nationalism and b) the political mobilising movement and ideology that helped materialise the sovereign Slovenian nation-state, it is also c) a nationalising discourse and practice of excluding the Other. These three elements of nationalism should be seen as inextricably connected, though theoretically they are usually separated and applied in a temporal analysis of nation-building. In short, the emergence of the Slovenian nation followed the theoretical **nation-to-state** model of nation-formation, meaning that the Slovenian nation and national identity existed before the sovereign nation-state was created in 1991. Slovenian national identity and cultural nationalism therefore predated the nationalist movement and the political nationalism for an independent state. The Slovenian nation had developed in opposition to foreign rule, promulgating national distinctiveness through the elevation of its separate language. In this sense, the Slovenians can be understood as an example of an ethno-linguistic nation that bases its national identity on ethno-cultural affiliations. Lacking a state, Slovenian national identity relied on ethno-cultural characteristics such as presumed descent ties and a shared distinct language.[3]

Hence, in nationalist terms, being a proper Slovenian means not only speaking the Slovenian language and living in Slovenia for a long time, but also being Slovenian by birth. Yet the fact that a non-native can learn the language suggests that Slovenian national identity can nevertheless be **acquired**, enabling the full inclusion of migrants. Outsiders can therefore **become** Slovenians, since the perception of what constitutes a Slovenian is also framed in civic terms (i.e., feeling Slovenian and having respect for political institutions and laws). The fact that one can learn the language and thus **acquire** membership in the nation

58

reflects the main ambivalence about national identity; speaking a language is a way of gaining membership in the national community through the process of learning and integration. At the same time, ample research confirms that several groups of perpetual outsiders are not accepted as members of the nation even though they live in Slovenia, speak Slovenian and have Slovenian citizenship (e.g. the Roma, Muslims).[4] Migrants represent one of these Significant Others, caught in between state policies and individualised life trajectories, reflecting their realities of (non)belonging: "We are only foreigners /.../" (asylum seeker, Kosovo). "You feel that people are nationalistic by blood" (refugee, Iran).

5. Nationalising or Excluding Migrants?

Many changes in Slovenia's migration and integration policy have been adopted to meet the EU legal framework, thus some restrictions such as requirements for residence permits, family reunification provisions, and some procedures in employment have been relaxed, yet the financial crisis has brought restrictions in the employment of foreigners (Pajnik & Bajt 2011) and lately also a significant tightening of the asylum law. Formally, integration is a constituent part of Slovenia's migration policy, basing its goals on the principles of equality, freedom and mutual cooperation, supposedly taking into account cultural plurality, and working towards the prevention of discrimination, xenophobia and racism. The Decree on the Integration of Aliens has been in effect since 2008, notably excluding foreigners who are EU nationals. Focusing only on the integration of so-called third-country nationals, it aims to enable their integration into cultural, economic and social life by learning about the Slovenian culture and history, and providing language courses. Yet, rather than "promoting an active manifestation of difference, integration is practiced as migration policy, as a rule according to which migrants have to become adapted to what is constructed as genuine Slovenianness, which is supposedly rooted in national tradition" (Pajnik 2007, 853).

The acquisition of citizenship continues to be perceived by migrants as the most potent measure of integration (Pajnik & Bajt 2013). As far as granting citizenship is concerned, Slovenia prioritises the so-called *jus sanguinis* principle of an existing blood relationship with a citizen (i.e. citizenship based on ancestry), also including the *jus domicili* principle that pertains to rights based on residence (Deželan 2012). Naturalisation rules are among the most stringent in the EU (cf. Austria, Italy, Lithuania, Spain, Cyprus), requiring that a person lives in Slovenia for ten years, of which the final five years prior to the application have to be continuous, and requiring the person to renounce their previous citizenship. People of Slovenian descent, however, are entitled to facilitated, i.e. accelerated naturalisation procedures, and habitually enjoy dual nationality.

RAZPRAVE IN GRADIVO REVIJA ZA NARODNOSTNA VPRAŠANJA **76 / 2016**
V. BAJT Kdo "pripada"? Migracije, nacionalizem in nacionalna identiteta v Sloveniji

59

Research shows that the position of migrants in Slovenia is frequently one of perpetual and many-sided exclusion and discrimination (Medvešek & Bešter 2010, Medica & Lukić 2011, Pajnik & Bajt 2011). It is incorrect, of course, to view migrants as a single group because of their heterogeneity, particularly given their significant differences based on the specific statuses assigned to them by various policy stipulations. Highly-skilled, well-educated migrants habitually face fewer restrictions in terms of entry requirements and labour market access, and they supposedly find it easier to secure fair wages and regularised status with welfare benefits. Nevertheless, migrants' daily realities reveal notable loss of skills and fewer welfare benefits regardless of their status, their mode of entry and their educational level or prior work experience. In addition, their country of birth notwithstanding, many speak of not being accepted on account of their foreign-ness, and also experience discrimination and exploitation. Prejudice is particularly salient when tied with discrimination:

> [At a job interview] they said: 'Go on, tell us something about yourself!' I started with: 'I'm so-and-so-many years old, I come from Bosnia.' They: 'Stop!' I: 'Why stop?' And the man said: 'Let her speak, look how well she speaks French.' She said: 'No, she comes from Bosnia, she has nothing to say.' I said: 'But why?' She said: 'Well, because we do not take Bosnians.' /.../ When I went to see a doctor /.../ I didn't speak Slovenian because I just arrived, so I started in Bosnian: 'I apologise for disturbing you, but I have one big request, I just arrived here'. She shut the door in my face and said: 'Don't come here again until you learn Slovenian!' I went home and cried like mad (unemployed lawyer, Bosnia and Herzegovina).

"I've had bad experiences at border crossings /.../ In those moments at the border I felt like a second class citizen. The feeling's really bad" (construction worker, Bosnia and Herzegovina).

The exclusionary effects of state policies that prefer nationals are visible in migrant narratives about the inability to access the labour market on equal grounds, receiving lower pay and fewer benefits, or even no salary at all:

> I wasn't getting paid, you know, I worked as a volunteer. I thought 'So be it'. Because, as foreigners, we work just as much as everybody else. There were 14 of us who did not come from EU member states who started the internship and didn't get salary, but worked all the same (unemployed medical doctor, Macedonia).

> My co-workers were all stiff, they looked at us like, how can I say, like we're Gypsies. [And after all the work] it's always just the two of us cleaning at night as well. Every day like that, I think it's unfair (cook, Bosnia-Herzegovina).

"You're a foreigner, they won't let you in just like that, that is how it is /.../ You're here but you're not inside, you're outside. They'll talk to you, but you're outside and that's all" (teaching aide, Russia).

The narratives show how circumstances force the migrants to internalise the troublesome patterns of being treated differently – either by people or by state policies – solely because they are regarded as foreigners. Hence, they adopt the inferior and subjugated position of accepting the *status quo*. Despite official proclamations that define integration as a two-way process, empirical evidence highlights the reality whereby the migrants bear the burden of adaptation in order to become integrated. In the final analysis, whether or not they are integrated is their own personal success or failure. The nation-state washes its proverbial hands by proclamations of multicultural education and various manifestations of intercultural dialogue. Yet national identity construction and its everyday enactments through structural/systemic nationalising (and racist) policies remain understudied and their immanent relation to upsurges of xenophobia, chauvinism and racism predominantly disregarded. Integration therefore appears more "as part of the problem in contemporary migration policy" (Pajnik 2007, 857) than as a valuable solution, particularly because the existing policies ignore the perspective of migrants. Rigid assumptions persist that it is entirely the migrant's task to adapt.

Nevertheless, research shows not only that most migrants are in fact assimilating, and also that they do not necessarily see this as a problem. The fact that they adapt to their new environments and become increasingly embedded in the society of their residence, however, does not mean that they accept all aspects of their host state, but that they neither wish to nor actually live in isolation (Kivisto 2003). The migrant narratives confirm that they adopt the assigned role of newcomers who need to adjust to their surroundings, exposing practical reasoning: "I'm aware that in Slovenia the official language is Slovenian and if I came to live here, I have to adapt" (kitchen aide, Serbia).

Significantly, narratives like the one above speak against the nationalist claims about migrants as resilient to change and as threatening the alleged national core values by their foreign-ness (i.e. different language, culture, religion, etc.). While migrants do not accept their position at face value without having difficulties with the various exclusionary practices that they encounter because of their supposed Otherness, their narratives at the same time illustrate that they are aware of the harsh reality of their subjugated position; thus their frustration is more often than not tied with a resolve that they have to fulfil the demands of the host state. This goes beyond merely abiding by the formal requirements, since many also point out the more loosely defined aspects of belonging. They quickly pick up on the importance of certain national identity markers, which may or may not resonate in official state policies, such as requirements for naturalisation (e.g., language proficiency). And since being accepted is a significant human desire, people are willing to go to great lengths to achieve recognition and approval. Put differently, migrants are aware that formal membership (e.g., permanent residence, citizenship) only brings them half way; only belonging in a sense of

being considered a member of the nation, one of Us, carries full acceptance. Yet, even though research shows that full admittance often remains an unattained goal, it is crucial not to consider that the wish to belong to the host nation is something that is essential and significant for all.

Whereas language (in)proficiency, or speaking with a foreign accent, serves as boundary marker that separates foreigners from native Slovenian speakers, racist reactions are also not uncommon. Migrant women from Latin America, for instance, experience being Other due to their physical appearance (i.e. their darker skin complexion):

> Now when I'm a citizen it's easier, but even though I'm a citizen I'm always a foreigner! I'm still a foreigner, because people see me on the street and: 'Sure, that woman is a foreigner,' they never will think I'm Slovenian (cashier, South America)[5].

Moreover, several female interviewees shared the experience of being subjected to unwanted male advances, and of gendered prejudice with respect to foreign women being present in society. Particularly those migrant women who work in bars and nightclubs are stigmatised due to popular associations of this type of work with prostitution. In addition, stereotypes of women coming from certain countries, particularly the former Soviet republics, are highly sexualised (cf. Cukut 2009):

> It's very hard to get an apartment, especially for foreign women from Eastern Europe /.../ because many women sadly come to sell themselves, so a bad name sticks to other women from these countries. And because I also come from Eastern Europe, from Russia, I also encounter such obstacles (freelancer, Russia).

> I met my husband in Ukraine and came to Slovenia with him /.../ When we came to Ljubljana to submit papers for marriage, the woman there asked him: 'Why did you bring her from Ukraine? Don't you have enough of our own?!' (unemployed, Ukraine).

Recent explorations of nationalism no longer neglect the question of gender, thus offering valuable insight in terms of gendered and sexualised constructions of nationhood (e.g. Yuval-Davis 1997). The excerpt above speaks of gender discrimination and specific stereotypes related to Eastern European women, while exemplifying sexual and regional stereotypes about Ukrainian women as loose. Similarly, a woman from Bosnia spoke of racial prejudice that she encountered when looking for a place to live and landlords denying her tenancy simply because of her ascribed ethnicity. Designating her as Bosniak meant stigmatised linking with a presumed Muslim religion and stereotypical assumptions that she would have many children and numerous relatives living with her.

Migrants as a rule experience stigmatisation because of being foreigners, and most of the interviewees noted that on some level they will always feel out of place and not entirely accepted due to their assigned Otherness and assumed difference. The xenophobia, racism and nationalist prejudice reflected in their narratives are dealt with in different ways. It may make migrants angry and appalled at such reactions, which may result in them becoming more stubborn in resisting prejudice. One migrant, for instance, refused to change her last name in order to conceal her ethnic affiliation in the hope of better employability. Yet, strategies of coping with exclusion, while empowering migrants, at the same time reveal just how resilient to change prejudice is. The above-mentioned example clearly reveals how disappointed one is at still being perceived as a foreigner. Even though formal aspects such as language proficiency, residence permit, Slovenian family life and, most of all, citizenship have all been achieved, the migrant cited above still experiences continuing social, economic and symbolic exclusion. Her co-nationals are just not willing to accept her as their equal, let alone a **real** Slovenian. For this reason, another woman notes that changing her last name would never really help her to pass (Goffman 1963) as a Slovenian, because something, particularly her accent, would always give her away; thus she would only be lying to herself.

6. Conclusion: When do Migrants Belong?

While nation-states have lost a significant share of their influence in terms of political sovereignty and economic power, they continue to hold sway over the politics of belonging. By guarding the right to define citizens and thus exclude foreigners, the nation-state has a monopoly of defining "membership within the societal community" (Kivisto 2003, 21). Moreover, a more repressive immigration régime has prevailed in recent years, with reinforced formal demands and obligations also for long-term residents, not only naturalised citizens. The nation-state has thus "reasserted its position through the development of managed migration systems, the retreat from multiculturalism and the revival of neo-assimilationist agendas" (Kofman 2005, 454). Drawing on migrant narratives about their feelings of exclusion from the community of the host nation in Slovenia, I have argued that nation-states continue to play a profound role in defining the symbolic boundaries of belonging; and, through complex interlinking of nationalising state policies and practices with national identity construction processes, the Other is thus perpetually excluded from the national We.

Modern liberal democracies are characterised by a belief in their own democracy and justice, which are assumed to be provided with the implementation of the principle of equality before the law and competition-based market economy. These are universal, non-discriminatory and inclusive principles that

nonetheless normalise the key mechanism of sustaining these communities: differentiation and exclusion. In the legal sense of citizenship status, the nation-state determines the limits of the citizen-foreigner dyad. In the context of market economy, the labour market selects and discards useless individuals, while national economies, despite processes of global convergence, remain robust enough to protect the interests of the dominant nation. In this context, the Others are relegated to only limited participation in, or complete exclusion from, society. Laws on immigration, citizenship, minorities, integration, education, health and social protection, as well as the functioning of national institutions and policies in general, reveal the complexity of the relationship between the dominant nation and unprivileged minorities whose systemic inequality is justified and reinforced by the nationalist/racist ideology of ethno-cultural non-belonging.

Theoretically rethinking nationalism and national identity in the framework of global migration, this paper has pointed out the persistence of nationalising state practices and nationalist exclusion of the Other. Even though it has focused on the chosen case-study of Slovenia and is situated in experiences of migrant men and women with Slovenian nationalism and nationalising policies, trans-nationally relevant conclusions can nevertheless be drawn: namely, it is not only in the Slovenian case that national identity frequently remains understood in the primordial confines of blood and belonging rather than being grounded in elective civic membership in a community of multiethnic and multicultural solidarity. Despite the fact that migrants inevitably adapt to their new environment, the inherent requirement of the host states for them to do so should be questioned. Whereas a portion of the population may always ascribe to nationalistic and racist Othering and support the exclusion of outsiders (however defined), nationalising policies and state practices that effectively award preferential treatment to members of the dominant nation should be relegated to the dustbin of history. This is especially important because exclusionary nationalism and racism are frequently not recognised in policies. Moreover, nation-states have a overall need to develop more inclusive mechanisms that will factually enact a two-way mode of integrative ideal, whereby both migrants and nationals contribute to open communal relations, and this is assisted by official policy.

This article proposes that new approaches to migration, integration and nationalism should be built on assumptions that globalisation processes, though transforming nation-states, have not brought an end to national identities and the exclusionary politics of belonging. The key challenge therefore lies in surpassing the nationalising practices of the nation-state as these continue to define membership in terms of belonging to the **nation** rather than the civic/political community of the **state**, the polity. Migration régimes and integration policies are hence still defined through the prism of national identity, albeit increasingly expressed in universalist terms, while the nationalising politics of

64

belonging leaves very little or no room for the agency of migrants (Pajnik 2007). Unless these harmful practices of nation-states are confronted, no amount of well-meaning international declarations will yield results.

Notes

[1] See Kontos (2009) for the final report of the research project Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society; See Prospects for Integration of Migrants from "Third Countries" and Their Labour Market Situations: Towards Policies and Action (2010) in the list of references for more information about this project.

[2] It should be noted here that not all the interviewees exemplified the topic of national belonging.

[3] Unlike the Croatian, Bosniak and Serbian national identity that are also heavily immersed in religion (Catholic, Muslim and Orthodox) as an identity marker, Slovenia's neighbouring countries are all predominantly Catholic.

[4] See, for instance, Intolerance Monitor Reports, available at http://www.mirovni-institut.si/Publikacija/All/en/knjizna_zbirka/Monitor-nestrpnosti-Mediawatch.

[5] Country of origin hidden to ensure anonymity.

References

Benhabib, S., 2004. *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Billig, M., 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. SAGE Publications, London.

Brezigar, S., 2012. Do Third Country Nationals in Slovenia Face Prejudice and Discrimination? *Dve domovini* 35, 149–161.

Cukut, S., 2009. *Spol in migracija. Izkušnje žensk kot akterk migracij.* ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana.

Deželan, T., 2012. In the Name of the Nation or/and Europe? Determinants of the Slovenian Citizenship Régime. *Citizenship Studies* 16(3/4), 413–429.

Ersanilli, E. & Koopmans, R., 2010. Rewarding Integration? Citizenship Regulations and the Socio-Cultural Integration of Immigrants in the Netherlands, France and Germany. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(5), 773–791.

Giddens, A., 1985. *The Nation-State and Violence.* Polity Press, Cambridge.

Goffman, E., 1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.* Simon& Schuster, New York.

Goodman, S.W., 2010. Integration Requirements for Integration's Sake? Identifying, Categorising and Comparing Civic Integration Policies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(5), 753–772.

Guibernau, M., 1999. *Nations without States: Political Communities in a Global Age.* Polity Press, Cambridge.

Guibernau, M., 2007. *The Identity of Nations.* Polity, Cambridge.

Hearn, J., 2006. *Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction.* Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire.

Hedetoft, U. & Hjort, M. (eds.), 2002. *The Postnational Self: Belonging and Identity.* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Hollifield, J.F., 2004. The Emerging Migration State. *International Migration Review* 38(3), 885–912.

Joppke, C., 2010. *Citizenship and Immigration.* Polity, Cambridge.

Kivisto, P., 2003. Social Spaces, Transnational Immigrant Communities, and the Politics of Incorporation. *Ethnicities* 3(1), 5–28.

Klinar, P., 1992. Slovenska nacionalna zavest med osamosvajanjem. *Teorija in praksa* 29(1–2), 86–99.

Kogovšek Šalamon, N. & Bajt, V. (eds.), 2016. *Razor-Wired: Migration Movements through Slovenia in 2015.* Peace Institute, Ljubljana.

Kofman, E., 2005. Citizenship, Migration and the Reassertion of National Identity. *Citizenship Studies* 9(5), 453–467.

Kontos, M. (ed.), 2009. *Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society – A Comparative Analysis Summary, Results and Recommendations,* http://www.femipol.uni-frankfurt.de/docs/femipol_finalreport.pdf (accessed 1.6.2016).

Medica, K. & Lukić, G., 2011. *Migrantski* circulus vitiosus: *delovne in življenjske razmere migrantov v Sloveniji.* Založba Annales, Koper.

Medvešek, M. & Bešter, R. (eds.), 2010. *Državljani tretjih držav ali tretjerazredni državljani?* Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana.

Morris, L., 1997. Globalization, Migration and the Nation-State: The Path to a Post-National Europe? *The British Journal of Sociology* 48(2), 192–209.

Orgad, L., 2010. Illiberal Liberalism: Cultural Restrictions on Migration and Access to Citizenship in France, Germany and the Netherlands. *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 58(1), 53–106.

Pajnik, M., 2007. Integration Policies in Migration between Nationalising States and Transnational Citizenship, with Reference to the Slovenian Case. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33(5), 849–865.

Pajnik, M., 2011. Narrating Belonging in the Post-Yugoslav Context. *Dve domovini* 34, 111–125.

Pajnik, M. & Bajt, V., 2011. "Third Country" Migrant Workers as "Third Class Non-Citizens" in Slovenia. In M. Pajnik & G. Campani (eds.) *Precarious Migrant Labour across Europe.* Mirovni inštitut, Ljubljana.

Pajnik, M. & Bajt, V., 2012. Migrant Women's Transnationalism: Family Patterns and Policies. *International Migration* 50(5), 153–168.

Pajnik, M. & Bajt, V., 2013. Civic Participation of Migrant Women: Employing Strategies of Active Citizenship. In F. Anthias, M. Kontos & M. Morokvasic (eds.) *Paradoxes of Integration: Female Migrants in Europe.* Springer, Dordrecht.

65

66

Prospects for Integration of Migrants from "Third Countries" and Their Labour Market Situations: Towards Policies and Action, 2010, http://primts.mirovni-institut.si/, (accessed 1.6.2016).

Rosenthal, G., 1993. Reconstruction of Life Stories: Principles of Selection in Generating Stories for Narrative Biographical Interviews. In R. Josselson & A. Lieblich (eds.) *The Narrative Study of Lives, Volume 1.* SAGE, Newbury Park.

Schütze, F., 1977. *Die Technik des narrativen Interviews in Interaktionsfeldstudien – dargestellt an einem Projekt zur Erforschung von kommunalen Machtstrukturen.* Arbeitsberichte und Forschungsmaterialen, Bielefeld.

Soysal, Y.N., 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe.* The University of Chicago, Chicago.

Triadafilopoulos, T., 2011. Illiberal Means to Liberal Ends? Understanding Recent Immigrant Integration Policies in Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37(6), 861–880.

Yuval-Davis, N., 1997. *Gender & Nation.* SAGE, London.

Yuval-Davis, N., 2006. Belonging and the Politics of Belonging. *Patterns of Prejudice* 40(3), 197–214.

Marinko Banjac

Demokratično državljanstvo med mladimi: znanje slovenskih osnovnošolcev s področja demokracije in človekovih pravic

V Sloveniji je v okviru državljanske vzgoje velik poudarek med drugim prav na spodbujanju aktivne participacije in učenju za demokratično življenje mladih. V članku avtor analizira znanje slovenskih osnovnošolcev devetega razreda o demokratičnem državljanstvu ter z njim povezanim zagotavljanjem človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin v Sloveniji. Rezultati dosežkov učencev (n = 4252) pri izbranih vprašanjih, vključenih v nacionalno preverjanje znanja iz predmeta domovinska in državljanska kultura in etika, kažejo, da zgolj selektivno razumejo delovanje demokracije, medtem ko znanje glede (ustavnega) zagotavljanja pravic in temeljnih svoboščin posameznikov in (avtohtonih narodnih) skupnosti poseduje le skromen delež učencev.

Ključne besede: demokracija, državljanstvo, človekove pravice, državljanska vzgoja, nacionalno preverjanje znanja.

Youth and Democratic Citizenship: Knowledge of Slovenian Elementary School Children about Democracy and Human Rights

In Slovenia, within the citizenship education great emphasis is placed on promoting the active participation and learning for democratic life of young people. This article analyses and interprets knowledge of Slovenian students (Year 9) about democratic citizenship and the related provision of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Slovenia. The results of students' achievements (n = 4252) in selected questions from the national assessment of knowledge in the subject Patriotic and civic culture and ethics show that students only partially understand the functioning democracy, while only a modest proportion of students have knowledge about (constitutional) provision of rights and fundamental freedoms of individuals and (indigenous ethnic) communities.

Keywords: *democracy, citizenship, human rights, citizenship education, national assessment of knowledge.*

Correspondence address: Marinko Banjac, Univerza v Ljubljani/University of Ljubljana, Fakulteta za družbene vede/Faculty of Social Sciences, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, e-mail: marinko.banjac@fdv.uni-lj.si.

1. Uvod

V preteklem desetletju ali dveh se je tako v Evropski uniji (Eurydice 2012) kot tudi širše (Petrovic & Kuntz 2014) ponovno obudilo zanimanje za vprašanja, povezana z izobraževanjem in demokratičnim državljanstvom (Osler & Starkey 2006, Torney-Purta idr. 1999). Porast interesa je mogoče zaslediti med raziskovalci, izobraževalci in številnimi drugimi deležniki, ki so vpeti v proces oblikovanja (izobraževalnih) politik (Cogan & Derricott 2012). Čeprav je državljanska vzgoja že dolgo pomemben okvir prenosa znanj in veščin, vezanih na državljanstvo, pa je v primerjavi s preteklimi konteksti, ko je državljanska vzgoja služila (predvsem) formaciji nacionalnih identitet (Heater 2002, Turner 2006, Keating 2009), v sodobnem kontekstu večji poudarek na vprašanju, kako lahko izobraževalni sistemi prispevajo k večjemu zanimanju (predvsem) mladih za sodelovanje v demokratičnih procesih in praksah.

V globaliziranem svetu smo priča redefiniciam in spremembam prakticiranja državljanstev, saj se nove družbenopolitične formacije pojavljajo na različnih nivojih, od lokalnih in državnih do regionalnih in globalnih. Globalizacija prispeva k multipliciteti soobstoječih skupnosti in družbenih okolij, v katere se posameznik umešča, hkrati pa je, kot ugotavlja Giddens (2003), globalizacija široko utrdila prepričanje o demokraciji kot najboljšem možnem načinu političnega urejanja družb in procesov. Toda hkrati se pojavlja določen paradoks, ki je vsaj deloma tudi vzrok za ponoven vznik interesa za izobraževanje za demokratično državljanstvo. Ta paradoks je, da se ob prevladi demokracije pojavljajo tudi vse večja apatija in nezainteresiranost za politično participacijo ter splošna regresija aktivnega sodelovanja pri zadevah, ki ne le vplivajo na določeno skupnost, temveč jo tudi definirajo. Čeprav smo v sodobnem svetu priča različnim koncepcijam državljanstev (Isin & Turner 2002b, Bellamy 2008), ki posledično vodijo tudi k različnim razumevanjem osnovnega namena in ciljev državljanske vzgoje, pa je v njenem okviru oziroma v okviru izobraževanja za demokratično državljanstvo prav zaradi prej omenjenih dilem in problemov demokratičnih okolij še vedno izjemno pomemben prenos znanj in veščin o demokraciji in demokratičnem (so)odločanju, kar Biesta (2011) poimenuje obrat od državljanske vzgoje k učenju za demokracijo.

Tudi v Sloveniji ima državljanska vzgoja pomembno mesto v okviru formalnega izobraževalnega sistema, hkrati pa se jo naslavlja in izvaja tudi v okviru drugih izobraževalnih kontekstov (Banjac & Pušnik 2015). Čeprav je v okviru formalnega sistema državljanska vzgoja zastavljena medpredmetno, pa je vseeno njen najpomembnejši okvir predmet v sedmem in osmem razredu osnovne šole, to je domovinska in državljanska kultura in etika. Pri predmetu so naslovljene številne tematike, med katerimi so kot temeljna izpostavljena tudi znanja o politični ureditvi, družbenih načelih in pravilih javnega in političnega življenja v demokratični, pravni in socialni državi Sloveniji (Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport

2011, 6). Te tematike so povezane tudi s specifičnimi cilji predmeta, in sicer z "državljansko pismenostjo" in "dejavnim vključevanjem učencev v družbeno življenje" (Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport 2011, 6–7). Očitno je v Sloveniji v okviru državljanske vzgoje velik poudarek med drugim prav na spodbujanju aktivne participacije in učenju za demokratično življenje učečih se posameznic in posameznikov, kar vključuje ne le njihovo sodelovanje pri političnih procesih, temveč tudi prepoznavanje (formalnopravnih kodifikacij) pravic in svoboščin. Prav zato je treba naslavljati in kontinuirano interpretirati ter na ta način osmišljati tovrstno znanje osnovnošolcev (Kerr idr. 2010, Print & Lange 2013).

Pričujoči članek odgovarja na zgornjo potrebo tako, da analizira in interpretira znanje slovenskih osnovnošolcev, natančneje učencev devetega razreda, ob koncu tretjega obdobja šolanja o demokratičnem državljanstvu ter z njim povezanim zagotavljanjem človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin v Sloveniji. Tega se loteva prek razlage in interpretacije dosežkov učencev (n = 4252) pri izbranih vprašanjih, vključenih v nacionalno preverjanje znanja (NPZ) iz predmeta domovinska in državljanska kultura in etika. NPZ je poseben postopek v okviru formalnega izobraževalnega sistema, v katerem vsi učenci (šestega in devetega razreda) v državi na isti dan rešujejo enake preizkuse znanja pod enakimi pogoji. Temeljni namen NPZ-ja je, da tako učenci in učenke, njihovi starši, učiteljice in učitelji, ravnateljice in ravnatelji ter drugi strokovni delavci šol kot tudi na ravni celotnega sistema preverijo, kako uspešni so pri doseganju ciljev in standardov znanja, določenih z učnimi načrti (RIC 2015e). NPZ iz domovinske in državljanske kulture in etike je bil leta 2015 izbran kot tako imenovani tretji predmet[1] ter je skupno zajemal petindvajset vprašanj. V analizo članka je zajetih pet nalog s skupno osmimi vprašanji, ki preverjajo znanje in razumevanje učencev glede načela demokratične oblasti državljanov, državljanske participacije (formalne in neformalne) ter (pravnega) zagotavljanja človekovih pravic in svoboščin ter pravic specifičnih skupnosti.

V članku so najprej reflektirani širši kontekst izobraževanja za demokratično državljanstvo, njegov pomen in vloga v formalnih izobraževalnih sistemih. Pri tem so osmišljene nekatere koncepcije državljanstva, ki so vezane na demokracijo in demokratično delovanje posameznikov ter (formalnopravne) ureditve zagotavljanja pravic in dolžnosti posameznika v demokratičnih okoljih. Članek nato v drugem delu oriše slovenski kontekst uvajanja in izvajanja državljanske vzgoje v okviru formalnega osnovnošolskega izobraževalnega sistema ter locira elemente izobraževanja oziroma učenja za demokratično državljanstvo. V okviru tretjega dela članka je predstavljen NPZ kot okvir preverjanja znanja učencev, pri čemer je poudarek na njegovi strukturi in metodologiji. Slednja je pomembna tudi zato, ker predstavlja metodološki okvir pričujočega članka za analizo dosežkov učencev, ki je tudi podrobneje pojasnjen. V četrtem, osrednjem delu so nato predstavljeni in interpretirani rezultati učencev iz izbranih vprašanj, ki so bili del NPZ-ja iz predmeta domovinska in državljanska kultura in etika. V zadnjem

delu članka so izpostavljeni nekateri izsledki, ki jim sledi še ocenitev njihovega pomena predvsem za slovenski kontekst.

2. Državljanska vzgoja in učenje za demokratično življenje (v Sloveniji)

Čeprav namen pričujočega članka ni ponovno opraviti pregled teorij in konceptualizacij državljanstva in državljanske vzgoje – to je bilo namreč v preteklosti opravljeno nemalokrat (Faulks 2000, Magnette 2005, Isin & Turner 2002b, Heater 1999) –, pa je vendarle treba v namen zastavitve prispevka narediti očrt državljanske vzgoje kot okvira izobraževanja za demokratično državljanstvo. Da je državljanska vzgoja polje, okoli katerega ni enotnega pristopa, je sedaj postala že klišejska fraza (Davies & Issitt 2005), vendar je vsekakor povedna. Gre za to, da je orientacija državljanske vzgoje lahko zelo različna glede na specifičen kontekst, v katerem se izvaja, hkrati so raznoliki pristopi k državljanski vzgoji vzniknili zaradi širokega diapazona odgovorov na vprašanje, kaj sploh je državljanstvo.

Koncept državljanstva je sestavljen oziroma ga opredeljujejo številni elementi, na primer sodelovanje v javnem življenju, ideja, da je državljan tisti, ki vlada in mu je vladano, občutek identitete ter sprejemanje družbenih pravil in vrednot, pravic in odgovornosti. Državljanstvo se nanaša na članstvo v določeni politični skupnosti, ki je lahko država ali kakšna druga politična enota. Če je morda to lahko skupni imenovalec tekmujočih koncepcij državljanstva, pa je pomembno, da sicer obstojijo raznoliki pristopi k osmišljanju državljanstev, med katerimi so med najbolj prepoznanimi liberalni (Marshall 1950, Walzer 1983), komunitaristični (Etzioni 1995, Etzioni 2011) in republikanski (Miller 2000). Ta delitev nikakor ni izčrpna, saj lahko na primer v sodobnih družbenopolitičnih kontekstih lociramo modele, ki na primer gradijo na multikulturalizmu (Kymlicka 1995, Joppke 2002, Joppke & Lukes 1999) in idejah globalnega (Carter 2001, Dower & Williams 2002) ter kozmopolitskega (Hutchings & Dannreuther 1999) državljanstva. Toda kot poudarjata Isin in Turner (2002a, 5), je le malo zakonodaje, ki opredeljuje, konstruira in na ta način tudi določa prakticiranje državljanstva, sprejete ali uzakonjene na nadnacionalni ravni oziroma na nižjih ravneh (npr. na lokalnih). Torej se medtem, ko imamo različne tekmujoče pristope in koncepcije državljanstva, večina formalnopravnih kodifikacij v zvezi z državljanstvom, vključno s pravicami in svoboščinami, še vedno implementira na nacionalnih ravneh, ki predstavljajo ključno politično polje državljanstva, hkrati pa so tudi zakonodaje tiste, ki pomembno določajo pomenskosti in prakticiranja državljanstev.

Ne glede na pristope in modele državljanstev pa je eno izmed pomembnih vprašanj, ki se ga lotevajo znanstveni premisleki, vprašanje vloge in pozicije mladih, ki so seveda tudi v okviru državljanske vzgoje največkrat opredeljeni

71

kot njena ciljna publika. Biesta (2011) opozarja, da je bilo v številnih raziskavah ugotovljeno, da imajo mladi nižjo raven političnega interesa, znanja in védenja kot odrasli, kar naj bi bil relativno normalen proces v življenjskem ciklu, v katerem se politični interes pri posamezniku povečuje s starostjo. Po drugi strani pa v sodobnih družbenopolitičnih okoljih obstaja trend upada politične participacije in zavzetosti mladih v primerjavi s prejšnjimi generacijami.

V tem kontekstu je eno izmed izjemno pomembnih področij v okviru državljanske vzgoje prav izobraževanje za demokratično državljanstvo, katerega cilj je v najširšem smislu opolnomočiti posameznice in posameznike v smislu znanja in veščin za aktivno participacijo v demokratični družbi (Kerr idr. 2010). Izobraževanje za demokratično državljanstvo lahko razumemo kot eno izmed dimenzij državljanske vzgoje, ki pa postaja vse bolj pomembno prav zaradi že omenjene politične apatije in nezainteresiranosti sodelovanja v demokratičnih procesih. Izobraževanje za demokratično državljanstvo naj bi obsegalo (e.g. Audigier 2000) posredovanje znanja o demokraciji (kognitivni nivo), demokratičnih načelih, demokratični tradiciji in procesih. Hkrati učeči se posamezniki pridobivajo demokratično držo (afektivna dimenzija), etična in moralna prepričanja ter usvajajo (dimenzija demokratičnega delovanja) veščine aktivne participacije, delovanja in (so)odločanja. Gre za to, da se v okviru izobraževanja za demokratično državljanstvo izvaja učenje o demokraciji, za demokracijo in v demokratičnem okolju. Kognitivna dimenzija je osnova za demokratično obnašanje in demokratično držo, politična pismenost pa zagotavlja oziroma podpira posameznike, da postanejo informirani in kritični državljani, ki so sposobni ovrednotiti razmerja in razumejo demokratične politične procese.

Tudi v Sloveniji je izobraževanje za demokratično državljanstvo pomemben vidik oziroma komponenta državljanske vzgoje, njeno zasnovo in implementacijo pa je treba razumeti v okviru vzpostavljanja državljanske vzgoje med historičnim procesom formacije formalnega izobraževalnega sistema v Sloveniji. Vse od osamosvojitve leta 1991 je bilo formalno izobraževanje podvrženo gradualnim spremembam, ki so jih poganjali številni dejavniki, med katerimi je bil pomemben cilj nove postavitve izobraževalnega sistema v kontekstu novega položaja Slovenije in njene umeščenosti v mednarodno in postopoma evropsko okolje. Vključitev izobraževanja za demokratično državljanstvo lahko v najširšem smislu identificiramo že v krovnem dokumentu, ki je predstavljal temelj urejanja formalnega izobraževalnega sistema v Sloveniji od samega začetka, to je v Beli knjigi o vzgoji in izobraževanju v Republiki Sloveniji (Krek 1995). Slednja kot osnovo konceptualnih rešitev sistema vzgoje in izobraževanja v Republiki Sloveniji eksplicitno izpostavlja načeli, ki določata splošni teoretični okvir za preoblikovanje sistema izobraževanja na preduniverzitetni ravni: človekove pravice in pravno državo. Pri tem je tudi izrecno izpostavila Resolucijo o evropski dimenziji vzgoje in izobraževanja kot okvira, ki izpostavlja nujno utemeljenost izobraževanja na vrednotah, kot so človekove pravice, pluralna demokracija,

72

strpnost, solidarnost in pravna država (Krek 1995, 13–14). Demokratično državljanstvo je močno vpeto v izhodišča Bele knjige o vzgoji in izobraževanju v Republiki Sloveniji, saj vidi šolo kot akterja, ki ima "pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju demokratične javnosti in razvijanju zmožnosti za participacijo v demokratičnih procesih", pri čemer so za takšno oblikovanje "pomembne tako kurikularne vsebine in učni predmeti kot kurikularne oblike" (Krek 1995, 30–31).

Leta 2011 je bila izdana nova Bela knjiga o vzgoji in izobraževanju v Republiki Sloveniji, kjer je dimenzija izobraževanja za demokracijo prav tako prisotna. Že glede temeljnih vrednot vzgoje in izobraževanja v Republiki Sloveniji je zapisano, da izhajajo iz načela pluralne demokracije, strpnosti, solidarnosti in pravne države (Krek & Metljak 2011). Med cilji vzgojno-izobraževalnega sistema je v tem dokumentu navedena družba znanja, h kateri moramo vsi stremeti, hkrati pa je ta cilj, kot zapišejo avtorji Bela knjiga o vzgoji in izobraževanju v Republiki Sloveniji 2011 (Krek & Metljak 2011, 20), skladen "z idejo opolnomočenega in kritičnega državljana, ki je glavni nosilec pluralizma v demokratičnih procesih". Glede osnovnošolskega nivoja izobraževanja pa Bela knjiga o vzgoji in izobraževanju v Republiki Sloveniji 2011 (Krek & Metljak 2011) navaja ključna načela, ki predstavljajo osnovo, na kateri mora izobraževalni sistem sloneti, in ki je hkrati tudi njegova orientacija. Med temi načeli je identificirano tudi načelo razvijanja odgovornega odnosa do ljudi in okolja, kjer je eksplicitno izpostavljeno, da se mora "šola osredotočiti zlasti na razvijanje medsebojne strpnosti, solidarnosti, odgovornosti, spoštovanja drugačnosti /…/ in razvijanje sposobnosti za življenje v demokratični družbi". Bela knjiga o vzgoji in izobraževanju v Republiki Sloveniji 2011 (Krek & Metljak 2011, 42) sicer izpostavlja tudi problem "apatije in nezainteresiranosti za urejanje skupnih zadev", pri čemer je prav državljanska vzgoja tista, prek katere je mogoče vzpostavljati med učečimi se posamezniki zavest, da gre pri političnem delovanju za urejanje skupnega.

Medtem ko Bela knjiga o vzgoji in izobraževanju v Republiki Sloveniji očitno podaja široke in splošne okvire učenja oziroma izobraževanja o demokraciji in demokratičnem delovanju posameznikov in družbe nasploh, pa je državljanska vzgoja oziroma konkreten obvezen predmet tisti, ki daje konkretnejše smernice glede vsebin, povezanih z demokracijo in demokratičnim delovanjem, ter glede njihovega poučevanja. Državljanska vzgoja je bila uvedena kot obvezen predmet na podlagi takrat na novo sprejete zakonodaje iz leta 1996, ki je določila formalen okvir vseh stopenj preduniverzitetnega izobraževanja, hkrati pa določila, da postane državljanska vzgoja in etika, kakor je bil predmet takrat poimenovan, obvezen predmet na nivoju osnovnošolskega izobraževanja.[2] Z novim formalnopravnim okvirom se je začel tudi proces (re)adaptacije učnih načrtov, med katerimi je bila tudi državljanska vzgoja. V tem obdobju, od leta 1996 do začetka leta 1999 je Predmetna kurikularna komisija za državljansko vzgojo in etiko pripravila prvi učni načrt za ta predmet. Že v tem učnem načrtu

(Justin idr. 2003) je med ključnimi cilji zabeleženo "razvijanje etičnih drž in veščin", na podlagi katerih je posameznik usposobljen "za strpno razpravljanje in utemeljeno presojanje svojih ter tujih nazorov ter razvijanje demokratične komunikacijske kulture" (Justin idr. 2003, 6). Prav tako je kot specifičen cilj zabeleženo tudi razvijanje sposobnosti za oblikovanje državljanskih presoj in ravnanj, pri čemer gre tudi za razvijanje "pozitivnega odnosa do demokracije in odnosa do načel pravičnosti, enakosti, svobode, odgovornosti, humanosti in solidarnosti" (Justin idr. 2003, 7). V okviru tematik in vsebin, ki jih opredeljuje učni načrt predmeta, pa je izobraževanje za demokracijo v največji meri vključeno v tematiko Urejanje skupnih zadev: vprašanja demokracije. V njegovem okviru naj bi učenci med drugim spoznali demokracijo kot način urejanja skupnih zadev in določanja pogojev življenja, spoznajo pa tudi pomembnost udeležbe vseh pripadnikov družbe pri določanju in doseganju ciljev ter se uvajajo v praktično uporabo družbenega sožitja (Justin idr. 2003, 27).

V trenutno veljavnem učnem načrtu, ki je bil dokončno sprejet leta 2011,[3] sta v primerjavi s predhodnim učnim načrtom precej konkretneje poudarjena demokracija ter izobraževanje o demokratičnih ureditvah in demokratičnem državljanstvu, predvsem v smislu konkretnosti vsebin, povezanih z demokratičnim sistemom ter demokratičnimi institucijami in procesi. Tako je na primer v okviru opredelitve predmeta jasno izpostavljeno, da učenci pri pouku predmeta pridobivajo temeljna znanja o politični ureditvi, družbenih načelih in pravilih javnega in političnega življenja v demokratični, pravni in socialni državi Sloveniji," prav tako pa je eden izmed ciljev tudi, da učenci pridobivajo znanja o "človekovih in otrokovih pravicah" (Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport 2011, 5). V smislu pridobivanja veščin pa učni načrt predvideva, da učenci med drugim znajo komunicirati in argumentirati v kontekstu demokratičnega javnega prostora ter obveščenega, kritičnega, konstruktivnega in angažiranega družbenega delovanja (Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport 2011). Učni načrt med splošnimi cilji navaja tudi, da predmet s svojimi vsebinami prispeva k učenčevi politični pismenosti, kar med drugim pomeni, da je seznanjen s temeljnimi načeli demokratičnega odločanja in z demokratičnimi institucijami v lokalnem okolju, Sloveniji, Evropski uniji in svetovnih skupnostih, hkrati pa tudi pozna človekove in otrokove pravice ter njihov pomen, predvsem v okviru pravne države (Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport 2011, 6). Med splošnimi cilji predmeta pa velja še posebej opozoriti na cilj dejavnega vključevanja učencev v družbeno življenje (Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport 2011, 7), kar pomeni, da predmet stremi k spodbujanju učenčevega aktivnega državljanstva v raznolikih oblikah. Glede na predstavljene cilje učnega načrta, predvsem v smislu njegove orientiranosti na izobraževanje za demokratično državljanstvo, sta posebej (vendar ne izključno) pomembna vsebinska sklopa Skupnost državljanov Republike Slovenije in Slovenija je utemeljena na človekovih pravicah, ki sta predvidena za sedmi razred osnovne šole, medtem ko je v osmem razredu za demokratično državljanstvo

74

pomemben sklop Demokracija od blizu, v okviru katerega učenci spoznajo ključne elemente, institucije in procese demokratičnega sistema ter aktivnega (demokratičnega) državljanstva (Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport 2011, 12).

3. Nacionalno preverjanje znanja v Sloveniji: sistematizacija in metodologija

Vzpostavitev in razvijajoča se vloga nacionalnega preverjanja znanja v okviru slovenskega formalnega izobraževalnega sistema sta močno povezani prav z razvojem slednjega. Kot smo že poudarili, je v devetdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja Slovenija pripravila novo zakonodajo, ki je določila celovit okvir izobraževalnega sistema, hkrati pa je bila takrat objavljena tudi Bela knjiga o vzgoji in izobraževanju v Republiki Sloveniji (Krek 1995). Eden izmed pomembnih strateških ciljev, ki je takrat prevladal kot osreden, je bil podaljšati osnovnošolski izobraževalni proces. S projektom tako imenovane devetletke je Slovenija želela podaljšati trajanje osnovnošolskega izobraževanja, kar je pomenilo sistemsko spremembo, to je podaljšanje osemletne osnovne šole na devetletno. Neposredno uvajanje devetletne osnovne šole se je začelo v šolskem letu 1999/2000, proces uvajanja pa je bil zaključen v šolskem letu 2008/2009, ko so vse slovenske osnovne šole izvajale devetletni program. Osnovnošolski program je v Sloveniji torej sistematiziran v okviru treh izobraževalnih ciklov, pri čemer vsak izmed izobraževalnih ciklov obsega tri razrede (Taštanoska 2015).

Prav sistematizacija v tri izobraževalne cikle je pomembna tudi za izvajanje NPZ-ja, saj je bilo v šolskem letu 2005/2006 uvedeno preverjanje s formativno funkcijo, pri čemer se to izvaja dvakrat, prvič ob koncu drugega izobraževalnega cikla (šesti razred) in drugič na koncu tretjega izobraževalnega cikla (deveti razred) (RIC 2015c). Ker ima NPZ v Sloveniji formativno funkcijo, je osrednji cilj pridobivanje dodatnih informacij glede znanja učencev ter glede izvajanja in učinkovitosti izobraževanja (uspešnost pouka, na primer v smislu uresničevanja učnega načrta določenega predmeta) (Slavec Gornik 2013). NPZ organizira, vodi izvajanje in analizira Državni izpitni center (RIC), ki je osrednja državna institucija, vzpostavljena prav z namenom vodenja in izvajanja zunanjega preverjanja učencev, praktikantov in odraslih (RIC 2015c).

NPZ je namenjen predvsem učencem, ki med in na koncu osnovnošolskega izobraževanja pridobijo povratno informacijo o znanju iz specifičnih predmetov, hkrati pa lahko svoje dosežke primerjajo z dosežki svojih vrstnikov in z nacionalnim povprečjem. Prav tako NPZ ni namenjen zgolj učencem in zagotavljanju informacij glede njihovih dosežkov, temveč je zasnovan tako, da omogoča tudi "učiteljem in šolam, da ocenijo kvaliteto svojega dela, medtem ko na sistemskem nivoju lahko ponudi osnovo za nadaljnje odločitve glede razvoja izobraževalnega sistema, evalvacijo kurikulov, razvoj doizobraževanj učiteljev ter spremembe oziroma popravke za učne material" (Slavec Gornik 2013, 2).

RAZPRAVE IN GRADIVO REVIJA ZA NARODNOSTNA VPRAŠANJA **76 / 2016**
M. BANJAC Demokratično državljanstvo med mladimi: znanje slovenskih osnovnošolcev s področja …

75

Obe izvedbi (v šestem in devetem razredu) NPZ-ja sta za učence obvezni tako v javnih kot zasebnih osnovnih šolah. Ob koncu devetega razreda (učenci, stari štirinajst ali petnajst let) poteka NPZ iz slovenščine (ali madžarščine ali italijanščine), matematike in še tako imenovanega tretjega predmeta, ki ga vsako leto določi področni minister iz nabora obveznih predmetov,[4] ki se izvajajo v osmem in devetem razredu (RIC 2015d, 6). Leta 2015 je bil NPZ ob koncu tretjega cikla izobraževanja izveden v mesecu maju, poleg dveh obveznih predmetov pa so bili kot tretji predmet izbrani kemija, tehnika in tehnologija, družboslovje (za nižji izobrazbeni standard) ter domovinska in državljanska kultura in etika.

Proces NPZ-ja lahko razdelimo na tri zaporedne faze. Prvo fazo je mogoče poimenovati kot pripravljalna faza, v okviru katere se preizkuse znanja načrtuje, pripravi in oblikuje v končno obliko. Druga faza je faza izvedbe NPZ-ja. Učenci devetega razreda opravijo preizkus znanja na svoji šoli hkrati s sovrstniki po vseh slovenskih šolah na dan, ki je določen vnaprej. Preizkuse učenci pišejo šestdeset minut, po opravljenem preizkusu pa jih šole v zapečatenih ovojnicah pošljejo na RIC, kjer so preizkusi skenirani, digitalno obdelani in na ta način pripravljeni za vrednotenje. Preizkuse sicer vrednotijo učitelji prek posebnega računalniškega programa, nad pravilnostjo vrednotenja pa bdijo glavni ocenjevalec in njegovi pomočniki. Ko so preizkusi ovrednoteni, predmetne komisije, informacijska enota RIC-a ter enota za raziskave in razvoj sodelujejo pri pripravi statističnih analiz in opisih dosežkov učencev na NPZ-ju (RIC 2015b). Zadnja faza procesa NPZ-ja zajema informiranje učencev, njihovih staršev, učiteljev in šol glede dosežkov. Učencem je skupaj s starši in učitelji ponujena možnost vpogleda v njihov opravljeni preizkus, in če se ne strinjajo z vrednotenjem, lahko zahtevajo ponovno vrednotenje. Po ponovnem vrednotenju RIC obvesti učence, njihove starše, učitelje in šole glede končnih rezultatov (RIC 2015b).

NPZ iz domovinske in državljanske kulture in etike je 10. maja 2015 pisalo 4252 učencev in učenk. Preizkus je obsegal petindvajset nalog s skupno petdesetimi vprašanji in z enakim maksimalnim številom točk, torej petdeset (RIC 2015a, 378). Preizkus je obsegal dvajset strani, učenci pa so imeli na voljo šestdeset minut za reševanje preizkusa, katerega vprašanja in struktura so bili sestavljeni glede na taksonomske stopnje (po Bloomu (1956): znanje in prepoznavanje, razumevanje in uporaba, analiza, sinteza in vrednotenje)[5] ter seveda glede na vsebino, ki je predvidena po učnem načrtu za ta predmet (RIC 2015a). To pomeni, da je preizkus iz predmeta domovinska in državljanska kultura in etika preverjal znanja, ki so predvidena oziroma določena kot del učnega načrta predmeta (Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport 2011).

V namen analize znanja učencev o demokratičnem državljanstvu ter z njim povezanim zagotavljanjem človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin v Sloveniji smo med petindvajsetimi nalogami izbrali tiste, ki neposredno navajajo oziroma omenjajo slovensko ustavo kot najvišji pravni akt, ki določa možnosti

in okvir uresničevanja demokratičnega državljanstva ter ki so hkrati vsebinsko povezane z demokratičnimi procesi oziroma posameznikovim demokratičnim delovanjem. Izjema je ena izmed nalog (sedma naloga v preizkusu), ki ni neposredno omenjala ustave, vendar pa vprašanje eksplicitno naslavlja pravico, ki jo Republika Slovenija prek ustave ščiti, zaradi česar je bila naloga izbrana za analizo v okviru pričujočega članka. Omenjanje ustave v okviru naloge smo sicer kot uvrstitveni pogoj določili zato, ker je, kot smo predhodno pokazali, formalnopravna kodifikacija na ravni države še vedno ključna za ustvarjanje pogojev (in zamejevanj) uresničevanja demokratičnega državljanstva. Po tej metodologiji smo za analizo izmed petindvajsetih nalog izbrali pet nalog s skupaj osmimi vprašanji, z namenom preglednosti analize pa smo jih razdelili v tri vsebinske vidike, saj naslavljajo različne vidike demokratičnega državljanstva ter zagotavljanja človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin v Sloveniji. Prvi vidik analize se osredotoča na razumevanje učencev glede oblasti ljudstva in delitve oblasti kot osrednjih načel demokratičnih sistemov. V okviru tega vidika je analizirana ena naloga (šesta naloga iz preizkusa) z dvema vprašanjema. Drug vsebinski vidik je usmerjen k znanju učencev glede različnih oblik demokratične participacije in zagotavljanja specifičnih političnih pravic. Ta vidik zajema dve nalogi (prvo in deveto nalogo iz preizkusa) s skupaj tremi vprašanji. Zadnji vidik naslavlja pravno zaščito človekovih pravic in pravic avtohtonih narodnih skupnosti v Sloveniji kot elementov demokratičnega državljanstva v pravni državi. Vidik zajema dve nalogi (sedmo in osemnajsto nalogo iz preizkusa) s skupaj tremi vprašanji. V okviru članka smo analizirali odstotek pravilnih odgovorov na vsako izmed vprašanj in na ta način pridobili podatke o znanju učencev glede specifičnih učnih ciljev, kot so opredeljeni v učnem načrtu predmeta domovinska in državljanska kultura in etika.

4. Demokratično državljanstvo in zaščita človekovih pravic: znanje osnovnošolcev

Eden izmed bistvenih elementov demokratičnega državljanstva je, da je oblast v rokah ljudstva oziroma da oblast izhaja iz ljudstva (Morgan 1988, Held 2006). Za mlade državljane je pomembno, da razumejo načelo, ki je v izhodišču zgodnjih (demokratično-)liberalnih premislekov (Locke 2016 [1689]) temelj legitimnosti oblasti in ki utemeljuje tudi sodobne demokratične sisteme, prav tako kot še eno demokratično načelo, in sicer načelo delitve oblasti (Held 2006).

V okviru NPZ-ja pri predmetu domovinska in državljanska kultura in etika je šesta naloga naslavljala koncepta oblasti ljudstva in delitve oblasti (3. člen Ustave RS), v njenem okviru pa sta bili zastavljeni dve vprašanji (V1 in V2), pri čemer je prvo zahtevalo odgovor kratkega zapisa, drugo pa obkroževanje (preglednica 1). Prvo vprašanje (V1) je od učencev zahtevalo pojasnitev, zakaj je načelo delitve oblasti pomembna sestavina demokracije, kot pravilne odgovore pa so učenci

RAZPRAVE IN GRADIVO REVIJA ZA NARODNOSTNA VPRAŠANJA **76 / 2016**
M. BANJAC Demokratično državljanstvo med mladimi: znanje slovenskih osnovnošolcev s področja …

77

lahko navedli, da se na ta način omejuje moč državne oblasti, zagotavlja možnost nadzora nad oblastjo, se na ta način posamezni deli nadzirajo med sabo, da ne presežejo pooblastil, in da posamezni deli ne morejo obvladovati celotne države. Prav tako so kot še sprejemljivi odgovori veljali, če so učenci zapisali, da sicer pride do diktature/totalitarizma/avtokracije in da se na ta način preprečuje, da posameznik ne odloča o vsem ali da ena veja oblasti posega v delo druge. Drugo vprašanje (V2) je ponujalo štiri različne odgovore, med katerimi je bil pravilen tisti, ki je bil pod črko D, in sicer da gre za "način odločanja, v katerem državljani z glasovanjem izrazijo svojo voljo".

Preglednica 1: Vprašanja s področja delitve oblasti in oblasti ljudstva

	Preverjan učni cilj, kot ga določa učni načrt	Tip naloge	Odstotek učencev s pravilnim odgovorom (n = 4252)
V1 – Pojasni, zakaj je načelo delitve oblasti pomembna sestavina demokracije.	Učenci prepoznavajo naloge, ki jih opravljajo posamezne veje oblasti, in razmerja med njimi.	Zapis kratkega odgovora	17
V2 - Kaj pomeni, da ima v Sloveniji oblast ljudstvo?	Učenci prepoznavajo naloge, ki jih opravljajo posamezne veje oblasti, in razmerja med njimi.	Obkroževanje	73

Vir: RIC 2015a

Rezultati NPZ-ja kažejo, da je na prvo vprašanje pravilno odgovorilo sedemnajst odstotkov vseh učencev, ki so se preverjanja udeležili, medtem ko jih je na drugo vprašanje pravilno odgovorilo triinsedemdeset odstotkov. Čeprav je vprašanje V1 postavljeno na tretji taksonomski stopnji (sinteza), drugo vprašanje (V2) pa na drugi (razumevanje) in je kot tako zahtevalo nižje kognitivne procese kot V1, pa je vseeno diskrepanca v dosežkih med obema vprašanjema zelo velika. Medtem ko učenci očitno precej dobro vedo, kaj pomeni oblast ljudstva kot eno izmed izhodiščnih načel delovanja demokratičnega sistema, predvsem z vidika možnosti formalne participacije na volitvah ali prek institucionaliziranih oblik izražanja svoje volje, pa je po drugi strani razvidno, da učenci slabo poznajo oziroma ne znajo artikulirati načela delitve oblasti. Sploh v sodobnem slovenskem kontekstu je takšno znanje pomembno, saj mora biti sestavina demokratičnega državljanstva tudi razumevanje in kritično naslavljanje možnih oblik zlorabe oblasti. Prav slednje je seveda ključno v kontekstu vzpostavljanja, ohranjanja in delovanja delitve oblasti kot (institucionalne) artikulacije preprečevanja pojavljanja problema združevanja zasebnih interesov posameznikov ali delov družbe in javnega dobrega. Čeprav je v učnem načrtu (Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport 2011, 16) med standardi znanja izrecno navedeno, da učenec v okviru sklopa Skupnost državljanov Republike Slovenije pridobi znanje, v okviru katerega zna razčleniti razmerje med državo in državljani, kakor ga določa 3. člen Ustave RS, pa je iz rezultatov NPZ-ja razvidno, da posedujejo to znanje zgolj v omejenem deležu. Medtem ko izvrševanje oblasti neposredno in z volitvami

razumejo kot izraz oblasti ljudstva, pa je načelo delitve oblasti na zakonodajno, izvršilno in sodno med učenci manj prepoznan vidik demokratične ureditve ter ne nazadnje tudi komponenta uresničevanja demokratičnega državljanstva.

Demokratično državljanstvo smo v članku predhodno povezali z demokratično participacijo, pri čemer je ta pogosto vezana na formalne oblike uveljavljanja politične volje posameznikov in posameznic, vendar demokratični sistemi omogočajo tudi druge, manj konvencionalne oblike participacije (Ishiyama & Breuning 2010). S tem je pomemben vsebinski vidik demokratičnega državljanstva tudi demokratična participacija državljanov v vseh svojih razsežnostih in oblikah. Posebej pri mladih je, kot smo izpostavili, ključno, da se v demokratičnih sistemih spodbuja njihovo participacijo, tudi v okviru (državljanske) vzgoje in izobraževanja, kot način preseganja njihove politične apatije in nezainteresiranosti za participacijo (Utter 2011).

NPZ iz predmeta domovinska in državljanska kultura in etika je vključeval tudi naloge, ki sta neposredno naslavljali različne oblike politične participacije, in sicer konvencionalno in nekonvencionalno. Deveta naloga v preizkusu je obsegala dve vprašanji (preglednica 2), obe povezani s procesom formiranja in delovanja državnega zbora. Prvo vprašanje (V3) v okviru te naloge je terjalo od učencev odgovor glede načina volitev poslancev v državni zbor, pri čemer je bil med štirimi podanimi odgovori pravilen odgovor A: "/.../ s splošnim, enakim, neposrednim in tajnim glasovanjem". Drugo vprašanje (V4) v okviru te naloge je, prav tako kot V3, preverjalo znanje učencev glede postopkov, po katerih so izvoljeni nosilci oblasti, saj je preverjalo, ali učenci vedo, koliko traja ustavno določen mandat državnega zbora. Med štirimi podanimi odgovori je bil pravilen odgovor B, torej štiri leta. Tretje vprašanje (V5) v okviru vsebinskega vidika politične participacije pa je bilo postavljeno v okviru prve naloge v preizkusu, ki je sicer imelo dve besedili: prvo besedilo je bilo besedilo 42. člena Ustave RS, medtem ko je bil v drugem besedilu opisan protestni shod kot oblika nekonvencionalne participacije, ki pa se je sprevrgel v nasilje in je zato morala posredovati policija. Vprašanje je od učencev zahtevalo, da razložijo, zakaj je pri protestnem shodu (besedilo 2) prišlo do posredovanja policije, čeprav Ustava RS zagotavlja pravico do zbiranja in združevanja. Kot pravilne odgovore so učenci lahko navedli: ker je bila ogrožena javna varnost; ker se je shod sprevrgel v nasilje/razbijanje/razdejanje; ker je bil kršen zakon o javnih zborovanjih; ker so zavarovali nenasilne protestnike. Prav tako sta kot sprejemljiva bila tudi naslednja odgovora: ker bi lahko prišlo do poškodb/nastanka škode; ker je bila ogrožena občina in ljudje v njej.

Rezultati pri teh nalogah, ki vsebinsko naslavljajo državljansko participacijo, kažejo, da učenci relativno dobro poznajo participativne okvire, procese in možnosti (ter omejitve). Tako je šestinsedemdeset odstotkov vseh učencev, ki so se udeležili preverjanja znanja, znalo razložiti, zakaj je kljub ustavno zagotovljeni pravici do zbiranja in združevanja bilo v okviru opisanega protestnega shoda

RAZPRAVE IN GRADIVO REVIJA ZA NARODNOSTNA VPRAŠANJA **76 / 2016**
M. BANJAC Demokratično državljanstvo med mladimi: znanje slovenskih osnovnošolcev s področja ...

79

potrebno posredovanje policije. Učenci torej v precejšnji meri razumejo, da je pravica do zbiranja in (javnega) zborovanja zagotovljena, če gre za mirno obliko participacije, v primeru ogroženosti varnosti države in/ali javne varnosti pa je omejevanje pravic iz 42. člena Ustave RS dopustno.

Preglednica 2: Vprašanja s področja politične participacije in političnih pravic

	Preverjan učni cilj, kot ga določa učni načrt	Tip naloge	Odstotek učencev s pravilnim odgovorom (n = 4252)
V3 – Kako volimo poslance v državni zbor?	Učenci spoznajo postopke, po katerih so izvoljeni nosilci oblasti.	Obkroževanje	32
V4 – Ustava RS določa mandatno dobo državnega zbora. Koliko let traja?	Učenci spoznajo postopke, po katerih so izvoljeni nosilci oblasti.	Obkroževanje	71
V5 – Razloži, zakaj je pri protestnem shodu (besedilo 2) prišlo do posredovanja policije, čeprav Ustava RS zagotavlja pravico do zbiranja in združevanja.	Učenci razumejo, da se skupnost državljanov z ustavo dogovori za osnovna načela, po katerih urejamo skupne zadeve.	Zapis kratkega odgovora	76

Vir: RIC 2015a

Zelo podoben, vendar nižji odstotek (enainsedemdeset odstotkov) učencev je pravilno odgovorilo na vprašanje glede mandatne dobe državnega zbora (V4), medtem ko je znanje glede načina volitev državnega zbora med učenci precej slabše. Nalogo je uspešno rešilo zgolj slaba tretjina vseh učencev, natančneje dvaintrideset odstotkov vseh, ki so se udeležili preverjanja znanja. Za razliko od vprašanja glede nekonvencionalne oblike politične participacije (V5), ki je bila na drugi taksonomski stopnji, sta bili obe vprašanji v okviru devete naloge iz preizkusa na prvi taksonomski stopnji in sta torej zahtevali zgolj védenje. Zato je toliko bolj zanimivo, da je med obema vprašanjema tako velika razlika v odstotku pravilnih odgovorov. Ta razlika nakazuje, da je faktično znanje, ki ga je zahtevalo vprašanje V4, med učenci boljše kot znanje o demokratičnem procesu volitev. Pričakovali bi, da bodo učenci v okviru izobraževanja za demokratično državljanstvo usvojili znanje, kakšna demokratična načela veljajo pri praktičnem uveljavljanju aktivne volilne pravice (pravice voliti), saj je med drugim bilo to vprašanje povezano s konkretnimi temelji znanja, ki so zabeleženi v učnem načrtu. V okviru osmega razreda in vsebinskega sklopa Demokracija od blizu je namreč med temelji znanja navedeno, da učenec zna opisati dva vidika volilne pravice (pravice voliti in biti voljen), še pomembnejše v kontekstu tega vprašanja pa je, da naj bi učenec znal opisati, kako potekajo volitve v državni zbor (Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport 2011, 17).

Demokratično državljanstvo nikakor ne obsega zgolj uresničevanja specifičnih političnih pravic v smislu demokratične participacije, ki jih imajo državljanke in državljani, temveč je tesno navezano na pravno državo, ki seveda zagotavlja ne le posameznicam in posameznikom, temveč tudi skupnostim določene pravice in temeljne svoboščine. Državljan mora v okviru demokratičnih sistemov poznati, razumeti in v stvarnem življenju tudi uresničevati ideje strpnosti in sobivanja različnih ljudi, kar je preverjal tudi preizkus znanja v okviru NPZ-ja. V povezavi s tem je NPZ pri predmetu domovinska in državljanska kultura in etika zajemal naloge, ki so preverjale znanje učencev tako glede spoštovanja človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin kot glede njihovega pravnega (ustavnega) varovanja. Sedma naloga v preizkusu je obsegala eno vprašanje (V6), ki je izhajalo iz priložene slike uradne dvojezične table Krajevnega urada Dobrovnik kot dela Upravne enote Lendava. Vprašanje se je glasilo: "Katero pravico Republika Slovenija zagotavlja z javnimi dvojezičnimi napisi?" Kot pravilna sta bila upoštevana odgovora učencev, da gre za pravico avtohtone narodne skupnosti/ manjšine do (javne) uporabe maternega/svojega jezika ali da gre za pravno varstvo avtohtonih narodnih skupnosti/manjšin, ki ga zagotavlja Ustava RS. Prav tako sta kot sprejemljiva bila upoštevana še odgovora učencev, da gre za pravico manjšine do (javne) uporabe maternega (uradnega) jezika ali, konkretno, da gre za pravico madžarske manjšine do uporabe madžarščine.

V okvir tega vsebinskega področja je spadala tudi osemnajsta naloga, ki je obsegala dve vprašanji (preglednica 3). Obe sta izhajali iz priložene slike (risbe), na kateri skupina deklet izkazuje nestrpnost in izraža sovražni govor do posameznice, ki ni del skupine. Prvo vprašanje (V7), ki je zahtevalo zapis kratkega odgovora, se je glasilo: "H kakšnim dejanjem s svojimi izjavami spodbujajo dekleta na sliki?" Drugo vprašanje (V8), ki je prav tako zahtevalo zapis kratkega odgovora, pa se je glasilo: "Kako se glede dejanj, ki jih prikazuje slika 7, opredeljuje Ustava RS?" Kot pravilni odgovori na prvo vprašanje so bili priznani naslednji: k nestrpnosti, k nasilju, k nasilju med vrstniki, k diskriminaciji, k sovražnosti, k žaljenju. Kot še sprejemljiv je bil dopuščen tudi odgovor, da spodbujajo dekleta k izločanju iz družbe. Kot pravilni odgovori na drugo vprašanje (V7) pa so bili priznani odgovori, da Ustava RS prepoveduje/ne dovoli/zavrača tovrstna dejanja ali da Ustava RS varuje človekove pravice. Prav tako sta bila kot še sprejemljiva priznana tudi odgovora, da Ustava RS opredeljuje, da nikogar ni dovoljeno mučiti in poniževati, ali da Ustava RS zapoveduje strpnost do drugačnih.

Rezultati učencev pri teh postavljenih vprašanjih kažejo, da je njihovo poznavanje pravic, ki izhajajo iz 64. člena Ustave RS, torej pravic avtohtone italijanske in madžarske narodne skupnosti v Sloveniji, zelo slabo. Le štirinajst odstotkov vseh učencev je namreč pravilno odgovorilo na vprašanje V6, kar kaže na to, da učenci v veliki meri ne izkazujejo razumevanja uresničevanja pravic pripadnikov avtohtonih skupnosti. Po drugi strani pa je glede na rezultate mogoče ugotoviti, da relativno dobro prepoznavajo sovražni govor, medvrstniško

nasilje, žaljenje oziroma diskriminacijo. Več kot tri četrtine oziroma, natančneje, šestinsedemdeset odstotkov vseh učencev je na vprašanje V7 odgovorilo pravilno. Večina učencev jasno identificira, ali gre v konkretnem primeru za sovražni govor in spodbujanje nasilja. Po drugi strani pa je problematično, da učenci tovrstnih dejanj ne znajo postaviti v kontekst pravne zaščite oziroma varovanja človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin, saj je le dvaindvajset odstotkov učencev znalo odgovoriti, kako se glede teh dejanj opredeljuje Ustava RS. Glede na rezultate je mogoče trditi, da učenci ustavnega varovanja pravic, ne glede na to, ali gre za pravice posameznika ali (narodnih) skupnosti, ne poznajo dobro.

Preglednica 3: Vprašanja s področja pravne zaščite človekovih pravic in pravic avtohtonih narodnih skupnosti v Sloveniji

	Preverjan učni cilj, kot ga določa učni načrt	Tip naloge	Odstotek učencev s pravilnim odgovorom (n = 4252)
V6 – Katero pravico RS zagotavlja z javnimi dvojezičnimi napisi?	Učenci v Ustavi RS prepoznajo človekove pravice.	Zapis kratkega odgovora	14
V7 – H kakšnim dejanjem s svojimi izjavami spodbujajo dekleta na sliki?	V Ustavi RS prepoznavajo človekove pravice.	Zapis kratkega odgovora	76
V8 – Kako se glede dejanj, ki jih prikazuje slika, opredeljuje Ustava RS?	Razvijajo sposobnost za argumentiranje, ki temelji na etičnih načelih, vgrajenih v človekove pravice.	Zapis kratkega odgovora	22

Vir: RIC 2015a

5. Zaključek

Državljanska vzgoja je vnovič predmet premislekov in strategij ter tudi konkretnih ukrepov v smeri njene revitalizacije, pri čemer je pomemben trend osredotočanje nekaterih organizacij tako na globalni (mednarodni) ravni (Tibbitts 2015) kot na ravni (evropskih) držav na učenje oziroma izobraževanje za demokratično državljanstvo. Vzroki za to so, kot smo prikazali v prispevku, številni in med pomembnejše gotovo lahko umestimo spremembe v identitetah (posameznikov in kolektivitet) zaradi globalizacijskih procesov, novih oblik medijev in komunikacijskih sredstev, ki zahtevajo neprestane odgovore na percipirane in dejanske pomanjkljivosti ter probleme družbenopolitičnih ureditev, sistemskih, institucionalnih in organizacijskih delovanj. Med njimi se pogosto izpostavlja tudi prisoten trend apatije (med mladimi) glede aktivnega delovanja v političnih procesih in sodelovanja v družbenopolitičnih zadevah, ki vplivajo na naša vsakodnevna življenja. Kot odgovor se pogosto pojavlja tudi reartikulacija na ravni učnih načrtov, pedagoških praks ter načina prenosa znanja

82

in veščin ter državljanske vzgoje v izobraževanje za demokratično državljanstvo (Print 2013). Ta (relativno dolgoročni) trend je, kot smo prikazali, prisoten tudi v Sloveniji, saj so spremembe v splošnem pogledu na izobraževanje in tudi spremembe v kurikularni zasnovi konkretnega predmeta domovinska in državljanska kultura in etika očitne – v smislu večjega obsega in predvsem konkretnosti vsebin glede demokracije, demokratičnega delovanja, varovanja oziroma zagotavljanja človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin.

V prispevku smo analizirali rezultate oziroma dosežke učencev pri izbranih nalogah in vprašanjih, ki so bila del NPZ-ja pri predmetu domovinska in državljanska kultura in etika. Zanimalo nas je, kako dobro učenci poznajo temelje demokratičnega državljanstva, njegovega prakticiranja, vključno s prepoznavanjem, zagotavljanjem in varovanjem človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin. Ugotovimo lahko, da učenci izhodišča demokratičnega državljanstva v veliki večini razumejo in prepoznavajo osnovni element demokratičnih sistemov vzpostavljanja in formiranja oblasti, ki izhaja iz ljudstva. Toda hkrati je presenetljivo, da le majhen delež učencev zna ustrezno osmisliti oziroma pojasniti, zakaj mora biti oblast deljena. V sodobnem kontekstu, ko je vse več kritičnih osti uperjenih v demokratični deficit na različnih ravneh demokratičnega delovanja političnih institucij, je takšno znanje pomembno, saj mora biti sestavina demokratičnega državljanstva tudi razumevanje možnih oblik zlorabe oblasti. Hkrati je seveda ključno razumevanje možnosti demokratične participacije državljanov v okviru konvencionalnih in nekonvencionalnih oblik političnega delovanja. Učenci so v okviru NPZ-ja zgolj v omejenem obsegu pokazali, da vedo, kako volimo ključno reprezentativno institucijo v Sloveniji, torej državni zbor, hkrati pa v večji meri izkazali znanje glede njegove mandatne dobe. Prav tako relativno velik delež učencev zna razložiti, zakaj lahko pride do omejitve uresničevanja nekaterih pravic (pravice zbiranja in združevanja), če gredo nekonvencionalne oblike participacije v nasilno smer.

Pomemben del uresničevanja demokratičnega državljanstva je spoštovanje in uresničevanje človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin, brez česar je vprašanje, ali sploh lahko govorimo o demokratičnem okolju. Predpogoj zagotavljanja človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin je seveda to, da državljani znajo prepoznati, katere pravice so (ustavno) zagotovljene posameznikom in skupnostim. Posebej pomembno spoznanje je, da učenci v velikem deležu prepoznavajo kršitve človekovih pravic, hkrati pa je problematično, da le v majhnem deležu vedo, kako se Ustava RS do kršitev pravic opredeljuje. Prav tako je posebej pereče dejstvo, da le majhen odstotek učencev ve, kako in katere pravice se zagotavlja avtohtonima narodnima skupnostma v Sloveniji.

Kaj so razlogi za pomanjkljivo oziroma slabše znanje učencev glede nekaterih vidikov demokratičnega državljanstva je pomembno, vendar izjemno kompleksno vprašanje, ki ga NPZ načeloma sam po sebi ne razkriva v celoti. Prav zato bi glede vzrokov bilo treba opraviti celovito analizo, pri čemer velja

ob tem opozoriti, da je v analizi dosežkov pri NPZ-ju iz domovinske in državljanske kulture in etike izpostavljeno (RIC 2015a, 390), da je mogoče pri odgovorih učencev opaziti pomanjkljivo terminologijo, kar bi lahko bil eden izmed vzrokov slabšega reševanja določenih vsebin. Pri tem nikakor ne gre zanemariti s slabšo terminologijo povezanih širših vzrokov, kot so splošna nezainteresiranost javnosti za politiko oziroma celo negativna podoba politike in političnih institucij, ki nikakor ni nov fenomen (Toš 1999). Če želi Slovenija prek formalnega izobraževalnega sistema, kot je to na deklarativni ravni izkazano, mlade posameznike izobraziti v kompetentne in aktivne ter politično pismene državljane, je treba državljansko vzgojo in v njenem okviru izobraževanje za demokratično državljanstvo sistematizirati celovito in koherentno, predvsem v smeri izhajanja iz dejstva, da sodobna nacionalna okolja niso homogena in izolirana, temveč dinamična in hitro spreminjajoča se v smislu formiranja novih identitet, skupnosti in političnih praks, hkrati pa se soočajo z novimi izzivi in nevarnostmi, kot so izključevanje (posameznikov in manjšin), ksenofobija in nasilje. Ker nacionalno preverjanje znanja kaže parcialnost znanja učencev glede demokracije in zagotavljanja človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin, je zato v okviru izobraževanja za demokratično državljanstvo treba stremeti k učenčevemu celovitemu razumevanju demokratičnega sistema, vključno s prepoznavanjem (ustavne) ureditve zagotavljanja človekovih pravic in svoboščin tako posameznikov kot specifičnih skupin in skupnosti.

Opombe

[1] Od leta 2007 se v okviru NPZ-ja poleg učnega jezika in matematike preverjajo še štirje predmeti (izjema je bilo leto 2011, ko so bili izbrani trije), ki se preverjajo kot tretji predmet. Nabor tretjih predmetov s sklepom za tisto leto določi minister, kateri predmet se bo preverjalo na posamezni šoli, pa se določi po načelu naključnega razvrščanja šol.

[2] Za podrobnejši oris razvoja državljanske vzgoje kot osnovnošolskega predmeta v Sloveniji glej Krek in Kovač Šebart (2008).

[3] Leta 2006 je bila na Zavodu RS za šolstvo imenovana Predmetna komisija za posodabljanje učnega načrta predmeta, ki je bila vključena v oblikovanje predloga posodobljenega učnega načrta. Strokovni svet RS za splošno je posodobljeni učni načrt določil 12. junija 2008 ter se seznanil z vsebinskimi in redakcijskimi popravki v mesecu februarju 2011.

[4] Nabor obsega naslednje predmete: umetnostna vzgoja, biologija, kemija, domovinska in državljanska vzgoja in etika, tehnika in tehnologija, angleščina, geografija, nemščina, zgodovina, glasbena umetnost, šport, fizika.

[5] Omenjena taksonomija ameriškega psihologa Benjamina Samuela Blooma (1956) razvršča učne cilje zgolj s kognitivnega ali spoznavnega področja, sicer pa je njegova razdelitev ciljev izobraževalnega procesa veliko kompleksnejša. Poleg kognitivnega področja (znanje) je Bloom med oblike učenja uvrstil tudi afektivno in psihomotorično področje.

Literatura in viri

Audigier, F., 2000. *Basic Concepts and Core Competencies for Education for Democratic Citizenship*. Council of Europe, Geneva.

Banjac, M. & Pušnik, T., 2015. Citizenship Education in Slovenia, http://www.bpb.de/veranstaltungen/netzwerke/nece/206029/citizenship-education-in-slovenia?p=all (10. 1. 2016).

Bellamy, R., 2008. *Citizenship: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Biesta, G., 2011. *Learning Democracy in School and Society: Education, Lifelong Learning, and the Politics of Citizenship*. Sense Publishers, Rotterdam.

Bloom, B. S. (ur.), 1956. *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: The Classification of Educational Goals*. Longmans, New York.

Carter, A., 2001. *The political theory of global citizenship*. Routledge, New York.

Cogan, J. J., & Derricott, R., 2012. *Citizenship for the 21st Century: An International Perspective on Education*. Routledge, New York.

Davies, I. & Issitt, J., 2005. Reflections on citizenship education in Australia, Canada and England. *Comparative Education* 41(4), 389–410.

Dower, N. & Williams, J., 2002. *Global Citizenship: A Critical Reader*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

Etzioni, A., 1995. *New Communitarian Thinking: Persons, Virtues, Institutions, and Communities*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Etzioni, A., 2011. Citizenship in a Communitarian Perspective. *Ethnicities* 11(3), 336–349.

Eurydice, 2012. *Citizenship Education in Europe*. Publications Office of the European Union, Brussels.

Faulks, K., 2000. *Citizenship*. Routledge, London, New York.

Giddens, A., 2003. *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives*. Routledge, New York.

Heater, D., 2002. The History of Citizenship Education: A Comparative Outline. *Parliamentary Affairs* 55(3), 457–474.

Heater, D., 1999. *What is Citizenship?* Polity Press, Malden, Mass.

Held, D., 2006. *Models of Democracy*. Polity, Cambridge.

Hutchings, K. & Dannreuther, R., 1999. *Cosmopolitan Citizenship*. St. Martin's Press, New York.

Ishiyama, J. T. & Breuning, M., 2010. *21st Century Political Science: A Reference Handbook*. SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks.

Isin, E. F. & Turner, B. S., 2002a. Citizenship Studies: An Introduction. V E. F. Isin & S. Bryan (ur.) *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. SAGE, London, 1–10.

85

Isin, E. F., & Turner, B. S. (ur.), 2002b. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. SAGE, London.

Joppke, C. 2002. Multicultural Citizenship. V E. F. Isin & S. Bryan (ur.) *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. SAGE, London.

Joppke, C. & Lukes, S. (ur.), 1999. *Multicultural Questions*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Justin, J., Bezenšek, J., Juhant, J., Barle Lakota, A., Labernik, Z., Jogan, M., Potočnik, V., Nečimer, V., Bezjak, V., Hribar, T., Kos, J. & Marentič Požarnik, B., 2003. *Državljanska vzgoja in etika. Učni načrt: program osnovnošolskega izobraževanja.* Ministrstvo za šolstvo, znanost in šport, Zavod RS za šolstvo, Ljubljana.

Keating, A., 2009. Educating Europe's citizens: moving from national to post-national models of educating for European citizenship. *Citizenship Studies* 13(2), 135–151.

Kerr, D., Sturman, L., Schulz, W. & Burge, B., 2010. *ICCS 2009 European Report: Civic Knowledge, Attitudes, and Engagement Among Lower-secondary Students in 24 European Countries*. IEA, Amsterdam.

Krek, J., 1995. *Bela knjiga o vzgoji in izobraževanju v Republiki Sloveniji*. Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport, Ljubljana.

Krek, J. & Kovač Sebart, M., 2008. Citizenship education in Slovenia after the formation of the independent state. *Journal für Sozialwissenschaften und ihre Didaktik* 9(1), 68–80.

Krek, J. & Metljak, M., 2011. *Bela knjiga o vzgoji in izobraževanju v Republiki Sloveniji 2011*. Zavod RS za šolstvo, Ljubljana.

Kymlicka, W., 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship. A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Locke, J., 2016 [1689]. *Second Treatise of Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Magnette, P., 2005. *Citizenship: The History of an Idea*. ECPR, Colchester.

Marshall, T. H., 1950. *Citizenship and Social Class: and Other Essays*. Cambridge University press, Cambridge.

Miller, D., 2000. *Citizenship and National Identity*. Polity Press, Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge, Malden.

Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport, 2011. Program osnovna šola: Državljanska in domovinska vzgoja ter etika. Učni načrt. Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport, Ljubljana.

Morgan, E. S., 1988. *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America*. Norton & Company, New York.

Osler, A. & Starkey, H., 2006. Education for democratic citizenship: a review of research, policy and practice 1995-2005. *Research Papers in Education* 21(4), 433–466.

Petrovic, J. E. & Kuntz, A. M., 2014. *Citizenship Education Around the Eorld: Local Contexts and Global Possibilities*. Routledge, New York.

Print, M., 2013. Competences for Democratic Citizenship in Europe. V M. Print & D. Lange (ur.) *Civic Education and Competences for Engaging Citizens in Democracies*. SensePublishers, Rotterdam, 37–49.

Print, M. & Lange, D., 2013. *Civic Education and Competences for Engaging Citizens in Democracies*. SensePublishers, Rotterdam, Boston.

RIC, 2015a. *Nacionalno preverjanje znanja: letno poročilo o izvedbi v šolskem letu 2014/2015*. Državni izpitni center, Ljubljana.

RIC, 2015b. National Assessment of Knowledge in 9-year Primary Education – Activities, http://www.ric.si/national_assessment_of_knowledge/activities/ (10. 11. 2015).

RIC, 2015c. The National Examinations Centre - Brief History, http://www.ric.si/ric_eng/general_information/ (15. 10. 2015).

RIC, 2015d. *Navodila za izvedbo nacionalnega preverjanja znanja 2015/2016*. Državni izpitni center, Ljubljana.

RIC, 2015e. *Osnovna šola: Nacionalno preverjanje znanja: Informacije za učence in starše*. Državni izpitni center, Ljubljana.

Slavec Gornik, A., 2013. National Assessment in Primary Education in Slovenia: Is it Possible to Implement E-marking in One Year? http://www.iaea.info/documents/paper_5bc1e672.pdf (15. 10. 2015)

Taštanoska, T., 2015. *The Education System in the Republic of Slovenia*. Ministrstvo za izobraževanje, znanost in šport, Ljubljana.

Tibbitts, F., 2015. *Curriculum Development and Review for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education*. UNESCO/Council of Europe/Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe/Organization of American States, Strasbourg.

Torney-Purta, J., Schwille, J. & Amadeo, J., 1999. *Civic Education across Countries: Twenty-four National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*. International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, Amsterdam.

Toš, N., 1999. Razumevanje politike in zaupanje v politike. *Teorija in praksa* 36(6), 912–943.

Turner, B. S., 2006. Citizenship, Nationalism and Nation-Building. V G. Delanty & K. Kumar (ur.) *The SAGE handbook of nations and nationalism*. SAGE, London, 225–236.

Utter, G. H., 2011. *Youth and Political Participation: A Reference Handbook*. ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara.

Walzer, M., 1983. *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*. Basic Books, New York.

About the Contributors / *O avtorjih*

Romana Bešter

Romana Bešter is Senior Scientific Associate (researcher) at the Institute for Ethnic Studies in Ljubljana. She has a PhD in Political Science – Ethnic studies (University of Ljubljana, 2006). Her major fields of interest are: migration, ethnic studies and human rights, especially minority rights. She focuses on integration policies and the processes of integration with regard to immigrants and ethnic minorities, especially in the field of education. She has participated in various national and international research projects dealing with national and immigrant minorities and the protection of human and minority rights.

Romana Bešter je raziskovalka (višja znanstvena sodelavka) na Inštitutu za narodnostna vprašanja v Ljubljani. Je doktorica politologije – etničnih študij (Univerza v Ljubljani, 2006). Njeno raziskovalno delo je usmerjeno na področja migracij, etničnih študij in človekovih pravic (zlasti pravic manjšin). Podrobneje se ukvarja s proučevanjem integracijskih politik ter procesov integracije priseljencev in etničnih manjšin, zlasti na področju izobraževanja. Sodelovala je v številnih slovenskih in mednarodnih raziskovalnih projektih s področja varstva in zaščite ter integracije manjšin in migrantov.

Mojca Medvešek

Mojca Medvešek has a PhD in Sociology and is a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Ethnic Studies in Ljubljana. Her main research concerns the design and development of phenomena such as ethnic identity, ethnic vitality and the intergenerational transfer of ethnic indicators, in particular the transfer of language. In recent years, her research focus has included topics related to the integration process of immigrants in Slovenia and social inclusion / exclusion of immigrants, the integration of migrant children and the Roma in the educational system and the situation of the Slovenes in neighboring countries.

Mojca Medvešek, doktorica sociologije, višja znanstvena sodelavka na Inštitutu za narodnostna vprašanja v Ljubljani. V svojem raziskovalnem delu se osredotoča na preučevanje oblikovanja in razvoja pojavov, kot so etnična identitete, etnična vitalnost in medgeneracijski transfer etničnih kazalnikov (zlasti prenos jezika). V zadnjem obdobju njen raziskovalni fokus vključuje tematike, povezane z integracijskim procesom imigrantov v Sloveniji in družbeno vključenostjo/ izključenostjo imigrantov, vključevanjem migrantskih otrok in Romov v vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem ter položajem Slovencev v zamejstvu.

Janez Pirc

Janez Pirc is an Academic Associate (researcher) at the Institute for Ethnic Studies in Ljubljana. He has a PhD in Political Science - Ethnic Studies and also graduated in Geography, both at the University of Ljubljana. His major fields of interest are: international

migration in Africa and in the EU, the integration of immigrants, social processes in Africa, images of Africa, socio-demographic processes of the Roma in Slovenia, integration processes and the development of integration and migration policy in Slovenia. He has been involved in several research projects in the field of protection and integration of minorities and migrants. Currently, he is also employed part-time at the Centre for School and Outdoor Education.

Janez Pirc je raziskovalec (znanstveni sodelavec) na Inštitutu za narodnostna vprašanja v Ljubljani. Je doktor politologije – etničnih študij ter diplomirani geograf (oboje na Univerzi v Ljubljani). Njegovo raziskovalno delo je usmerjeno v: mednarodne migracije v Afriki in EU, integracijo imigrantov, družbene procese v Afriki, podobe Afrike, družbeno-demografske procese Romov v Sloveniji, integracijske procese ter razvoj integracijskih in migracijskih politik v Sloveniji. Vključene je bil v številne raziskovalne projekta s področja integracije manjšin in migrantov. Trenutno je polovično zaposlen tudi na Centru šolskih in obšolskih dejavnosti.

Klara Kožar Rosulnik

Klara Kožar Rosulnik, PhD, graduated at the Department of Pedagogy and Andragogy (Adult Education), Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. In the spring of 2016 she was granted her PhD; her dissertation was on "Women's Biographical Learning in the Context of Migration." Her research interests focus on learning in everyday life, particularly on biographical and transitional learning, women's migration and intercultural education.

Klara Kožar Rosulnik je diplomirala na Oddelku za pedagogiko in andragogiko Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani ter tam spomladi 2016 s temo biografskega učenja žensk v kontekstu migracij pridobila doktorat znanosti. Njeno raziskovalno zanimanje je usmerjeno na učenje v vsakdanjem življenju, predvsem na biografsko in tranzicijsko učenje, ženske migracije, medkulturno vzgojo in izobraževanje.

Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik

Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik, PhD, is a research advisor at the Slovenian Migration Institute at the Research Center of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Ljubljana. She is also an Associate Professor at the University of Ljubljana and University of Nova Gorica and Visiting Professor at the Universities of Oldenburg and Stavanger. Her main research and study interests are wide and interdisciplinary. Sociology: school reform policies, citizenship education, human rights and integration of migrants. Gender studies: gender inequalities, (socially and politically important) historical cases of 'erased' women [i.e., those deleted from registers] in Slovenia, and women migrants. Migration studies: interdisciplinary approaches and innovative methodology, ranging from oral history to analyses of correspondence and (auto)biographic texts. She is the Editor-In-Chief of the international journal Dve domovini/Two Homelands.

Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik je znanstvena svetnica na Inštitutu za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti v Ljubljani. Je tudi izredna profesorica, ki predava na Univerzi v Ljubljani in Univerzi v Novi Gorici ter tujih univerzah, predvsem v Nemčiji in na Norveškem. Po izobrazbi je sociologinja, ki se ukvarja s sociologijo izobraževanja in migracijskimi ter ženskimi študijami. V okviru sociologije se ukvarja s politiko šolskih reform, državljansko vzgojo ter človekovimi pravicami, v zadnjem času v kontekstu integracije migrantov. V okviru ženskih študij se ukvarja z analizo neenakopravnosti med spoloma in zgodovinskimi primeri izbrisanih družbeno in politično pomembnih žensk v Sloveniji ter z migrantkami. V okviru migracijskih študij jo zanimajo interdisciplinarni pristopi – zgodovinski, sociološki in feministični – ter izvirni metodološki prijemi, od metod ustne zgodovine do analiz družinskih migrantskih korespondenc in migrantskih avto/biografskih tekstov. Je glavna urednica mednarodne znanstvene revije Dve domovini/Two Homelands.

Nives Ličen

Nives Ličen, PhD, is Associate Professor in Adult Education, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. She graduated in the Faculty of Education and in the Faculty of Arts. Her major research interests focus on non-formal education and informal learning in adulthood, with special attention to situated learning, biographical learning, and transformative learning. She is an editor of the scientific journal Andragogic Perspectives and coordinator of doctoral studies in the Adult Education programme in the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

Nives Ličen je izredna profesorica na Oddelku za pedagogiko in andragogiko na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani. Diplomirala je na Pedagoški fakulteti in Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani. Njeno osrednje raziskovalno zanimanje je usmerjeno na področje neformalnega izobraževanja in priložnostnega učenja v odraslosti, s posebnim poudarkom na situacijskem, biografskem in transformativnem učenju. Je urednica znanstvene revije Andragoška spoznanja in koordinatorica doktorskega študija na programu andragogike na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani.

Veronika Bajt

Veronika Bajt holds a PhD in Sociology from the University of Bristol, UK, and works as a researcher and project coordinator at the Peace Institute in Ljubljana, Slovenia. She has worked on numerous international projects on migration, racism, nationalism, hate speech, national identity construction, citizenship and violence, all with a pronounced gendered perspective. She has published internationally on topics of migration, gender and labour market, nationalism, discrimination, national identity construction and practices of Othering, as well as analyses of collective memory construction and nationalist appropriations of history.

Veronika Bajt je sociologinja z doktoratom znanosti z Univerze v Bristolu, Velika Britanija. Leta 1998 je diplomirala na Fakulteti za družbene vede v Ljubljani, leta 1999 pa magistrirala na Central European University v Varšavi. Postdoktorski študij je opravila na Masarykovi univerzi v Brnu (2005-2006). Področja njenega raziskovalnega dela so med drugim študije nacionalizma, migracije, rasizem, sovražni govor, diskriminacija, konstrukcija nacionalnih identitet – o teh temah je predavala tudi na Univerzi v Bristolu v Veliki Britaniji, na Masarykovi univerzi na Češkem in na International University Institute for European Studies (IUIES) v Italiji. Od leta 2006 je znanstvena sodelavka na Mirovnem inštitutu, kjer kot raziskovalka vodi in sodeluje pri več projektih.

Marinko Banjac

Marinko Banjac is an Assistant Professor in the Centre for Political Theory, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana. He is involved in lecturing subjects such as Modern (European) History, Genealogy of Citizenship and Politics of Globalisation. His research interests are political theories, citizenship theory, democracy and citizenship education. His work has been published in national and international scientific journals. He published on topics such as citizenship education (in the EU), including "Making citizens, being European? European symbolism in Slovenian citizenship education textbooks" in Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education. Additionally, he is currently leader of several EU funded projects.

Marinko Banjac je docent na katedri za teoretsko analitsko politologijo Fakultete za družbene vede, Univerze v Ljubljani. V okviru pedagoškega procesa sodeluje pri izvajanju predmetov kot so Moderna zgodovina, Genealogija državljanstva in Politika globalizacije. Njegova raziskovalna področja so politične teorije, teorije državljanstva, izobraževalne politike in državljanska vzgoja. Prispevke objavlja v domačih in priznanih mednarodnih znanstvenih revijah. Objavil je več znanstvenih člankov na tematiko državljanske vzgoje (v EU), med drugim tudi članek z naslovom "Making citizens, being European?: European symbolism in Slovenian citizenship education textbooks", v reviji Compare, ki izhaja pri založbi Taylor in Francis. Poleg tega je je Marinko Banjac tudi vodja projektov, ki jih sofinancira Evropska unija.

Guidelines for Contributors

General — The editorial board of **Treatises and Documents**, **The Journal of Ethnic Studies** welcomes the submission of scholarly articles in the field of ethnic and minority studies, especially on racial and ethnic relations, ethnic identity, nationalism, xenophobia, the protection of (ethnic, national, linguistic, religious, and other) minorities, migration, multiculturalism and related subjects. The journal is particularly interested in discussions regarding ethnic and minority issues in the so- called Alpine-Adriatic-Panonnian area and all comparative studies, which include – only partially or as a whole - this geographic area. This area comprises the Alpine arc, the hinterland of the eastern Adriatic and Panonnian Basin. More technically, this area includes the following countries: Albania, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Czech Republic, Italy, Germany (especially the southern part), Hungary, Kosovo, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Slovenia. Also Macedonia and Bulgaria may be interesting cases.

Two issues of the journal are published every year, usually in June and December.

Articles that are submitted must be original, unpublished material and should not be simultaneously under consideration - either in whole or in part - for publication elsewhere.

The journal encourages the submission of articles in English, since this enables authors to present their ideas and work to a broader public. However, articles in other languages – with a special emphasis on the Slovenian language – are also welcome. The abstracts of the articles are always published in the language of the article and in English.

Authors who do not have native or equivalent proficiency in English must prior to submission have the article read by someone with this proficiency. This step ensures that the academic content of your paper is fully understood by journal editors and reviewers. Articles which do not meet these requirements will most likely not be considered for publication.

Manuscripts should be submitted in electronic form and must include:
- the submitted article, with the title in the language of the article and in English;
- an abstract of the article in the language of the article and in English; this should include a brief presentation of the issues discussed, the methodology used, the main findings and the conclusions;
- 3 – 7 key words in the language of the article and in English.

The length of the title, the abstract and the key words in one language should not exceed 1,100 characters (including spaces). More detailed information about the form of submitted manuscripts is presented in the prescribed template, available at the journal's website (http://www.inv.si).

In a separate document please submit: the title of the article, the author(s) name and a brief biographical note on each author with full contact information (for publication in the journal). Please refer to the template (at the journal's website) for further detailed information.

All submitted manuscripts are subjected to peer-review procedure by at least two reviewers. The review procedure is double blind. Authors may be asked to revise their articles bearing in mind suggestions made by the editors or reviewers. The final decision on publication rests with the editorial board.

Manuscripts should be sent by e-mail, in Word (.doc), to editor-in-chief: editorTD@guest.arnes.si.

Format and Style — The preferred **length for articles** is between 30,000 and 45,000 characters, including spaces (between approx. 4,500 and 6,500 words). Longer articles may be accepted at the discretion of the editorial board. A limited number of endnotes are permitted, if they are used for explanatory purposes only. They should be indicated serially within the article.

Authors should take into careful consideration also the **style and format requirements** of the journal, which are presented in the template (available at http://www.inv.si) in more detail. Particular attention should be paid to the formatting of references, single spacing throughout and the inclusion of keywords and abstracts. Articles that do not meet these requirements will be returned for modification before being read and reviewed.

Referencing Style — The **Harvard author-date system** of referencing must be used for bibliographical references in the text and in the alphabetical list of references at the end of the article. Authors should ensure that all and only those references cited in the text appear in the list of references. General bibliographies should not be provided. Authors must also follow the requirements regarding referencing style and format as presented in the table of examples, available at the journal's website (http://www.inv.si).
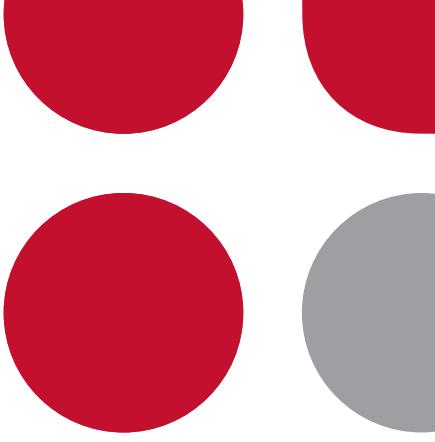
The Institute for Ethnic Studies (IES) is the successor of the Minority Institute, which was founded in 1925 as one of the first such research institutions in the world. From January 1944 until May 1945 it operated in the liberated territory of Slovenia as Scientific Institute and was the only institution of this kind controlled by any European resistance movement.

Today, IES is the leading institution on ethnic and minority studies in Slovenia and employs about 20 researchers in various fields of research.

Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja (INV) je naslednik Manjšinskega inštituta, ki je leta 1925 nastal kot ena prvih tovrstnih raziskovalnih institucij na svetu. Od januarja 1944 do maja 1945 je kot Znanstveni inštitut deloval na osvobojenem ozemlju kot edina tovrstna institucija v okviru kateregakoli evropskega odporniškega gibanja.

Danes je INV v Sloveniji vodilna institucija na področju preučevanja manjšinskih in etničnih študij in zaposluje okoli 20 raziskovalcev na različnih področjih.

treatises and documents

Journal of Ethnic Studies

razprave in gradivo

Revija za narodnostna vprašanja

Content / *Vsebina*

18 €   76   JUNE / JUNIJ 2016