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A PARADIGM SHIFT FRAMED BY A CRISIS: RECENT DEBATES ON IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IN SIX EU COUNTRIES

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ABSTRACT

The article examines recent public debates on migration and integration in Austria, Denmark, Poland, Slovenia, Spain, and the UK. Shifts in public opinion relate to the 2015 mass migration termed as a crisis, while recent years have seen a substantial move of immigration policy and public debates from proclamations of democratic values towards a recently much harsher approach to immigration and integration. We argue that a gap exists between public opinion, policies, and discourses formulated at the EU and national levels. This gap might indicate that it is not the public opinion which influences public policies but rather the established legal and policy "crisis" frameworks, coupled with media landscapes that considerably affect the majority's perception of immigrants' rights and their prospects for integration.

Keywords: integration, crisis, reception communities, media representations, public opinion and attitudes

UN CAMBIAMENTO DI PARADIGMA NEL CONTESTO DELLA CRISI: RECENTI DIBATTITI SULL'IMMIGRAZIONE E L'INTEGRAZIONE IN SEI PAESI DELL'UE

SINTESI

L'articolo esamina i recenti dibattiti pubblici sull'immigrazione e integrazione in Austria, Danimarca, Polonia, Slovenia, Spagna e nel Regno Unito. I cambiamenti nell'opinione pubblica si ricollegano alla migrazione di massa del 2015 designata con il termine "crisi", mentre negli ultimi anni si è assistito a un importante spostamento nelle politiche di immigrazione e nei dibattiti pubblici dalla proclamazione di valori democratici a un approccio all'immigrazione e all'integrazione divenuto recentemente molto più severo. Sosteniamo che esista un divario tra l'opinione pubblica, le politiche e i discorsi formulati a livello comunitario e quello nazionale. Questo divario potrebbe indicare che non è l'opinione pubblica quella che esercita un'influenza sulle politiche pubbliche, ma piuttosto che sono le strutture giuridiche e politiche "di crisi" istituite, insieme al panorama mediatico, a incidere profondamente sulla percezione dei diritti degli immigrati e delle loro prospettive di integrazione da parte della maggioranza.

Parole chiave: integrazione, crisi, comunità di accoglienza, rappresentazioni dei media, opinione pubblica e atteggiamenti

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INTRODUCTION[1]

Research and EU policies underline that integration practices and inclusion of immigrants are to be understood as a bidirectional process (Ager & Strang, 2008; Korteweg, 2017). Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas (2016, 14) define integration plainly as "*the process of becoming an accepted part of society*", but recent reconceptualisations highlight that integration is actually "*an issue of relational inequality*" (Klarenbeek, 2019, 1). While migration and integration policies notably frame the integration process, integration is not only about policies but about people's acceptance of immigrants based on degrees of personal proximity and rates of inter--ethnic interactions. Reception communities play a significant role in the experiences of immigrant groups in a particular country and influence the potential success of integration. Moreover, supportive climate and acceptance are of particular weight for the success and wellbeing of immigrants. Countries differ in the number and structure of immigrants, laws and rules of admittance, migration, and integration policies and objectives, integration systems, etc. The "climate" towards immigrants is continually negotiated between inclusion and exclusion demands. Media, politicians' and policy discourses in receiving countries work as a significant stakeholder in this negotiation while framing the public opinion and people's attitudes towards immigration. Moreover, the 2015 "refugee crisis" and the 2016 Brexit referendum have re-opened several questions concerning migration policies, including the question of free movement of people in the European Union (Goodfellow, 2019; Fekete, 2018a).

While in 2016, almost 60 per cent of Europeans supported inter-European migration, much smaller percentage had a positive attitude towards non-EU migration (Boomgarden et al., 2018; see Eurobarometer, 2016). As such attitude seems to become a trend, this article is addressing topical shifts in the debates about immigration and integration, in attitudes towards immigrants and refugees and their representations in the six reception communities across the European Union: Austria, Denmark, Poland, Slovenia, Spain, and the UK. These countries had different but somehow typical immigration histories and developments in integration policies and can be considered representative in the view of their diverse sizes and compositions of the population, the EU membership period (old, new, exit), and geographical positioning (North, South, West, East) regarding the Schengen border.

The findings presented here are based on data on immigrant integration collected in these countries and on the followed analyses of trends in integration policies and public and media attitudes towards immigration.[2] The main foci were public debates between 2014 and 2019. In the research on the reception communities, we focus on three sets of data: first, statistics on immigration and integration; second, an overview of public policies; and third, an overview of political and media discourses and public opinion polls about immigration and integration. This article is aggregating the findings from the third point where the research questions concern the following: the central debates on migration, changes in public attitudes towards migration, politicians' attitudes towards migration, the main ways of representations of migrants and refugees in the mainstream and social media, the stereotypes and prejudices that occurred, the main positive representations of migrants and refugees and the categories used in these representations.

This article applies descriptive and comparative cross-country perspective to demonstrate the main common trends, differences and particularly shifts in these processes across the countries. The findings are presented in the light of the recent literature on political and media discourse, and public opinion polls on integration in the EU and on the national levels. We first discuss the main frameworks in the newer public debates of these six EU Member States, such as securitisation and crisis and the rise of anti-immigration. Then we signify the importance of the refugee crisis and Brexit, which opened the space for populist and conservative political parties and governments to bluntly promote anti-immigrant attitudes. Lessons from trends in public opinion polls are drawn in the third section and from the media representations in the fourth. The last section is summarising insights about some dominant and non-dominant discourses and categories used in the debates.

SECURITISATION AND CRISIS AS MAIN FRAMEWORKS IN THE RISE OF ANTI-IMMIGRATION

The discourse of security and the discourse of crisis are identified as two main frameworks of

2   The article is drawing on six national reports and a comparative research report produced within the MiCREATE project. For more, see http://www.micreate.eu/.

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public debates about immigration in Europe (Bigo, 2002; Ceyhan & Tsoukala, 2002; Huysmans, 2000; Ibrahim, 2005; Kluknavská, Bernhard & Boomgaarden, 2019; Krzyżanowski, Triandafyllidou & Wodak, 2018; Rheindorf & Wodak, 2018). As put by R. Koselleck, the essence of crisis is a necessity to take the decision which is not yet clear and is supposed to end the critical situation. Moreover, the main framework of crisis is the general insecurity before taking the right steps, followed by the rise of expectations towards ending it (Koselleck, 1973, 105). Both the crisis and security discourse are, therefore, intrinsically connected. This is probably the reason why they can be ideologically charged and associated in an attempt to justify the seeming urgency and exceptional measures (Krzyżanowski, Triandafyllidou & Wodak, 2018). Securitisation of migration is documented as an ongoing trend since the 1990s.[3] The crisis framework was added to this either as part of the rhetoric of the austerity measures or later during and after the so-called long summer of migration in 2015. For the trend towards securitisation (Huysmans, 2000), the structural development of the EU integration which is increasingly becoming a security project, is as vital as the abolishment of internal border control and the subsequent categorical differentiation between EU and non-EU (or Western and non-Western) citizens. Such development has gradually framed immigration as a critical problem in public and political debates, as "*a danger to the public order, cultural identity, and domestic and labour market stability*" (Huysmans, 2000, 752). This trend had various dynamics in different EU Member States. Simultaneously, a specific dialectics transpired between a) restrictive policies on immigration control and migration management, and b) the primary debates and public discourse on migration, which was connected with the use of migration issue as an electoral weapon.

Austria was among the "trendsetters" in shaping migration as a security issue with the emergence of the Free Austrian Party (*Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs – FPÖ*) and its late notorious leader Jörg Haider who promoted the slogan "Austria first" already in 1992. The increased number of foreign pupils with non-German as a first speaking language and different religion (especially Islam) in schools was regarded as the emergence of "a parallel society" and a threat to national values.

The discursive shift that took place moved the integration debate from the social and labour policy field to the realm of national security and public order (Dursun et al., 2019, 4). The emphasis was on the protection of the native population against the security threats posed by immigration. The rise of international asylum applications after 2015 was additionally portrayed as "crisis" and paved the way for symbolic politics in both political campaigning and policymaking.[4] State responsibility for the integration of newcomers was replaced with the individual duty of migrants to pursue the integration goals successfully (Dursun et al., 2019, 8). The assumption about immigrant's "*unwillingness to integrate*" (Wodak, 2015), which was the invention of the right-wing populism, finally became a normalised base for mainstream public policies and "migration crisis" frame turned into "integration crisis" (Dursun et al., 2019, 12). Other countries endured similar changes of previously liberal immigration regimes regulated by the social and labour policies. Denmark, a country with the most liberal asylum system in Europe (Jacobsen et al., 2019, 16), changed its policies in the 1990s when a populist right-wing Progress Party and later the Danish People's Party introduced harsher tones into the debate on migration. In 1999, the Danish integration strategy too assigned the responsibility for integration to the individual immigrants who were supposed to adapt to the fundamental Danish values (Mouritsen & Olsen, 2013, cited in Jacobsen et al., 2019). Already from 2001 onward, the Danish election was dominated by the theme of immigration and the existing naturalisation regime soon departed from the common Scandinavian model to become highly restrictive (Jacobsen et al., 2019).

In Poland, where the main population lacks daily engagement with foreigners as it is the country with the lowest statistically registered number of immigrants among the discussed reception communities, the level of dislike of foreigners has risen significantly already between 1990 and 1999 (Bulandra & Kościółek, 2019, 34). While discrimination and xenophobia first played at the symbolic level, they soon evolved to action as hate speech and violence. In 2016, hate crime occurrence in Poland was four times higher than a year before (Bulandra & Kościółek, 2019, 40). Both public media and government used narratives

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3 By securitisation we refer to amplified application of military-style rhetoric and resources, as well as factual rise in border surveillance and policing of migration. Securitisation has been defined as a process of social construction that pushes an area of regular politics into an area of security by resorting to a rhetoric of discursive emergence, threat and danger aimed at justifying the adoption of extraordinary measures (Waever et al., 1993).

4 Symbolic politics refers to processes of creating mutually excluding and hostile group narratives that draw on (national, ethnic, cultural, etc.) symbols as alleged markers of group membership and difference. Habitually, symbolic politics means a publicly displayed deception that detracts from actual political reality.

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of historic victimhood of the Polish people—not only in relation to Germany and Russia but also the EU—increasingly perceived as a source of evil (Bulandra & Kościółek, 2019). Conspiracy theories were used to blame the political agents who did not share a belief that a secret plan exists in the EU to open the borders and let hundreds of thousands of Muslims enter Poland. Migrants' contagious diseases were told to endanger the health of the native population (Bulandra & Kościółek, 2019, 41). A local election campaign too was built on conspiracy theories claiming that opposition politicians were "welcoming" dangerous immigrants, which was in stark contrast with the factual numbers and situation of immigrants in Poland. Such symbolic politics and the conflict with the EU concerning asylum seekers quotas additionally increased Euroscepticism and strengthened the demands for the return of the competences to the nation-state (Bulandra & Kościółek, 2019, 42).

In Slovenia, immigration had turned into one of the most salient topics during the 2015 "refugee crisis" when the Western Balkans migration route was redirected to Slovenia due to Hungarian border closing and erecting a razor-wired fence (Žagar et al., 2019). Slovenia thus became the main gateway to the EU. While the EU institutions remained passive, most of the work was done at the national levels. Thus Croatia, Slovenia, and Austria soon followed the Hungarian example (see Kogovšek Šalamon, 2017). Slovenia increased border controls and even considered introducing the state of emergency due to an alleged threat to national security. Framed almost exclusively as a security issue and crisis, migration became something that was dealt with by the police and law enforcement, and the restriction of migration and curbing of asylum applications became the key political task. The main framings in the debate were anti-immigrant, which—going to the extreme—sounded as "*Let's stop the migrants and Islam*" (Zavratnik et al., 2017, 858).

In Spain, however, the ideas of social cohesion, non-discrimination, and equality prevailed longer than in other countries (Estalayo et al., 2019, 76). Across the political spectrum, there was an assumption that the irreversible migratory processes will lead to a multicultural prospect representing a historic opportunity and a challenge for the future. It was only after the economic crisis that the primary tones started stressing security, state's interests and national citizenship (Estalayo et al., 2019). Debates on migration have varied considerably across decentralised administrative autonomous communities, between multi- and monocultural frame. Integration debate has community nuances and can be in

tension with nationalist tones (Estalayo et al., 2019, 80). Anti-immigration became an issue in the Spanish electoral debate only in the 2019 elections (Estalayo et al., 2019, 78). Increased arrivals of immigrants through Spain's southern border were followed by polarisation and openly populist voices. Moreover, far-right political party (VOX) entered the Congress for the first time after the fall of the dictatorship with over ten per cent of votes. The party advocates for "*the expulsion of all illegal immigrants, as well as those who have committed crimes, prioritising the interests of Spanish citizens over migrants, in addition to building another wall at the borders of Ceuta and Melilla*" (Fundación porCausa, 2019, 40, cited in Estalayo et al., 2019). It rejects multiculturalism and defends Spanish nationalist culture and the Catholic religious framework. It builds on Islamophobia, proposes the closure of mosques and categorising of migrants according to cultural and linguistic proximity (Estalayo et al., 2019).

THE REFUGEE CRISIS AND THE BREXIT: A NEW SPACE FOR POPULIST PARTIES

The 2015 "refugee crisis" is a significant cut-off point in the radicalisation of the anti-immigrant discourse for some of the discussed countries (especially Slovenia and Austria), but not for the others, where the EU policies and other nationally relevant events and developments played a much more significant role. For the UK, for instance, Brexit signifies a highly relevant point of departure. For Poland, the 2015 election which brought to power new populist and the conservative government of the Law and Justice were more important than the "refugee crisis". The government not only directly promoted anti-immigrant discourse but also associated the image of "proper Poles" with anti-communism, cultural identity, ethnicity, and conservative Catholicism. This additionally fuelled anti-immigrant sentiment coupled with anti-Semitism, homophobic and racist dimensions. Foreigners categorised as Muslims, immigrants, and Russians were perceived as the principal threat. The media represented immigrants as dangerous, pictured them as terrorists and as those who fail to integrate, all the while alleging Muslims to invade Europe (Bulandra & Kościółek, 2019). This reflects a broader perception of Muslims, and especially Muslim immigrants as suspect citizens (Bajt, 2019). Muslims, namely, have been constructed as an "ideal enemy" (Kundnani, 2015) across Europe and the West; hence mistrust toward Muslim immigrants is common and intended to "*inferiorise and marginalise*" them (Perocco, 2018, 25).

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Immigration debates in Denmark focus on "non-Western immigrants", an official concept in Danish statistics and policies (Jacobsen et al., 2019). The dominant themes are Muslim immigrants, cultural differences, habits and religion, and the newcomers' obligation to assimilate to the Danish culture, to learn the language, to be financially independent, i.e. employed. The advertising posters in a campaign by the Social Democratic Party promoted the slogan "*If you come to Denmark, you must work*" (Jacobsen et al., 2019, 17). After the 2015 election, the new minority government launched "symbolic politics" while reducing social benefits and restricting the issuing of residence permits and family reunions for asylum seekers. Simultaneously, notorious measures such as confiscation of valuables from asylum seekers or banning the hijab were introduced (Jacobsen et al., 2019, 18). In 2018, the government launched the initiative "*One Denmark without parallel societies*" (carried on by social-democratic government elected in 2019), which brought integration to the core of the migration debate. While new restrictive measures targeting "non-Western" (usually Muslim) inhabitants were planned and introduced, including the demand to issue only temporary residence permits to foreigners, some other debates started to pay attention to discrimination and problematic rhetoric as well (Jacobsen et al., 2019, 19). In 2019, the anti-immigration actors in Denmark blatantly announced a "paradigm shift" in the approach to asylum and integration:

> *You have to get used to the fact that when you come to Denmark, you are here temporarily, and when you have had temporary shelter, you will go back again* […] *This means that we are turning around the whole policy in this area — from today being about integration, to being about repatriation* (Danish People's Party Member of Parliament, Jacobsen et al., 2019).

The crisis framework, therefore, soon provided space for populist and conservative political parties and governments to openly promote anti-immigrant discourse and employ symbolic politics as direct electoral propaganda. In the UK, this fuelled Euroscepticism and was the main driver of the whole Brexit debate and campaign. Notably in 2015 and 2016 (general election and the referendum on the EU membership), the immigration issue shifted from the margins to the centre of the debate on Britain's membership in the EU and framed most of the arguments for leaving the EU (Popan et al., 2019, 95). The media played an important role here, while increasingly covering migration topic since 2010 when the Conservative-led coalition government started introducing measures to reduce net migration (Popan et al., 2019, 94). The debates preceding the 2014 EU elections intensified negative tones in the media, and anti-immigrant rhetoric fostered a general climate of hostility, especially against the so-called East-Europeans (e.g. Poles, Romanians). Immigrants—though coming from the fellow EU Countries—were perceived as those who only search for benefits when entering the labour market in the UK territory. In the given framework, the Conservative campaign of reducing immigration in the post-Brexit situation "*to tens of thousands*", has shown more significant mobilisation potential than the oppositional approaches (Migration Observatory, 2017, 4–5).

Many current debates in the six countries under review are circling the economic aspects of migration or the benefits immigrants allegedly receive in the reception countries. The criteria of deservingness are assessing whether immigrants contribute to the national economy, whether they represent a threat to the local population and whether they follow gender and sexual norms in the host society (Holzberg et al., 2018). In the UK, despite the positive view on the economic contribution of migration, debates surrounding immigration are still focusing on economic aspects (Popan et al., 2019, 91). Immigrants can, accordingly, be used in the discussions as both those who bring economic benefits or represent an economic threat to the host society (Popan et al., 2019, see also Bulandra & Kościółek, 2019, 43). In all six countries, for instance, there were attempts at the criminalisation of organisations that provide support to refugees (Fekete, 20018b; Jalušič, 2019).

Also, in all the examined countries, counter-movements and alternatives to the restrictive policies and hateful debates emerged. In Denmark, Austria, and Slovenia, for example, volunteers organised to welcome refugees, mostly from September 2015 onward. The movements grew via social media and mobilised many individuals. In Denmark, the *Venligboerne* (friendly neighbours) movement reached 150,000 people in 2019 and became an important voice in the debates. In Poland, especially in local communities, where the immigrants reside, activists and initiatives emerged providing shelter from the national propaganda and hatred that exists both in the governmental institutions and the media (Bulandra & Kościółek, 2019). In Slovenia too, other framings, though minor, less visible and heard, such as Refugees Welcome surfaced (Zavratnik et al., 2017, 858). Refugees Welcome, a transnational initiative, started offering

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legal advice, assistance and information to asylum seekers, especially along the Western Balkans migratory route.

Symbolic politics, pressure on immigrants and asylum seekers, a shift of responsibility for integration from the reception community to the newcomers, hatred and exclusionary speech, erecting razor-wire fences and closure of borders have been, therefore, the main tones in the public debates in the last five years. This was coupled with a substantial paradigm shift in politics and policymaking. Symbolic politics was used as discursive means to win elections (e.g. nationalist and populist parties such as Law and Justice Party in Poland, Progress Party and People's Party in Denmark or the Brexit campaign in the UK) and became a real material force which transformed the traditional parties' attitudes and policies. In all the countries, the migration policy and debates in the last decades, and especially in the earlier five years, have moved substantially from the earlier proclamation of liberal and democratic values, pursuing equal rights of refugees and immigrants, towards a much harsher approach to immigration. Migrant women and children and their specific needs are frequently absent and utterly marginalised in these debates, as are all the nuances on nationality, class, education and so on. This is because immigrants are portrayed as a homogenous group, especially when vilified in populist rhetoric. While official discourses still draw on liberal values, these build much more on the nationalist and racist ideology; a framework that puts pressure on newcomers to fulfil demands and obligations that are often impossible to meet.

PUBLIC OPINION ON IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION

The attitudes towards immigrants are influenced by several dimensions, such as historical and social circumstances and depend on demographic, economic, and cultural factors. They also reflect more longitudinal values, moral foundations, interiorised norms and paths of socialisation of individuals, ideologies and political orientations. Beside these complex sets of relationships, the overall climate in a particular country and the way migration is treated by public actors, the perception of immigrants is also strongly influenced by the media. This, in turn, affects the quality and content of public debate and the policy formulation process (Rolfe et al., 2016). Such complex background is probably the reason why, as newer research on public attitudes demonstrates, in terms of favourability the stance toward immigration in Europe is, in fact, stable or in recent years even increasingly positive (Dennison & Dražanova, 2018, 5). Yet the perception of the weight of immigration is significantly different than before. The results of the 2017 European Barometer survey on attitudes to immigration and integration suggest that the perception of a positive or negative impact of immigrants on society seems to correlate with the actual share of immigrants in a country's total population and that the higher the actual share, the more positive impact, and vice versa, the lower, the more negative impact is perceived (European Commission, 2018, 10).

Notably, only 37 per cent of Europeans consider themselves to be well informed about migration and integration. Yet, despite the evidence, opinion exists that immigrants are causing the crisis and not contributing to the EU economy. This might explain the existence of a rather poor and biased public understanding of the impacts of migration in most of the examined countries. On the EU average, 61 per cent of respondents interact weekly with migrants, 57 per cent feel comfortable having any type of social relations with migrants, and 40 per cent have friends and family members who are migrants. Moreover, 54 per cent of Europeans believe that the integration of immigrants is successful. It should be highlighted that the size of the immigrant population is often distorted in the eyes of the general population. Europeans seem to greatly overestimate the number of immigrants in their countries: the proportion of immigrants is overstated by 2.3 to 1 on average in the EU, and an exaggeration of numbers exists in 19 out of 28 Member States.

Among the six studied countries, Spain has the highest percentage of respondents who feel comfortable with having social relations with immigrants (83 per cent), followed by the UK (74 per cent), Denmark and Slovenia (64 per cent), Austria (44 per cent) and Poland (41 per cent). In Denmark, Spain, the UK, and Slovenia, the proportion of those who believe that more vigorous measures should be introduced to tackle discrimination against immigrants is higher than the EU average, while the figures for Austria and Poland are below the EU average. Austria, Poland, and Slovenia stand out for the proportion of respondents who disagree with the idea of granting equal rights to immigrants in the areas of health care, education, and social security: 29 per cent of Austrians and 20 per cent of Poles and Slovenians reject this idea. In other countries, this proportion is much lower and ranges from 9 per cent (Denmark), 11 per cent (the UK) to 14 per cent in Spain.

The Eurobarometer results revealing the attitudes to integration in terms of who is responsible for integration and how the whole process is perceived

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indicate that, in general, a broad agreement exists about the significance of potential integration measures to be taken by the EU, national governments, local communities, and civil society actors. Also, over half of the EU populations understand in principle that integration is a two-way process (69 per cent of Europeans). At the same time, there are still variations on the percentage of those who believe that it is rather the responsibility of individuals. While thinking that different actors play an important role in the integration of immigrants, there is a substantial majority underlining, in particular, the responsibility of immigrants themselves (93 per cent), the education institutions, the authorities at the local and regional levels and the national government—all 90 per cent (European Commission, 2018). Half of the respondents believe that governments are doing enough, and almost 40 per cent have the opposite opinion.

Significant differences exist between the countries concerning attitudes towards EU and non-EU immigration. Individuals in Spain and the UK show a high percentage of positive attitudes towards non-EU immigration, more than 50 per cent (Spain even over 60 per cent), while the polled populations of other four countries are not in favour of non-EU immigration (all between 30 and 40 per cent with the lowest share in Poland). Slovenia has the highest percentage of negative attitudes toward non-EU immigration, even though over 80 per cent of its immigration is from former Yugoslav states, now classified as third-country nationals. On the other hand, the UK has the lowest percentage of those with positive attitudes towards EU immigration, followed by Slovenia and Austria (65 and 68 per cent, respectively), while Spain, Poland, and Denmark have over 70 per cent of those with positive attitudes towards the EU immigration. Overall, Spain has the highest degree of positive attitudes both to EU and non-EU immigration. The reasons for such distribution are probably multifaceted. Still, they might also indicate how the recent public debates and media discourses reflect the attitudes towards immigration, for example in the UK with the significant degree of negative attitudes towards the EU and positive towards non-EU immigration.

Despite evidence of the positive contribution of immigration to the national economies, most of the public do not hold that view. Indicative is the UK where immigrants are net fiscal contributors to the economy. Yet around 40 per cent of the British public between 2006–2011 had felt immigration is generally bad for the economy. The public perception of the relationship between immigrants and welfare is determined by the belief that immigrants receive more than they contribute and are

privileged when receiving social benefits (Duffy & Frere-Smith, 2014). Similarly, in other countries, especially after 2015, a trend emerged to see immigrants more and more in light of the threat to the national economy and welfare.

Alongside a change in political debates towards widespread anti-immigrant attitudes and xenophobic tendencies, also public opinion polls reveal a shift, yet here the modification is diversified. Significant discrepancies exist between acceptances of different nations or immigrants from different regions. Notable differences exist in how immigrants are perceived based on their country of origin or whether they are EU or non-EU nationals. In the UK, at the preferred end of the scale are the immigrants who are white, English-speaking, Europeans and from Christian countries (such as France, Australia, and Poland) while at the least favoured end are non-whites, non-Europeans and from Muslim countries (such as Pakistan, Nigeria but also Romania) (Blinder & Richards, 2018). Religion too plays a vital role in how immigrants are perceived by the public. The acceptance or non-acceptance is also associated with the representations of different groups of migrants in the media.

MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

A burgeoning body of research exists on media representations of migration (e.g. Maneri, 2011; d'Haenens et al., 2019). In the last five years, the already existing representations of immigrants, those that occurred in the public debates and the media, have been strengthened in terms of stereotypes, while depictions of immigrants started to be more negative and aggressive than ever before, especially in online social media (Titley, 2019). A correlation between media coverage of immigration and political agenda is observed in all the countries also in our study. Media influence the perception of migration by the public and contribute to the shaping of political agenda in the EU Member States (Dennison & Dražanova, 2018, 8; Jacobsen et al., 2019, 24f; Bulandra & Kościółek, 2019, 34, 47; Žagar et al., 2019; Vogrinc & Smrdelj, 2020; Estalayo et al., 2019, 79).

Research in Austria confirms that the media coverage representing migration as threatening for the host community influences audiences' political attitudes (Eberl et al., 2018, 217), particularly if these threats are organised around economy (migrants as an economic burden), culture (often connected with issues of democracy and gender equality) and security (potential terrorists). Immigrants often appear as "lazy", and not as real

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refugees and asylum seekers, but those who tend to misuse welfare regimes in the Western countries and only search for benefits (Rheindorf & Wodak, 2018, 18; Jacobsen et al., 2019; Bulandra & Kościółek, 2019; Jalušič et al., 2019; Popan et al., 2019). This representation is, especially after the 2015 "crisis", gaining the European-wide support in the public debates and the media. In the UK, in the context of the opening of the labour market, Hungarians, Bulgarians and Romanians, in particular, have been subject to the most negative stereotypes, even racism (cf. Fox et al., 2012).

Discourses on migration are often expressed as concerns and criticism of immigrants which widely entail stereotypes. Both tabloid and mainstream media contribute to portraying immigrants as a threat by reporting on their deviant behaviour, or (alleged) acts against the law, which connects them to criminality and reinforces negative stereotypes. Immigrants are rarely presented as those who bring economic benefit but are rather depicted as a menace. Homogenised cultural stereotypes about individual nations or religions prevail. Especially Muslim immigrants are constructed as potential terrorists, a security risk—an image legitimised with reference to terrorist attacks in European metropoles in the last decade. They are perceived as intruders and thus unwelcomed. Culturally different (male) migrants are perceived as gradually "infiltrating" the Western societies and are believed to ruin democracy and gender equality with their patriarchal cultural habits. The Danish political and media landscape encompasses a widespread focus on "non-Western" immigrants and their descendants, often with an emphasis on Muslims. In Spain, according to the analysis of the Maghrebi representations in the newspapers, this group, which has a majority presence in the country, is often connected with the topics of delinquency and conflict (Estelayo et al., 2019). In Poland, public hate speech, primarily oriented at sexual minorities and Jews, now also increasingly affects Muslims, and racism is often connected with Islamophobia and aimed at people of Asian or Arabic origin (Bulandra & Kościółek, 2019).

Stereotypes exist in educational practices, which originate in state policies and legal definitions. When teachers talk about migrant children and children with the migrant background they use concepts such as "foreign children", "bilingual children", "children with different background", or "Muslim children". The category of immigrant children is often related to discourses of deficit and low expectations. Hence, in their reporting, media is usually mirroring the already existing classifications and hierarchies. In Slovenia, after 2015, apparent differences came to the fore betwe-

en refugees and economic migrants. The "illegal" migrants were framed as those who definitely do not deserve integration since they had broken laws to reach a particular territory. They were perceived as the most significant disturbance to the security of the state and its peace (Jalušič et al., 2019). Yet media representations of immigrants most likely do not relate so much to the individuals or groups in question but are instrumentalised by those in power. In Poland, the created fear against immigrants is used by the government for re-election. Voters are warned that the eventual winning of oppositional parties would lead to Islamisation of the country, importing terrorism, destruction of Polish families, homosexual marriages and adoption of children by gays and lesbians (Bulandra & Kościółek, 2019, 46). There is a political interest in constructing the immigrant as a problem and not as an equal human being or as a subject contributing to society.

The refugee crisis, national elections and the Brexit have been, therefore, widely exploited by the media, politicians and governments. On the one hand, the migration topic has become a leitmotif and useful scandal to activate sentiments and mobilise people. On the other hand, the immigrants and ethnic minorities are not given a voice and suffer considerable statistical underrepresentation in the news. In Slovenian media, mainly politicians speak and share opinions and strategies, whereas the immigrants' and refugees' stories and arguments are mostly deemed irrelevant and disregarded (Jalušič et al., 2019). In Spain as well, despite being the protagonists of the news, immigrants' voices as a source in the journalistic story are marginalised. When immigrants appear in the media coverage, they much more often play roles in stories on crime and terrorism (cf. Bajt, 2019; Maneri, 2011). As Dursun et al. (2019, 11) conclude, the "*exposure to media coverage influences voting behaviour and assumes a link between the underrepresentation as well as bad representations of migrants in media coverage and the political success of right-wing parties*".

The emerging negative stereotypes were strengthened by representations of immigration in the state of panic that occurred in the time of migration "crisis" in 2015. Metaphors of natural disaster or war were used when describing people on the move: in Slovenia, people were presented as "flood", "wave", "stream", "river", "invasion", "swarm", "tsunami"—all implying something threatening, unstoppable, impossible to control and as something that we need to protect ourselves from (Jalušič et al., 2019). In the Spanish media, as well, there was a trend to represent immigration by natural metaphors such as birds alluding to

movements, trees alluding to roots and uprooting, or as "currents", "torrents", "avalanches", and to associate immigration with military vocabulary: "battle", "crisis", "exploitation", "war", "hostility", "invasion", "conquest" and so on (Estalayo et al., 2019). In the UK, the language used in the media has portrayed migrants as a "threat" or used "villain" frames (Popan et al., 2019). Romanians were often framed by crime and anti-social behaviour ("gang", "criminal", "beggar", "thief", "squatter").

Representations of migration and immigrants in social media are similar to the traditional ones. Yet social media tend to be even more negative and aggressive towards immigrants. Fake news is frequent. Stereotypes and prejudices are flourishing. They can be "hardcore" and are often exploited for mobilisation. In Poland, for example, Arabs are portrayed as brutal killers or zoophiles ("sheepfuckers" or "goatfuckers"), "paedophiles" or "cowards" who use women and children as shields (Bulandra & Kościółek, 2019, 46). The British online space, too, is more vicious than the tabloid media, making effective use of dehumanising metaphors (Popan et al., 2019, 97). Depictions of immigrants as "parasites", "leeches" or "bloodsuckers" became common (Musolf, 2015). The press overwhelmingly framed the migrant issue as a problem and as a "crisis of borders" (Popan et al., 2019, 96). In Spain, immigration in the Mediterranean is similarly framed by the European Union's logic of the externalisation of borders and irregular migration status. Migrant collectives are most often portrayed as passive agents, "*as victims of the mafias or as objects of assistance* […] *and as actors who make use of violence to achieve their purpose*" (Fajardo-Fernández & Soriano-Miras, 2016, 142, cited in Estelayo et al., 2019).

Other voices and differentiated reporting exist in the media as well, where particularly migrant children may be portrayed amicably and their plight used in "personal angle" stories, especially when refugees are in question. Yet there is an absence of pro-immigration discourse, meaning a discourse which would consider migration as a usual human practice that is beneficial for the reception communities. In the political discourse, immigrants are sometimes represented as filling in the shortages of working force at the labour market and, for example, as real estate buyers—in cases of migrants from wealthier Western countries. Stories of achievements and positive representations of migrants are rare, and they are often connected with sports, NGO activities, and social activism. On some occasions, migrants are portrayed in a way to invoke compassion, emphasising the existence of vulnerable groups among migrants,

such as families or children, or the stories about violence and horrors they have faced were shared.

Notwithstanding the critical features of representations in the public and media landscape, the discursive constructions and perceptions of migration and immigrants are complex. While the media discourse is dominantly biased towards negative representations of immigrants, the public opinion surveys, as already discussed above, do not paint a monotonous picture. The issue of migration is used to set off mobilisation in certain circumstances, and it is becoming increasingly divisive. The rhetoric is divided between the perspective of openness and being hostile towards immigrants. Among the six countries, Danish citizens are the most disturbed by the negative media representations. Ambivalences exist regarding the political discourse and increasingly restrictive immigration policies that are practised in some countries.

Interestingly, the surveys reveal that the population gets more positive towards a multicultural society over the years (Jacobsen et al., 2019, 21). Therefore, even though research agrees that there are negative representations of migrants as a problem, public opinion data (i.e. in Spain) indicate that they might have a lesser influence on people's perception than one would expect, although they are not unimportant (Estalayo et al., 2019). Those spreading negative stereotypical images and dehumanising categorisations are strongly present and visible in the public space and hence also dominating in the media generating a general feeling that everybody is increasingly anti-immigrant, whereby social media have the lead. But many initiatives also exist that try to influence and change the trend of negative representations of immigrants as well as help refugees with support in the integration process.

However, alternative practices together with a differentiated picture in the public opinion polls should not mask a general trend in all the countries in policymaking, public debates and in media representations, which is straining the relations on receiving of newcomers. Media representations do matter, especially if they target "ideologically" divided publics: "[M]*edia reports that frame migration in the value-and attitudinal-based terms that align highly with pre-existing dimensions of political conflict are likely to activate pro- and anti-immigration attitudes*" (Dennison & Dražanova, 2018, 8). Therefore, one should not underestimate them, especially not the prevalent negative trends in social media. These influence the opinions and the way policies are formed. Research confirms that attitudes to migration vary between individuals according to the type of media they use (Dennison & Dražanova, 2018). While the media

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discourse is dependent on the type of media and their ownership, at least the public media's primary role is supposed to be in supporting the existence of democratic public and polity and not producing divisions and exclusions.[5]

CONCLUSIONS

The article looked at recent public debates on migration and integration in Austria, Denmark, Poland, Slovenia, Spain, and the UK. Addressing changes in attitudes towards immigration and representations of immigrants and refugees, we examined how these reception communities influence their integration. Applying a comparative cross-country perspective in the analysis of policy and media discourse, the article pointed to a gap between public opinion and national policies. The results show shifts in the public representation of immigrants and refugees during and after the 2015 refugee crisis when the issues of migration and integration became the most debated topic in the media and political sphere. In all the researched countries, the immigration policy and public debates have moved substantially from the previous proclamation of liberal and democratic values, pursuing equal rights of refugees and immigrants, towards a much harsher approach to immigration and integration.

Effective integration of immigrants hinges on the level of acceptance among the reception community. Here, the stakes are higher, especially considering the many adverse developments in the last years. Closing the borders (e.g. in Austria, Slovenia, and Denmark), the rise of far right, policies that deter immigration and preclude migrants from submitting asylum claims, these processes are not conducive to a welcoming environment for immigrants. Recent debates open up harsh tone approaches, and public opinion tilts toward negative. Children who speak a different language than the standard of the host society are often not perceived as enriching the school environment by their bilingualism, but as a problem to be addressed in segregated language classes. In the last decade, and particularly after 2015, a discursive shift occurred as a result of the politicisation of migration and a general mediatisation of politics, which transforms the political debate and decision making into a constant media arena where attention-seeking is much more important than other issues in the political process. The debates among many political players indicate worrying

features while they misuse the theme of migration for electoral campaigns and populist triumph. The media space is teeming with many disturbing images of migration and immigrants. Central debates about the immigration in all of the studied countries were framed particularly in terms of a crisis: they pointed to migration as a crisis needing to be managed, decisions should be made quickly, while the so-called migration "flow" should be limited, contained and kept away to preserve safety, well-being and the culture of the reception state. A strong security discourse that emerged enabled immigration to be overall presented as a primary national security issue, which affected both public opinion and policy and legislation changes. Moral panic was instigated by several actors, from political and government to various media.

Portraying immigrants either as a humanitarian or security issue takes away the opportunity for migrants to express themselves as political subjects, demanding their rights (Jalušič, 2019; Vogrinc & Smrdelj, 2020). By not being able to see or hear the migrants, but constantly seeing and hearing the news about their crimes and deviant behaviour, only normalises the criminalisation of migration, hence making it easier to legitimise their persecution. In all of the six countries, evidence exists of poor and biased public understanding of migration impacts. Very significant dimension in the public opinion is the perception of the share of immigrants present in the EU (both regular and irregular), which in many countries, compared to the actual number, is greatly exaggerated. Integration is increasingly represented as preserved for those who "deserve it" and are "legitimately" present (or, in other words, have a status which does not differ from the formal EU framework). While in several sectors employers are aware of the necessity of foreign labour, the opposition to immigration—as revealed by several recent EU public opinion analyses—emerges mainly while political players talk about migration *en général*, which is typical for the populist misuse of migration issue for various political goals. Such a shift toward negative sentiment creates a climate in which anti-immigration political parties benefit and become more popular since they are addressing the migration issue. This leads to a belief that the nation-states and the whole EU are not doing enough to control the external borders. Although the majority of people does not have very strong feelings towards immigrants, they are forced to choose since they are faced with a polarised public discourse (Dennison & Dražanová, 2018, 10–11).

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5   See, for instance, decisions of the European Court of Human Rights that underline the vital role of the media as public watchdog, i.e. they are key and trusted resources for officials and the public to make sense of unfolding events, as well as facilitators of public communication and discourse. As such, mainstream media are widely viewed as "*an important tool for managing the increasing diversity in society and promoting inclusion*" (Council of Europe, 2020).

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The attitudes of reception communities also depend on the economic prosperity of a particular state. In times of economic crises, immigrants are a convenient scapegoat. Framing the whole migration phenomenon in almost exclusively economic terms is conducive to vilifying of immigrants. Yet the notion of "crisis" can also emerge regardless of real economic basis. It is employed by media and politicians in extremely trivialised discussions to present immigrants as a security threat to the economy, offering the strategy to limit and regulate migration as a solution to "economic" and other "crisis" (Zavratnik Zimic, 2011). One of the core conclusions drawn here is that there exists a clear gap between public opinion and media and policy debates, which indicates that citizens might not be as anti-immigrant as it follows from the representations in the media and policies—of course with differences among the countries. This, in turn, re-opens the question about the importance of the influence of political party agendas, policies and discourses that are operating within the frame of "crisis" at both the EU and the nation-state levels (see Bohman, 2011) for the way how the majority of the population understands the rights and position of immigrants concerning their prospects of integration.

SPREMEMBA PARADIGME SKOZI OKVIR KRIZE: RAZPRAVE O PRISELJEVANJU IN INTEGRACIJI V ŠESTIH DRŽAVAH EU

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POVZETEK

Članek obravnava spremembe v odnosu do priseljencev in beguncev v javnih razpravah o migracijah in integraciji v šestih državah članicah Evropske unije: Avstriji, Danski, Poljski, Sloveniji, Španiji in Veliki Britaniji. Poleg primerjave specifičnih nacionalnih razmer posebno pozornost namenja javnim reprezentacijam priseljencev in beguncev v političnem in medijskem diskurzu v kontekstu »krize«. Ugotovitve kažejo na premike v javnih reprezentacijah priseljencev in beguncev med in po t. i. migracijski krizi leta 2015, ko je vprašanje migracij in integracije postalo najbolj razpravljana tema v medijih in politiki. V zadnjih desetletjih, še posebej pa v zadnjih petih letih, so se migracijske politike in javne razprave v vseh proučevanih državah bistveno odmaknile od prejšnjega razglašanja bolj liberalnih in demokratičnih vrednot, ki so si prizadevale za enake pravice beguncev in priseljencev, do precej strožjega pristopa k priseljevanju in integraciji. Članek ugotavlja, da obstaja razlika med javnim mnenjem / stališči in politikami ter diskurzi, ki so oblikovani tako na ravni EU kot na ravni nacionalnih držav. To nakazuje, da ima javno mnenje manjši vpliv na javne politike, kot se običajno domneva. Vzpostavljeni pravni in politični »krizni« okvir, skupaj z medijsko krajino, bi lahko močneje vplival na to, kako večina prebivalstva razume pravice in položaj priseljencev glede na njihove možnosti za integracijo.

Ključne besede: integracija, kriza, sprejemne skupnosti, medijske reprezentacije, javno mnenje

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THE PRINCIPLES OF CHILD-CENTRED MIGRANT INTEGRATION POLICY: CONCLUSIONS FROM THE LITERATURE

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ABSTRACT

The article looks at a child-centred approach to the integration of migrant children and discusses the principles of such an approach in the practice of policy-making. It argues that any child-centred policy must aim at fulfilling the fundamental participatory rights of children, in particular the right to be heard and express their views as basic functioning legal principles and underlying assumptions. The article develops a framework for the child-centred integration policy as one that builds on the knowledge gained through the child-centred approach, focuses on the current well-being of children, supports the participation of children in a broader social context, ensures the involvement of children in policy development, is defined with policy flexibility and follows the principles of child-centred education.

Keywords: child-centred approach, migrant children, children participation, integration policy, migrant integration.

I PRINCIPI DELLA POLITICA DELL'INTEGRAZIONE DEI MIGRANTI INCENTRATA SUL BAMBINO: CONCLUSIONI EMERSE DALLA LETTERATURA

SINTESI

Nell'articolo si esamina un approccio all'integrazione di bambini migranti incentrato sul bambino e si discute dei principi di tale approccio nell'ambito della pratica del processo decisionale. Si sostiene che qualsiasi politica incentrata sul bambino debba essere volta all'adempimento dei diritti fondamentali di partecipazione dei bambini, in particolare il diritto di essere ascoltati e di poter esprimere le proprie opinioni come principi giuridici di funzionamento fondamentali e presupposti di fondo. L'articolo elabora un quadro per l'integrazione dei migranti incentrata sul bambino che si basa sulla conoscenza ricavata attraverso l'approccio incentrato sul bambino, si concentra sul benessere attuale dei bambini, sostiene la loro partecipazione in un contesto sociale più ampio, garantisce la partecipazione dei bambini nella formulazione delle politiche ed è definito con la flessibilità politica, e segue i principi dell'educazione incentrata sul bambino.

Parole chiave: approccio incentrato sul bambino, bambini migranti, integrazione dei migranti, politiche di integrazione, partecipazione dei bambini

INTRODUCTION[1]

Contemporary Europe is defined by a high level of cultural and ethnic diversity and the upcoming decades are not pointing towards its homogenisation; on the contrary, it is projected that Europe will become more culturally diversified than ever before. In 2018, there were approximately 6.9 million migrant children in the EU (Schumacher, Löschner & Sermi, 2019, 3), which equals roughly 7 per cent of all minors living in Member States. The share of migrants among the minor population in Europe is not negligible. When it comes to politics and democracy, the question of their representation is an important one. However, the reality is that in the political domain children often lack a voice. This holds even more true for migrant children, who are furthermore under-represented due to their immigrant status. Although migrant children do not form a homogenous group – they are diverse in terms of the length of stay, ethnic and cultural background, age, gender, socioeconomic and legal status – they have something in common: they are one of the main targets of migrant integration policy and thereby affected by measures that are supposed to facilitate their becoming members of the host society.

Some critics observe that children's opportunities to participate and represent their interests are frequently contingent on the goodwill of adults – e.g. on initiatives within a local community or NGO, the willingness of a school to establish a school council, an enlightened doctor willing to provide a child with information and listen to and respect his or her views. Children likewise rarely enjoy noteworthy democratic rights to influence policies, shape laws or elect representatives, mainly due to the contemporary political culture, which fails to recognise children as fully competent to exercise the levers of power for themselves. Without exception, migrant children likewise often do not have a say in the decisions made about them in various institutional settings, they are not sought or listened to, or they are afforded only minimal, tokenistic opportunities to participate and engage with adults, particularly in the political terrain. This situation does not arise out of a legal gap that would hinder the possibility of children's participation. Conversely, the international legal basis for the participation of children and young people was established back in 1990 with the well-known Article 12 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. This article legally binds all State Parties to ensure that children have the right to express their own 'views freely *in all matters affecting* the child'.

John Wall (2011) in this respect convincingly argues that contemporary democracies will have to transform if children are to be adequately represented in the political domain. Starting from this observation, the article discusses how it would be possible to design a policy for the integration of migrant children that would allow them greater participation and representation in policy-making and in wider social context. It builds on a child-centred approach that recognises children as active participants within social interactions and as autonomous individuals, skilful communicators, right-holders and meaning-makers, who are able to speak for themselves (Clark & Moss, 2005; Fattore, Mason & Watson, 2007).

The article opens with a presentation of the theoretical framework drawn from Carol Lee Bacchi's approach to policy analysis – 'what is the problem represented to be?' (Bacchi, 2009). It subsequently presents a brief assessment of the EU migrant integration policy, which serves to highlight the existing gaps in the light of a child-centred approach. By examining its underlying assumptions, the section expands on how migrant integration is (not) conceptualised, how migrants are (not) subjectivised and categorised, what are the main problems (represented to be), what are its effects and what is left unproblematised. The article continues with developing a child-centred policy framework and discusses the basic principles that would have to form the foundation of a migrant integration policy if the policy-makers sought to pursue a child-centred approach. Its basic premise is that a child-centred migrant integration policy is a policy that problematises migrants' well-being and participation as a guiding principle and a main objective to be attained. In this view, a child-centred migrant integration policy is defined as a policy, which has children's well-being and participation as the main feature and principle of its *conceptualisation* (what it builds on), *operation* (how it is developed and how it functions) and well as its *orientation* (toward which objectives its intentions strive).

ANALYSING (CHILD-CENTRED) POLICY

The term policy generally refers to government decisions, specific proposals, programmes, theories or models that contain a field of activity to achieve the desired state of affairs and outcome. According to Guy Peters (2016, 4), 'public policy is the sum of government activities, whether acting directly or through agents, as it has an influence on the life of citizens'. For Sapru (2009, 4) policy denotes guidance for ac-

tion and may involve a declaration of goals, course of action, general purpose and authoritative decision. Similarly, Dye (2013, 3), Cochran et al. (2012, 2) and Birkland (2016, 9) expose the intention or objective as one of the essential elements of any policy because the latter is marked by an aim to impose change on an existing situation. For them, public policy is a set of actions that revolve around specific principles and measures that are needed to achieve the goal. As such, policy is essentially value-laden, highly normative and action-oriented, concentrating on what we as a (political) community should do rather than merely describing how we should be (see Moran, Rein & Goodin, 2010).

Drawing from Carol Lee Bacchi's (2009) approach to policy analysis – 'what is the problem represented to be?' – policy provides a normative framework of how the addressed 'problem'[2] is understood and conceptualised. By proposing actions, policy not only defines the ways in which the 'problem/s' in the society are to be approached in order to be fixed and governed, but it also formulates the problem and gives it normative framing. In other words, by analysing the measures and mechanisms put forward as a response and solution to a particular 'problem', we can develop a specific understanding of a problem addressed by policy; the content and direction of solutions explain the *'rationales for the proposal, deep-seated presuppositions underpinning the proposed change, possible silences in the understanding of what needs to change, and the effects that are likely to accompany this particular understanding of the "problem"'* (Bacchi, 2009, x). Hence, once we identify the underpinning conceptual premises, assumptions and presuppositions, we are also able to define how a particular problem is represented and legitimised through the measures contained in policies. This approach is focused on how policy implies '*problem-questioning*' rather than '*problem-solving*', says Bacchi (2009, xvii); it is an approach that questions taken-for-granted assumptions that lodge in government policies and policy proposals by interrogating (problematising) the problem representations it uncovers within them (Bacchi, 2009, xv).

While problems tackled by policy are traditionally approached through addressing a range of social conditions and treated as exogenous 'social problems' – that is, as if they exist outside of the policy-making process – Bacchi argues that it is actually policy that gives '*shape* to "problems"; it does not address them' (Bacchi, 2009, x). Bacchi's proposition, to overcome treating policy problems as something that exists outside policy, does not imply that there is not a full range of structural conditions that call for analytical

attention. Nevertheless, her approach directs attention to the ways in which particular representations of 'problems' play a central role in how we are governed; the ways in which issues are problematised – how they are thought about as 'problems' – are essential to governing processes. In effect, we are governed through problematisations rather than through policies, says Bacchi, and thereby offers a solid gateway and basis of our attempt to develop an argument regarding what a child-centred migrant integration policy could look like.

The overarching premise in this respect is that a child-centred migrant integration policy is a policy that uses the concept of child-centredness as its cognitive frame, conceptual base and guiding principle. First, a child-centred policy recognises children as *children* and not as future adults. This means it places emphasis on *current* development, well-being and welfare, and aspects that are important to them as *children* and that it considers their needs *in situ* (Hennum, 2014, 441). Second, a child-centred policy is a policy that builds on the knowledge that is gained from children in line with a child-centred approach; a child-centred approach to policy-making in this sense necessarily involves representing children's voices faithfully, by building understanding from an interactive and reflexive interaction that is not limited to spoken words but involves a variety of methods (Clark, 2006). Third, a child-centred policy essentially recognises children as active participants and right-holders – it is a policy that intrinsically maintains children's political status, safeguards their participation and involvement in policy development, and focuses on solutions that further support and facilitate the participation and agency of children.

The role of policy-makers is therefore to work together with children and enable a joint discovery of insights through appropriate methods tailored to the needs of particular children, contexts and the specifics of the problem addressed in a given policy. As such, a child-centred policy supports the creation of new meanings; here, great emphasis is placed on children's perspectives on a given problem, while children are placed in the centre of defining solutions and responses in a given context. A child-centred policy thus accepts children's voices as integral to policy development and is in line with recent debates that have moved away from the conventional line of simply protecting them, and come closer to giving more recognition to some form of 'children's citizenship', and in particular to ways of allowing children to 'participate' and to have a say in their treatment (e.g. Stasiulis, 2002; Ben-Arieh & Boyer, 2005; Lister, 2009).

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2   The term 'problem' as used by Carol Lee Bachhi (2009, xi) in her approach to policy analysis does not refer to something that is difficult to deal with but to the kind of change implied in a particular policy proposal.

Nevertheless, a child-centred approach to policy cannot be understood as a standpoint defending that children have the right to do whatever they like. Rather such an approach evolves around achieving a balance between the fact that children are ascribed participation rights on the one hand, while, on the other hand, they are more or less dependent on their caregivers to fulfil their rights (Gilbert, Parton & Skivenes, 2011, 5). Moreover, it is about acknowledging that due to the temporal dimension of childhood, children's interests and well-being encompass both the present situation and future development (Frønes, 2007) and that it is futile to separate children's interests from those of their parents, and separate children from the rest of society (Guggenheim, 2009; Archard, 2004).

This points to the fact that taking a child-centred approach to integration policy does not mean that other (adult) social actors from the policy field are bypassed or circumvented. On the contrary, taking a child-centred approach to policy inevitably contains a task to make children's views meet those of policy architects. Important here is that the shifting of children from being passive objects to being policy-makers requires a reconceptualisation of their participation, as Fattore, Mason and Watson (2009) believe; if we accept that children should be involved in a meaningful way in contributing to policy and the content of indicators, that implies that policy and indicator development mechanisms have to alter to allow for effective and deliberative dialogue that understands children as important contributors to policy formation.

Concurrent with this, Skivenes (2011, 171) conceptualises the child-centred approach to policy as a distinctive perspective, which entails: (1) children's legal protection and participation rights in organisational procedures; (2) recognition of children as individuals with particular interests and needs in interactions with adults; and (3) the use of the individual child's viewpoint as a way of interpreting what the world means to children. Moreover, Newbigging and Thomas (2011) highlight the importance of models of good care for migrant children and outline six elements for the organisational delivery of good care: (1) organisational commitment to promoting well-being, (2) multi-agency partnerships, (3) local strategies developed according to specific needs assessments, (4) engaging with and involving migrants in the development of services, (5) workforce development, and (6) monitoring and review.

To include migrant children in policy development is therefore a demanding, but not impossible, task. One of the biggest challenges, for instance, is how to translate subjective children's views into policies that tend to deal with objective measures and indicators of integration. In other words, how does one incorporate the complexity that lies beyond the quantitative figures (e.g. school success, early school dropout and language proficiency) that is grounded in less measurable variables such as happiness, belonging and feeling good? Any attempt to translate qualitative research into quantitative measures inevitably results in the loss of the subjective dimension of an individual, whose definitions as such are not fixed but rather changing through the life-course and according to time spent in the host society. This brings us to the conclusion that from the standpoint of our attempt to examine possibilities and develop a child-centred migrant integration policy, it is likely that adjustability, flexibility and contextuality will appear as essential features of such an approach.

A VERY BRIEF ASSESSMENT OF EU MIGRANT INTEGRATION POLICY

Drawing from Bacchi, to understand a migrant integration policy as child-centred we must see first how this particular social field is governed. We need to examine the representations that are implied through methods and policy responses to migrant children integration. We need to interrogate the kinds of 'problems' that are presumed to exist in relation to migrant integration and how these are thought about. What is more, we need to assess the representations of problems to see what they include and what they leave out. In line with this argument, the existing EU policy for the integration of migrant children has to be evaluated from the perspective of whether it recognises children as *children*, builds on knowledge obtained in line with a child-centred approach and guarantees the participation of migrant children in policy development. In this way, we gain insight into the knowledge that informs governing practices.

Already a quick overview of key documents of the EU migrant integration policy indicates that this field is dominantly problematised and governed through state-centric logic, which is profoundly marked by market economy dimensions. For example, the *European Agenda for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals* considers legal migration to be a way to maximise '*the use of the labour force and improve the productivity of the EU economy*' (EC, 2011, 2), while integration is understood as something that underlies migrants' contribution to economic growth and social cohesion (EC, 2011, 2). Immigration to the EU is moreover seen as a way of responding to demographic changes, including the ageing population, longer life expectancies and a declining working-age population. Also, across different European states migration policy

is designed in line with the principles of long-term macroeconomic utility, following the demand of the labour or capital market. The need to integrate migrants into host societies hence emerges as pragmatism – Europe needs migrants to respond to the needs of market capitalism, but '*if the full benefits from migration are to be realised, Europe needs to find a way to cope with its diverse and multicultural societies through more effective integration of migrants*.' (EC, 2011, 2). In other words, '*the cost of non-integration will turn out to be higher than the cost of investment in integration policies*' (EC, 2016, 4).

Perhaps one of the most obvious reasons for claiming that EU integration policy suffers from a deficit in its child-centred approach is that policy-making procedures in the field of migrant integration do not include consultation with children; migrant children do not enjoy significant democratic rights to influence integration policy and shape laws. The EU bodies involved in policy decisions and the legal framework include the European Commission, the European Council, the Council of Ministers, and the European Parliament (see Jalušič, Bajt & Lebowitz, 2019). This is a decision-making machinery that typically functions in the adult domain. Likewise, the networks, such as Eurydice and SIRIUS, which act as main advisors on migrant education at the European Commission level, do not directly involve children as advisors. So, although the EU executive and legislative institutions are devoted to respecting children's rights, they do not use migrants' viewpoints as a way of interpreting what migration and integration means to children.

Moreover, the concept of migrant integration – which is in the context of EU policy defined as '*a two-way process based on reciprocity of rights and obligations of third-country nationals and host societies*' (EC, 2011, 2) – builds on the common-sense assumption that the subjects appearing on each side of this 'two-way' process are adults. This is not to say that children are not addressed through the means of policy, but that they are not represented in terms of their present 'being', but rather in terms of their 'becoming'. Even education, which is especially pertinent to migrant children and is considered among the most powerful tools for integration, is regarded as a base for the acquisition of basic skills and knowledge and thus as a gateway to (future) employment and social inclusion (EC, 2016). In this sense, education in migrant integration reflects the aims of "the social investment state"; it is concerned with the idea that it is strategically wise to 'invest' in children so that they will be (as adults) healthy, educated and prepared to assume the nation's social and economic challenges. As highlighted by Gilbert, Parton and Skivenes (2011, 253), this is a future-oriented approach, one that considers childhood as a preparation for adulthood and treats children in terms of becoming adults.

Important to note is also that in migrant integration policy, education is predominately discussed within a neoliberal framework, which focuses on performance in school. For instance, migrant children are considered as disadvantaged compared to their native peers, disproportionally represented among underperformers and also among early school leavers (Jalušič, Bajt & Lebowitz, 2019). Consequently, the proposed measures generally tend to support language training, welcome classes, skills and language assessment. While these aspects are vital in view of migrant integration, they address it mainly through the lens of academic performance and not through other aspects that are likewise important for integrating children, as for instance their social and emotional needs' (EC, 2019, 21). A child-centered approach, conversely, calls for additional attention and care to respond to their personal, social and emotional needs in order to create an optimal state for learning as well as for their successful inclusion into host society.

In this aspect, we see that EU migrant integration policy could be more child-centred. Following this path, it should conceive migrant children as individuals *here* and *now* and as political subjects, who are different from but equally valuable as adults. Migrant children should be included in the polity in terms of deciding on what they *as persons* need and want, and in terms of what goods *as a class* they should have or what material conditions and opportunities are optimal for them. Instead, they are mostly dealt with within the parameters of their future role as citizens and workers rather than within the parameters of the welfare of the child *qua* child (see also Appell, 2013; Thomas, 2005; Lewis, 2006). Finally, a child-centered integration policy should take migrants' well-being (e.g. migrants' subjective well-being, family, home, friends, living area, time use patterns, safety etc.) as the main challenge that needs to be tackled. It should not unproblematically assume that school success and academic achievement contributes to their successful integration and well-being. The basic premise of child-centered approach is also that responding to migrant children's current well-being fosters their well-being in future. It is recognized that because of children's special position as future adults, their well-being encompasses both the present situation and future development (Frønes, 2007). A child-centred migrant integration policy would hence approach migrant children through the prism of their present well-being and future opportunities at the same time and not deal with them as future adults at the expense of neglecting their present needs.

A CHILD-CENTRED MIGRANT INTEGRATION POLICY

The argument in this section pursues a claim that a child-centred policy in any respective field would begin with framing the dominant problem in relation to (lack of) children's participation and would propose solutions and measures to bring children's voices into defining directions that are relevant to them. A child-centred migrant integration policy would take into account the basic elements of a child-centred approach, resting on five aspects; (1) knowledge obtained in line with a child-centred approach; (2) emphasis on children's present well-being; (3) participation and involvement of children in policy development; (4) participation of children in the wider social context; and (5) principles of child-centred education. This section briefly explains each of the respective aspects in relation to the field of migrant children's integration.

Knowledge obtained in line with a child-centred approach

The child-centred approach is widely recognised in theory and practice in the field of social science, pedagogics and social policy, and also psychiatry and psychology. In social sciences, a child-centred approach has been most often understood as one in which children are active participants and the most relevant source of information on their lives and thus provide a valid source of data (Mayeza, 2017). This is an approach that recognises children as active participants, actors and knowers, who are able to speak for themselves (Clark & Moss, 2005; Fattore, Mason & Watson, 2007).

A child-centred migrant integration policy would therefore shift the focus from the dominant adult-centric perspective on children's experiences. Child-centred knowledge is distinct in view that it 'puts' the children first (Bhana, 2016, 14), reduces common-sense adult-centred explanations in order to facilitate childhood agency in various fields (Thorne, 1993) and challenges the dominant discourse about whose knowledge counts (Clark & Moss, 2011). Within the scope of a child-centred approach to knowledge production, the main aim is to take children's own points of view as a starting point for learning about them (Mayeza, 2017); it is about letting children to report on their own subjective experiences and perceptions and to explain their well-being in their own terms, prioritising needs according to their perceptions.

The methods of gathering knowledge in line with a child-centred approach mean that interaction between adults and children is not limited to spoken words but entails a variety of methods (Clark, 2006), tailored to the needs of migrant children. In this manner, policy-makers work together with children, who are able to communicate and create new meanings about integration and offer different insights into related challenges. This approach considers children's perspectives in context and can therefore offer a different perspective on social processes, especially when children's views oppose the prevailing views of adults (Clark & Moss, 2011). In this context, Coyne and Carter (2018) outline the changed emphasis in childhood research towards a "strength-based" perspective instead of a "deficit-based" one. This means recognising them as capable of expressing their views and capable of social action and giving their views equal importance.

Emphasis is given to children's views on what is important to them and how to resolve and respond to the specific problems concerning their integration. The reason why is it necessary to put more focus on a child-centred approach in this respect essentially rests on the position that if policy aims at advancing the integration of migrant children, the measures have to start from what it is known about migrant children, and, more importantly, has to give them a voice by respecting their views, opinions and desires, instead of bypassing them. Agreeing with Fattore, Mason and Watson (2007), problematising migrant children's integration from the perspectives of the children themselves is likely to have an impact, precisely because policy builds from theoretical insights grounded in evidence; the existing measures regarding overcoming obstacles in children's integration can be improved if the proposed set of measures is also relevant to children. The focus on children's perspectives is not proposed to undermine the role of adults with specific professional expertise, but to recognise that to answer questions about children's experiences, the primary source of knowledge should be the children themselves (Morrow & Richards, 1996).

Emphasis on children's present well-being

As noted by Due, Riggs and Augoustinos (2014), there is still a gap in knowledge about children's well-being, particularly from the perspective of children with refugee or migrant backgrounds themselves. A child-centred migrant integration policy must thus be concerned with discovering dimensions of migrant integration in host societies from a child-centred perspective. It should start from identifying the problem of migrant children's lives, examining the context of integration, considering the social constructs, mapping the children's challenges, opinions and perspective, and, finally, developing solutions based on what children consider to be the best way to achieve their well-being. Crucial in this respect is to understand what it means for migrant children to be "doing well" on their own terms (Due, Riggs & Augoustinos, 2014, 210).

In response to the limitations of past research that did not include children's views, there has been a growing amount of studies concerning children's understanding of 'doing well' that relies on a participatory approach with the aim to gain an understanding of how children perceive well-being (Due, Riggs & Augoustinos, 2014); the studies have focused starting from their interests and concerns – how well-being is defined by children, what is important to them in the present, how they think about their past and the future, what meanings they attach to the physical spaces they inhabit, to the people and activities in their lives (Fattore, Mason & Watson, 2009; Clark & Statham, 2005). Qualitative studies of child well-being have shown that a number of themes are appearing, including feeling happy, feeling safe, a feeling of acceptance, and positive physical spaces around them, enjoying good health and access to education, religious practice, feeling of being taken care of, protected and being able to participate (Fattore, Mason & Watson, 2007; Carboni & Morrow, 2011); all of these highlight that migrant children experience integration differently from adults and differently from how the problem of integration is problematised in existing migrant integration policies. Given the context of the need for revisiting integration policies in regard to newly arrived migrant children as well as long-term residents, a child-centred policy would consider what it means for these children to be 'doing well'. If a migrant integration policy is to be in line with a child-centred approach, it should conceptualise migrant integration through the parameters of children's well-being and propose measures that respond directly to the above-mentioned aspects.

The basic argument behind the need to focus on children's well-being in migrant integration is that a person feeling comfortable and as a member of society is also a successfully integrated person, while, on the other hand, unsuccessful integration results from migrants feeling unsatisfied, insecure or unwanted. Following this, a child-centred migrant integration policy would need to reach beyond an adult-centric understanding of what successful integration is (such as good performance in school, meeting developmental milestones and good behaviour) since a lack of negative indicators does not necessarily imply positive well-being (Fattore, Mason & Watson, 2007). Migrant children may do very well in all of the above-mentioned aspects without having a feeling of security, comfort and happiness. Positive well-being that reflects their inner world thus makes a sensible starting point to approach the question of migrant integration without imposing the normative framework of integration policies and values of host societies.

Participation and involvement of children in policy development

Children are actively and positively engaged in creating their lives and future for themselves – probably more than we are willing to admit – but they soon become bound by what others think are their best interests. In this regard, the problem highlights that the existing social and political order does not offer enough autonomous space where children could independently speak for themselves. A child-centred migrant integration policy would therefore start from Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), according to which all children, including migrants, have a right to be heard in all decisions and to express their views in all matters affecting them, and the views have to be given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child. A child-centred migrant integration policy would seek an answer to how to create 'a political space' where migrant children of all ages with resident status, asylum seekers, irregular or undocumented migrants are able to communicate and share their experiences, needs and aspirations after arriving in receiving societies. This would help make heard the voices of the least powerful members of communities, as an argument and factor for change.

Children's active involvement in legal and administrative proceedings and in decision-making processes at individual, family, organisation, and policy levels in society has been recognised as key to realising a child-centred perspective. But despite the clear-cut intentions of Article 12 of the CRC, it has remained a challenge to identify effective methods for achieving children's participation. In this respect, Friðriksdottir explains that when aiming to facilitate child participation, stress should "placed on individuals having the *rights*, the *means*, the *opportunity* and the *support*, when necessary, to freely express their views, to be heard and to contribute to decision making" (2015, 59, emphasis in original). The fact remains that if children are not acknowledged as rightful political actors with the ability to enact their rights, this puts them into a precarious position in which their rights depend on the generosity and goodwill of others; such a position undermines the understanding of the political dimension of children's rights for it does not treat children as political beings to whom children's rights obligations are owed, but are instead treated as vulnerable subjects, whose rights will be respected out of kindness and compassion.

Recommendations on how to facilitate children's participation in policy development have also been put forward by some international organisations from the fields of children and human rights. The Council of Europe (CoE, 2008) has, for instance, been very productive in this regard and developed key recommen-

dations for how to recognise, encourage and promote young people's participation in democratic processes; it has suggested various approaches, methods and instruments to implement these priorities, including intergovernmental and international co-operation on the development of youth policy; services to countries, in particular through international reviews of national youth policies and youth policy advisory missions; partnerships with other stakeholders and services involved in areas that are relevant to youth policy and co-management, as a unique and valuable co-operation mechanism between governments and youth organisations. According to CoE recommendations, measures should be taken to encourage all governmental sectors to co-operate with youth and to take into account the youth dimension when defining and carrying out their programmes of activities. Finally, governments should support youth organisations and allocate additional sources of financing.

Participation of children in the wider social context

Based on the above starting points, it can be said that a child-centred migrant integration policy would profoundly touch upon implementation of Article 12 of the CRC, while governments would be called to devote particular attention to ensuring that marginalised and disadvantaged children, such as migrant or refugee children, are not excluded from consultative processes in various segments of society. A child-centred policy would address a wider social context and devote attention to how to ensure and implement children participation across different societal domains and various institutional settings, including schools, local civil society organisations, governmental institutions, independent human rights institutions, and commissioners with a broad children's rights mandate. In other words, it would call for systemic mechanisms for influencing public decisions at all levels as well as development of child-friendly and collaborative public services and support for child-led organisations.

A child-centred migrant integration policy would also necessitate the sensitisation and awareness-raising of adults – pre- and in-service training on the rights of children for all professionals working with and for children – for instance, the training on Article 12, and its application in practice for lawyers, judges, police, social workers, community workers, psychologists, caregivers, residential and prison officers, teachers at all levels of the educational system, medical doctors, nurses and other health professionals, civil servants and public officials, asylum officers

etc. Such training would need to stress how to ensure appropriate conditions for supporting and encouraging children to express their views, and make sure that these views are given due weight, by regulations and arrangements which are firmly anchored in laws and institutional codes and are regularly evaluated with regard to their effectiveness.

Finally, a child-centred migrant integration policy would touch upon legislative, policy and practice provisions both to establish entitlement to children's participation and to hold governments and others to account to realise that entitlement (Lansdown, 2010). For instance, since children need to be able to challenge violations of their rights, a child-centred migrant integration policy would propose to establish complaints mechanisms, access to the courts and legal aid, and entitlement to establish school councils. Further, since children cannot exercise their rights unless they have access to information in a form that they can use and understand, a child-centred migrant integration policy would require the development of systematic provision of information on rights for children of all ages and abilities – for example, human rights education in schools, child-friendly information on what to expect in the hospital, child-friendly consultative documents from governments.

Principles of child-centred education

A special focus of a child-centred migrant integration policy would have to be devoted to child-centred education. The latter addresses children's needs in the present time, based on flexibility of learning environments and student participation. The principles of child-centred education lead teachers to take into account the specific learning needs of migrants and pay attention to an individual learner's strengths and challenges, as well as needs that are tied to a personal set of circumstances such as length of stay, ethnic and cultural background, religion, age, gender, socioeconomic and legal status, and other personal traits and circumstances. In this way, adjustability, flexibility, and contextuality that forms the foundation of child-centered education facilitate migrants' equal conditions and opportunities and hence contributes also to their integration.

Moreover, through the principles of child-centred education, migrant children are encouraged to discover forms of self-expression – emotional, intellectual, physical, artistic – that are all valued and bring them to self-discovery, help them increase self-learning and allow them to choose, make connections and communicate, think and search for answers,

thereby stimulating creativity and enhancing communication skills.[3] In this manner, they are empowered and build on their agency, learning to work together on goals that cannot be accomplished individually. A child-centred education stresses that students develop their knowledge in new contexts in open-ended challenges such as problem-solving, creative and critical thinking. It also stresses students as co-creators in the learning process, as individuals with ideas and issues that deserve attention and consideration (McCombs & Whistler, 1997), while providing opportunities for feedback and improvement throughout evaluation and judgement at the end of the learning process (Nicol & Macfarlane-Dick, 2006).

Finally, child-centred education is also community-centred as it identifies individuals as members of the wider community which facilitate purposeful interactions among learners to promote and sustain learning and communication. Stemming from the above-mentioned principles and perspectives, the added value of a child-centred education is in that it is very much concerned with showing and developing the responsibilities of children themselves as learners and community members. From the aspect of managing cultural diversity and building a cohesive society, this emphasis is important because it directs children to accept differences and commonalities between themselves and respect for each other, and it also creates a foundation for building strong and inclusive communities of socially intelligent individuals. Child-centred education is thus seen as a strategy for building cohesive and inclusive societies on a wider societal level, as well as building migrants' skills and capacities relevant for their inclusion in society and peer groups.

CONCLUSION

The article discussed a child-centred approach to the integration of migrant children and deliberated on the principles of this approach in policy-making and in practice. Starting from Bacchi's (2009) approach to policy analysis, it proposed that such policy strives toward basic children's participation rights, particularly the right to be heard and the right to express their views as fundamental legal principles, and, more importantly, that it takes these rights as its operating principle and underlying as-sumptions. The article demonstrated that the existing EU migrant integration policy lacks a child-centred approach, especially in view of the fact that it treats migrant children as future adults rather than as children in terms of their present needs. Starting from these observations, the article developed a child-centred policy framework, which builds on the knowledge obtained in line with a child-centred approach, children's present well-being, children's involvement in policy development, their participation in a wider social context, and child-centred education. It showed that the main challenge of a child-centred policy is how to accomplish children's participation, how to promote children's agency and how to respond ensure their well-being.

To a limited extent but nevertheless importantly, the article has also exposed that a child-centred orientation in policy is occupied with a question of effective methods for achieving children's autonomy, rights and well-being in collaboration with adults. It highlighted that simultaneous stress on the protection and participation aspects of child well-being is needed for the best balance between the two. Multi-level recognition of the right to be heard and to participate in decisions affecting children's rights seems essential when pursuing a child-centred approach; this often involves arrangements adjusted to meet children's needs, competencies and maturity by viewing situations from the perspective of the child (Gilbert, Parton & Skivenes, 2011, 252–253).

Finally, following Lansdown (2010, 11), the article highlighted that pursuing a child-centred approach to a migrant integration policy requires a transformation of policy-making processes, as the latter would essentially need to ensure more space for active participation of migrant children in politics and civic life. As Lansdown (ibid.) says, the foundation for such a transformation is already there; however, the success in achieving effective participation of children depends on a clear understanding of the scope of the relevant rights in the CRC and the obligations they impose on governments. She underlines that the first step is to hold governments accountable for introducing necessary legislation, policy and practice to ensure that children are enabled to claim their right to be heard and be taken seriously in all decisions affecting them.

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3   These principles are achieved through various means and in diverse ways. For instance, a broad spectrum of approaches includes active learning (Bonwell & Eison, 1991), collaborative learning (Bruffee, 1984), inquiry-based learning, cooperative learning (Johnson, Johnson & Smith, 1991), problem-based learning, peer-led team learning (Tien, Roth & Kampmeier, 2001), team-based learning (Michaelson, Knight & Fink, 2004), peer instruction (Mazur, 1997), inquiry-guided learning, just-in-time teaching, small group learning, project-based learning, question-directed instruction.

PRINCIPI OTROKOSREDIŠČNE POLITIKE INTEGRACIJE PRISELJENCEV – ZAKLJUČKI NA PODLAGI LITERATURE

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POVZETEK

Članek obravnava temeljna načela otrokosrediščnega pristopa k oblikovanju integracijskih politik za otroke priseljence. V uvodnem delu povzema izhodišča teorije Carol Lee Bacchi, ki k analizi politik pristopa na osnovi vprašanja: Kaj je predstavljeno kot problem? V skladu z njenim pristopom besedilo zagovarja, da je otrokosrediščna politika integracije priseljencev politika, v kateri sta participacija in zastopanje otrok glavni značilnosti in načeli njene konceptualne zasnove (na čem temelji), njenega delovanja (kako se razvije in kako deluje) in njene usmeritve (kakšni so njeni nameni). Članek argumentira, da je pri oblikovanju otrokosrediščne politike integracije priseljencev potrebno dati poudarek na (1) vednost (knowledge) pridobljeno v skladu z otrokosrediščnimi metodami, (2) zagotavljanje dobrobiti otrok, (3) spodbujanje sodelovanja otrok pri razvoju politike, (4) spodbujanje participacije otrok v širšem družbenem kontekstu in (5) izvajanje otrokosrediščnega izobraževanja. Temeljna predpostavka članka je, da je otrokosrediščni pristop k politiki integracije otrok priseljencev nujen, če želimo odgovoriti na trenutne potrebe otroka ter prispevati k njegovemu občutku varnosti, pripadnosti in sprejetosti, ki je v procesu integracije ključen.

Ključne besede: otrokosrediščni pristop, otroci priseljenci, integracija priseljencev, integracijska politika, participacija otrok

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MIGRANT CHILDREN AND CHILD-CENTREDNESS: EXPERIENCES FROM SLOVENIAN SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

Based upon the qualitative research among members of the Slovenian educational community, the article discusses the child-centred approach in relation to the education of migrant children in Slovenia with the aim to explore to what extent child-centred perspectives are included in Slovenian educational spheres. The framework for the analysis is Starkey's (2017) three-dimensional understanding of child-centred education that differentiates between agentic, humanist and cognitive dimension. The results show a significant gap between the education policy documents in the field of integration of migrant children and everyday practices in Slovenian schools in relation to child-centred education.

Keywords: child-centred approach, education, migrant children, integration, Slovenia

BAMBINI MIGRANTI E APPROCCI INCENTRATI SUL BAMBINO: ESPERIENZE DALLE SCUOLE SLOVENE

SINTESI

Basato sulla ricerca qualitativa tra i membri della comunità educativa slovena, l'articolo discute dell'approccio incentrato sul bambino in relazione all'istruzione di bambini migranti in Slovenia con lo scopo di esplorare in quale misura le prospettive incentrate sul bambino siano integrate nella sfera dell'istruzione in Slovenia. Il quadro dell'analisi è quello della concezione tridimensionale dell'istruzione incentrata sul bambino di Starkey (2017), che distingue tra la dimensione d'agente, umanistica e quella cognitiva. I risultati segnalano un divario notevole tra i documenti relativi alle politiche educative nel campo dell'integrazione di bambini migranti, da una parte, e le pratiche quotidiane nelle scuole slovene in relazione all'educazione incentrata sul bambino, dall'altra.

Parole chiave: approccio incentrato sul bambino, istruzione, bambini migranti, integrazione, Slovenia

INTRODUCTION[1]

Based upon the qualitative research among members of the Slovenian educational community, the aim of this article is to discuss the child-centred approach in relation to the education of migrant children in Slovenia – in particular, to reflect on the integration of migrant children in schools. Underpinning the discussion is the concept of child-centredness and the idea of children as social actors, their active role in contemporary societies and in different settings, including schools. In recent decades, Western societies` view of childhood and children has been changing in the way that children's role in society and their agency have been acknowledged to a greater extent. There have been two main strands influencing the perception of children, namely the children's rights discourse that highlights the importance of children as right holders and the discourse influenced by the sociology of childhood that sees children as relevant actors on their own (Clark, 2005). Consequently, children have been recognised as relevant actors in societies, as co-creators of their social worlds, with their own interests and views that also need to be taken into account (see James & Prout, 1997; Mayall, 1994; Corsaro, 2005; James, Jenks & Prout, 1998; Qvortrup, 1993, 1994; Aitken, 2001; James & James, 2004; Prout, 2005; Qvortrup, Corsaro & Honig, 2011; Baraldi & Cockburn 2018). Nevertheless, children's perspective – the perspective that "*children are competent, have rights and should be viewed as contributing members of a democratic society*" (Broström, 2006, 233), is often not incorporated in current policies and practices. Wider narratives, policies and practices frequently recognise children and their value merely as future adults and as "*human becoming*" as Qvortrup puts it (1994).

Schools have been recognised as having a crucial role in the lives of all children and also in the lives of migrant children and their integration (McBrien, 2005; Bešter, 2009; Janta & Harte, 2016; Jalušič, Bajt & Lebowitz, 2019). This fact is reflected also in current European integration policies where schools are seen as key elements of social cohesion and inclusion as well as promotors of diversity (Jalušič, Radić & Bajt, 2019). The recent document *Communication on the protection of children in migration*, for example, highlights the importance of early access to formal education as the most important driver of integration of children as well as mutual understanding (European Commission, 2017). However, today societies often see successful integration/inclusion mostly in economic terms, where education is important primarily as an economic driver. Neoliberal discourse often values migrant children mainly as a future labour force, particularly in relation to ageing societies (Zeiher et al., 2007).

Children are therefore valued primarily as future workers and not as what they are here and now. The broader policy discourse that offers conflicting views between children as an added value on one hand and children merely as becomings on the other may also influence everyday practices and the work of teachers with different groups of children (Devine, 2013).

In this paper, we aim to explore to what extent child-centred perspectives are included in Slovenian educational spheres, concretely in primary and secondary schools in the case of migrant children. Here, we will draw upon the empirical evidence resulting from MiCREATE project Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (Horizon 2020, 2019–2021). As a part of wider research, a survey was conducted among members of the educational community aimed at analysing the situation in Slovenian schools regarding the integration/inclusion of migrant children. We argue that despite the fact that in recent decades children have become more visible as right holders as well as active participants in societies, this is not reflected in the Slovenian educational practice in the case of migrant children.

CHILD-CENTREDNESS IN SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

Since the 1990s and a new childhood paradigm (James & Prout, 1997) there has been a shift in the understanding of children towards seeing them as active participants in society and childhood as a socially constructed category. This approach sees the child as an agent, an important player in the construction of their social world (Corsaro, 2005). With the idea that children have an important role as social actors, they also became relevant actors in research. This is reflected in a variety of studies that explore their daily lives, relationships, experiences, identities and cultures (for an overview, see Christensen & James, 2000; Clark, 2005; Coyne & Carter, 2018). Also, children's dynamic social environments such as families, neighbourhoods and, of course, schools became important elements of research (Clark, 2011).

Besides academic and theoretical recognition of children as agents and as capable of contributing to research about their lives, the perception of children is influenced by the "rights" agenda, recognised through the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), and particularly its Article 12, according to which children who are capable of forming their own views have the right to express them and should be taken into account (Holland et al., 2010). Since the introduction of the Convention, the idea that children need to participate and have a voice in decisions concerning their education has become increasingly important (Cox et al., 2010). Early childhood education and care issues have become

relevant for several international organisations, including the EU, ILO, OECD, UN, UNESCO and UNICEF (White, 2011). In relation to policies that address the question of children`s well-being, including educational policy, the child-centred approach is oriented towards enabling children to express their own views and find their own so-lutions to particular challenges (Fattore, Mason & Watson 2007, 2009, 2012).

With the idea that children have an important role as social actors as well as right holders, the views of children within the school context have also been changing. Children are more and more considered to be critical and active agents in schools as one of their main educational environments. Child-centred education puts children (learners) in the centre of the learning process, acknowledging their capacity to create their own learning process, through the selection of activities and independent work towards discovering their own potential (Lall, 2011). Doddington and Hilton (2007), who outline the characteristics of a child-centred approach in education for the 21st century, see childhood as a "*time in itself*" (Doddington & Hilton, 2007, 55) and not as a period of yet becoming an adult. In their view, the notion of "*the whole child*" is central in the construction and contemporary conceptualisation of child-centredness. Children, in the centre of their own education, are seen as "*embodied and embedded in the world*" (Doddington & Hilton, 2007, 60). Child-centred education takes into account children's perceptions, experiences, senses, beliefs, expression of concerns and things that matter to them. But in addition to focusing on the child as an individual, interactions, relationships, interdependence, and community are also stressed as important features. In practice, this means that teachers also need to recognise previous experiences of children and their encounters with other people, ideas and things. This is related to authenticity as a principle, meaning that teachers should encourage bringing the outside world into the classroom and help to create activities in the way that children combine their existing knowledge and experiences with the new. In this way, they will be able to transfer their already existing knowledge to the school as well as facilitate learning by connecting their lived experiences to what they are learning (Doddington & Hilton, 2007)

As noted by Starkey (2017), the concept of child/student-centred education is ambiguous and under-theorised, even if it is underpinning educational policy and practice in the 21st century. The framework she proposes to clarify this broad and ambiguous concept consists of three dimensions: agentic, humanist and cognitive. The agentic dimension focuses on agency that can be achieved through participation in schooling or active learning; the humanist dimension means recognis-

ing individual students, their interests and aspirations, applying culturally responsive and relational pedagogies as well as recognising different ways of knowing (p.14); and the cognitive dimension involves recognising student learning process. Following the framework presented above, we will analyse the three dimensions of child-centredness in Slovenian educational practice with a specific focus on migrant children. The aim of the article is to explore whether and how migrant children's agency, their individuality and community connections, as well as their learning process have been acknowledged within Slovenian schools through the experiences of educational staff: teachers, principals, school counsellors and others. While there are no clear boundaries between these aspects and they evidently overlap in some respects, for the purpose of this article, they will be explored individually.

METHODOLOGY

The results are based on qualitative research – that is, interviews and focus groups – among members of the Slovenian educational community implemented between June and December 2019. The empirical data were collected for the Horizon 2020 research project Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe – Mi-CREATE (2019–2021). The project adopts a child-centred approach to migrant children's integration which was taken into consideration in this paper in the framework of education. First, interviews with school representatives – principals and school counsellors – were conducted with the aim to get some background information about school life. In selected schools in-depth research was conducted in the form of additional interviews and focus groups with educational staff as well as the analysis of existing visual displays, curriculum and teaching materials. Interviews were implemented with teachers in order to get their perceptions, opinions and practices related to the process of the integration of migrant children within the school environment. Additionally, focus groups were conducted with teachers and other educational staff. We were interested in their views on migration, cultural diversity and integration; their approaches on including migrant children and promoting intercultural coexistence in everyday practice; how teachers self-perceive their awareness, knowledge and competences regarding the integration of migrant children as well as the extent to which their practices are child-centred.

The research was implemented in primary and secondary schools across Slovenia, in the areas with higher numbers of immigrants as well as schools with presumably higher numbers of migrant children enrolled. In total, 54 interviews and 14 focus groups[2] were implemented among members of the educational community.

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2   The interviews lasted between 1 and 1.5 hours and were recorded, anonymised and transcribed. The focus groups consisted of between 4 and 9 participants, members of the school staff, and lasted between 1.5 and 2 hours; they were also recorded and later anonymised and transcribed for the purposes of the analysis.

Image 1: Smiles (Rebecca Zaal, Pexels.com).

First, in 16 schools, interviews were implemented with school representatives, either the principal or a person responsible for the integration of migrant children. Additionally, in 7 of these schools, additional in-depth research was implemented with members of the school community (teachers, counsellors, school psychologists, etc.) in the form of interviews (5–7) and focus groups (2 per school). Both interviews and focus groups were wider in their scope, covering a number of topics related to the integration of migrant children within the school context; however, for the purposes of this analysis the three dimensions of child-centredness – agentic, humanistic and cognitive (Starkey, 2017) – as part of the Slovenian educational practice will be analysed.

MIGRANT CHILDREN AND CHILD-CENTREDNESS IN THE SLOVENIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

In recent decades, there have been positive changes in the field of integration of migrant children within the education system in Slovenia. The rhetoric of intercultural education and inclusion has been permeating the Slovenian educational field. This has resulted in the introduction of documents addressing the integration of migrant children in education. The main document that concerns migrant students in pre-school, primary, general secondary education and vocational education and training is the *Strategy for Integrating Migrant Children, Pupils and Students in the Education System in the Republic of Slovenia* (2018) [hereinafter *Strategy*] issued by the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports as the top-level authority. The Ministry is responsible for policy making in education and coordinating related policies at national level. This was followed by the *Guidelines for the Education of Immigrant Children in Kindergartens and Schools* (2012) [hereinafter *Guidelines*], the *Code of Intercultural Dialogue for Educators of Adults* (Vrečer & Kucler, 2010) and the most recent *Proposal for a program of work with immigrant children in the field of pre-school, primary and secondary education* (Rutar et al., 2018) [hereinafter *Proposal*]. Along with the interviews, these documents were analysed regarding the guidance on the three dimensions of child-centred education.

Agentic dimension

In recent decades in education all over the globe, important changes have been introduced with the shift

Table 1: Overview of interviews and focus groups implemented in primary and secondary schools.

	Phase 1 – interviews with school representatives		Phase 2 – interviews and focus groups with teachers and other educational staff		
	№ schools	№ interviews	№ schools	№ interviews	№ focus groups
Primary schools	9	9	3	17	6
Secondary schools	7	7	4	21	8
Total	16	16	7	38	14

in discourse from "*how to teach children something identified as important by adults*" to "*how to create learning environments in which children are subjects, not objects, who actively participate and utilize their own competence and agency*" (Broström, 2006, 230). The agentic dimension of child-centred education can be achieved through the planning of and participation in the schooling process as well as active learning (Starkey, 2017), meaning that children shape their learning process through the activities and in ways that are relevant and meaningful for them. In this way, their voice in learning environments is heard and considered. Within the analysis of interviews and focus groups, we focused on whether migrant children have a say in the planning of their learning process and the decisions that concern them, whether they contribute to goal setting in their education, whether they are empowered to be agentic in their learning progressions, etc.

Within the documents shaping Slovenian education governance related to the integration of migrant children, the agentic dimension is acknowledged in the recent *Proposal* which specifically mentions the role of education in developing active citizenship and the importance of creating opportunities for active cooperation of children with various stakeholders in education and local environments that contribute to building inclusive societies. The *Guidelines* (2012) therefore to some extent recognise the agentic dimension of education as significant and stress the role of schools and teachers in creating feelings of safety and self-worth of migrant children through listening to their stories and recognising their existing knowledge and relations. The right of migrant children to participate has been recognised also within the *Strategy* which states that migrant children's opinions and wishes would need to be considered whenever decisions concerning them are being taken. Additionally, measures should be taken to facilitate the participation of children, in accordance with the child's maturity. One of the suggested measures within the *Strategy* as well as within the *Proposal* that could contribute to the agency of migrant children is the preparation of individual learning plans for migrant children when they are included in Slovenian education system.

Even though documents do recognise the agentic dimension of education to at least some extent, the results of our research show that there is a significant gap between policy and practice. Even in cases when the participation of migrant children would be expected, as in the case of the preparation of individual plans that define their learning goals, adjustments, etc., this is not the case as reported by the majority of school representatives and counsellors involved in the research. Moreover, as these individual plans are not obligatory, they are often not prepared at all. Sometimes, but not always, they are prepared in primary schools, but almost never at secondary school level.

Yes, it [the plan] *should be prepared, but as it is not obligatory, we do not prepare it, because teachers understand it as an additional burden. In one way, I can understand them, but it would be much better to have it.* (Counsellor, primary school, interview)

Individual plans are typically prepared in those primary schools that are generally more aware of cultural diversity and more inclusive. Also, these kinds of school environment usually devote more attention to the preparation of the plan. Ultimately, however, the preparation of the plan depends significantly on the individual person responsible, usually the school counsellor in cooperation with teachers – while some may see it as an additional burden, others devote a lot of effort to it and prepare a plan that takes into account the migrant child's age, provenience and existing knowledge.

I prepare the plan at the beginning of the school year, the same way I make it for children with special needs, that have special needs provision, I make the plan for migrant students. […] *I set it up. The class teacher needs to be involved, too. As well as providers of additional professional assistance. This we prepare within a month or so because we have to get to know the child, and then we invite the parents, too.* (Counsellor, primary school, interview)

From the perspective of the inclusion of migrant children's voices, it is important to stress that most often, however, the child is not involved in the plan preparation, as expressed by the majority of the school representatives and school counsellors involved in our research. While the *Proposal* foresees that the program is prepared in cooperation with the child and the family, there exist different practices across schools, often involving the school counsellor, teachers and sometimes parents, but usually not the child. Individual plan preparation could present an opportunity for migrant children/students to participate and be actively involved in the process and to contribute to the shaping of their education.

Active learning also represents an agentic principle through the encouragement of critical thinking and autonomy in learning. Focusing on children's needs, strengths and capacities as well as recognising their own learning strategies, teacher's support and motivation, active teaching methodologies such as questioning, problem-based learning, self-learning, team learning and general active engagement should enable children to creatively develop their own abilities. Active learning as an imperative of child-centred pedagogy builds upon children's experiences, the issues that make sense to them, and it is primarily focused on the process of learning and skills building and to a lesser extent on children's results (Mencin-Čeplak, 2017). As a principle, active learning is included in the *Strategy* and the *Guidelines*, but in practice it is often reduced to the possibility of migrant children's various modes of expression and use of different languages. Some teachers try to find different ways to support children, also through use of their language, as reported by a secondary school biology teacher:

They can't follow the lessons and then let's say I have a system that when I have a child who really doesn't know what we do, I write him 5 or 6 concepts every hour and he has to explain them. In this way it seems to me that he is learning Slovenian and also a little biology. […] I've already graded them in Bosnian language. And I also know quite a few biological terms in Albanian. So, I've already worked with Google Translate in Albanian. Cheliza means a cell. (Teacher, secondary school, interview)

Still, mostly at primary school level, individual teachers do encourage active engagement of migrant children through various activities, such as games, as expressed by one of the teachers when asked how she encourages her classes to include migrant children:

With games, through being active, there is no other way. […] It seems to me that if they do something or we create something – be it greeting cards or games. One year we played a hidden friend. Everyone got someone who they needed to take

care of, and so the child was included. […]. Such games and similar… to be active. (Teacher, primary school, interview)

As reported by this teacher, her own experience with migration helps her understand migrant children better:

I will always have the aftertaste of migration. I think this is why I feel them [children] differently.

This reflects the current situation in schools, in which it depends on the educator's individual sensibility, intercultural competences and willingness as to how the inclusion of migrant children will be addressed (Sedmak et al., 2019). As stated by a principal when asked about how the protocols of inclusion of newly arrived migrant children:

I will tell you very honestly: there are teachers who have a lot of affinity and feeling who look at people as people, but we also have people who are busy and just don't do that [include/engage migrant children]. There are all kinds. (Principal, secondary school, interview)

While this has been changing for the better in recent years, the results of a recent evaluation of work in Slovenian schools shows that in order to ensure participation of schoolchildren in all the school processes affecting them, a systemic change is needed, particularly regarding the training of educators and concrete pedagogic practices, as some educators do not see the relevance of more actively including children in the pedagogic process (Kodele, 2017). This is additionally evident from the analysis of the (lack of) individualisation of the educational process in the next sections.

Humanist dimension

The humanist perspective of child-centred education involves recognising the individuality of each child, identifying their interests and ambitions, and applying culturally responsive and relational pedagogies, as well as recognising different ways of knowing (Starkey, 2017). These aspects are well integrated in the documents shaping migrant children's education in Slovenia. The *Strategy* stresses the importance of equal opportunities for migrant children, taking into account differences among children and respecting the specifics of the child's culture along with multiculturality as one of the most relevant principles. Within this, the right to their own identity, to communication in their language and the right of diversity are also stressed as relevant.

The importance of recognising migrant children as individuals is included also in the *Guidelines* which suggest the preparation of an individual plan for migrant children that takes into account their needs and specifics as well
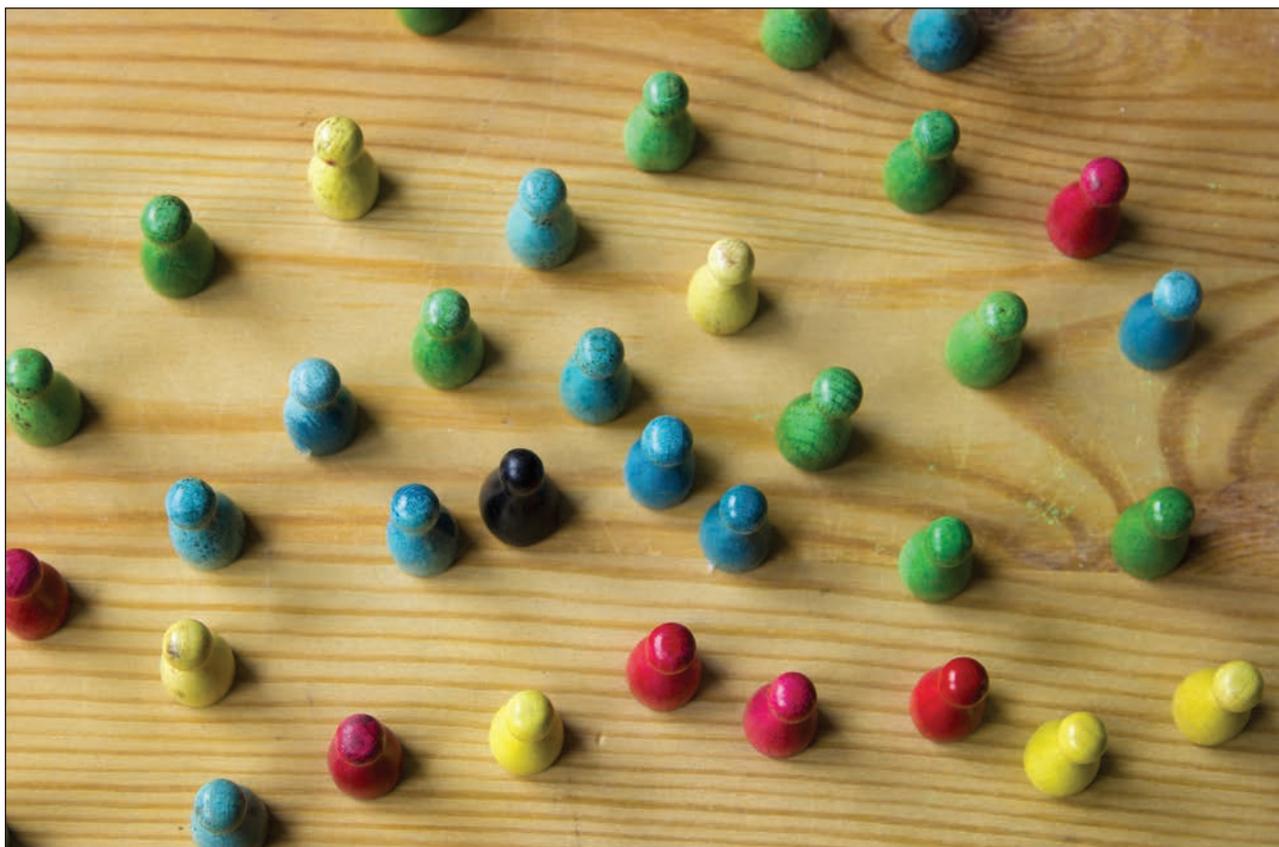
Image 2: Similarity and diversity (Pixabay.com).

as individual adjustments and flexibility of grading, etc. Additionally, the teaching content, methods and forms of work should be adjusted to the needs of students. One of the *Strategy*'s principles also highlights curriculum openness, autonomy and the professional responsibility of the educational institution and its professional workers. This principle recognises the specifics of different cultures that educational staff need to recognise in relation to migrant children and their parents. The autonomy and professional responsibility of educational staff are related to understanding diversity as having value and having knowledge about intercultural education and therefore also continuous education in this field.

Individuality, interests and ambition of children

Research among educational staff shows variations between the schools in recognising the individuality of migrant children. Regardless of similar guidelines at primary and secondary school level, generally a more individualised approach can be observed in primary schools, but even so practices differ from school to school at this level. School staff usually acknowledge the importance of the humanist dimension in the sense of responding to students as unique individuals with their specifics:

There are so many different children, therefore it is necessary to have an individualised approach to each child, follow their progress, abilities, prior knowledge. It would be hard to treat everyone in the same manner. If a child comes from Afghanistan and he is in the 6th grade and he does not know the alphabet, then, logically, your first goal is for him to become literate regardless of the program for the 6th grade Slovenian language class. We prepare individual plans, plans of activities for all immigrant children. (Teacher, primary school, focus group)

An individual approach is a necessity here. And we teachers accept this as a part of our work. Of course, you are burdened, but this is like… As a human you accept that you need to offer help to the pupil who arrived. (Teacher, secondary school, focus group)

However, the implementation of individual work with migrant children is not always straightforward. Namely, while educational staff do acknowledge its significance, they often feel overburdened or limited within the current system.

Image 3: Lesson (Arthur Krijgsman, Pexels.com).

Nowadays the role of schools is not only educational. There are endless things besides. From being social workers to taking care of nutrition, to taking care of health, to taking care of everything. […] So, schools are overburdened and sometimes we lose that primary function. (Principal, secondary school, interview)

As critically perceived within the focus group discussion in a primary school, the school is often oriented towards productivity and there is little time left for individual consideration of migrant children.

I would add that the school is generally – also other schools – very productivity oriented. A huge, huge amount of knowledge is stuffed in their heads. I have always been of the opinion that less is more. That is, that they should learn what is really important and really acquire this knowledge and take it with them. Because there is a huge amount of data sometimes, and they don`t even learn what is important. The differences are not only among those who know more Slovenian and those who know less, but also in ability or having some other problem. Children have different problems, they

can have problems with attention, dyslexia. […] If you give the opportunity to someone who does not know the language, you wait for him to read slowly or speak slowly, or you explain to him once again also these children who would like to have a lesson that would be a little slower, they benefit from it. (Teacher, primary school, focus group)

As observed by a school counsellor, the existing system can be organisationally challenging for teachers also due to the policy of direct inclusion of migrant children in schools. The class size additionally influences the ability of teachers to take an individualised approach with migrant children.

It is not easy to work with migrant children, because within the existing system, the child comes today and practically tomorrow is already included in school. They [teachers] are dealing with how the child can get as much as possible from the classes. It is organisationally very difficult to explain to the whole class and at the same time dedicate enough time to the child and also approach the child individually, because they would like them to feel good and accepted. (Counsellor, primary school, interview)

Reduced class size may have significant influence on migrant children's education (Nusche et al., 2009) as acknowledged also by one of the social workers who stated that in her view the number of children in class should not exceed 15 (as opposed to the current maximum of 28):

Yes, for me this would be optimal. I am aware that this is not feasible in the sense of space and in other ways, but probably something could be done. (Social worker, primary school, interview)

In some schools the non-existence of individualisation is justified by using the rhetoric of equality, stressing that they do not (want to) differentiate between migrant children and other pupils. From the perspective of migrant children's well-being, this is problematic, as it may imply that individualisation is unnecessary.

No more than for others. We do not differentiate here. […] We do not have any formal tutors, or treat them in any way differently, or have any protocols...this we don't have. But it is true we are a small school and this is implemented by teachers and class teachers. Very non-systemic, but heartily. (Principal, secondary school, interview)

The lack of individualisation is also justified in economic terms, with the shortage of financial resources. When a high school counsellor was asked to what extent the inclusion of migrant children has been individualised in their school, she stressed there is no differentiation between the pupils, but also highlighted the economic aspect of this issue:

The same as for other pupils. They are invited to attend additional hours – the same as others. Nobody gets paid for this, we cannot offer any special activities, because the teacher only has a limited amount of time and energy, and we also have other pupils. […] All starts and ends with money. (Counsellor, secondary school, interview)

The above statement draws attention to another problematic aspect – namely, that there is no systemic approach towards the issue of integration of migrant children and therefore individualisation or any other initiatives rely predominantly on individuals. Despite the *Strategy*'s statement that all employees should be responsible for the successful inclusion of migrant children, and it should never be the responsibility of the individual professional worker, this is not the case. In fact, initiatives related to the integration of migrant children are autonomously organised within each school separately and to a great extent depend on the single principal, school counsellor or class teacher. Even in those schools in which this is recognised as a relevant issue, not necessarily all school staff are actively involved in it (Sedmak et al., 2019).

In some cases, particularly at the secondary level, pupils are not involved in the classes at all. They are merely present in the class without being able to follow the lesson or participate.

I don't [involve them]. With the one this year, from Kosovo, I cannot communicate at all. There is no possibility, nothing. (Teacher, high school, interview)

Cultural and responsive pedagogics, different ways of knowing

Another aspect of the humanistic dimension of child-centredness includes recognising different ways of knowing and implementing elements of culturally responsive pedagogy, such as "*using the cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives of ethnically diverse students as conduits for teaching*" (Gay, 2002, 106) as well as relational pedagogy, and therefore its focus on relationships and quality of interactions with students "*to develop classroom communities that promote academic, social, and emotional growth*" (Reeves & Le Mare, 2017). As previously mentioned, taking into account cultural differences among children is acknowledged within the *Strategy* along with openness in the curriculum in the sense that the school staff get acquainted with the elements of different cultures in active cooperation with children and their parents and select the forms, methods, means and contents of educational work accordingly. Multiculturality has been recognised as a continuous process that needs to be implemented in an environment of acceptance and safety that is co-created by all professional staff. Additionally, according to the *Strategy*, special attention needs to be paid to overcoming of prejudices and ethnic stereotypes and positive valuing of diversity.

Individual teachers apply elements of culturally responsive or relational pedagogy when opportune, as presented in the statements below of primary school teachers, but whether and how they apply it is dependent upon the individual teacher's goodwill, cultural sensitivity and willingness. Here, the *Strategy* mentions the autonomy of the professional staff; however, the practice results in a partial and occasional implementation and not the normative practice it should present.

If I look at myself, I, as a class teacher, have always asked myself – "OK, a child will come from Serbia; what school does he come from?" Maybe I also enquired what is typical of that place, because I think that in this way I can approach him better, or particularly if I have been in that place, I tell him that it is nice there, I describe what I saw… with this you gain the child's trust. Also, these conversations that you have in September with the children in the class – with all the children, to get to know

them a little – you really establish one contact, one relationship, a partnership. (Teacher, primary school, interview)

The teaching material as it seems to me does not address this [intercultural issues] a lot. But it is the teacher who can adjust this. As I have already said, in the home economics subject, for example, we talk about traditional food and discuss what traditional Slovenian food is like, and then we analyse other food. It also depends on the population of children in the class, who is in there. There is not a lot of this in the teaching material, but then mainly the teachers in such schools as ours, which is very interculturally oriented, we implement it ourselves. (Teacher, primary school, interview)

Since many migrant children come from the countries of the former Yugoslavia, if teachers speak the language of migrant children, they allow them to express themselves in their own language.

I give them the possibility to say what they know in their own language. (Teacher, secondary school, interview)

Maintaining one's own mother tongue is included in the *Strategy* as an important part of a general principle – respect for cultural identity. However, it is only rarely that courses in the mother tongue of migrant children are organised in primary schools in the framework of bilateral agreements with their countries of origin (e.g. Macedonia, Serbia).

Recognising how migrant children are culturally located means also acknowledging their families and wider communities, particularly through active cooperation, even partnership (Rutar et al., 2018) with parents. According to the *Proposal*, parents are not only the most important educators of migrant children but also a source of experience, practice and knowledge for teachers/other educators, as well as a source of reflection and awareness with regard to the school's activities. The *Strategy* and *Guidelines* see participation with parents and cooperation with the local community as one of the principles of the inclusion of migrant children. Moreover, the cooperation with parents should be organised at the institutional level with a specific programme and as a task of school counselling service.

However, yet again, a big discrepancy between primary and secondary schools can be observed in the collaboration of educational communities with migrant children's parents. In primary schools, this is normally much more intense and continuous through the school year, while in secondary schools there might be contact at the beginning of the school year which as a rule does not turn into cooperation throughout the school year. Additionally, also within individual schools there exist very diverse practices

of cooperation with parents and wider communities (Sedmak et al., 2019). The practices range from intensive to very little cooperation as accounted by the principal of a secondary school who was asked to explain to what extent they cooperate with the families of migrant children:

Not much. With some we may be working a little more on performance or we are more in touch anyway. A lot also depends on these parents. But I have to say that they are not looking for much contact with us. Partly probably because of the language itself, which can be an obstacle. Maybe, particularly fathers who usually have a better command of language are usually at work. […] So these relationships are not something terribly intense. Otherwise, it differs from case to case. We always respond if there is any interest or sometimes, we call them. But to say that we have it very systematically, I don't know, but this I would not say. (Principal, secondary school, interview)

It is important also to draw attention to the individual responsibility of parents exposed by the teacher that aligns with a neoliberal discourse of self-responsibility according to which the migrant children and their family are valued in accordance with their work to belong (Ní Laoire et al., 2010). Integration is often perceived as a one-way process where migrant children and their families need to adapt and not a two-way process including schools, local communities and wider society. This places responsibility for the integration on migrant children and their families without questioning wider society and its structures.

On the other hand, in a primary school in which a lot of time and effort is devoted to the integration of migrant children, cooperation begins even before the enrolment of children in schools with a Slovenian language course and continues regularly throughout the school year. The teacher also has the role of the so-called "multiplier" – a project-funded person who works on different aspects of developing the competencies of the children. In some schools, this person devotes the time mainly to welcoming migrant children as well as helping with their inclusion, integration and well-being; however, this is not the norm.

At the end of August we invite new pupils and their parents to the "uvajalnica" [introductory course] where we have a short Slovenian language course, 5 days for 5 hours, 25 hours course and they get to know the basic vocabulary: colours, numbers, maybe words […] so this is the first contact we have with parents as well. Parents are invited and usually the response is good. […] (Teacher, primary school, interview)

On the question of whether office hours are held once a month and if parents attend them monthly, the teacher replies:

Yes, I monitor the students all the time and if I see the grades are bad or if I see that there is a behavioural or emotional problem, I even contact them [parents] in between, I call. It is usual for all the teachers not to wait for a month if something is going on with students. The office hours are attended by the parents of pupils from 6th to 9th grade – the ones I teach. However, if another teacher asks me to attend their hours, I go there. […] I also call them home and ask them to come. If there is an additional problem with the pupil, we call earlier, we don't wait one month. But I also want them to be responsive each month, even if there are no problems, so we can communicate with parents, how the child is doing at home, what does he say about school about classmates… so I can sense if there is any distress that is not shown here, but at home, and vice versa […] The aim is to create the triangle – pupil–parent–teacher – and to look at one issue from different perspectives. (Teacher, primary school, interview)

In the case of this school, there is a person who is responsible for the overall support of migrant children and she is in regular contact with parents. While these kinds of project activity are very valuable, they certainly do not represent a long-term solution for migrant children as their funding is often time-limited.

Cognitive dimension

The cognitive dimension of child/student-centred education is focused on the student's learning progress by analysing their knowledge and skills and approaching them individually to improve their academic achievements (Starkey, 2017). Individual working plans should be the basis for measuring the academic progress of migrants in the Slovenian education system and the cognitive aspect is an important element of the plan. The *Guidelines* additionally propose that the schools organise the strategy of working with migrants with concrete measures defined for migrant students to achieve the standards. Within individual plans, the migrant student's goals are defined, as well as the process of monitoring achievements and knowledge standards. Then personal progress and achievements are monitored, according to which individual adjustments in teaching and grading are defined (Rutar et al., 2018).

Regulations allow for migrant children not to be assessed for the first year of enrolment in schools, as well as for adjustments in assessment for the first two years, through forms such as announced oral examination, predominantly oral assessment instead of writing, extended time for writing, a requirement of fewer grades compared to other children, etc. Here, there is no consistency in practices. Individual schools have different policies, some encouraging the assessment of migrant children even in

the first year and some taking it as a norm that for the first-year migrant children do not receive any grades. Teachers are autonomous in this regard. Some are inclined to grade even in the first year, based on the progress of children as they see many benefits in it:

We try to assess the children – despite the fact that the rules allow for them not to be assessed for the first year – through the individual plan according to their progress and the goals set for the class. Of course, they also have the possibilities of adjustments; therefore, we agree upon the ways of grading, about the timeline and the number of grades. This is very valuable for children, because if a child does not write a school essay in September, he can write it in May. So we can agree upon this. (Principal, primary school, interview)

The ones that are here for the first year, if the grade is not good, then we don't take it into account. Then they repeat to get a positive grade. In this regard, I am very flexible, because I think it is important that they get the feeling that the teacher is there for them, too, in the sense that understands that they will eventually do it. It gives them the feeling that they can progress, even if slowly, and reach the desired goal. If a person only gets "no" in his life, it is hard to believe that there is also a "yes". (Teacher, secondary school, interview)

On the other hand, more often at the secondary school level, sometimes they do not assess the child in the first year at all and this is even accepted as a norm. It is therefore customary that the child cannot progress in the next class. Again, in these cases, the migrant child's individual needs, wishes, progress, etc. are not acknowledged at all.

As noted by a school counsellor, different approaches can also be identified in tackling student learning progress within individual schools.

It depends on the teacher. They do not translate, but they try with different methods. Again, I have in mind younger pupils, with them, this is easier. To find the way how to explain something. With Serbs, Croatians and Bosnians, they use their language. Some teachers prepare special tasks, there is not a lot of this, but still. They try to find the task they are able to do. Some teachers first check the level of existing knowledge, to see where the child is. This is easier with younger pupils, but much more difficult with those who enter the 6th, 7th, 8th or 9th grade. Also, the teachers are different there and the situation is immediately different. Because of the language barrier these children cannot express their knowledge. But we cannot always prepare special material for them, teachers do not have time. In a way they are in a worse

position even if they are not assessed for the first year. It is the question if we can actually follow the standards of knowledge that we should. I am afraid that many times in fact we cannot. (Counsellor, primary school, interview)

As expressed in a focus group discussion in a primary school, because of the lack of clear goals and directions as well as the definition of (minimum) standards, teachers find it difficult to assess migrant children and determine their progress.

Teacher 1: There has always been a problem, I think everyone is facing this because there is a problem in the system. Grading. Until there are some clear goals of how, when, who you can grade, who you can't, how should I grade? Can you grade the same thing [paper] for one, two, three subjects? We always face a problem here. […] how to evaluate, whom to evaluate. The child comes here, he doesn't know the language ... how to get these grades? Some [teachers] even wait a year. They don't need grades in the first year, but you still want to give your child a grade because sometimes they want to know where they stand. I see a problem here. We are, of course, encouraging them to work, but you can clearly see we are trying to find a way how to deal with this.

Teacher 2: Already to determine what progress is. Because everyone sees it differently. For example, I think they make a lot of progress because at the beginning they don't say a word and then, if they just introduce themselves, describe, ask if they can go to the toilet, say they were sick… When they create a vocabulary, there is already some progress for me, but this is not enough to progress in the course.

Teacher 3: Because there are some minimum standards for each subject. And in principle, they should reach them if they want to progress to the next year. Now they are progressing, gaining some additional knowledge, but it is still not enough. We often function by preparing some questions for them to learn. But that's not it, these are not minimum standards.

As teachers are autonomous in assessing, problematic practices of lowering the standards for the assessment of migrant children can also be observed. Nevertheless, migrant children may be exempt from assessment in some subjects and still progress to the next class upon teacher assembly's decision. Sometimes even individual teachers make these decisions in accordance with what they perceive as the best interest of the child:

I had a case one year of a pupil who was in his first year for the second time – he came here, there in Kosovo he was attending the gymnasium. And basically, the second year he positively passed all the classes, math even with the grade 5 […] but Slovenian language he could not, no way. And I said to the teacher: "Look, here are only two options, either he does not pass the class and he leaves the school, or you give him this positive grade." And she did, and it seemed to me that this was not wrong. (Teacher, secondary school, focus group)

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: CHILDREN AS BEINGS OR BECOMINGS?

Ní Laoire et al. (2011) draw attention to the fact that children in migration are often subject to integration policies, especially educational, which "*downplay migrant children's agency and the complexity of their senses of belonging as children in the here-and-now*" (in Huijsmans, 2011, 1311). In Slovenia, on paper, policies appear to be child-centred, but the reality shows a quite different picture. The results show that in relation to child-centredness there is a significant gap between the education policy documents in the field of integration of migrant children and everyday practices in Slovenian schools. On a normative level, a much more holistic perspective on migrant children in education can be observed that includes valuing migrant children's agency, their individuality, learning progress, their culture and mother tongue, involving local community and parents, measures for establishing a school environment of intercultural tolerance, etc. However, none of these aspects is systematically implemented in practice. This kind of disparity between policies and practice is found also in previous research on migrant children in education which shows that although the interculturality discourse and principles have been increasingly included in Slovenian educational policy documents, the practice often does not follow (Skubic Ermenc, 2005, 2007; Bešter, 2009; Vezovnik, 2013; Vižintin, 2018; Sedmak & Medarić, 2017; Sedmak, 2017). According to Vezovnik (2013), in the Slovenian educational field, at the declarative level there exist discourses supporting egalitarian perspectives towards migrants, minorities, etc., but these are actually not fully implemented. Moreover, and contradictorily, often assimilationist discourses seem to be prevailing among teachers and experts when discussing the inclusion of children whose first language is not Slovenian into Slovenian schools. Instead of being spheres of transformation, in Slovenian schools often ethnically based inequalities are being reproduced (Sedmak, 2013).

Here we can relate to Devine (2013) who sees the tensions that teachers experience in school settings in working with migrant children as a reflection of tensions between broader policy discourses that value children as a future becoming and those that value

(migrant) children here and now. In Slovenia, both discourses are present – on one hand, the recognition and holistic value of children within education, their agency and voice, at least at the declarative level, within the documents, and on the other hand, also neoliberal discourses that put a value on children as future becomings. Neoliberal discourses in relation to education have been present also in Slovenian reality (Razpotnik, 2011; Žakelj et al., 2013; Mencin-Čeplak, 2012; Štremfel, 2018) highlighting comparisons, progress, self-actualisation, achievements, education as personal investment, etc. Žakelj et al. (2013) draw attention to the individualisation process and emphasis on individual responsibility regarding education which has been very persistent in the Slovenian education setting. Consequently, also the responsibility for migrant children's educational success is often placed on their own shoulders. The problematic aspect of this perception is that broader structures shaping the process of education are often not questioned (Žakelj & Švab, 2011). In this view, also the tendencies toward lower educational performance and earlier drop-out of children with a migrant background, which have been often highlighted in comparative education performance studies such as the PISA or TIMSS surveys (Janta & Harte, 2016), as well as the whole issue of the integration of migrant children within the school setting, may be seen as an individual problem and not a problem that needs to be addressed structurally and holistically.

Currently, child-centred practices related to migrant children in Slovenian education to a large extent rely upon individual educational workers. Rather loose and non-binding integration policies in the form of strategies and recommendations vary significantly in their implementation across schools, also in relation to child-centred practices. And even though individuals are generally overtaking Slovenian institutions in terms of dealing with intercultural issues (Milharčič-Hladnik, 2012), they can only do so much within the confines of the existing system that lacks a holistic, systemic and systematic approach to the integration of migrant children (Sedmak et al., 2019). Here, another important issue has been raised by Skubic Ermenc (2007) who very

Image 4: Timelessness (Polina Zimmerman, Pexels.com).

critically claims that Slovenian schools and society have not yet established conditions for education for coexistence and cooperation. It is therefore necessary to introduce the issues of intercultural dialogue and coexistence, and to raise awareness more effectively among educational staff as well as pupils (Sedmak, 2013) that would support the recognition of migrant children's complexities and individualities "here and now" through valuing their culture and mother tongue and having high expectations of them.

OTROCI PRISELJENCI IN OTROKOSREDIŠČNOST: IZKUŠNJE IZ SLOVENSKIH ŠOL

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POVZETEK

Otrokosrediščnost je v zadnjih desetletjih splošno prepoznana kot koncept priznavanja otrok kot relevantnih družbenih akterjev in nosilcev pravic. V članku na podlagi kvalitativne raziskave, opravljene med posamezniki s področja izobraževanja v Sloveniji, obravnavamo otrokosrediščni pristop v povezavi z izobraževanjem otrok priseljencev v Sloveniji z namenom raziskati, v kolikšni meri so otrokosrediščni pogledi del slovenske izobraževalne sfere. Okvir za analizo je tridimenzijsko razumevanje otrokosrediščnega izobraževanja Louise Starkey (2017), ki razlikuje med delovalno, humanistično in kognitivno dimenzijo. Delovalna dimenzija je usmerjena v otrokovo delovalnost, njegovo aktivno participacijo in aktivno učenje, humanistična dimenzija prepoznava otroka kot posameznika, pri kognitivni dimenziji pa je poudarek na otrokovem učnem procesu. Rezultati so pokazali občuten razkorak med dokumenti izobraževalne politike, povezanimi z integracijo otrok priseljencev, ter vsakodnevno prakso v slovenskih šolah. Na normativni ravni je mogoče razbrati celovit pogled na otroke priseljence v izobraževanju, ki prepoznava pomen vseh treh dimenzij otrokosrediščnega izobraževanja, vendar tak pogled ni sistematično uveljavljen v praksi. Otrokosrediščne prakse v povezavi z otroki priseljenci se v izobraževanju v Sloveniji trenutno ne uveljavljajo sistematično ali celovito, temveč je njihova raba večinoma odvisna od posameznih pedagoških delavcev.

Ključne besede: otrokosrediščni pristop, izobraževanje, priseljeni otroci, integracija, Slovenija

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POLICY AND PRACTICE: THE INTEGRATION OF (NEWLY ARRIVED) MIGRANT CHILDREN IN SLOVENIAN SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

In the article, we discuss the integration measures related to (primarily newly arrived) migrant children in the Slovenian educational system. On one hand, we examine the existing systemic approach (policy and legislation), and on the other, the experiences, observations and opinions of members of the educational community (teachers, principals and school counsellors). We analyse the application of integration policy guidelines in schools' everyday practice. Presented policy guidelines focused on migrant children's integration are well developed and cover most of the key challenges that must be addressed to successfully tackle challenges related to the integration of migrant children. The problem, however, is that guidelines are not binding and financially supported on a permanent basis. These factors contribute to the success of integration in specific school settings. The autonomy of schools regarding the integration guidelines reveals the crucial importance of personal engagement, intercultural awareness and competences of members of the educational community.

Keywords: migrant children, integration, integration policy, inclusion, Slovenian schools

POLITICA E PRATICA: L'INTEGRAZIONE DEI BAMBINI MIGRANTI NELLE SCUOLE SLOVENE

SINTESI

Nell'articolo discutiamo le misure di integrazione relative ai bambini migranti (principalmente appena arrivati) nel sistema educativo sloveno. Da un lato, esaminiamo l'approccio sistemico esistente (politica e legislazione) e, dall'altro, le esperienze, le osservazioni e le opinioni dei membri della comunità educativa (insegnanti, presidi e consulenti scolastici). Analizziamo l'applicazione delle linee guida della politica di integrazione nella pratica quotidiana delle scuole. Le attuali linee guida politiche che riguardano l'integrazione dei bambini migranti sono ben sviluppate e includono la maggior parte delle sfide chiave che devono essere considerate per affrontare con successo le sfide legate all'integrazione dei bambini migranti. Il problema, tuttavia, è che le linee guida non sono vincolanti e supportate finanziariamente in modo permanente. Questi fattori contribuiscono alla variabilità dell'applicazione in contesti scolastici specifici. L'autonomia delle scuole rispetto alle linee guida per l'integrazione mette in luce l'importanza cruciale dell'impegno personale, della consapevolezza interculturale e delle competenze dei membri della comunità educativa.

Parole chiave: bambini migranti, integrazione, politica di integrazione, inclusione, scuola, Slovenia

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INTRODUCTION[1]

Although Slovenia was a part of a distinctly multicultural, multilinguistic and multireligious Yugoslavia until 1991, the decision-making bodies responsible at that time for the educational sphere had not shown much interest in developing a comprehensive integration policy for migrant children. Among the reasons for this was the perception of the prevailing internal economic migration as 'not proper migration'. Namely, in the period from the 1950s to 1980s, Slovenia was an attractive destination for economic migrants from other republics that formed the common state; these were intrastate migrations. In addition, the authorities at the time were politically committed to ideas of 'brotherhood and unity' that resulted in the under-communication of challenges and issues related to cultural and linguistic diversity. Nonetheless, the very first recognition of multicultural pedagogy in Slovenia dates from the 1960s when the first specific educational programmes for children of non-Slovene ethnic background were developed. These aimed at the reduction of the 'social and cultural deficit' of non-Slovene children from other parts of Yugoslavia within the educational setting (Skubic Ermenc, 2003). The need to address the inclusion of migrant children more systematically has gained more attention in recent decades, primarily encouraged by European initiatives and directives but also by the socio-political events such as the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the Balkan war in the 1990s. The latter resulted in mass immigration flow from Bosnia and Herzegovina when more than 70,000 refugees arrived in Slovenia and many of them stayed. Another milestone was the European 'refugee crisis' in 2015 when hundreds of thousands of people tried to escape war and persecution and reach the European continent. Finally, although Slovenia is not a desirable and/or final destination country from a global migratory perspective, the political approach towards a national migration policy must acknowledge the fact that future decades will be marked by continuous immigration influx and Europe is expecting to face a further increase in cultural, language, and religious diversity.

Our article examines the existing integration measures related to migrant children in Slovenian primary and secondary schools. We discuss current legislation and policy measures and consider these in the light of insights from practice including the experiences, observations and opinions of school professionals (teachers, principals, and school counsellors). The existing legislation and suggested guidelines for the integration of migrant children are relatively well elaborated and tackle the key challenges that must be addressed during the integration of migrant children. The problem, however, is the unbinding nature of guidelines, which cause large disparities of practice between schools.

Migrant children are not homogenous but rather a highly diverse social group that includes children with differences in their legal status, past experiences, present situations and future aspirations. Among them are refugee children, asylum seekers, unaccompanied minors, forced and voluntary migrants, etc. All these groups have different cultural and linguistic backgrounds and belong to different ethnic groups. In addition, we must consider intersectional influences related to gender, age, socioeconomic status, cultural and social capital, and similar. Migrant children are considered especially vulnerable and often underprivileged due to their lack of language knowledge, the often low socioeconomic status of migrant families, lack of social networks, etc. In our paper, we will focus only on migrant children who are enrolled in regular education and are subject to integration interventions through the existing educational legislation and school practices.

When discussing the process through which migrant children become 'a part of' and 'accepted members of' the host society, some authors use the term *integration* (Heckmann, 2008; Herzog-Punzenberger, 2016, Machovcová, 2017) while others prefer *inclusion* (Hanna, 2018; Janta & Harte, 2016; Lesar, 2009). In our paper, we will use the term *integration* and understand it as a two-way process (see also Korteweg, 2017; Schinkel, 2018) while rejecting the notion of integration as a simple and one-way assimilation or adaptation of a migrant child to the new cultural and social environment. Some authors, however, observe that certain educational settings still tend to rely on children's capacities to adapt, while the school system remains unchanged (Bešter, 2007). Additionally, we must recognise the dynamic, multi-faceted and multilayered nature of the integration process. As exposed by Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore (2017), integration must be understood beyond simplistic assumptions.

In accordance with Onsès and Riera Retamero (2020), the relationship between policies and practice should be understood from a structural perspective, considering institutional conflicts and the ideology of the different sets of social groups who have different interests to participate in society. All this must be considered when exploring how schools and the members of the educational community perceive, understand and implement government policies and regulations and how these are translated into a

school's everyday actions. A sensitive approach regarding the 'institutional discrimination' that affects the application of integration policies must be also considered.

What follows is the presentation of integration policy measures, guidelines and directives that legally frame the process of integration of migrant children in Slovenian schools. This section is followed by analysis of the concrete application and realization of policy measures in everyday practice; finally, we conclude with the presentation of crucial gaps, disparities and explanations for these discrepancies.

INTEGRATION POLICY IN EDUCATION SECTOR

In 2015, the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) research positioned Slovenia in 27th place among 38 countries. Among the seven criteria measuring the level of migrant integration, the lowest results came from the fields of health, political participation and, in the case of migrant children, education (Huddleston, 2015).[2] The Slovenian educational system was assessed as being slow in recognising and addressing the specific needs of migrant children. According to the index, Slovenia was among those countries that provide the weakest systemic support, which is reflected in schools receiving little guidance and technical or material support for the integration of migrant children (ibid.). This unflattering situation encouraged the Ministry for Education, Science and Sport in recent years to launch and finance nationwide projects and several NGOs, scholars and teachers to organise different initiatives and projects that aim to improve the intercultural capacities of the educational setting and consequently more properly address migrant learners' needs.

In spite of the MIPEX findings and other shortcomings and deficiencies presented later in this article (such as lack of a holistic and universal approach to integration, a focus primarily on linguistic adaptation, the unbinding nature of measures, etc.), the integration policy in the education sector seems to be one of the better regulated and advanced areas for the integration of migrant children in Slovenia. This observation was confirmed by the results of recent research by experts involved in migration and integration issues in Slovenia (Bajt, 2019). According to the author: "*experts agree that as far as integration practice in Slovenia is concerned, the field of education is noticeable as the most developed part of integration process*" (Bajt, 2019, 48).

The education of migrant children in Slovenia is directly or indirectly governed by EU legislation.

These documents highlight migrant children's right to free education, which includes, in particular, adjusted teaching of the official language of the host country and emphasises promoting the learning of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin. The latter is included in the *White Book on Education in the Republic of Slovenia* (2011), the key document regarding the Slovenian educational system. From EU legislation, Directive 2000/43/EC establishes guidelines for combating discrimination on the grounds of race or ethnic origin in various fields, including education, whereas directive 2003/109/EC and Directive 2003/86/EC grant migrants equal right of access to education (Jalušič, Bajt & Lebowitz, 2019, 13). The latter becomes strained at the secondary educational level where third-country nationals' right to education rests on the principle of reciprocity. In practice, the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport determines the number of places for such students with regard to international treaties. On the other hand, citizens of EU Member States, Slovenes without Slovenian citizenship and refugees can apply to secondary schools under the same conditions as Slovenian citizens (Strategy, 2007, 5).

Moreover, migrants' access to education is mentioned in several national legislation acts including *Organisation and Financing of Education Act*; *General Upper Secondary School Act*; *Vocational Education Act*; *Temporary Protection of Displaced Persons Act*; *Foreigners Act*; *International Protection Act* (Gornik, Medarić & Sedmak, 2019). A rich list of documents might speak in favour of the opinion shared by some Slovenian researchers (e.g. Bešter, 2007; Medica, Lukič & Bufon, 2010) when they state that Slovenian integration policy is still more bureaucratic than a practical tool.

The foundations for the integration of migrant children in the school environment in the Republic of Slovenia were laid in 2007 with the *Strategy for Integrating Migrant Children, Pupils and Students in the Education System in the Republic of Slovenia* (hereafter Strategy 2007) by the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports as the supreme authority. This document concerns migrant children in pre-school, primary and secondary education (general and vocational education and training). The strategy was motivated, as stated, by the underdeveloped integrational strategies and insufficient integration of migrant families. For the first time, the strategy officially and clearly indicated how vital language learning is for migrant children and young people. The Strategy advocates that language learning should be adjusted since the Slovene language presents migrant learners' second language (Glogovčan, 2015).

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2   This is the latest MIPEX index; the next one will be published in December 2020.

Two years later, the National Education Institute Slovenia, the main national consultancy institution in the field of education, prepared *Guidelines for the Education of Alien Children in Kindergartens and Schools* in 2009 (hereafter Guidelines 2009), which contains approaches, adjustments of work, and ways of engaging and involving children and their parents to facilitate entering the education system and education. For the first time, the importance of preserving migrant learners' culture was addressed through recommended projects and activities (e.g. cultural events, learners' presentations, student exchanges, and collaborations with local and national migrant associations). The second original contribution of this document is a demand that faculties responsible for the education of future teachers include intercultural pedagogy courses in their curricula.

This document was supplemented with the *Guidelines for the Integration of Immigrant Children in Kindergartens and Schools* in 2012 (hereafter Guidelines 2012) as well as with the *Code of Intercultural Dialogue for Educators* of *Adults* (Vrečer & Kucler, 2010), designed to equip educators with skills of teaching in multicultural classes. The Guidelines 2012 aimed to ensure that the state will regularly upload necessary teaching material on the webpage of the National Education Institute Slovenia, identify professionals and (non-)governmental institutions competent to help teachers with multicultural dilemmas and organise professional training for teachers, where the content will focus on interculturality, language acquisition and teachers' sensibilisation. The paper recognised the importance of promoting the teaching profession among migrants, thus establishing a bridge between migrants and the community. The added value of this document is an appendix where ideas concerning the implementation of integration principles are presented (e.g. having a map in the classroom where migrant learners' country of birth is marked, using cartoons, stories and social games to prepare members of the class for the arrival of a migrant learner, and preparing adjusted leaflets and webpage with general school information in a foreign language for migrant parents). However, the appendix's role is solely advisory.

The presented documents envision a wide spectrum of principles that are relevant when planning measures of integration, such as (1) equal access to education, (2) flexibility of curriculum, autonomy and professional responsibility of the educational staff, (3) respect for the children's culture, multiculturalism and interculturality, (4) ensuring conditions for achieving learning objectives and excellent standards of knowledge, (5) active learning and offering diverse possibilities of expression and (6) cooperation with parents (Lunder Verlič, 2017).

The most recent document regarding the work with migrant children in the educational setting is the *Proposal for a Programme of Work with Migrant Children in the Field of Pre-school, Primary and Secondary Education* (2018). The Proposal is an attempt towards improved integration that was designed in 2018 (hereafter Proposal 2018). It follows the principles of inclusion and multiculturality and advocates the importance of systemic support, activity plans for individuals and intercultural training of school professionals. The Proposal aims to establish a partnership between children, the school community, parents and the local community, and to develop an inclusive society. Moreover, the document is critical of the practice where schools record migrant learners who arrived in the middle of the school year as learners who completed a whole year in Slovenian school, thus reducing their right to additional Slovenian language courses (Proposal 2018, 17).

Before the analysis of practical implementation, we will briefly present the content of the key areas covered by presented guidelines and directives.

Language

The acquisition of the language of the host country is a priority in all countries as reported by the European Commission (2013), and therefore it is not unexpected that this field received significant attention in the majority of the above-mentioned documents. In primary and secondary schools, learners receive additional lessons in the Slovene language while they attend mainstream classes with regular learners (Guidelines, 2012). This language support can be extended to higher classes if necessary (Guidelines, 2009, 18); the Proposal 2018 recommends extension to three years (Proposal, 2018, 18). In 2007, migrant learners were eligible for up to 35 hours of Slovene language teaching (Strategy, 2007), while, currently, courses last between 120 and 180 hours (the quantity depends on the number of participants). The Proposal 2018 recommended that courses are organised in groups of up to 16 learners in primary school and up to 12 students in secondary school, and the teaching content should follow the curriculum for Slovene as a foreign language and use specialised and adjusted teaching material. Moreover, attempts to establish consistent evaluation of migrant learners' language knowledge and the organisation of a language skills assessment guide for teachers were recognised. Such guides could help teachers to assess migrant learners' knowledge more objectively. The presented documents enable schools to manipulate schedules; the learners' schedule can be subject to adjustments in earlier phases (e.g. the learner attends more hours of Slovene compared to other subjects).

At first, the Strategy in 2007 did not determine who should teach migrant learners to speak Slovene, and how it should be done, while later it was suggested that this course should be taught by teachers who are competent in teaching Slovene as a second language and who have developed intercultural competences

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(Guidelines, 2009 and Proposal, 2018) Presumably, most experienced professionals leading such course would be language teachers and potentially teachers who have completed additional intercultural courses. On the other hand, for migrant learners all teachers are language teachers, and therefore the Guidelines 2009 demand that all school personnel must be aware and conscious of the language skills of first- and second-generation migrant children (Guidelines, 2009, 5).

In secondary schools, language courses are organised by the school community and navigated by the *Rules on Slovenian Language Courses for Secondary School Students* (2018). The two main criteria are the number of participants and the teacher's assessment of the learners' language knowledge and level of comprehension. The amount of teaching expands from 120 to 160 hours; lessons are organised by the Slovene language teachers. The course finishes with a written exam where students' results are assessed within the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages at level A2. If the obtained results are not satisfactory, students are eligible for additional teaching (amount expands from 35 to 105 hours) and their participation is mandatory.

Adjustments

Another essential guideline is that during the first two years, the assessment of migrant learners must include several adjustments. Teachers and parents should decide together how and when a learner will be assessed, how many grades they should obtain, whether the time allowed will be extended, etc. Teachers welcome their legal ability to assess learners' progress and not only the formal fulfilment of selected criteria. Further, in their first year, learners are eligible to pass a class without a single grade if the teachers' board agrees. Moreover, migrant children who do not speak Slovene and become pupils of Slovene schools in 6th or 9th grade take external national exam voluntarily (the exam is obligatory for all other groups of learners) (Guidelines, 2012). Moreover, the Guidelines advocate for peer-to-peer help (a tutoring system) to create a safety net and a helping tool for migrant learners, while at the same time, the peers receive an experience of intercultural cohabitation and an opportunity to nurture values such as solidarity, care, acceptance and similar (Guidelines, 2009, 5).

Individual plan

Additionally, the guidelines oblige educational institutions to prepare yearly plans concerning strategies for teaching migrant learners and teachers' competences to tackle possible challenges, and individual plans of activities for every migrant learner (2009, 2012). Such individual plans consist of internal individualization, differentiation and additional helping tools considering a learner's needs and cultural specif-

Image 1: Antidiscrimination statement (Free Stock Photos).

ics. In relation to individual plans, the Guidelines 2009 suggest preparing e-version of such plans to improve their flexibility. Migrant learners' opinions and wishes must be recognised and considered in all matters that affect them. The preparation of an individual plan is one of the very concrete activities in which a migrant child's voice can be heard and respected. Additionally, migrant children and their parents must receive all information that concerns them (Guidelines, 2009, 13) in a form that is understandable to them.

Preservation of culture and cultural identity, promotion of interculturalism in schools

Schools must ensure that migrant learners obtain the necessary academic skills without their cultural identity being violated. Migrant children's right to learn their mother tongue follows the argument that sufficiently developed language capacity in the first language is a fundamental condition for developing language capacity in other languages (Rodríguez-Izquierdo & Darmody, 2017; Vižintin, 2009). Schools are also advised to enable an online channel to connect with schools from migrant learners' home

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towns, while school libraries should ensure access to literature in the languages present at the school (Guidelines, 2007, 18).

It was the Guidelines 2007 that already determined regular attendance of school professionals at seminars and workshops concerning migrant children's rights and needs (e.g. seminars organised by the Centre for Slovene as a Second and Foreign Language and Slovene Philanthropy). Further, teachers' activities related to intercultural education and content changes of school curricula and teaching material were suggested. For example, teachers were invited to participate in a project *Strengthening Social and Civic Competences of School Professionals*. The project aimed at enabling school staff to address topics of intercultural dialogue, tolerance and acceptance (Lunder Verlič, 2017). The preservation of migrant children's culture and encouragement of multiculturality should be present in everyday school life: in visual displays, school ceremonies, textbooks and teaching materials, and everyday discussions. Regarding interculturality in school, however, several studies (Skubic Ermenc, 2007; Šabec, 2006) have shown that Slovene curricula are prevailingly monocultural and lack a multicultural and intercultural perspective even though the Guidelines 2009 emphasised the development of intercultural competences among all learners through discussion, teaching materials, lectures and other school activities.

Additional professional help

The Guidelines 2009 and the Proposal 2018 both recommend that educational institutions with more migrant learners should be eligible to employ additional professional workers, an initiative that principals have demanded for years. In 2020, the Ministry issued a decree that schools with 36 to 44 migrant learners would meet the criteria to open a vacancy for one professional, while schools with lower numbers of migrant learners are not eligible to open a full-time position (Gazette 54, 2020).

Cooperation with parents and the local community

Further, the Guidelines 2009 propose a plan of how schools and local communities could collaborate via confidants. A confidant is a person (usually one of the teachers responsible for migrant children) who leads the interaction between parents, the school and the local community. This employee should work with local and national organisations that run supplemental activities (e.g. learning help, extracurricular activities, Slovene language courses for migrant parents and children). Schools are encouraged to develop the language skills of migrant parents through language courses; however, the organisational aspects of such measures are not specified (Guidelines, 2009). A step towards a partnership between migrant parents and

the school community was made when the Ministry for Education, Science and Sport developed a webpage carrying guidelines for the school community and parents concerning integration in the Slovene school system. Moreover, during enrolment, schools are encouraged to help migrant parents with documents and provide a translator if necessary. At the first meeting, parents should receive information regarding their rights and obligations, a description of the Slovene school system and the school's expectations of learners. School professionals should obtain competences related to communication with adults to tackle communication challenges that may arise between the school and migrant families. Additionally, welcome days and other activities before the beginning of the school year should be organised for migrant learners and their parents (Proposal, 2018, 25).

Training of educators and intercultural awareness

The policy documents (Guidelines, 2012 and Proposal, 2018) widely recognised the need for and importance of training for school professionals that would follow the principles of inclusion and multiculturality. The content of training should focus on the process of migrant children's language acquisition, interculturality awareness and knowledge, intercultural sensibilisation of teachers, etc. Appropriate intercultural training should be introduced for future professionals and teachers who are expected to work in the field of migrant children's education as well as for teachers already working in schools. In this respect, as already mentioned, several national projects were launched to organise training for schools and teachers who expressed interest. In addition, in accordance with the Guidelines (2012) the state should regularly upload teaching material on the webpage of the National Education Institute Slovenia and identify professionals and (non-)governmental institutions competent to help teachers with multicultural dilemmas and to organise professional training.

These guidelines, strategies and documents are only policy starting points which are not always implemented in the everyday life of migrant learners, as will be revealed in the following section. Only a handful of these documents and guidelines are mandatory, and therefore, their actual application depends on an individual school.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION PRACTICES AND EXPERIENCES OF THE EDUCATIONAL COMMUNITY

Methodological approach

The data about how integration directives and guidelines are applied and realized in the everyday life of Slovenian schools were collected within the

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Image 2: "We, the school children" (Free Stock Photos).

international MiCREATE project – Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (EC-Horizon, 2019–2021). Empirical research was conducted between June and December 2019. We focused on members of the educational community in primary and secondary schools that work with children at different academic levels (learners' age varies between 10 and 17). One interview with a school representative (principal, school counsellor or a person responsible for the welcoming/integration of migrant children) in each of the 16 selected schools was conducted. Among 16 schools, 7 schools were selected for further in-depth research: 3 primary and 4 secondary schools. In these schools, an additional 38 interviews and 14 focus groups were carried out with teachers, counsellors, school psychologists, etc. Schools vary in type (primary/secondary school, vocational/grammar school, urban/rural). The interviews and focus groups lasted between one and a half and two hours and were recorded and transcribed with the aim of further analysis. Additionally, the school's existing visual displays, curriculum and teaching materials were examined (for more about the methodology and research, see Sedmak et al., 2019).

Multicultural and integration practices in Slovenian schools

Some general observations

The data schools collect about migrant children are scarce. When migrant children apply, the school receives information about the child's mother tongue, place of birth and the home country. These data constitute the basis, following the Guidelines (2009), for organising the Slovene language course and receiving the necessary financial support from the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport. After the enrolment procedure is completed, the data related to ethnicity, foreign status, religion or mother tongue and similar are not systematically monitored. School counsellors describe such information as 'sensitive data' that they are not allowed to collect.

Among the members of the educational community, the presence of migrant learners is prevailingly recognised as 'a fact' and 'a challenge' that must be faced. Rarely is a migrant status perceived as a 'positive characteristic' that will enrich the school, local community and broader society. More likely, migrant learners pose a problem that affects the learning process. Some of

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the teachers interviewed expressed negative attitudes towards migrants in general. To be precise, the attitudes of members of the educational community, their perceptions and reactions towards migrant children are rather polarized. On the one hand, there are traditionally more multicultural areas with noticeable multiculturality in schools. At such schools, members of the educational community are more perceptive and aware of the needs and challenges stemming from cultural diversity. Some of these schools have developed internal roles and informal procedures related to migrant learners' integration, and they have built a positive overall climate that stems from acceptance, inclusion and the enriching nature of cultural diversity. On the other hand, there are schools where employees are less aware and pay little attention to ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity. Usually, but not exclusively, such schools are located in traditionally more monocultural local communities. Here, teachers manifest a lack of knowledge and interest regarding the management of intercultural differences and a lack of competence regarding the integration of migrant children. Their attitudes toward migrants are often indifferent, even ignorant.

Further, there exists a qualitative difference when comparing primary and secondary schools. Following the UNHCR & UNICEF & IOM Report (2019), children of upper secondary ages (15 years and above) are typically beyond the scope of national legislation on compulsory education and consequently often excluded from school integration programmes. In Slovenia, the differences between primary and secondary schools in approaching the integration of migrant children are also noticeable.

Additionally, notable differences exist between schools at both levels considering their previous participation in national projects aimed at migrant learners' integration (e.g. *Interculturalism as a new form of coexistence*, 2013–2015, *Facing the Challenges of Intercultural Coexistence*, 2014–2020, and *Only (with) others are we*, 2016–2021). Members of schools involved in these projects demonstrate higher intercultural sensibility, awareness and knowledge. These schools also introduced measures for better integration of migrant children.

Lastly, the interviews with members of the educational community revealed something specific to Slovenia: the distinction made between 'proper' and 'nonproper' migrants. The latter migrated from republics of the former common state of Yugoslavia (Serbs, Bosnians, Croats, Albanians, Montenegrins, Macedonians). This distinction is introduced by the terminology used to address migrants: for the 'proper' migrants, the word 'migranti' is used, while for those coming from areas of former Yugoslavia, the Slovenian translation for migrant 'priseljenci' is employed. In this context, principals and other school professionals often explained that they do not have migrant children enrolled but they have plenty of 'priseljenci'.

Reception activities

School reception policies differ significantly across schools. Activities for the reception of migrant learners are sometimes implemented in primary schools but are almost completely absent at secondary schools. The reception of migrant children depends on an individual school, its principal and the sensitivity of educators. School counsellors, psychologists and teachers (particularly class teachers) play a decisive role in the arrival of migrant learners and the establishment of an environment where all learners feel accepted. Sometimes (especially at secondary level) migrant children are included in the educational process without prior preparation. Schools involved in national projects are more likely to develop reception activities.

In schools recognised as more aware of the challenges of interculturality, migrant parents are additionally supported throughout the enrolment procedure. Sometimes migrant families receive the necessary information in their mother tongue (information about the enrolment procedure, teachers' hours, school procedures and rules, duration of holidays, etc.). At this stage, most schools face communication challenges. Such situations are not systemically addressed, and the solution depends on individual skills. Slovenian schools do not have authorized translators or cultural mediators; nevertheless, they are flexible and innovative in this respect. Sometimes other migrant children help – this phenomenon is known as child brokering (Cline, Crafter & Prokopiou, 2014); they use Google Translate and body language, or migrant parents are accompanied by a Slovene-speaking person. Such solutions have their flaws in terms of uncertainty as to whether the message was transmitted correctly.

Several schools reported valuable 'introductory weeks'. These usually start before the beginning of the school year, at the end of August. Teachers welcome and get acquainted with migrant learners before the school term begins; they may organise a tour around the school and sometimes also around the local community. Migrant learners are taught essential Slovenian words and phrases, so they can introduce themselves to classmates and other teachers. In certain schools at the beginning of the school year, principals greet learners and parents in all languages that are spoken at school.

Language

Slovenia has a model of direct inclusion of migrant children in mainstream classes; however, as mentioned in the section on policy above, migrant children are eligible for additional Slovene language courses. Members of the educational community are polarized regarding immediate inclusion in the mainstream class.

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Some (especially in secondary schools) believe that it would be more beneficial to include newly arrived migrant children in intensive language courses before they are enrolled into mainstream classes, while others welcome the existing system of immediate inclusion in the class with parallel learning of the Slovenian language. Advocates of the first approach argue that in the present situation, without any additional support (continuous presence of cultural mediator or interpreter), newly arrived migrant learners have difficulties following the teaching and socializing with others, and consequently academic motivation lowers. Moreover, teachers point out that they are unable to give the necessary attention to migrant learners within mainstream classes due to their size.

Our interviews and focus groups reveal that most of the teachers' focus, energy and resources are dedicated to the learning of the Slovenian language. This is not a surprise considering that the main target of the above-mentioned national integration documents is language acquisition. Thus, the obligatory language courses for all newly arrived migrant children enrolled in primary and secondary schools were present at every school in our sample. All schools provided language courses for the first two years; however, teachers often suggested that an additional year would strengthen the academic and social abilities of migrant learners.

At most schools, Slovene language courses were taught by a Slovene language teacher who was also skilled in teaching Slovene as a foreign language. However, in one of the schools a teacher of Biology and Home Economics led the language course for migrant learners. The reason was an insufficient number of teaching hours and teacher´s motivation. Considering the quantity of adjusted and specialised teaching material for learning Slovene as a foreign language that educational institutions and NGOs have prepared in recent years (e.g. *Time for Slovenian Language*, *Criss Cross*, *A, B, C, Let's Go*), we did not anticipate that the majority of teachers would complain about the scarcity of teaching material. Usually, teachers prepared their own teaching material or material circulated among teachers from different schools. Such an approach signalises that guidelines did not predict any instructions or tips associated with the access to already existing teaching material.

Adjustments

One of the informal adjustments frequently observed in our research was that teachers sit migrant learners in the front rows with a learner who speaks the same/similar language. However, no consensus was reached as to whether it is beneficial for migrant learners to sit with other learners who speak the same language or not.

When it comes to course preparation, primary school teachers are, to some extent, more willing to adjust and prepare additional material for foreign learners than their secondary school counterparts. The most attentive and sensitive prove to be teachers of the Slovenian language as they often have more contact with migrant students due to Slovene language courses. Overall, teachers agree that preparing material for migrant children to include them in a working process requires additional effort. Teachers with longer careers of teaching migrant children feel more competent and elaborate unique and specific teaching approaches.

Our field observations imply that teachers fully follow the guidelines in terms of assessment adjustments (not to be assessed for the first year, extended time for taking a test, oral examination instead of writing a test, etc.). When it is possible, they encourage migrant learners to obtain grades even in the first year in subjects where language acquisition does not play a crucial role (e.g. Art, P. E., Home Economics). Further, many teachers are focused on learners' progress and disregard their grammatical mistakes and weak vocabulary. When it is possible – for example, when both parties understand the same language – they are tolerant of the use of English, German or Serbo-Croatian languages for the purpose of assessment. An additional help for migrant learners comes from peer-to-peer learning support. Primary schools in particular, but also some secondary schools, promote a system of tutoring where children are encouraged to help each other. However, tutoring is a voluntary activity that is not mandated by law and is, as many others, something that is promoted by an individual school.

Individual plan

At the beginning of the school year and following the guidelines, teachers are obliged to prepare an individual plan for migrant children (Guidelines, 2009, 2012). The process requires cooperation between the school, migrant learners and their parents. The guidelines consist of objectives, activities, assessment modification, additional teaching support, etc.

Our data show that primary schools are more attentive to such plan preparations, while the situation at secondary schools is the opposite. The non-obligatory nature of this approach causes differences concerning implementation. Once again, the realization depends on the individual school professional who is responsible for the preparation of a plan. Some teachers perceive these plans as a formality or an additional burden. Others invest much effort in organising a plan that considers the child's age, country of origin, and existing knowledge. In most cases, however, migrant learners and their parents were not actively involved in the preparation process. Often, these plans are organised and given to parents to sign, but the level of
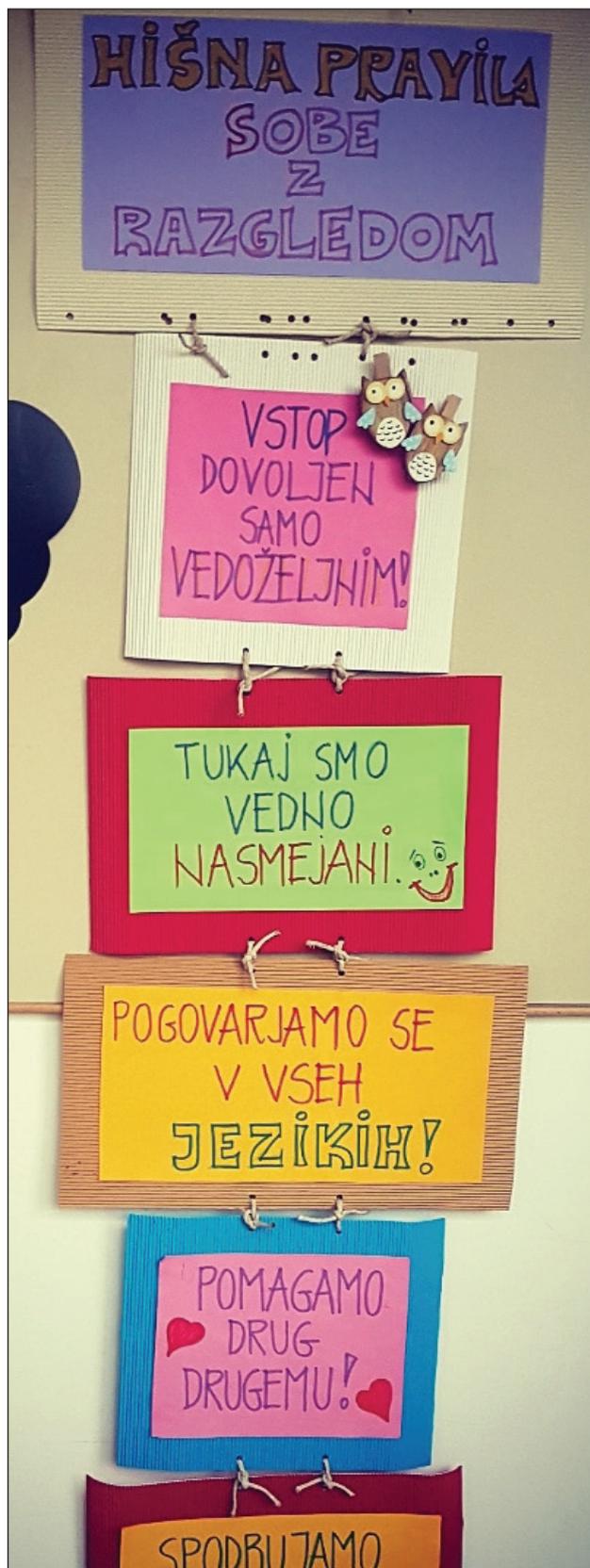
Image 3: "House rules" (Photo: Maja Zadel).

consideration differs from teacher to teacher. A child-centred approach, which would consider migrant children as valid actors of their own lives and which would consider what migrant children have to say about their integration and well-being, is not applied even in cases when it would be expected, such as in the case of the preparation of an individual plan.

Preservation of culture and cultural identity, promotion of interculturalism in schools

Our fieldwork revealed differences among schools in adapting everyday school life to the multiculturality of classes and the presence of migrant children. On one hand, we had teachers who use newspaper articles about migration, compare Muslim and Catholic holy texts, use both Bosnian and Slovene literature, and give explanations in several languages in order to address multiculturality in the classroom, while, on the other hand, some teachers pay no attention to multiculturality and are 'culturally blind'. From their perspective "all students are the same" and the content of learning is the core of their attention.

Some teachers insist that students should speak Slovenian also during breaks and out of the class, while others encourage migrant students to speak their mother tongue when communicating with other migrant children. However, what all schools have in common is the perception that migrant children should adapt linguistically and culturally, while there is hardly any encouragement for local children to adapt and communicate with migrants in other than the Slovene language.

Some schools recognised specific cultural food restraints (e.g. not eating pork) but not all. Our attention was drawn by a school principal who did not understand the issue of dietary restrictions for Muslims at all, and when asked if the school organises a substitute meal for Muslim children when pork is on the menu, replied that "meals at their school are nutritious".

Multiculturality in (mostly primary) schools is sometimes present in forms of visual displays and other forms of 'public presentations'. Schools that acknowledge cultural diversity encourage the participation of migrant children in school ceremonies and events; migrant learners present their traditional poems, songs, dances, food, etc. These events extend to school plays, school balls, exhibitions, fairs, charity concerts, and similar. Such occasions enable migrant learners to present their national anthem, home town, language, achievements and national customs to their classmates and the whole school. Additionally, individual schools have a school bulletin where poems written by migrant learners in their mother tongue are included, the school anthem is translated

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into all languages that are spoken at the school, etc. These practices are more frequent in primary schools than secondary. Moreover, culturally and nationally specific celebrations of holidays are recognised in some schools; children can miss school in these cases. What needs to be problematized in this regard is that the recognition of multiculturality is mostly focused on the superficial visibility of multilingualism and (traditional) ethnic elements of the cultures. Rarely is it addressed in a more complex way. Thus, we are often witnessing the ethnicization of migrant children and the stereotyping and reproduction of 'intercultural differences' and 'cultural stereotypes' that occur if multiculturality is presented in a simplistic and reduced way.

Further, existing textbooks and teaching materials rarely address issues of cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity. In primary schools, this is briefly addressed within subjects such as civic education, ethics and society when talking about globalization, stereotypes, racism, conflicts, etc. In secondary schools, some issues may be addressed in sociology, geography, history and Slovene language. Individual teachers have a certain amount of autonomy to address these issues within the curriculum, but this depends on their cultural awareness and sensitivity. Since there are no guidelines concerning how to present these themes, individual teachers are implementing them occasionally, if and when they see the opportunity.

Our research revealed that occurrences of ethnic discrimination and xenophobia are often minimized. Teachers reported individual expressions of general anti-migrant attitudes in learners' essays and discussions, while sometimes open conflicts between learners from different ethnic backgrounds occur. The fact is that the presence of discriminatory behaviour is multi-layered and rarely based only on the 'wrong language, cultural background or skin colour'. Such behaviour frequently correlates with other social characteristics such as low social and economic status or personal and psychological features (Sedmak, Medarić & Walker, 2014). We noticed general anti-migrant sentiment and intolerance towards non-assimilated migrants also among teachers, who often perceive integration as a simple one-way adaptation and/or assimilation of migrant children. The responsibility for being integrated lies solely on migrant children. Finally, sometimes teachers simply do not recognise (interethnic) violence among the learners. Here we can expose the most radical case of the teacher who deliberately turned away in the classroom and gave verbal consent for a Slovenian student to physically confront an Albanian student because he had previously verbally challenged him. The event was filmed with a mobile phone and shared around.

School professionals who help migrant learners and additional help

Most frequently, the responsibility for migrant learners' integration is placed on the shoulders of school psychologists/special education teachers. These school professionals are already pre-occupied with learners who have special needs and behavioural or psychological problems, and administrative tasks (e.g. the enrolment process), and thus often cannot devote proper attention to address integration challenges.

Among the possibilities for ensuring successful integration is to employ a person who works only with migrant learners. The most suitable profile for such work would be a cultural mediator. However, such solutions are usually financed by short-term projects or depend on volunteers from different non-governmental or voluntary organisations.

Sometimes, the national employment office appoints an unemployed person to a school within the 'public work scheme'. Again, this is just temporary help, and the appointed person does not necessarily possess the skills, knowledge and affinity required to work with migrant children.

Our observations point toward a significant problem. The current situation at the schools in our sample signalises that measures from the guidelines are impossible to follow without being supported by systemic solutions. To provide sufficient professional help for migrant learners, the Ministry must enable financial resources and legal grounds to allow schools to open a suitable position.

Cooperation with parents and the local community

Although the Proposal (2018) explicitly points out the need to establish better partnerships between children, the school community, parents and the local community to achieve the successful and long-term integration of migrant children and their families and to develop an inclusive society, such a holistic approach is rarely identified in everyday school life.

There exists a discrepancy in collaboration between migrant families and primary and secondary schools. In the case of the former, the relationship with the migrant family is more intensive: teachers meet parents at the beginning of the school year or even before, and usually stay in contact throughout the school year. Some schools organise language courses for parents. Primary school principals assess the overall collaboration with migrant parents as good. The situation is different when it comes to secondary schools: parents usually have contact with the school at the beginning of the school year, but after that there is no contact between the parties.

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The problem is also the lack of involvement of local parents and wider local community. At some schools, interviewed members of the educational community exposed hesitation and a negative attitude among local parents towards migrant children and their families. Sometimes local parents hesitate to enrol their children in a school that is perceived to be 'too multicultural'. However, rarely do schools address this issue openly. Again, only a few primary schools perceived the integration of migrant children as a holistic process that must also involve local children and families and the local community as such. These schools organise meetings with migrant families prior to the beginning of the school year and present them with information about the school's organisation and rules and about the broader local area and important local institutions (e.g. hospital, post office, train station). In partnership with local institutions, schools organise additional language courses for migrant children and family members (mostly mothers) and sometimes also leisure activities and social events.

Training of educators and intercultural awareness

As already shown, teachers at both levels often lack the necessary knowledge to address multiculturality appropriately, cultural awareness to recognise migrant children's needs and discrimination, and intercultural competences to tackle these issues effectively. Part of the explanation lies in the fact that during their studying years, trainee teachers receive almost no training related to cultural diversity and interculturality. Moreover, no compulsory or regular training is organised for active teachers. In recent years, national projects have been oriented towards improving school staff skills through workshops, short-term courses, lectures, etc. Again, involvement in such training is voluntary and depends on the priorities of the school professionals. Consequently, as teachers from our sample revealed, it is always the same teachers attending such courses. Usually, the participants are educators who already have a special affinity with the issues of management of cultural diversity and the challenges of the integration of migrant children.

It is also due to the absence of compulsory intercultural training that we can identify teachers with prejudices, lack of cultural sensibility and tolerance, and those who are more culturally aware. However, as pointed out by Peček Čuk and Skubic Ermenc (2016) to include the topic of interculturality in the curriculum is not enough; it is the responsibility of educational programmes to tackle the attitudes and values of (future) teachers as well: "*It appears that when it comes to teachers' capacity for work in culturally and linguistically heterogeneous classrooms,* *a key role is played by attitude, which can orient a teacher towards inclusive and intercultural teaching practices.*" (Peček Čuk & Skubic Ermenc, 2016, 8). As our interviews reveal, it is also important to have a supportive principal and teaching colleagues who advocate ideas of acceptance, tolerance, multiculturality and equality.

CONCLUSION

As presented in our analysis, we are witnessing a gap between policy recommendations in the field of integration of migrant children and actual practice in Slovenian schools. On one hand, schools are the generators of new and innovative knowledge and practices that form the basis for new policy recommendations, while, on the other hand, some schools still lag behind in applying national policy directives and guidelines. On a general note, the existing integration policy is in accordance with EU directives and address most of the identified integration challenges migrant children face when they arrive in the new social and cultural environment. However, we still noticed vast differences between primary schools and secondary schools. In particular, primary schools with a longer tradition of multiculturality and educational institutions involved in national projects launched in the last decade that aim to increase intercultural knowledge and sensibility of educators demonstrate diverse and quality work in the field of integration. The observed differences among schools are problematic and are primarily the result of the non-binding nature of national integration recommendations. Additional problems are the result of the absence of permanent funding and intercultural training of all (future) educators.

The introduction of appropriate, unified and long-lasting integration policy and practice is a challenge. As revealed by Arun and Bailey (2019) and Arun, Bailey and Szymczyk (2020), institutional as well as indirect discrimination is prevalent in European societies and not caused merely by prejudiced individuals. Moreover, ideas of integration and non-discrimination are usually part of national agendas, but they are not at their core, thus leaving the space for other, sometimes opposing ideas and ideologies to interfere. As the authors reveal, the focus on 'common European values' and 'ideology of sameness' is still prevailing and leads to the assimilation model of integration and construction of unified national identities.

Untapped potentials that should be better addressed in practice are to establish better collaboration with migrant children's families, the involvement of local community institutions, and greater involvement and sensibilisation of local children, their families and local community members. In this regard, the two-way process of integration should be applied. Moreover,

the existent integration model often addresses complex issues in a simplistic way: integration is perceived as language acquisition, and the burden to integrate and to adapt is individualized and placed solely on migrant children. This approach expects one-way language adaptation and acculturation while, at the same time, perpetuating ethnic stereotypes and ethnicitising migrant children: "*migrant children are thus forced to participate in intercultural events to disclose their cultural heritage, also constructed around the otherness*" (Ahlund & Jonsson, 2016; Moskal & Sime, 2016; Arun, Bailey & Szymczyk, 2020).

Finally, in addition to the need for unification among schools, we have identified the absence of a child-centred approach when addressing migrant children's needs. Following this approach, we should focus on how migrant children themselves conceptualize successful or unsuccessful integration and what

makes them happy and gives them a sense of security, belonging and inclusion in the host society (Sedmak & Gornik, 2019; Gornik, Medarić & Sedmak, 2019; Sedmak & Gornik, 2018). The educational system in Slovenia, similar to the educational systems in other European countries, approaches the integration of migrant children in an adult-centric way, thus most often overlooking children's perspective. The adult-centric perspective on educational integration (on the academic, research and political level) is hence focused primarily on preventing learners' school drop-out, achieving academic success and enabling equal opportunities. At the same time, it marginalizes other aspects of the process of the integration of migrant children. Even when there is an opportunity to include migrant children's opinions and views, such as when organising individual plans, our data reveal that this is not the case.

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POLITIKA IN PRAKSA: INTEGRACIJA PRISELJENIH OTROK V SLOVENSKE ŠOLE

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POVZETEK

V članku obravnavamo integracijske ukrepe, ki se nanašajo na (novo prispele) priseljene otroke v slovenskih šolah. Na eni strani preučujemo obstoječ sistemski pristop (politike in zakonodajo), na drugi pa izkušnje, mnenja in delovanje zaposlenih na šolah (ravnateljev/ic, učiteljev/ic, svetovalnih delavcev/k). V članku analiziramo udejanjanje smernic integracijske politike v vsakdanjem delovanju šol. Ugotavljamo, da so integracijska politika in predlagane smernice za delo s priseljenimi otroki dobro zasnovane in pokrivajo večino ključnih izzivov, s katerimi se je potrebno spoprijeti, če želimo doseči uspešno integracijo priseljenih učencev. Težava je, da smernice niso zavezujoče in posledično dolgoročno financirane, kar vodi v zelo raznolike realizacije na posameznih šolah. Avtonomnost šol omogoča različno udejanjanje smernic, zato se kot ključne za uspeh izkažejo osebna angaži-ranost, medkulturna ozaveščenost in kompetence zaposlenih v izobraževalnih ustanovah. V navezavi na slednje velja izpostaviti tudi, da v obstoječem sistemu umanjka zavezujoče, vse-vključujoče in kontinuirano medkulturno izobraževanje učiteljev in bolj otrokosrediščni pristop, ki bi v večji meri upošteval izkušnje in glas otrok, o tem kaj zanje pomeni osebno blagostanje in vključenost.

Ključne besede: priseljeni otroci, integracija, integracijska politika, vključevanje, slovenske šole

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KEY INCIDENTS IN CHILD-CENTRED MIGRATION RESEARCH: EXPLORING METHODOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF CHILD–RESEARCHER INTERACTION

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ABSTRACT

This article explores what it means, methodologically and epistemologically, for researchers to familiarise themselves with children through participant observation during child-centred migration research. The article argues against dichotomising researchers and children into outsiders and insiders. Instead, researcher–child interaction is the starting point for acquiring knowledge, generally, and about integration and migration, in particular. This article is informed by intersectionality and positioning theory, and uses an analysis of two 'key incidents' from child-centred fieldwork to demonstrate that a key incident is a suitable starting point for understanding the conditions of migrant children and youth. First, because the incidents may reveal how researchers, children and youth become familiar with one another through social interaction, and second, because dynamics and structures that prevail in the larger context of the school and society are crystallised in key incidents.

Keywords: Key incidents, child-centred approach, familiarising, positioning, intersectionality

EVENTI CHIAVE NELLA RICERCA SULLE MIGRAZIONI INCENTRATA SUL BAMBINO: ESPLORANDO LE IMPLICAZIONI METODOLOGICHE ED EPISTEMOLOGICHE DELL'INTERAZIONE TRA IL BAMBINO E IL RICERCATORE

SINTESI

L'articolo studia cosa significhi, metodologicamente ed epistemologicamente, per i ricercatori familiarizzare con i bambini attraverso l'osservazione partecipante durante la ricerca delle migrazioni incentrata sul bambino. L'articolo si oppone alla dicotomizzazione di ricercatori e bambini in "outsider" e "insider". Dunque, l'interazione tra il ricercatore e il bambino viene considerata come il punto di partenza che permette di acquisire il sapere, in generale, e la conoscenza sull'integrazione e sulla migrazione, in particolare. Il presente articolo si basa sulla teoria dell'intersezionalità e del posizionamento e, attraverso l'analisi di due "eventi chiave" tratti dalla ricerca sul campo incentrata sul bambino, cerca di dimostrare che un evento chiave è un punto idoneo di partenza per capire le condizioni di bambini e adolescenti migranti. Primo, perché gli eventi possono rivelare come i ricercatori, i bambini e gli adolescenti abbiano familiarizzato reciprocamente attraverso interazione sociale, e secondo, perché negli eventi chiave si cristallizzano le dinamiche e le strutture che prevalgono in un contesto più ampio della scuola e della società.

Parole chiave: eventi chiave, approccio incentrato sul bambino, familiarizzazione, posizionamento, intersezionalità

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INTRODUCTION

In our research we adopt a 'child-centred approach to understanding integration challenges, migrant needs and their well-being' (MiCREATE, 2019b). Therefore, we see our study as part of the 'New Sociology of Childhood' paradigm (MiCREATE, 2019a), which means that children's epistemological status is prioritised (Fattore, Mason, & Watson, 2012). Extensive participant observation is central to the way that the child-centred approach is applied, and is considered a means of becoming familiar with children and youth, which, in turn, is a precondition for being able to interview them. The aim of this article is to explore what it means – methodologically and epistemologically – to us as researchers, to familiarise ourselves with children through participant observation.

Becoming familiar with children from migrant backgrounds poses particular challenges. They may feel insecure because they or their parents have experienced profound changes, making it necessary to seek stable points of reference in their lives, as their legal status may be uncertain, and because they are perceived as a challenge for their host societies. They struggle to construct a coherent identity that may form a basis for psychological and social functioning (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016).

The New Sociology of Childhood paradigm emerged in the 1980s and 1990s (MiCREATE, 2019a), and was powerfully formulated in James and Prout (1990), the third edition of which appeared in 2015. Over the years, studies from various fields of research have been united under the banner of child-centeredness, for example, urban sociology (Quiroz, Milam-Brooks & Adams-Romena, 2013), health studies (Carter & Ford, 2013; Jachyra, Atkinson, & Gibson, 2014; Mauthner, 1997), early childhood education (Harwood, 2010), primary education (Kustatscher, 2017) and migration (White, 2012).

Despite variations in the emphasis and scope of child-centred research, there has been widespread agreement that a fundamental methodological question to be addressed is how do we study the unique life worlds of children, while acknowledging their diversity? (James & Prout, 1990; MiCREATE, 2019a). Two tenets underlie the way this question is answered. First, there has been a strong tendency to emphasise the first part of the question, while downplaying or avoiding the latter part. Second, there has been a tendency to stress the importance of paying attention to the diversity among children.

Regarding the first of the foregoing tendencies, a wide range of methodological concerns has been identified as attention points that stem from the fact that children are involved in the research. These considerations revolve around issues such as recruitment of participants (Barker & Weller, 2003; Carter & Ford, 2013; Morgan et al., 2002), choice of research space (Barker & Weller, 2003; Mauthner, 1997), and parents' presence and role in the research process (Harden, Scott, Backett-Milburn & Jackson, 2000; Hillier & Aurini, 2018; Kustatscher, 2017; Mauthner, 1997). In particular, the child–researcher relationship has been considered a matter with great methodological importance, owing to the inequality of the adult–child power dynamic (Barker & Weller, 2003; Mauthner, 1997; Morgan et al., 2002). The tendency to focus on children as a unique group is connected to a widespread tendency to emphasise that, ultimately, the most important methodological constraint that calls for methodological consideration is the adult–child binary, and, consequently, children (and adults) are treated as homogeneous cohorts (Allison, 2007).

Regarding the latter tendency, to emphasise the importance of paying attention to the diversity among children, attempts have been made to develop more refined ways of approaching children in child-centred research. For example, Fattore et al. (2012, 429) have noted:

> For all the significant commonalities they share, children are not all the same. Factors such as gender, age, ethnicity, ability and disability, socioeconomic status, and geographic location shape experience for individual children and groups of children and should be accounted for in research design.

Thus, it has been recognised that variables other than age must be considered when doing child-centred research, for example gender (Jachyra, Atkinson & Gibson, 2014; Mayeza, 2017), race (Mayeza, 2017) and class (Kustatscher, 2017). Importantly, this awareness of other relevant identity categories means that, methodologically speaking, the broader socio-political context of the research becomes immensely important (cf. e.g. Mayeza, 2017).

We recognise that research has come a long way in identifying and reflecting on the most important methodological matters involved when conducting child-centred research. In particular, emphasising the importance of treating identity categories broadly, and not overemphasising age as a category appears to be fruitful. However, the adult–child binary remains a challenge in child-centred research. Throughout the field there is a tendency to approach researcher–child relations with great caution, for example, emphasising that children possess 'emic, marginalised, knowledge' (Fattore, Mason & Watson, 2012, 427). But what does that imply? Does a child-centred approach imply that there is a fundamental

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epistemological chasm between what is known within the 'community' of children, and what is known to adults as 'outsiders'? And, how can we become familiar with children?

Given the omissions of previous research in addressing such questions, we see a need to further explore the epistemological implications of researcher–child relations in child-centred research, and to unpack their methodological ramifications. We do this by considering two questions:

- What characterises researcher–child relations established through participatory observation?
- What epistemological challenges and opportunities does the researcher–child relationship entail?

We answer these questions in in three steps. First, we claim that we need to move beyond the researcher–child dichotomy by avoiding an understanding of the relationship as between researchers, who stand on the outside, attempting to understand what is going on inside the world of children, and children. Second, we argue for the integration of positioning and intersectionality theory as a promising way of conceptualising the research–child relationship. Thirdly, acknowledging that the best way of proving the utility of our conceptualisation is to employ it in the analysis of empirical exempla, we scrutinise researcher–child relations in two key incidents that occurred in our own field research with children and youth at Danish schools in the autumn of 2019.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Beyond the insider–outsider dichotomy

In order to move beyond the researcher–child dichotomy, we concur with Jeppe Sinding Jensen's arguments against the usefulness of the insider–outsider conceptualisation in field research (Jensen, 2011). To Jensen, the crucial question is: Does the insider (the child) have access to knowledge that is inaccessible to the outsider (the researcher)? If this question is answered in the affirmative, migrant children have privileged knowledge about what it means to be a migrant child. The researcher's task is to report the children's statements. Jensen asserts that this stance has ontological and epistemological consequences:

The necessary epistemological condition then seems to be that only people with a certain nature or essence (innate or acquired, ethnic or religious) may be or become the possessors of

whatever special information or knowledge is in question. This is where the idea of there being a deep qualitative abyss between insiders and outsiders begins to resemble a genuinely 'mystical' postulate. (Jensen, 2011, 31)

Jensen emphasises that this stance implies cultural essentialism. Insiders share world views and values, and have a privileged *mode* of access to experience and knowledge acquisition. Thus – in the context of this article – *being* a migrant child is a prerequisite for understanding what it means to be a migrant child. Being a migrant child equips you with a specific nature that gives access to specific experiences and knowledge

Jensen rejects the essentialist stance and, referring to the discursive and linguistic turns, he argues that it *is* possible for human beings to understand other people. Using a shared and public language, we can refer to the world and enter a dialogue about truth vs. falsehood, and right vs. wrong. Different cultures do exist, Jensen does not reject that, but they are frameworks for our understanding of the world. Thus, they have interpretive and not epistemic priority, and the ontology of the subjective is public, not solipsistic. Apparently, our mind mediates between our brain and the external world. '*Our cognition is not solely internal to the brain but also external and part of our socio-cultural practice*' (Jensen, 2011, 45).

In light of Jensen's discussion, it is clear that the communication – the interplay – between researchers and children is where the acquisition of knowledge about children's circumstances conditions begins. Thus, the researcher–child relationship is of utmost importance, methodologically speaking. According to Jensen, this relationship should not be conceptualised as one of insider versus outsider: But what, then, are we to make of the relationship? To answer this question, we turn to intersectionality and positioning theory.

Child/youth–researcher relations: a matter of positioning, identity and intersectionality

Turning from the insider–outsider dichotomy, we suggest a perspective on the researcher–child relationship that is informed by the theoretical concepts of positioning (cf. Khawaja & Mørck, 2009) and intersectionality.

Position theory holds that there are multiple answers over time to the question, 'who am I?'. In Davies and Harré's words:

An individual emerges through the processes of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive

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practices in which they participate. Accordingly, who one is is always an open question with a shifting answer depending upon the positions made available within one's own and others' discursive practices and within those practices, the stories through which we make sense of our own and others' lives. (Davies & Harré, 1990, 46)

Who we are depends upon how we are positioned and position ourselves in social interactions. In the context of ethnographic fieldwork with children, the starting point for engaging with children is the proposition that who we are as researchers and who they are as children is dynamic, and subject to change in the course of, and as a result of, our engagement with them. For the sake of precision, it is helpful to differentiate between interactive and reflexive positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990, 48), which conceptualise the difference between whether one is being positioned by others or whether one positions oneself. Although often, practices may display elements of both possibilities, the distinction has great value in terms of analytical clarity. Also, the distinction emphasises that positioning includes elements of both submission and agency.

To fully grasp the complexities of interactions and relations between researchers and children or youth, we find it useful to integrate the perspective of intersectionality into the theoretical positioning framework. The concept of intersectionality stems from black feminism and critical race theory, and was initially introduced to capture black women's experiences of discrimination in the United States (see e.g. Crenshaw, 1991). In subsequent research, two trends have prevailed (Marfelt, 2015). One trend is for intersectionality to be confined, normatively, to the study of oppression (cf. Banks, 2019). The second trend is for intersectionality to be used more descriptively as a multidimensional perspective on identity formation and difference (Marfelt, 2015). In this article we draw on this concept for methodological and descriptive purposes. Thus, we employ intersectionality as an analytical tool to understand a multitude of identity categories, such as race, gender, class, religion and disability, which intersect in our encounters with children and youth during fieldwork.

As noted above, child-centred research needs to move beyond the child–adult dichotomy. Intersectionality enables us to do exactly that, as it calls on us to consider all relevant identity categories when attempting to grasp how to become familiar with children in a given context. Applying an intersectional framework to understand positioning between researchers and children or youth, allows

for a refined understanding of the complexity of positioning. Taking identity categories as a point of departure allows one to 'step back' and unpack how intersections of the various identity categories are shaped by the contexts of the school and of broader society.

But how do we capture intersectionally-determined positioning between researcher and children/youth? We suggest to paying attention to concrete situations in our field work where positioning occurs. To conceptualise such situations, we draw on the construct of the 'key incident'.

Key incidents

To analyse how researchers and immigrant children become familiar with one another, we use the 'key incident' as an analytical tool. According to Erickson (1977, 61), identifying 'key incidents' involves:

[…] *pulling out from field notes a key incident, linking to other incidents, phenomena, and theoretical constructs, and writing it up so others can see the generic in the particular, the universal in the concrete, the relation between part and whole.*

The key incident is exemplary and paradigmatic, and functions as an interpretive key to understanding the course of events documented in the entirety of participatory observation. With this approach to ethnographic work, the researcher can understand how social life functions in a particular context, how social relations play out and how social meaning-making is embedded in this context.

Our use of the construct of the key incident overlaps Paul Connolly's concept of the 'critical incident' (Connolly, 2017). Connolly's concept revolves around the researcher–child relationship and the dynamics of this relationship. Connolly's concept sharpens Erickson's idea of the key incident, so it applies specifically to situations where a researcher–child relationship is profoundly apparent.

The starting point for our analyses below will be the identification of key incidents in which our relationships with children were accentuated in some way. We suggest that the methodological procedure leading to the construction of a key incident may be roughly outlined in the following way: After ethnographic participatory observation at the school and in the classroom, and delivering a thick description (Geertz, 1973), one reflects on situations that may qualify as 'key incidents'. The field notes are searched for key incidents through careful reading and reflection. These particular incidents pave the way for a full understanding of

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the context. Thus, the researcher gain insight into the context of the migrant children, with which he must become familiar.

Using this analytical tool to understand the encounters between researchers and children requires us to look beyond any essentialising understanding of the 'the migrant child' and the insider–outsider dichotomy. What is instead needed is a profound awareness of how two or more identity categories intersect and influence the behaviour and identity work of the children in their encounters with researchers, identity categories such as age, migration trajectory, ethnicity, language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, social class, abilities and disabilities. However, determining which categories appear and intersect in a given incident is a matter of interpretation. Also, the way in which relevant identity categories intersect in the key incidents calls for equal attention. This is an analytical approach that transcends a simple description and reproduction of the migrant children.

The analyses below reveal how we used the key incident as an analytical tool for understanding how we enter social interactions with the migrant children and become familiar with them.

We conducted field work at Belltown School[1] (6th year) and the Elderflower School (10th year) in autumn 2019.

Søren (researcher 1) visited Belltown School 11 times from October through December 2019, usually from 8 or 9 in the morning until 2 or 3 in the afternoon, and Peter (researcher 2) visited the Elderflower School 14 times from August to December 2019, usually from 8 in the morning until 2 or 3 in the afternoon.

The students were informed about our project, assured that it would be anonymised, and we explained that participation was voluntary, and they could stop any time, if they so wished. We are aware that migrant children are a vulnerable group.

The most important data from our field work are field notes – that is, thick descriptions of what was going on, including descriptions of interactions between students, students and teachers, and students and researchers. Summaries of conversations, including the vocabulary, words and phrases used by teachers, students and researchers, were included in the field notes. These notes were supplemented with personal, theoretical and methodological notes. Photographs of the classroom (including photos of material produced by the students) and interviews with teachers and principals are part of the data.

In our constant search for key incidents, we conducted participant observation. We participated in the classes' learning and social activities to become familiar with the school culture, the classes and the students, and to give the students the opportunity to become familiar with us as researchers and as fellow humans. We were looking for key incidents for acquiring an understanding of how the students position themselves with respect to the school, the teachers, their peers and us as researchers, how they perform identity work and how integration processes proceed. Thus, we and the students became familiar with each other. This familiarisation was the of point departure for the further acquisition of knowledge concerning the conditions of migrant children, which, in our study, took place through interviews with the students. However, the results of the interviews will not be reported in this article, as this article builds on data gathered prior to the interviews.

Analysis

Next, we analyse two occurrences as key incidents. These incidents were arbitrarily selected, that is they are no more important than other, similar events. These two analyses are included to illustrate the use of the 'key incident' as an analytical tool.

Key incident 1: Test day at Belltown school (Søren, researcher 1)

Belltown School is a public elementary school (years 0–9) in a large Danish city, serving children and youth from an urban area that is officially categorised as a ghetto, a highly-contested term used by the Danish government authorities for areas with high levels of crime, unemployment, low incomes and first- or second-generation immigrant residents among the inhabitants. The school is nationally and linguistically diverse, because many of its students and/or their parents have family ties outside the European Union (Onses-Segarra et al., 2020). In the 6th-year class in which I did fieldwork there were about 20 students, for most of whom Danish was their second language.

The following incident is recorded in my field notes on my third visit in the class. My colleague, Gro Hellesdatter Jacobsen, accompanied me that day on my field visit. During a Danish lesson the teacher had scheduled what he refers to as a voluntary national test. The class is not obligated to take the actual test until spring but, according to the teacher, the students may try the test as a way of familiarising themselves with it. Gro and I did not know that the class was going to take the test that day until we came to the class. Introducing the test,

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1   The names of schools, students, and teachers have been anonymised.

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the teacher allows the students to ask questions during the test. The test consists of multiple-choice questions and other kinds of questions that should enable students to demonstrate their vocabulary, for instance. As the students start to take the test, it soon becomes clear to the teacher – who did not know the test content beforehand – that the test is very difficult, and that, in his view, the students cannot take the test without help, although the test was designed to be self-explanatory. After about 10 minutes, the teacher says in front of the whole class and addressing Gro and me: 'I'm 41 [years old] and it is difficult when I don't know [the answers]. We work with Danish as a second language' (from my field notes).

During the test, Gro and I agreed to assist the children to determine the correct answers, as more and more children asked for help. We leave our seats at the back of the room, and begins to walk about the room, pausing to answer the students' questions. In my field notes I wrote: 'There are several words [in the test] that we cannot give an answer to [regarding their meaning]. We have a conversation with the teacher about how difficult the test is.'

The foregoing is a key incident for two reasons. First, because my engagement with the children and the teacher crystallised the general dynamic and conditions. Second, because our position as researchers is at stake. How Gro and I positioned ourselves might have great consequences for my relationship to the class as a whole, not least individual students, in the long run.

Regarding an understanding of the dynamics and conditions in and around the class, the incident pave the way for an understanding of the children's situation as Danish as a second language students in the context of the Danish school system. This is not the place for an elaborate treatment of this point. However, the incident illustrated how alienated migrant students or students with Danish as a second language may feel when facing the Danish school system as represented by the ministry test system. Not so much because the test was difficult, but because the test was likely to remind them of their minority status, because of the gap between what the test considered mainstream Danish and the students' actual vocabulary. Put differently, the difficulty of what was supposed to be a test of standard vocabulary emphatically positioned the students as Danish as a second language students.

In terms of researcher positioning, being called on to assist the students as they went through the test presented opportunities and potential pitfalls. If the students and/or the teacher were left with the impression that I was in some way responsible for the test or endorsed it, it might constrain my oppor-

tunities to build trust-based ties with the children, if they feared me as part of a system that wished to expose their weaknesses. This scenario was likely to unfold, given that the teacher distanced himself from the test. We, as researchers, and the test, were clearly foreign to the class. Our opportunities for reflexive positioning (cf. Davies & Harré, 1990) were constrained by how our identities as adults, researchers and experts intersected with our identity as ethnic majority Danes. In light of this intersection of identity categories, the students' minority identity in terms of ethnicity, language and age, became paramount. Because of this, our status of researchers, and hence as representatives of the university and the academic world more broadly, may have reinforced the awareness of science and 'testing' inherent in the incident.

Given the forgoing preconditions, I sensed that I needed to be careful not be subject to – in Davies and Harré's terminology – interactive positioning as 'a test expert', as the children might have misinterpreted me as a representative of the ministry test system. The teacher was aware that I was not, but my impression was that he did not know exactly how my field of expertise related to what was being tested. At that time, at the beginning my fieldwork, he thought that I was a specialist in Danish as second language. This explains why, in the incident, he emphasised that he worked with Danish as a second language (although he still found the test difficult), as though he wanted to indicate that we shared the same professional platform of expertise. For the children, anyway, the line between where I came from and where the test came from was probably blurred, at best.

Reflecting on the situation that same day, when making my initial notes, I recorded the following:

> When I wander about and answer questions during the Danish class from the students regarding the voluntary national test, I emphasise that it is difficult, and I indicate that I have nothing to do with the test. I do that to maintain an adult position, which is non-teacher.

It is clear from this reflection that I recognised this as a key incident, given that my position in the field, and hence my relationship with the students, was highlighted, as it was likely to reinforce the essential difference between me and the children. Back then, I saw it as way of distancing myself from the school by establishing an adult position who was not a teacher. On further reflection, as stated above, I've come to the conclusion that, more specifically, what was at stake had to do with finding the correct position as a researcher. As I stated, I negotiated my dilemma by explaining to the children that I found the test dif-

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ficult and that I had nothing to do with it. But instead of refusing to help, I assisted some of the students. In theoretical terms, this was a case of reflexive positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990), where I established an assisting-yet-I'm-not-an-expert-position, which I found quite comfortable. In my field notes I assess the advantages of the situation:

> The conversations offer the advantage that I'm getting closer to the students, I can chat with them a little and show them kindness. I have the role of someone who helps when things are difficult. At the same time, I can distance myself from the system.

As it turned out, the incident presented an opportunity to approach the children, talk with them, give them something that they needed (answers to the test), and indicate a shared goal of interest – their well-being – in a difficult situation. It was important for me to position myself in the most optimal way. Clearly, I aligned myself with the children, not by lying (I did find the test difficult), but by clearly explaining that I had nothing to do with the test. My assessment is that establishing this position was helpful to me on later occasions, when I was called on to assist the students with school work during their lessons. Here, I could draw on and foster my established position as a helpful adult who was neither a teacher nor an official expert.

Key incident 2: 'I am Danish' (Peter, researcher 2)

The second key incident we discuss occurred at the Elderflower School. This school is a lower secondary school in a large town with only a year 10 and a reception class. Year 10 is an optional year for students uncertain of what upper secondary education programme to choose. The school has about 170 students, 20 per cent of which were born abroad. Most students are 15 or 16 years old.

My first day of observation at the Elderflower School was at the beginning of September 2019. My gatekeeper was the vice principal, and she introduced me to 'my' 10th year. Afterwards, I introduced myself and MiCREATE.

During my first day with the class, I noted only one student with a migrant background. Later, it turned out that there were two other migrant children in this class of approximately 18 students.

The chain of events reported below turned out to be a key incident. In my field notes I wrote:

> Apparently, Hassan is the only student in the class with a migrant or migrant family background. He looks at me very sceptically during the first lesson. At least, this is how I perceive

it. During the second lesson, I sit alone at a table. Hassan comes in and sits down beside me.

Hassan did not participate actively in schoolwork, nor did he perform off task-activities.

During the third lesson this day, the students had to take a reading test. The teacher handed out booklets. The students read the text and filled in the answers to questions.

'The students are explicitly instructed to do the test individually', I note.

As far as I can see, most of the students work individually. Two girls talk together for a while. Two groups of girls seem to work together. Many of the students have opened a dictionary on their computers; they are allowed to use this tool. Hassan sits beside a boy of ethnic majority background, and copies his answers. I sit beside Hassan and the boy, while Hassan systematically copies. Suddenly, he stops writing and flicks through the pages of the booklet. Finally, he closes the booklet and puts it down. Two of the girls have put down their booklets, too. I cannot see how much of the work they have done. Forty-five minutes have passed. Another boy is copying from the student sitting beside him.

During the break I am approached by Hassan. After the break, I note in my field notes: 'Hassan tells me, "I was born and raised in Denmark, and I speak Danish."

During the last lesson I note:

> Apparently, Hassan has not handed in his reading test (…) At the end of the lesson Hassan stands and walk through the room. He sits down beside me. 'All the members of my family were born in Denmark', he states.

During the day, a special relationship is built between Hassan as a student and me as a researcher. He knows that my interest as a researcher is in the integration of migrant children, and as the only descendant or migrant student in the class on this day, he knows that I am focusing on him. He contacts me several times, and emphasises, 'I was born in Denmark and I am Danish'. In this way, Hassan positions himself reflexively (cf. Davies & Harré, 1990), as a 'good student'. Hassan's reactions to me may be explained by the identity categories implicit in this incident. In this encounter, the intersection of Hassan's migrant family background, his languages (Danish and Arabic) and academic deficiencies are paramount, in light of the way my identity as a powerful and privileged researcher intersects with my identity as an elderly, ethnic Dane. Under these circumstances, he reflexively positions himself as a 'good student' and a 'Danish student'. Therefore,

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I, the privileged academic present in the class to keep an eye on academically weak, ethnic minority students, need not have concern myself with him. Hassan does not want the school system to expose him, and he regards me as a part of that system.

Hassan has grown up in a 'parallel society', his Danish teacher tells me. According to the teacher, he speaks 'street Danish' and lacks a standard vocabulary and standard knowledge. He has 'learning difficulties', he ought to attend a special class, she emphasises. She sees the problem as an 'ethnic problem'.

During the autumn it becomes clear that this key incident paves the way for an understanding of Hassan's case in its entirety. Becoming familiar with Hassan is possible only if a more symmetrical relationship is established between us. Explicitly, I must position 'the researcher' as a non-school-system man, thus establishing a foundation of trust with Hassan. I greet him every time I meet him in the classroom, in the school yard in the street outside the school. When I ask about his everyday life and tell him about mine, he responds, and we often talk together.

During lessons Hassan continues to fly under the radar. If a teacher asks him a question, he repeat an answer given by another student. Thus, he seems uninterested in the lesson content. He does not comment on the theme of 'Youth and Identity' in the Danish lesson, nor on the theme of 'culture clashes' (the troubles in Northern Ireland) in the English lesson. Hassan is in a process of nonlearning. He builds up a learning defence. He rejects learning because he is cognitively overloaded (Illeris, 2004).

In the breaks Hassan spends his time with other Arab-speaking boys. They position themselves as those controlling the situation in the break. When I meet Hassan in the schoolyard during the break, I greet him, and he starts to greet me too, and one day he starts to call me 'bro'.[2] He even invites me to join their conversation. I am no longer a threat to him, but an outside friend. He keeps the system at arm's length, but I am no longer part of the system. I am a 'bro', an ally.

Students in the 10th year write a mandatory, self-selected project on their future work life and career. Hassan wants to be an estate agent, and one day he waylays me in the schoolyard, and urges me to be his supervisor. Apparently, he wants me to be his ally, and help him in his struggle with the system. The system may prevent him from reaching his goal if his learning disabilities are exposed, or simply because of his ethnicity. I tell him I cannot be his supervisor. 'But thanks anyway', I add.

Hassan still positions himself and the teachers as he did on the first day I observed him in his class. He wants to keep the system and its power at arm's length. But he wants a supervisor and an ally, and he wants to position me in that role. He has moved me away of the centre of power, and suddenly it is possible to build a trust-based relationship between us in the context of the school. Becoming familiar in this context is now an option, and I am offered a role in Hassan's search for a foundation on which to construct his identity.

Hassan and I did not become friendly and familiar that very first day. Time was needed. Initially, Hassan regarded me as a threat, and I regarded Hassan as more or less unreliable.

The incident on the first day turned out to be a key incident. It made me reflect on how Hassan reflexively positioned himself, how I position him and how we can mutually acknowledge one another. Evidently, Hassan has reflected on my position too.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the previous section, we analysed two incidents that occurred during our social interaction with children and youth in our field work on two classes at the school where we were doing our research. The schools differ in terms of the students' ages and backgrounds. In Søren's (researcher 1) case study, the students varied widely in terms of linguistic and national background, although only a few students have gone through transnational migration themselves. Peter's (researcher 2) case study focuses on a child of immigrants in a class with very few with a migrant background. Bearing these differences in mind, we are able to make some important points based on cross-case comparisons.

First, in both incidents, positioning and intersecting identity categories played a principal role in our endeavours to familiarise ourselves with the children in our respective fieldwork. Yet, as the analyses have highlighted, positioning may take many forms and play many different roles. In key incident 1, we saw that the balance of various considerations was very much involved in Søren's efforts to position himself in the field, in order to foster a good relationship with the children. On the one hand, the national test offered an opportunity to help the 6th years and thereby to get close to them, talk with them and engage with them. On the other hand, stepping in as an assistant on an occasion when the class was taking a test that was imposed on them from the outside, Søren, a university researcher, ran the risk of being associated with the test regime. Similarly, in key

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2   Urbandictionary.com: 'bro' means 'friend' and is commonly used in greetings. The derogatory sense of the word is 'Alpha Male Idiot'. Hassan uses the word in the first sense.

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incident 2, Peter found that his presence provoked a certain reaction from the student, Hassan, which we interpret as closely connected to Peter's apparent position as someone with official authority. Hassan's understanding of Peter as an authority initially prevented them from becoming familiar.

Power and privilege, too, is a matter of great importance, in both cases presented here. Both incidents remind us that power and authority inevitably cling to us, as adult researchers. However, the context and the conditions that make paramount the question of authority may differ, and our understanding of these conditions is crucial for us to able to address the question. In key incident 2, the fact that Peter initially came across as an authority figure created a situation where the student felt a need to defend himself, which, in turn, may have to do with his experience of being doubly minoritised and marginalised, with an immigrant family background, and being academically challenged. Peter's reasonable solution was to do whatever he could to position himself as something other than an authority figure. In incident 1, the situation was more difficult. On the one hand, it was an advantage for Søren to be called in and asked to assist the students – to be an authority figure – as it made his involvement with the students relevant. On the other hand, the source of Søren's authority was crucial; it was important for Søren to not be seen as a representative of the governmentally installed test regime, and to instead be seen as someone with academic authority that stemmed from somewhere else.

Time is also a category that is important to take into account when reflecting on key incidents and how researchers position themselves with respect to children. In a key incident, certain aspects of evolving familiarisation between researcher and child may, in retrospect, crystallise. We saw this in key incident 2, where Peter's initial encounter with Hassan had some qualities that suggested their future familiarity with one another, when that day's field notes were compared with field notes on later visits. For instance, Peter was aware of Hassan's reservations about speaking openly with Peter, something that changed as Hassan got a better sense of Peter's role and intentions. In incident 1, time played a different role. Temporally, the incident was more condensed, leaving a limited amount of time to find a suitable way to position oneself as researcher. If Søren and Gro had assisted the students in a very expert manner, an impression of their being test persons might have been fostered, with dire consequences for Søren's opportunity to become familiar with the children.

The key incident has proven to be a useful analytical tool for unpacking methodological questions pertaining to researcher–child relations. Its utility lies in that it may offer a vantage point for reflecting on how researchers familiarise themselves with children. Our familiarisation with children was a precondition for conducting child-centred interviews with migrant children and local children (i.e. children born in Denmark). Thus, in light of the analysis and discussion, we arrive at the following definition of 'familiarisation': mutual understanding as a precondition for communication.

Key incidents also draw our attention to the general dynamics and structures entailed of a case, which are crystallised in social interactions between researchers and children.

Regarding our two initial research questions, we are able to offer tentative answers. To repeat:

- What characterises researcher–child relations established through participatory observation?
- What epistemological challenges and opportunities does the researcher-child relationship entail?

Beginning with the former question, relations between children and researchers are not a matter of insiders versus outsiders. As researchers, we do not gain access to the inside world of children participating in a research project and acquire knowledge about that world by inheriting the language and knowledge the children possess. Instead, knowledge about migration, integration and so on is acquired in complex ways through our interaction with the children, in an interplay between our mutual positioning of one another, and shaped by intersecting identity categories such as age, ability ethnicity. Certainly, the point to be made is by no means that we should ignore the children's voices. Instead, the point is that children's (and other's) voices are shaped by the intersecting identity categories and the mutual positioning that occurs in human interaction. Therefore, an important precondition for hearing children's voices and understanding their situation is for researchers to understand the fluid dynamics of our engagement with children and youth.

Thus, in keeping with the theoretical framework that we adopt in this article, we mutually position each other and familiarise with each other in social interaction, a positioning process that is highlighted and shaped by intersecting identity categories such as age, language, ethnicity, and (dis)abilities. Studying migrant children in a theoretical framework that integrates positioning and intersectionality theory is a way to prevent oneself from perceiving children and youth as homogeneous.

Moving on to the second question, the positioning processes may present many challenges and pitfalls. Our efforts to familiarise ourselves with children may be constrained by the positions that the intersecting identity categories in a given

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incident permit us and if we position students, interactively, as 'the Others'. However, our engagement with children also offers the opportunity to gain insights into migrant children's conditions, because our engagement – our positioning – relative to children reveals something important about migrant children in the given context. Therefore, it is safe to suggest that establishing relationships with children through participatory observation is not only a means for establishing a basis for obtaining knowledge about migrant children's integration during interviews. As the analysis of the two key incidents has shown, researchers' involvement with children may itself be the locus

for enriching our understanding of how children understand themselves, in the dialectic between children's identity work and the larger context of the school and society.

Importantly, our analysis shows that the most important aspect of the key incident as an analytical tool is the opportunity for reflection that it offers. It is through this reflection that we become aware of the pitfalls and challenges that we face in the context of our specific field research. The knowledge that we draw from this reflection is, in turn, crucial for realising the potential of participant observation as a means of familiarising ourselves with migrant children and youth.

KLJUČNI DOGODKI V OTROKOSREDIŠČNIH RAZISKAVAH MIGRACIJ: METODOLOŠKE IN EPISTEMOLOŠKE POSLEDICE INTERAKCIJE MED OTROKOM IN RAZISKOVALCEM

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POVZETEK

V članku obravnavamo metodološke in epistemološke vidike otrokosrediščnih raziskav, pri katerih se raziskovalec v postopku opazovanja z udeležbo seznani z otrokom. Pri tem smo si zastavili dve raziskovalni vprašanji: a) kaj je značilno za odnos med raziskovalcem in otrokom, ki se vzpostavi pri opazovanju z udeležbo, in b) katere epistemološke izzive in priložnosti prinaša odnos med raziskovalcem in otrokom? V članku utemeljimo, zakaj tega odnosa ne bi smeli dojemati v smislu dihotomije med udeleženimi posamezniki z osebnim vpogledom v to, kaj pomeni biti otrok priseljenec, in zunanjimi opazovalci (raziskovalci). Nasprotno, stik med raziskovalcem in otrokom je ob uporabi teoretskega okvira, ki združuje teoriji pozicionalnosti in intersekcionalnosti, pravzaprav izhodišče za pridobivanje znanja o procesih integracije. V tem pogledu je pomembno preučiti, kako so udeleženci intersekcionalno umeščeni in kako se umeščajo sami ter kako dinamično razvijajo in spreminjajo svojo identiteto. Kot analitično orodje za preučevanje pozicionalnosti in intersekcionalnosti v medosebni interakciji med raziskovalcem in otrokom uporabljamo ključni dogodek. Ključni dogodek je po naravi tipičen in paradigmatski ter pomeni interpretativni ključ do razumevanja poteka dogodkov, dokumentiranih od začetka do konca postopka opazovanja z udeležbo. V raziskavi analiziramo dva ključna dogodka, Preizkus na šoli Belltown in Danec sem, s čimer prikažemo, kako ključni dogodek deluje kot analitično orodje. V članku pokažemo, da je lahko razmislek o ključnih dogodkih, ki vključuje interakcijo med raziskovalcem in otrokom, izhodišče za razumevanje položaja otrok in mladih iz priseljenskih okolij. Ključni dogodki namreč lahko razkrijejo, kako se raziskovalci ter otroci in mladi prek družbene dejavnosti medsebojno seznanijo. Poleg tega pa se v ključnem dogodku ter v pozicionalnosti in intersekcionalnosti, povezanih z njim, zrcalijo dinamika in strukture, ki prevladujejo tudi v širšem kontekstu šole in družbe.

Ključne besede: ključni dogodki, otrokosrediščni pristop, seznanjanje, pozicionalnost, intersekcionalnost

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INTERSECTIONAL CONTESTATIONS – THE MEANINGS OF INTEGRATION OF 'MIGRANT' PUPILS IN AUSTRIAN SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

This article examines how school staff in two Austrian cities negotiates the intersecting structures of inequality in which 'migrant' pupils are positioned in the context of Austrian education and integration policies. For our analysis, we choose an intersectional approach and conducted in-depth interviews and seven focus groups with school staff. Our results indicate a connection between inclusive forms of intersectionality and a holistic integration approach on the one hand, and a connection between exclusive intersectionality and assimilatory integration approaches on the other. Overall, our results show ambivalences in the framing of intersectionality and integration indicating open-ended negotiations of integration at Austrian schools.

Keywords: integration, migrant pupils, teachers, Austria, intersectionality

CONTESTAZIONI INTERSEZIONALI – I SIGNIFICATI DELL'INTEGRAZIONE DEGLI ALUNNI, MIGRANTI, NELLE SCUOLE AUSTRIACHE

SINTESI

Nell'articolo viene esaminato il modo in cui il personale scolastico di due città austriache supera le strutture intersecanti di disuguaglianza nelle quali gli alunni migranti sono posti nel contesto delle politiche austriache di istruzione e integrazione. Ai fini della nostra analisi abbiamo adottato un approccio intersezionale e condotto interviste approfondite e sette focus group con il personale scolastico. I nostri risultati hanno rilevato un collegamento tra forme inclusive di intersezionalità e un approccio olistico all'integrazione, da un lato, e un collegamento tra intersezionalità esclusiva e approcci all'integrazione di tipo assimilatorio, dall'altro. Nel complesso, i nostri risultati mostrano ambivalenze nell'attuazione dell'intersezionalità e integrazione che indicano gestione aperta dell'integrazione nelle scuole austriache.

Parole chiave: integrazione, alunni migranti, insegnanti, Austria, intersezionalità

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INTRODUCTION

In the past decade, debates on migration and integration have attracted remarkable public and political attention in Austria—particularly since the '*long summer of migration*' in 2015 (Hess & Kasperek, 2017). Migration is increasingly framed as a '*security problem*' (Bigo, 2002, 63) as well as a threat to '*law and order*' (Bigo, 2002, 63), the economy, culture, and social cohesion. At the same time, integration is articulated as a disciplinary approach to cultural assimilation into the Austrian society.[1]

In 2017, the right-wing Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ), formed a coalition government with the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) that lasted until its dissolution in 2019. The FPÖ was not only successful in transforming public debates on migrants, but also on migration, integration, and education policies. The integration of 'migrant' pupils[2] has long been the focal points of these debates. For example, "*Deutschförderklassen*" was a publicly contested policy that established separate, remedial German-language classes for or children whose mother tongue is not German. One argument is that all students experience a decline in learning outcomes at *Brennpunktschulen* (hotspot schools), which are characterized by predominantly 'migrant' pupils from socio-economically and socially disadvantaged families (Der Standard, 14. 12. 2018). This position attributes gaps in school and learning success between different schools to 'migrant' children's allegedly insufficient German language skills, and blames migrant families for their 'failed integration' and living in a 'parallel society' (see Ronneberger & Tsianos, 2009; Yıldız, 2009). On one hand, these debates focus on the costs of failed integration (e.g., unemployment, criminality, Islamist radicalization) and benefits of successful integration (e.g., economic contributions of highly skilled migrants) on the other hand (Wodak, 2015, 31).

Schools are often seen as the litmus test for 'successful' or 'failed' integration, which explains the frequent reference to so-called 'interethnic' tensions in schools in public discourse. Only recently has Austrian teacher and Ombudsman for Values and Cultural Conflicts, Susanne Wiesinger, published a book about failed integration. She refers to threats such as 'ghettoization', 'parallel societies' societies and '*culture war in classrooms*' (Wiesinger & Thies, 2018). In particular, she presents 'Islamization' and 'radical Islam' as the primary barriers to integration at schools for 'migrant' pupils (Wiesinger & Thies, 2018). Thus, education and the inclusion of 'migrant' pupils at Austrian schools have become a highly contested battlefield of integration policies (similarly, Castles et al., 2002), while public discourse appears hostile towards migrants.

This article intervenes in these on going public debates, giving a voice to teachers and school directors and how they negotiate the meaning of integration in two Austrian cities, Vienna and Eisenstadt. In order to avoid simplified notions of 'migrant' pupils' willingness or unwillingness to integrate, we demonstrate the complexity of educating and integrating such students 'on the ground'. In contrast to assimilatory demands from some policy-makers our article assumes that integration entails a double-sided process between 'migrant' pupils, pupils from majority society, school representatives, and parents. However, creating accommodating conditions for such an integration process requires acknowledging the complex situations experienced by 'migrant' pupils. This complexity is largely grounded in intersecting positionings of 'migrant' pupils, including their social or class background, religion, gender, and neighborhood or district; in other words, more than just their social 'migrants'. Disregarding and depoliticizing 'migrant' pupils' experiences of intersectional discrimination or instrumentalizing their different intersecting positions might lead to an "exclusive" form of intersectionality, thereby creating a form of assimilatory pressure that reinforces the discrimination and responsibilization of 'migrant' pupils and their parents.

An intersectional analytical approach might therefore shed light on the complex positionings of 'migrant' pupils' integration process. Therefore, our article analyzes how teachers and school directors perceive the positionings of 'migrant' pupils at the intersection of diverse structures of domination and discrimination, such as nationality, ethnicity, religion, parents' socio-economic position, gender, and school location. Our article aims to show how school representatives negotiate these intersecting structures of inequality in which 'migrant' pupils are positioned and which integration strategies school representatives follow in daily school life.

First, we briefly introduce Austrian integration and education policies, which we follow by an account of contemporary research on migration and education at Austrian schools. Next, we describe our theoretical approach to inclusive and exclusive forms of intersectionality and the methods used for the empirical study. Finally, we discuss our findings and reach conclusions about how intersectionality affects perceptions of integration at Austrian schools.

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2   Using 'migrant' pupils with quotation marks refers to the fact that children with a migrant family background who were born in Austria are statistically counted as 'migrant' children in official documents and debates.

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INTEGRATION AND EDUCATION POLICIES IN AUSTRIA

In the following sections, we introduce Austria's integration and education policies as well as measures that have been implemented at Austrian schools over the past decade to provide context to our study about how school staff perceive integration.

National and Legal Provisions: Policies on Integration and Migration

Austria is a country with a long tradition of immigration (Biffl & Skrivanek, 2011, 4). Currently, every fourth person under the age of 29 has a migration background (Gruber, 2018, 9). Nevertheless, the country did not define itself as an 'immigration country' until recently and thus did not take measures towards the inclusion of migrants. Rather, prior to the twenty-first century, migrants were perceived as 'guest workers', who only stay in the country for a limited time.

In recent years, Austria has seen a major shift in migration and integration policies, resulting in a dynamic institutional landscape. In 2010, this policy area was institutionalized at the federal level through the Federal Ministry of the Interior's enactment of the "National Action Plan for Integration" (*Nationaler Aktionsplan für Integration*). The "National Action Plan" focuses on labor market integration, German language proficiency, and 'Austrian values' (European Commission, 2019). Additionally, the Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs established a similar program in 2017 called the "Integration Act" (*Integrationsgesetz,* IA). This law asserts that asylum and subsidiary protection holders must participate in national integration measures (§ 6 IA), such as German language courses (§ 4 IA) and obligatory 'value and orientation courses' (§ 5 IA) that inform them about fundamental social 'norms and values' in Austria, such as women and men's equal rights. According to the "Integration Agreement" (*Integrationsvereinbarung*), migrants (aged 15 and older) pledge to participate in such courses. Violating these obligations leads to sanctions, such as a reduction in state benefits like demand-oriented minimum income assistance (§ 6 (2), (3) IA) (Bundesministerium für Europa, Integration und Äußeres, 2018). Thus, Austria's integration policy largely follows an assimilatory approach (Kunz, 2011) that solely focuses on cultural integration. However, it marginalizes—if not ignores—socio-economic integration, and sees integration as migrants' personal responsibility.

Education Policy and the Integration of 'Migrant' Pupils

Public education is a key institution that shapes mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion and is therefore critical to integrating 'migrant' children. Austria's migration history has engendered a high degree of heterogeneity within the classroom, especially in urban centers like Vienna (Binder, 2002, 424). The number of students with a mother tongue other than German is steadily increasing: Between 2006 and 2015, this figure rose from 16 percent to 25 percent (Gruber, 2018, 16). During the 2016–2017 school year, 276,150 (25.4 percent) of the 1,130,5,23 pupils at all school levels spoke a mother tongue other than German, with Vienna holding the highest share (51.2 percent) in Austria (STAT, 2018, 5). Additionally, 163,843 (14.5 percent) of Austria's pupils at all school levels were 'foreigners'[3]. Again, Vienna showed the greatest diversity with its 61,893 (26.3 percent) 'foreign' pupils (STAT, 2018, 4). In 2018, 34,437 German-born young people lived in Austria (STAT, 2018, 2), comprising the largest 'migrant' group in Austria (STAT, 2018, 2). Furthermore, official statistics show that Austria was home to 23,809 young people born in Afghanistan, 23,074 born in Syria, and 13,770 born in Turkey (STAT, 2018, 2).

Therefore, the "50 Action Points" (*50 Punkte-Plan*), developed in 2015 by the Austrian Expert Council for Integration at the Ministry for Europe, Integration, and International Affairs, emphasized the relevance education plays in integration. Nevertheless, 'migrant' children in Austria demonstrate relatively poor school performance on international tests such as PISA, PIRLS and TIMSS (Göbel & Buchwald, 2017, 156).

Austria's Differentiated School System

The Austrian Society for Research and Development in Education (ÖFEB) asserts that Austria's differentiated school system promotes social inequality (Der Standard, 22. 12. 2017). After four years of primary school (*Volksschule*), i.e., at the age of ten, pupils are assigned to different types of schools according to their average marks. Children with good grades can attend general secondary school (*AHS*), which lasts for eight years and culminates with the *Matura*—the standard prerequisite for university entrance. Children with lower grades must attend new middle school (*NMS*), which lasts for four years and is intended to provide vocational training opportunities. Alternately, polytechnical schools are a type of school that fills the gap between the end of lower secondary education in the 8th grade, and the end of compulsory education at the age of 15. However, admission to a particular school depends not only

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3   STATISTIK AUSTRIA defines 'foreigners' those who have foreign citizenship.

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on children's grades, but also their place of residence (*Wohnortnähe*) and whether or not any siblings previously attended the same school.

At the Austrian primary school level, 30.8 percent of all children have a mother tongue other than German. At *NMS*, this increases to 31.8, while it is only 20.1 percent for *AHS*. Children who speak German as first language are more likely to attend *AHS* after *Volksschule* than those with a mother tongue other than German (39.6 percent compared to 25.9 percent) (ibid., 26). Notably, Austria's education system becomes differentiated at relatively early stage: By the time children are ten years old, their university prospects are quite predictable (Bude, 2011).

The Lack of a Holistic Approach to Integration

Government documents show that Austria's education policy lacks a holistic approach to integration. The "50 Action Points" only identify German language skills as its main pillar of integration success, thus ignoring health, well-being, or social relationships (European Commission, 2019). Since German language progress is monitored through standardized tests, this approach illustrates a 'privatization' of integration (integration as migrants' individual responsibility) as well as discipline and control (integration as proof of self-discipline and willingness to adapt to the majority society country). Additionally, education policies promote exclusion mechanisms, as illustrated by *Deutschförderklassen* policy to instruct 'migrant' children separately from regular classes (Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, 2019). Since the Austrian federal government is pursuing a restrictive asylum policy in view of the increasing number of asylum applications in recent years, it can be assumed that, there will be considerably fewer pupils in *Deutschförderklassen* during the 2019–2020 school year than in the previous year. Furthermore, the country's integration budget for schools was cut in half in 2019, which contributed to a significant decrease in the number of German-language teachers (Der Standard, 12. 03. 2018). In response to a parliamentary question, Minister of Education Iris Rauskala stated that the number of *Deutschförderklassen* pupils will drop from about 9,800 in the 2018/19 school year to 6,300. Most children as well as the greatest decline in *Deutschförderklassen* are expected in Vienna in 2019/20 (2900/ minus 2100 compared to the second semester 2018/19) (ORF, 6. 9. 2019).

LITERATURE REVIEW: EDUCATION AND MIGRATION IN AUSTRIA

Research on migration and education in Austria focuses on the exclusiveness of the country's education system and on 'migrant' pupils' underrepresentation at AHS and universities. *Socio-economic models* perceive educational disadvantage as a consequence of parents' weak socio-economic preconditions (Gruber, 2018, 7), while *linguistic explanatory approaches* focus on language requirements for educational success. Language becomes particularly relevant when children possessing low first-language skills learn German as a second language (ibid.). *Psychological explanation models* highlight stereotypical judgement patterns and expectations from teachers and school principals towards pupils with 'migrant' biographies. Research shows that repeated experiences of negative stereotypes can lead to a short-term drop in 'migrant' pupils' exam performance as well as insecurity, lack of confidence, or self-protection (ibid., 8; Göbel & Buchwald, 2017). *Educational approaches* assume that educational systems can be inclusive and exclusive in different ways, with the extent of school differentiation being one of the strongest contributing factors to educational inequality (Fareidooni, 2010, 57).

Compared internationally, Austria ranks towards the bottom when it comes to compensating for unequal starting conditions in the education system, and shows an above average level of educational inheritance (OECD, 2019). Studies investigating educational inheritance in Austria show great differences in skill acquisition between children with and without a 'migration' background. However, pupils' socio-economic background must also be acknowledged as a source of unequal opportunities (ibid.). Existing research identifies a lack of adequate educational policy measures to promote the integration of 'migrant' pupils (Gruber, 2018, 6), with experts arguing that Austria's especially early school differentiation is "disintegrative" (SOS-Mitmensch, 2020) and therefore not promoting 'migrant' children's integration.

While we agree with these findings, we nevertheless identify that the existing literature emphasizes language, but lacks of a holistic approach to integration that incorporates an intersectional understanding of education and inclusion. Therefore, this article establishes the basis for such an approach by analyzing the practices and perceptions shared by representatives at Austrian schools.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS: INCLUSIVE AND EXCLUSIVE INTERSECTIONALITY

In the late 1970s, Western feminism was criticized as being by, about, and for white middle-class women, thereby excluding women of color or socio-economically disadvantaged women. These critiques emphasized that women experience different forms of discrimination and oppression along their gender, socio-economic status (class) and 'race', which

impact their personal identity formation (Zack, 2007, 193). The concept of intersectionality gained recognition in the 1980s, when Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) introduced it to show how Black women are excluded not only from mainstream society, but also from the women's movement.

According to Edward Said (1983), intersectionality has become a "travel theory" that has crossed almost all academic disciplines at a global scale: It traveled to "childhood studies" as a way of "*rethinking childhood in complex and heterogeneous ways*" (Konstantoni & Emejulu, 2016), while the triple oppression model of gender, 'race' and class creates a flexible framework for developing intersectionality as an analytical strategy (McCall, 2005), based on its "multivocality" (Hancock, 2007).

Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) defined intersectionality as the intersection of axes of inequality, whereas Iris Marion Young (2005, 64) described it as different "*axes of structural social privilege and disadvantage*". Gradually, the intersectionality model added additional axes of discrimination and oppression, such as nationality, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, and age—as well as migration status (Lenz, 2010). The various axes of inequality and discrimination must not be seen as the sum of their parts (Harris & Platton, 2019, 361). Instead, intersectionality moved beyond a "*mono-categorical perspective*" (Hill Collins, 1998), whereby research must acknowledge a "*mutually constitutive relationship among various categories of difference*" (Hancock, 2007, 252).

In order to understand how categories intersect, Leslie McCall identifies three different approaches: While the intra-categorical approach focuses on only one category, e.g. the intersection of gender and class or of 'race' and gender, the inter-categorial approach recognizes the interplay of a multiplicity of categories in order to document social inequalities. Meanwhile, the anti-categorical approach deconstructs categories such as gender, class, and 'race', and aims for a complex understanding of co-constitutive structures of inequality (McCall, 2005, 1773).

In the 1990s, Crenshaw emphasized the importance of focusing on the intersection of social identities, while simultaneously connecting these everyday, identity-specific experiences with intersecting political, structural and representative oppression (Crenshaw, 1991). Materialist approaches conceptualize intersectionality as structures of domination, pointing to the co-evolution of capitalism, patriarchy, racism, and homophobia (Sauer, 2018) "*within the context of sociohistorical and structural inequality*" (Bowleg, 2008, 321). In a similar vein, Harris and Platton (2019, 361) call for an analysis of all facets of power, privilege, and oppression.

Empirical studies distinguish between two forms of political intersectionality: First, "inclusive intersectionality", which is sensitive to and aware of intersectional power structures, and aims to overcome structures of domination and inequality that have led to racism, classism, patriarchy and sexism (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). Second, "exclusive intersectionality" (Siim & Mokre, 2013) risks reproducing domination and discrimination, thus excluding specific groups from society. Intersectionality is exclusive when it neglects the intersection of certain social categories. However, it can also be exclusive if the intersection of social categories is not contextualized, i.e., embedded in power structures. In its exclusive form, intersectionality is used to make power structures invisible. In this context, Sirma Bilge (2013, 407) described the un/doing of intersectionality, i.e. diluting, disciplining, and disarticulating intersecting inequalities. Another form of exclusive intersectionality arises when different structures of inequality might play off against each other. A prominent example is right-wing actors who instrumentalize the intersection of gender and religion by blaming the supposedly patriarchal attitudes of Muslim men, who are ostensibly unfit for Western societies and should therefore be excluded (Sauer, 2018, 87).

Perceptions of intersecting structures of domination and inequality influence attitudes towards 'migrant' pupils' integration: While inclusive intersectionality is a precondition for perceiving integration as a two-sided process of recognition and respect for differences between the majority society and migrants, exclusive intersectionality tends to support an assimilatory approach as it disarticulates, depoliticizes or instrumentalizes intersecting structures of inequality by focusing on alleged cultural differences alone. This article analyzes how teachers and school directors perceive and frame the situation of 'migrant' pupils at Austrian schools—and whether from inclusive or exclusive intersectional positionings.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

To answer our research question, we conducted fieldwork in 15 Austrian schools in Vienna and Eisenstadt between October and December 2019. One key selection criterion for our school sample was the neighborhoods in which the schools are located. Our research took place at schools in socio-economically advantaged areas as well as in schools that are characterized as *Brennpunktschulen* (hotspot schools), i.e., schools in socio-economically disadvantaged areas with mostly 'migrant' children. We included a balanced number of *AHS* and *NMS* in our sample.

During our fieldwork, we first conducted 15 qualitative interviews with school principals about integration at schools. Second, we selected six schools

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Table 1: Conducted interviews with principals and teachers in Austria.

Abbreviation/Pseudonym	Role of the Interviewed Person	Place/Date of the Interview
I1/Flora	principal (AHS)	Vienna, Sep. 9 2019
I5/Linda	principal (AHS)	Vienna, Sep. 18 2019
I6/Richard	principal (NMS)	Vienna, Sep. 25 2019
I7/Anton	principal (AHS)	Vienna, Oct. 7 2019
I8/Hugo	principal (AHS)	Vienna, Oct. 9 2019
I9/Doris	principal (NMS)	Eisenstadt, Oct. 17 2019
I10/Charlotte	principal (NMS)	Vienna, Oct. 23 2019
I11/Sabine	principal (NMS)	Vienna, Oct. 24 2019
I12/Hannes	principal (AHS)	Vienna, Oct. 24 2019
I13/Miriam	principal (NMS)	Vienna, Oct. 28 2019
S1_1/Fritz	teacher (BMS)	Vienna, Nov. 7 2019
S1_2/Susi	teacher (BMS)	Vienna, Nov. 6 2019
S1_4/Hugo	teacher (BMS)	Vienna, Nov. 4 2019
S1_6/Sissi	teacher (BMS)	Vienna, Nov. 5 2019
S1_F2/Fritz, Angela, Ingo, Hugo	focus group with teachers (BMS)	Vienna, Nov. 13 2019
S2_2/Brigitte	teacher (NMS)	Vienna, Dec. 6 2019
S2_3/Pelin	teacher (NMS)	Vienna, Dec. 6 2019
S3_2/Mara	teacher (NMS)	Vienna, Dec. 6 2019
S3_5/Jochen	Teacher (NMS)	Vienna, Dec. 9 2019
S4_4/Claire	teacher (NMS)	Vienna, Dec. 6 2019
S6_2/Levin	Teacher (AHS)	Vienna, Dec. 19 2019
S6_3/Hubert	teacher (AHS)	Vienna, Dec. 19 2019

for a more in-depth analysis. At these six schools, we scheduled 31 (semi-)structured in-depth interviews and seven focus groups with school personnel with and without migration or refugee experience. We focused on teachers and principals because they are the most important actors for implementing integration and education policies at schools. During these interviews, we asked the school representatives to discuss and elaborate upon topics of 'migrant' children's integration, cultural and religious diversity, and to evaluate the policies addressing barriers to 'migrant' children's integration at their school.

The interviews were transcribed and then interpreted and analyzed using a topic-centered content analysis. For reasons of data protection, the interview partners were pseudonymized[4]. In the following sections, we present our results on how teachers and school directors perceive and negotiate the intersectional positions of their pupils.

INTERSECTIONAL CONTESTATIONS OVER THE MEANING OF INTEGRATING 'MIGRANT' PUPILS

In this section, we will first examine how teachers and school directors draw attention to and raise awareness about the intersecting structures of inequality experienced by 'migrant' pupils. This addresses inclusive forms of intersectionality and strategies for a complex and holistic integration approach. Second, we discuss forms of exclusive intersectionality in connection to an assimilatory approach. Generally, our findings show ambivalences in how intersectionality and integration are framed, which indicates ongoing negotiations of integration at Austrian schools.

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4   The interviewees have been given acronyms and pseudonyms. A list of abbreviations and a more detailed description of the interview partners can be found in the appendix.

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Inclusive Intersectionality and Holistic Integration

In this section we demonstrate how 'migrant' pupils' intersectional positionings could be perceived in an inclusive way, which might therefore promote their sustainable integration process. The section is structured according to different forms of inclusive intersectionality and concludes with approaches to integration included within inclusive intersectionality frames.

The intersection of migration, belonging, self-esteem and political participation

Some school representatives describe successful integration as occurring when no child is subject to discrimination on the basis of their nationality, ethnicity, religion, or gender. Richard, for instance, emphasizes that children who "*feel that 'I can't get a job because I look different or have a different religion'*" (I6/Richard) are excluded rather than integrated. Other teachers draw attention to the intersectional discrimination experiences of 'migrant' pupils, which they believe reinforce disintegration. These respondents acknowledged that discrimination does not only occur at school, but also in other areas of society, such as the labor market (I6/Richard; S1_F2/Fritz; Angela, Ingo, Hugo; S1_6/Sissi).

Miriam, a school principal, stresses that those rejected by society because of their skin color or religion "*must organize with others who also share this experience*" (I13/Miriam). She continues, "*if I keep telling someone that he is a migrant, a foreigner, he will withdraw into his community*" (ibid.). Her justification suggests that 'migrant' children's experiences of exclusion could lead to 'ghettoization' or 'parallel societies'. Thus, she is aware that children's integration is not impeded by nationality, ethnicity, or religion alone, but by the exclusive structures of the Austrian society. This line of reasoning shows awareness for the complexity of intersecting structures that shape 'migrant' pupils' multiple positionings.

While Miriam's framing accounts for different experiences of exclusion along intersecting positionings as obstacles to successful integration. Others stress that the recognition and appreciation of migrant pupils' different cultural identities, perspectives and interests are essential for integration. Recognizing diversity, Richard argues, fosters 'migrant' children's sense of belonging and thus encourages active participation and integration (I6/Richard). This resonates with some school representatives' opinion that successful integration rests on a sense of belonging to the society regardless of origin, language, religion, or the way they look (I6/Richard; I11/Sabine; I12/Hannes). One teacher, Hugo, emphasizes that "*statistical figures on citizenship or place of birth provide an incomplete picture of the realities*" in terms of one's sense of belonging. Thus, 'migrant' children's self-definitions, he proposes, are a better indicator for belonging and self-esteem (S1_4/Hugo).

Political participation is likewise seen as a central element of integration. One school director demands that "*the city administration and all institutions must accept them as they are*" (I6/Richard). Hence, he understands integration as a two-way-process and, in particular, as a process of promoting children's self-esteem: If 'migrants' are and feel accepted, they also participate in society (ibid.).

These examples show how the school staff's reflections on integration reflect an inclusive approach to intersectionality that considers pupils' multiple positions besides nationality, migration or ethnicity. They consider the pupils' opinions, experiences, social as well as political sense of belonging, and participation as important elements of either integration or segregation.

Intersections of migration, class, place of residence and school type

Some of the interviewed school representatives emphasize that the socio-economic background of 'migrant' pupils' parents or families plays a strong role in integration. They stress that a lack of resources at home, e.g., a desk, a quiet or own room or necessary equipment such as a computer are important factors that affect integration. Interviewees saw poor poor learning infrastructure at home and a high number of family members in a small apartment as determinants of the segregation for these children (S1_6/Sissi; S1_F2/Fritz; Angela, Ingo, Hugo). Some interviewees also claim that the success of 'migrant' children at school depends on the support received from their parents. This, is in turn, depends on the parents' economic and time resources. Some teachers consider these factors as more relevant to integration and educational mobility than being a 'migrant' (I10/Charlotte; I11/Sabine; I12/Hannes; S1_6/Sissi).

Other school representatives assert that parents with a higher level of education and a better socio-economic position are often able to mobilize more support for their children due to their better knowledge of the school system and stronger German language skills. To these teachers, the educational and—especially—class background of 'migrant' parents constructs one of the main obstacles to future educational success for this group of pupils.

Another discriminatory condition that some school representatives draw upon is the spatial dimension of residence. Some Viennese districts are mainly populated by migrants and people with poor economic resources. Some school principals emphasize that the socio-demographic characteristics of the pupils'

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respective residential areas are reflected in the school composition due to the *Wohnortnähe* principle (I6/Richard; I8/Hugo). More than 50 percent of pupils at these schools have a mother tongue that is not German, regardless of whether the school is an *NMS* or *AHS* (I5/Linda; I8/Hugo; I10/Charlotte; I11/Sabine). Nevertheless, most 'migrant' pupils attend the NMS, as they are located in neighborhoods where most Viennese laborers and 'migrants' live (I6/Richard; I8/Hugo). Thus, socio-economic status and *Wohnortnähe* impose the main obstacles to 'migrant' pupils' higher education (I5/Linda; I6/Richard; I8/Hugo; I9/Doris).

Moreover, the interviewed school staff frames the dual *AHS* and *NMS* school system as one that perpetuates social and educational inequality and impedes the integration of 'migrant' pupils. These teachers also criticize how primary school grades are decisive for further school outcomes. Charlotte, an *NMS* school principal, claims that "*a marginal percentage goes to another secondary school after leaving the NMS*", but only attend *Polytechnic School*s until they are 15 years old (I10/Charlotte), while *AHS* pupils follow the path towards a university education. She argues that this dual school system segregates children, which not only affects the children's lives, but also the stigmatization of schools and school types.

Inclusive approach to integration

As shown above, some of the interviewed school staff express a sensitivity for the intersecting positionings of 'migrant' pupils that affect their integration process. These school representatives articulate criticisms of integration as assimilation (S2_3/Pelin) and stress that 'migrant' pupils' social and political participation are central pillars of integration. Integration, moreover, should be based on mutual recognition, respect, appreciation, and a sense of belonging. Furthermore, some school representatives consider the intersections of migration, socio-economic or class background, place of familial residence, and the school type and the Austrian school system to be of particular relevance for the integration process. Thus, quite a few interviewees perceive multiple of structures of inequality as interacting with and reinforcing 'migrant' pupils' exclusion. Hence, our study shows that some teachers display an inclusive approach to intersectionality. However, in the following, we will illustrate respondents' exclusive ways of framing intersections in 'migrant' pupils' lives.

Exclusive Intersectionality and Assimilatory Integration

This section demonstrates forms, neglect, non-contextualization and instrumentalization of inter-sectional views towards 'migrant' pupils, which risk excluding or marginalizing these children, while also contributing to an assimilatory integration approach.

Gender versus religion and culture

Some teachers and school directors stress that some 'migrant' children lack respect for women, female teachers, and gender equality. In reference to her experiences with male Muslim pupils, one teacher states, "*we female teachers should be respected in the same way as men*". She continues that "*in Austria, we don't believe that a man can dictate to a woman what she should to wear*" (S1_2/Susi) and raises the debate about Islamic headscarves in Austrian schools.[5] She therefore expresses the specific need to 'discipline' male Muslim pupils so that they respect female teachers' authority. She voiced her anger by asserting, "*we as Austrians cannot tolerate everything*" (S1_2/Susi). Another teacher supports this view by claiming that integration is proven by "*shaking hands with women even if you are a Muslim man*" (S6_3/Hubert). One teacher who characterizes her school as consisting "*almost exclusively of pupils with a migration background*" (S1_2/Susi) emphasizes the need for monitoring and testing whether 'migrant' pupil behavior is "*compatible with our Austrian values and laws*" (ibid.). Similarly, one teacher, Jochen, points out that Muslim children or their parents do not accept certain subjects such as sex education or the theory of evolution in biology lessons (S3_5/Jochen).

Through these framings, the school staff particularly constructs images of male Muslim pupils, who allegedly reproduce patriarchal gender relations and disrespect equality between women and men, which is labelled as a core "Austrian value" (I6/Richard). School representatives negotiate diversity as a problem of 'cultural' and 'religious' discrepancies between a 'We'—the Austrians—and 'them'—male Muslims, constructed as 'Others'. This argumentation highlights the alleged incompatibility between Austrian values and 'the' values of Islam as the main obstacle to integration.

We interpret this narrative as an exclusive intersectional approach, because school representatives instrumentalize the intersecting structures of religion, culture and gender in order to show that the presumably 'backward' religion (Islam) and traditional culture (of Muslim communities) crystalizes around gender relations: Patriarchal Muslim boys disrespect gender equality. In this framing, school representatives play off gender and religion against each other alongside the push for assimilation instead of considering the difficult positionings of 'migrant' boys

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5   In May 2019, the ÖVP-FPÖ government coalition passed a ban on Islamic headscarves at elementary schools (Die Presse, 08. 05. 2019).

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or young men in Austrian society. This framing, thus, risks exacerbating 'migrant' pupils' experiences of discrimination, as well as stigmatizing and excluding this group of pupils.

Migration versus class

We observed that some school staff do not recognize 'migrant' pupils' different intersecting positionings within the Austrian society and school system. According to most school staff, *Brennpunktschulen* are characterized as schools with many children who hold 'migration backgrounds', and who are from families with a lower socio-economic background (S1_2/Susi; S1_6/Sissi). In this regard, Susi argues that classes or schools with many 'migrant' pupils tend to lead to 'cultural' conflicts (S1_2/Susi). This narrative perceives 'migrant' pupils as responsible for 'cultural' tensions, which reinforce learning disparities among pupils. This, in turn, allegedly leads to a decline in the level of all pupils' learning outcomes, which reflects poorly on the school's image (S1_2/Susi). Similarly, another *AHS* teacher, Claire, blames 'diversity' for inducing her school's 'bad image' and demands a better 'mixing' in schools. In her opinion, this stigmatization as *Brennunktschule* is the reason why children have low self-confidence and believe they have limited opportunities for academic or professional success (S4_4/Claire).

Claire's reasoning represents an exclusive intersectional approach to integration, because the school representatives instrumentalize intersecting structures in a doubled sense: First, the intersecting inequalities of being a 'migrant' and from a socio-economic deprived class are seen as a 'danger' or risk to all pupils' good educational performance and school reputations. Second, their framing combines the status of being a 'migrant' with having a poor socio-economic background, and therefore plays these inequality structures off against each other. Thus, 'migrant' pupils from lower class families are held responsible for the 'bad' educational future prospects of all pupils at 'stigmatized' schools, which ignores Austrian education system's structural deficiencies and class selectivity. This deepens the stigmatization towards and exclusion of 'migrant' pupils. Additionally, these teachers tend to present diversity as a problem that needs to be solved by culturally assimilating 'migrant' pupils into the Austrian society.

Nationality, ethnicity, migration, and the disarticulation of multiple disadvantages

In our interview material, we identified how teachers characterize so-called 'guest workers' – particularly from Turkey and Ex-Yugoslavia as well as their descendants – as demonstrating "*stagnant integration deficits*" (S1_2/Susi). Susi, for instance, emphasizes that 'migrant' children who are born and/or raised in Austria "*still stick to their or parents' countries of origin*" (ibid.). This, she argues, is the main obstacle to integration. However, she attributes this to "*both the guest workers and the Austrian state, who presumed that* [the guest workers] *would leave and stay only temporarily in Austria*" (ibid.). In her opinion, this is why the integration of guest workers and their descendants has failed (ibid.). Moreover, she argues that this situation is worsened because integration policies currently "*only concentrate on the integration of refugees*" and exclude integration measures for second- and third-generation 'migrant' pupils. In contrast to guest workers, some teachers, such as Hugo, construct refugees as "*being able to integrate faster*" (S1_4/Hugo).

On the one hand, this argumentation shows an exclusive form of the intersectional approach through how it instrumentalizes the overlapping structures of class, nationality, ethnicity and migration to explain differences in integration processes. On the other hand, it also shows how other social structures of inequality that can have a negative impact on the integration process are ignored, such as different migrants' poor socio-economic situations.

Another framing includes blaming and stigmatizing parents and families for 'migrant' pupils' failure to integrate due to their alleged linguistic and cultural deficits. These deficits are described as a lack of knowledge about German language and Austrian school system, as well as a lack of education. Some teachers in our sample stressed that it is not only the parents' 'low' educational background that negatively affects their children. Rather, interviewees particularly noted 'migrant' parents' allegedly low appreciation for education and lack of motivation towards supporting their children's education (I9/Doris). One school principal, Doris, highlights that family support is the most important indicator of a pupil's school and integration success (ibid.). She points to differences in parents' motivations for migrating, which determine children's school success. Doris describes "*Hungarian parents*" as an example of those who ostensibly migrated for educational reasons and are therefore very motivated to help their children achieve a better education (ibid.). Conversely, she stressed that "*Turkish parents*", even if they are "*wealthy*", do not care about their children's education (ibid.). In her opinion, this shows how Turks may have a lower priority for education (ibid.)

This narrative reflects the intersection of nationality, ethnicity, class, and education. However, it represents another ideal of exclusive intersectionality, because Doris categorizes 'migrant' pupils' integration 'success' or 'failure' through her attention to

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the different nationalities and migration histories of adults, while disarticulating other structural inequalities such as access to education, or opportunities to involve of parents at schools. In doing so, the school representative hierarchizes groups of children, their parents and families by their alleged national or ethnic backgrounds that may have a negative impact how pupils interact socially in everyday school life and impede the educational success or failure and future prospects of the children. Hence, exclusive intersectional approach arguably depoliticizes integration by ignoring and instrumentalizing intersecting structures of inequality.

Likewise, some teachers consider good German language skills as a precondition for 'migrant' children's participation in daily learning processes, school routines and their understanding of bureaucratic processes and the legal system. One teacher, Brigitte, expresses her perception of integration as being able to "*get along with the school system and following a common set of rules*" (S2_2/Brigitte). Fritz describes integration as the knowledge of "dealing with bureaucracy and legal system" (S1_1/Fritz). Ultimately, this focus on ethnicity and language only addresses exclusive framings of intersectionality.

Assimilatory approach to integration

The neglect, disarticulation, non-contextualization and instrumentalization of intersectionality arguably promotes ethnicized, culturalist, sexist and nationalistic explanations for differences in pupils' integration processes. This approach links integration failure to violating alleged 'core Austrian values' such as gender equality by specific groups of 'migrant' pupils. Thus, school representatives discursively embed pupils mainly in their families', nationality, ethnicity, religion or 'culture', rather than in structures such as language or educational barriers in the Austrian school system, as well as parents' discouragement from communicating with school representatives or education policies. This reinforces how the individualization of overlapping social inequalities invisiblize the fact that they are co-constitutive power structures. Therefore, these framings suggest that, on the one hand, the 'success' or 'failure' of 'migrant' pupils' integration is limited to their positioning as 'migrants' and, thus, disarticulates other structural inequalities in the educational system. On the other hand, this perception of exclusive intersectionality promotes the responsibilization of 'migrant' pupils' integration by making 'migrant' parents responsible for their children's alleged 'failure' to integrate. Individualization and responsibilization represent and support an assimilatory approach, as it highlights only one pathway to integration, i.e., adapting to the Austrian society. This reinforces the dualistic distinction of 'We'—the Austrians—versus 'them'—the migrants.

Nevertheless, our material also shows grey areas and ambivalences in negotiating 'migrant' children's intersecting positionings at schools. However, we found that while some school staff appear to initially hold inclusive views, they appear somewhat exclusive after critical examination.

Ambivalences of Negotiating Intersectionality and Integration

In our research, we refer to ambivalences as narratives and frames that the interviewees use to either explicitly disarticulate differences between pupils and imply universalities; or, by evoking certain intersecting structures of inequality that are open to both inclusive and exclusive forms, i.e. to integration and exclusion.

An example of exclusive forms of how teachers negotiate intersectionality is the conscious or explicit disarticulation of children's intersectional experiences of discrimination. In practice, some teachers strive for equality among all pupils regardless of their nationality, ethnicity, religion, gender, or socio-economic background. As Angela affirms, "*we treat them primarily as children and pupils*" (S1_F2/ Fritz, Angela, Ingo, Hugo). Many teachers emphasize their primary role as educators who do *not* discriminate between pupils according to their national, ethnic, religious, gender or socio-economic background. This, they claim, ensures the equality of all pupils (I6/Richard; I10/Charlotte). In this regard, some school staff stress the need to highlight common and shared experiences; as Levin states, "*integration means when people with different stories share a life together*" and "*do not exclude, but respect differences*" (S6_2/Levin). This perspective includes the inclusive argument that pupils desire to be recognized and treated as children. However, our study shows that this perspective represents an ambivalent approach to intersectionality. While it attempts to promote equality among pupils by disarticulating their different and intersectional experiences of discrimination and inequality, it tends to reproduce—unintentionally—social inequality and exclusion experienced by 'migrant' pupils deletion of 'due to their migration status'.

Furthermore, the respondents identify problems with the 'two-tier school system' comprised of the *AHS* and *NMS*, which results in most "migrant children ending up in *NMS*" (I1/Flora). *NMS*, Susi claims, is "*nothing special to cope with the stigma of being a migrant*" (S1_2/Susi) or with any experiences of discrimination, "*as almost every pupil is a migrant*" (ibid.). Given the large share of migrants, therefore, Anton is not aware of any "*discrimination towards pupils*" at *NMS* (I7/Anton; I11/Sabine). Conversely, some teachers and school directors perceive diversity arising from migration, gender, class, and religion as a form of enrichment (I7/ Anton). However, they simultaneously neglect differences concerning power structures, the unequal distribution of economic resources or access to education.

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This omission risks re-enforcing intersecting structures of inequality instead of actively overcoming these inequalities.

In addition, some interviewed teachers acknowledge the differences between how 'migrant' pupils experience integration processes in the general Austrian society and at schools. They highlight the contrasting realities of schools and the broader society. While some schools are predominantly attended by 'migrant' children, Austrian society is classified as 'less migrant' and 'more white', as Susi claims (S1_2/Susi). She explains that "*they are met with so much rejection in the outside world that we do not even notice that they are already so used to it*" (S1_F2/ Fritz, Angela, Ingo, Hugo). According to some teachers, 'migrant' pupils feel part of the diverse school community and therefore do not feel discriminated against or excluded, since they supposedly feel like they are among peers (S1_2/Susi). Teachers and school principals distinguish pupils' experiences at school from their exposure to racism in the labor market and "*in the outside world*" (S1_F2/Fritz; Angela, Ingo, Hugo). This frame, again, represents an ambivalent approach to intersectionality: On the one hand, it offers a more holistic and inclusive approach to the children's integration of children by not limiting the integration process to schools, and rather locating their experiences of discrimination in the labor market or in other social interactions outside of school life. This reflects a more long-term and sustainable outlook on the integration process. On the other hand, this perspective neglects intersectional experiences of discrimination against 'migrant' children by focusing exclusively on categories of nationality, ethnicity and migration as presumed, automatic 'assets' that support their inclusion into the school community and class.

In addition, many school representatives implied that 'successful' integration is apparent if 'migrant' children show a sense of belonging to the school community and society, regardless of origin, language, religion or their appearance (I6/Richard; I11/Sabine; I12/Hannes). While this shows sensitivity to intersecting inequalities experienced by pupils, it disarticulates and ignores how these inequalities play into the process of belonging.

CONCLUSIONS

Our research illustrates migration and integration as a site of contention at Austrian schools. We observed that many teachers and school directors generally aim to support 'migrant' pupils, and make strong efforts to avoid discriminating against these pupils because of their migration status. However, some school representatives only focus on nationality, ethnicity and migration, while concurrently ignoring and de-contextualizing other inequalities, such as socio-economic disparities, educational differences, school location, Austria's highly differentiated school system, exclusive structures in the majority society, and exclusive mechanisms of integration and education policies.

Additionally, the universalistic or equality-oriented approach applied by some school staff also risks being exclusive, as it fails to seriously consider the intersectionality of manifold structures of inequality that shape the lives of 'migrant' children. Furthermore, some school representatives instrumentalize intersectional positionings of 'migrant' pupils by playing different inequality structures off against each other, e.g. gender versus religion. Neglecting, non-contextualizing and instrumentalizing social categories, i.e. framings that we label as 'exclusive intersectionality', thus reinforce the individualization of overlapping social inequalities by rendering invisible how they co-constitute power structures. Therefore, this line of reasoning makes 'migrant' pupils, their families, and communities responsible for their deletion of sucsessful. Arguably, some school staffs' views of individualization and responsibilization therefore represent and endorse an assimilatory approach to integration. Our results support the perspective that exclusive intersectional approaches are mainly associated with integration concepts grounded in the assimilatory model.

However, our research also shows that school representatives take into account pupils' different intersectional positionings at the intersection of ethnicity, nationality, religion, gender, parental socio-economic positioning, and school location. Hence, these perceptions represent an inclusive form of intersectionality that promotes a holistic view and, therefore, an inclusive conceptualization of integration.

Ultimately, we conclude the way integration is negotiated at Austrian schools is quite ambivalent: On the one hand, teachers and principals see their pupils' integration as a disciplinary approach to cultural assimilation. On the other hand, many respondents perceived integration as a two-way process and as a process of inclusion, which needs specific educational measures as well as a transformation of the Austrian society towards inclusiveness. We propose that an inclusive intersectional approach is necessary to understand the complexity of the integration process experienced by 'migrant' children and to promote a holistic evaluation to their integration holistic and sustainable evaluation.

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INTERSEKCIONALNA NASPROTJA – POMEN INTEGRACIJE UČENCEV, PRISELJENCEV, V AVSTRIJSKE ŠOLE

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POVZETEK

V članku analiziramo, kako šolsko osebje v dveh avstrijskih mestih ureja umeščenost učencev priseljencev na presečišču najrazličnejših struktur dominacije in neenakosti, povezanih denimo z državljanstvom, narodnostno pripadnostjo, veroizpovedjo, spolom, družbenoekonomskim položajem staršev ter lokacijo šole. Naš cilj je bil preučiti, kako šolsko osebje dojema raznolikost učencev v luči avstrijske izobraževalne in integracijske politike, s tem pa pokazati na kompleksnost izobraževanja in integracije učencev priseljencev. V raziskavi smo uporabili intersekcionalni pristop ter opravili poglobljene intervjuje in oblikovali sedem fokusnih skupin s šolskim osebjem. Rezultati so nakazali povezavo na eni strani med vključujočimi oblikami intersekcionalnosti in celovitim pristopom k integraciji, na drugi strani pa med izključevalno intersekcionalnostjo in pristopom asimilacijske integracije. V splošnem rezultati ne kažejo enoznačne formulacije intersekcionalnosti in integracije, kar napeljuje na sklep, da je urejanje integracije v Avstriji odprto vprašanje. Članek nakazuje, da je vključujoč intersekcionalni pristop nujen za razumevanje kompleksnosti procesa integracije otrok priseljencev, kot tudi za spodbujanje celovitega pogleda na njihovo integracijo.

Ključne besede: integracija, učenci priseljenci, učitelji, Avstrija, intersekcionalnost

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CHILDREN WITH MIGRATION BACKGROUNDS IN POLISH SCHOOLS – PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

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ABSTRACT

This paper will reconsider the problems and challenges of children with migration background in Polish schools. The author refers to his own studies conducted as a part of the MiCreate project, supplemented by previous academic research in order to find the tools and solutions that could support the integration of migrant children, aid their wellbeing and empower them in their new environment. Legal aspects of the Polish educational system are described in the beginning in order to understand the background for the integration practices. Particular emphasis is placed on the intercultural competences of teachers and the development of the profession of intercultural assistants.

Keywords: interculturalism, education, migrant children, teaching, diversity, social work

BAMBINI CON ESPERIENZA DI MIGRAZIONE NELLE SCUOLE POLACCHE – PROBLEMI E SFIDE

SINTESI

Il contributo tratta dei problemi e delle sfide dei bambini con esperienza di migrazione nelle scuole polacche. L'autore fa riferimento ai propri studi condotti nell'ambito del progetto MiCreate, integrati da precedenti ricerche accademiche, al fine di identificare gli strumenti e le soluzioni in grado di supportare l'integrazione di bambini migranti, favorire il loro benessere e responsabilizzarli nel loro nuovo ambiente. Gli aspetti giuridici del sistema di istruzione polacco sono descritti all'inizio per consentire la comprensione dello sfondo su cui sono basate le pratiche di integrazione. Un'enfasi particolare viene posta sulle competenze interculturali degli insegnanti e sullo sviluppo della professione degli assistenti interculturali.

Parole chiave: interculturalità, istruzione, bambini migranti, insegnamento, diversità, lavoro sociale

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGICAL EXPLANATION

When discussing the problems and challenges faced by children with a migration background in the schooling system of one's own country, we need to reconsider several separate issues that are only formally interlinked. Some refer to sociological or legal definitions describing such children: the latter consider their functioning in educational systems and surrounding environments, the other is attached to services provided to such children or people and institutions empowering or disempowering them. This is particularly important as UNESCO guidelines on Intercultural Education require each country to respect a student's cultural identity through the provision of a culturally adequate education, enabling each student access to cultural knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary to achieve active and full participation in a society in a manner contributing to building respect, understanding and solidarity between people from various ethnic, social, religious or national groups (UNESCO, 2015, 30). Such guidelines require from governments to create policies which will affect legal definitions, sociological constructions used to describe children with migration background, transform the environment and services to be consistent with the UNESCO instructions. Education itself is seen as a social capital building factor, a creator of equal chances on the labor market, an important indicator of reducing differences in accessing social goods and equalizing development opportunities (Adams & Kirova, 2007). In Poland, it is widely accepted that despite a declared equality in the access to education, children with a migration background face multiple problems in schools (Butarewicz-Głowacka, 2015, 103–104).

This article will reconsider several problems and challenges based on existing research as well as our own research conducted within the MiCreate[1] project. This research was divided into two stages. The project team first spoke with 14 experts and stakeholders, professionally active in the field of migration and integration. Some were teachers, some employed by government in educational institutions and some represented the non-governmental organizations. Interviewees were selected according to their professional practice, knowledge and experience to represent the whole spectrum of persons

and institutions engaged in the process of children's integration in Polish school's environment. Then the fifteen different schools countrywide were selected in order to assess the situation of the migrant children there. Schools were selected for the study to represent all types of establishments from large metropolitan ones to those located in small village far from any large city. In each of them a structured interview had been made with a person who has the best knowledge on the relations between local and migrant children. Six schools in the Krakow's area were then selected for the in depth studies. Six interviews per school were conducted with teachers, psychologists, administrative staff and other employees. Same group were then invited to focus groups to speak about perception of the diversity and multiculturalism in the school environment as well as strengths and weaknesses, good practices and other ideas about integration. All interviews and focus groups were transcribed and analyzed.

ARE CHILDREN WITH A MIGRATION BACKGROUND LEGALLY RECOGNIZED?

In legal terms there are three types of inhabitants in Poland: people holding Polish citizenship and people not holding Polish citizenship that are then dividing into UE/EEA/Swiss citizens and third country nationals. Migratory status or experiences are not relevant for this definition. In the regulations adopted at the level of the Ministry of Education, more detailed categories of students can be distinguished. Poland singles out non-Polish students and Polish students who were receiving education in schools as part of other countries' educational systems. This allows the sorting of those Polish citizens who were not part of Polish schooling and being born abroad or spending certain time there receiving a foreign education. This is a specific category of children with a migration background, often overlooked by educational systems and discriminated against in access to fair and equal education. As those children hold Polish citizenship, they are expected to know the Polish language and culture which is often not the case. Even if their language proficiency is communicative enough to have an effortless conversation, most will not know the language of instruction, which is crucial to follow the curriculum and obtain educational acknowledgment (Lipińska & Seretny, 2018, 88–89).

Another group that is overlooked by the system are UE/EEA/Swiss citizens who, in theory, have the same rights as Polish citizens. With a lack of state-supported integration programs, migrant children of this category cannot benefit from integration programs implemented by voivodships[2] such as AMIF funds (Asylum, Migration and Integration Funds). Presently in Poland, this is the major fund that delivers additional language classes, compensatory lessons to migrant children and organizing integration activities between third country nationals and local children. The situation of migrant children is complex both in legal terms and in school practice, revealing several spheres of potential inequalities.

STRUCTURAL CHALLENGES OF THE POLISH EDUCATION SYSTEM

The most important discriminatory factor in this regard is obviously language proficiency. Those who speak Polish fluently are generally well integrated into the system, but those who are not face trouble in school including the need to repeat a whole year, lower achievements and general educational failure. The correct classification of a child and the adaptation of a useful definition is therefore extremely important in order to connect a child in need (with a migration background) to the services available within the social policy system.

Many scholars and social activists in Poland are warning that the imperfect inclusive solutions already present (or completely absent) in the educational system, especially in light of the declared state of epidemic, proclaimed in Poland in March 2020 and still in force in June 2020, has deteriorated the situation of children with special educational needs and has once again limited their access to a fair and equal education (Migrant Info Point, 2020). This reveals the structural problem of the education of children with migration backgrounds in Polish schools.

In Poland, every child between the ages of 7 and 18 has both the right and an obligation to attend school. It is legally required for them to complete eight years of? education, which means finishing primary school. After the 2016 school reform, there are no longer middle schools in Poland and the secondary stage of education include four-year

lyceums, five-year technical schools and two-stage vocational schools. Primary schools' enrollment are assigned to territorial areas. This creates the first structural problem. Children are enrolled into schools located in the area of their domicile. As Poland does not have typical migration districts in cities most children with a migration background are dispersed between many schools. They do not build visible school communities as their presence is usually below 5% of overall school communities. In such circumstances, the integration of the child in the classroom is dependent on the teacher's ability to notice such a child and engage it in classroom activities.

We learned, from interviews[3] with teachers and school representatives within the MiCreate project, that many teachers consciously or unconsciously do not acknowledge the differing needs of children with a migration background. In the first case equal treatment is wrongfully understood as the supposition not to distinguish any child in the school despite his/her uniqueness or group belonging. This touched upon the issue related to the process of individualization of teaching. In large classes, overwhelmed by the curriculum imperative, teachers once again need to choose whether to engage or ignore a child with a migration background. This interrupts the two-way integration process. Our MiCreate findings showed that once a teacher is focusing on migration children, he or she usually neglects local children causing inter-peer strain. On the other hand, there are also teachers who ignore migrant children which led to isolation and problems with keeping up in learning. These findings are coherent with earlier research (Januszewska, 2015; Butarowicz-Głowacka, 2015; Nazaruk, 2016). In the current state of epidemic, the individualization of work is even harder as online teaching is shorter and more focused on task assignment and knowledge transmission. It was noticed by our interviewees from educational communities and non-governmental organizations that migrant children have fewer possibilities to engage in the process of online learning and are not able to ask additional questions or obtain clarification needed to understand the learning material. The support of assistants is also limited. These findings overlap with the general problems of online teaching such

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2 Poland's 'voivodship' (pl. *województwo*) is the largest unit of local governance in Poland. Usually it covers a single or several regions. There are currently sixteen voivodships in Poland. Governance has a dual structure. Migration issues are covered by a central governmental representative in the region.

3 In MiCreate project, Work Package 3 and Work Package 4 were devoted to examine Reception Communities and School Communities in the following countries: Austria, Denmark, Poland, Slovenia, Spain and the United Kingdom. In each country scholars undertook numerous interviews with stakeholders – experts from governmental and non-governmental institutions working with children with a migration background (WP3). In the next stage of the project, interviews and focus groups with teachers and other school staff were organized. Each country's team selected six schools, representative of the state, for in-depth studies and nine more schools for more general interviews. Collections of the interviews enabled the preparation of six national reports on different aspects of migrant children functioning in school and local communities.

as lack of equipment, limitation of school hours, the unclear methodology of teaching and greater parental burden which is impossible to bear (Librus, 2020, 3–16).

Nevertheless, in both educational scenarios it should be the chief responsibility of principals and the relevant performance assessment institutions to assign children with a migration background to the adequate classroom and grade/year, as well as an empowering one, enabling the fastest possible adaptation to a new environment. As Entorf and Lauk argue, the system of early differentiation by skill level has a negative impact on the school performance of children who come to school with language and social deficits, a high proportion of whom come from families with a migration background (Entorf & Lauk, 2008, 634). Polish rules of enrollment relying on domicile seems to prevent such differentiation as far as the effect of migrant ghettoization does not appear. There is however no legally binding solution to the problem of lowering the year/grade during the enrollment process created by the assessment of skills. This process is driven by language performance and most assessment institutions and principals prefer to assign a child to a 'lower' classroom than the actual age of the child fearing issues with curriculum understanding, including differences in various European systems. The problem here is legal regulation in educational law which allows discretionally decision of headmasters and school boards on this matter. It means that each of nearly twenty four thousand Polish schools may have different approach to assign migrant children to certain classes. The only merit ground is documentation from other educational systems, interview, parent's opinion and tests of abilities. Those tests are not synchronized by the government and are also individual for each school.

Teachers interviewed by us in the MiCreate project openly claimed that curriculums in the United Kingdom or United States are less demanding to children of certain grades, especially in mathematics and the natural sciences. There are however other structural factors that may affect the integration opportunities of migrant children. One is school overcrowding. Although year after year the number of students are dropping, the 2016 reform which liquidated middle schools caused the overburdening of secondary schools in the 2019/2020 school year due to an influx of students. This affected the process of supervision over the school performance of individual students as there were simply too many to allot time for individual work or counselling. Thus, school achievements are dependent on parents' ability to support their child in his/her learning. As previously mentioned, regardless of the

methodology used during online teaching, many migrant parents have real trouble controlling their child's progress as they are unable to communicate with the school or use the relevant applications or software necessary for online learning. The language barrier is key here and this also revealed that in many Polish schools, students with a migration background often become unwilling translators in the relations between parents and school staff. This is never adequate as there are many distortions in the translation process, not only connected to different meanings of certain words in other languages but also related to the emotional and psychological input of the conversation (García-Sánchez, Orellana & Hopkins, 2011, 148–149). In Poland, many teachers who may have previously learned some basic Russian during their own education are able to use this language as a poor man's *lingua franca* and to some extent control what is being said during teacher-parent conferences whenever students serve as translators. This might be to some extent perceived as great asset as Polish schools are dominated by Russian/Ukrainian/Belarussian speaking students. These three groups totals approximately 80-85 per cent of the whole population of foreign children. The other larger groups (bellow 500) are Vietnamese, German, Bulgarian, French, Chinese and South Korean. Nevertheless the quality of such communication is often dependent on family relations, with the parental effect on schooling performance being reinforced by particularly low intergenerational educational transmission (Entorf & Lauk, 2008, 634).

At the beginning of this century, Marcus and Sanders-Reio reported that many scholars saw a positive attachment of the child to his family and peers as a prerequisite of higher school performance. Detachment caused by family structure irregularities or emotional dissonance were predicators of school failure (Marcus & Sanders-Reio, 2001, 429–430). As Gawlicz is reporting, many Polish scholars, since the beginning of migration studies in Poland, have confirmed that migrant children are neglected, stigmatized and sometimes abused both by teachers and their peers (Gawlicz, 2015, 15–26). The situation is much better in large cities where most integration programs have been introduced. Nevertheless, from the structural perspective the anticipation of improvement is undermined by a lack of anti-discrimination education, and a lack of civic education in Polish schools (Abramowicz, 2011). The obligation to introduce such threads in Polish education took effect for a short period after 2015. As found in a report prepared for the MiCreate project (Bulandra & Kościółek, 2019a, 57), this requirement (until its abolition by the new government in 2017) had never been operationalized or trans-

ferred into the teaching program framework. Over the years and despite the lack of direct instruments, the very fact that this was found in the Education Act allowed some teachers and non-governmental organizations to introduce elements of intercultural teaching into particular subjects or as independent workshops and training sessions for children. However, this came to an end with a shift in government in 2015 due to the reluctance of principals to allow extra-curricular subjects to be taught by external institutions that were not state-approved, as well as pressures from certain right-wing organizations who see anti-discrimination education as threat to traditional, Christian values.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS OF INTEGRATION

Here comes the question about the facilitating and impeding factors in the school environment. Despite reported singular incidents, most migrant children are largely accepted in their local communities in Poland. These incidents, however, are harmful and sometimes even dangerous. Open racial or xenophobic bias is rare, but racial prejudice is often preserved in local children's attitudes due to recent changes in the state's narration on notion such as patriotism, nation, national identity and the suchlike. When the author spoke with migration experts in the MiCreate project, it was highlighted that any attempt to awaken national pride in Polish people may forge an acceptance of discrimination towards migrant children as Polish children have started to feel superior over their peers from different nations and are building their exceptionality on exclusion (Bulandra & Ko ciółek, 2019b, 40–41). The prevention of such bias is a major challenge in contemporary Polish schools. These processes, especially if undertaken against the symbolic and systemic narration of the educational authorities, require courage but also the high intercultural competences of teachers. This is particularly important as the numbers of migrant children attending Polish schools year on year is gradually on the rise, in fact, this increase has been rapid most recently. For many years research undertaken among teachers showed that they lack the competences to teach in an intercultural environment and feel lost when approaching a child with a different cultural background (Błeszy ska, 2010, 50–79). However, our interviews with teachers showed the contrary. This might be however local effect as Krakow did a lot in past few years to prepare teachers to educate children in diverse environment. In our research it was also important

to assess the situation in the schools which are intercultural, so the results did not represent the average Krakow's teachers.

During the MiCreate project, we spoke with teachers with advanced teaching experience who attended different training sessions years before the interviews. At the beginning of the century, training sessions focused on migratory issues were extremely popular and teachers often attended them. As most of these focused on the development of soft competences, teachers did not feel the further need to expand on them further. The approach of teachers to development of their intercultural knowledge is mixed, however, they scored low on the list of priorities in general professional development (Hernik et al., 2013, 24). This was also confirmed in preliminary research recently undertaken by Pamuła-Behrens and Szyma ska (Bulandra et al., 2019, 33–57). It revealed that teachers prize their effectiveness in working with migrant children and their parents lower than educators[4] and school psychologists do. This refers to teaching performance, conflict resolution and the motivation of students for learning, but also teaching Polish as a foreign language which was the weakest part of teachers' competences. Researchers who knew that most respondents took part in different intercultural training sessions or studies felt concerned with the low estimation of teaching effectiveness among teachers. Although teachers declared their readiness for an individual approach to children with a migration background, they seem to concentrate on the deficits of such children (lowering expectations) rather than their capabilities. However, they are ready to learn new methods of teaching and gain academic knowledge in order to change their approach to implement modern integration tools. They also prize high their intercultural competences and openness to otherness (Bulandra et al., 2019, 43–50).

The declaration of the necessity to raise intercultural competences does not come, however, with a readiness to take part in training or studies in this field. There are numerous opportunities to sign up for post-graduate studies focused on work in an intercultural environment. Such studies are also co-financed by local governments. For example, in Kraków teachers can apply for a reimbursement of 85% of the costs of such studies. However, for the past two years such studies have not been provided in Kraków universities due to a lack of willing participants. The reason for this is unclear and has never been examined well in the research. Our interviews showed that teachers are overwhelmed

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4   Educator in Poland is a teacher that supports pedagogically school, but is not teaching any subject or teacher who is supervising class in the school (can teach particular subject but may not).

with the amount of regular teaching they have and have little spare time for such studies, so there is a general lack of interest to gain only soft competences. If this were not the case, studies or training sessions for teaching Polish as a foreign language might become very popular and in most schools that accept migrant children teachers of Polish might gain such competences. This refers, however, only to teachers of Polish, rarely other humanities subjects.

The low intercultural competences of teachers, contradicting the general openness and will to help migrant children makes integration efforts intuitive and circumstantial. It leads also to multiple wrongdoings in the approach to the adaptation of children with migration backgrounds in schools. The first might be the 'exoticizing' of children with a migration background. The otherness is perceived here through an attachment to folk culture rather than a more complex cultural background. Children with a migration background are expected to share these types of cultural patterns as part of integration activities. Such an approach is increasingly criticized by contemporary scholars (Gorski, 2008, 522). Mecheril, based on his German research, argues that some integration practices might even construct "the other" as cultural differences are embossed; cherishing one's primal identity is imposed as an obligation during school events as part of a "made up" integration process (Kindler, 2008, 68). Teachers overlook the real needs of children, their own perception of cultural identity or sometimes force them to identify with a previous culture regardless of a child's will. Sometimes they also make cultural, ethnic or racial differences relevant when they are in fact irrelevant (Ahlund & Jonsson, 2016, 168–169; Moskal & North, 2017, 110–111). Integration activities, if organized, are extremely superficial concentrating on cooking, dancing, playing folk instruments and singing traditional songs during one-time or annual events and are not followed by a broader recognition of other cultures, history and heritage. The modern dimension of the arriving migrant's country's culture with all its shades is not even mentioned.

The parts of the curriculum that include cultural patterns are predominantly ethnocentric, nationalistic, driven by religious bias and occidental. The achievements of cultures other than European are largely ignored, diminished or even discussed as being European. The picture of minorities and the other arriving culture is stereotypical and superficial (Stowarzyszenie Żydowskie Czulent, 2015; Abramowicz, 2011). Historical events are presented from a solely Polish perspective, often in an antagonistic manner, which is particularly harmful for Ukrainian children, for example. Ukrainians are

held responsible for the Wołyń atrocities that took place during the Second World War between 1942 and 1943 and is perceived by Poland as genocide. This historical event is used to intimidate Ukrainians both in peer and social relations with adults (Tyma, 2019, 11, 27–28).

Little has changed in this area since the research of Kubin and Świerszcz who proved that the effort of teachers was focused on the implementation of curriculum requirements and transference of school knowledge and skills. The acculturation of children with a migration background has not been properly supported despite experiencing many difficulties in the process of finding themselves in a new reality (Kubin & Świerszcz, 2011, 148–149). This does not help integration processes which, when headed by experienced, devoted and competent teachers, could well be introduced in the school environment due to the fact that certain general instructions in educational law oblige educators to teach tolerance and respect for different nations and individuals. Unfortunately, the whole field within the host society's education system has been greatly overlooked.

SERVICES AND SUPPORT AVAILABLE FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN

In its theoretical assumptions, the Polish system of education is built around the concept of inclusiveness. This means that children with different educational needs receive the same education and share classes with peers who do not have such needs. This refers both to children with a migration background, ethnic or national minorities as well children with disabilities or other needs that should be addressed. Scholars call this approach the "one path" model which aims at including children with diverse needs, capabilities, and development pace into the mainstream of education (Bąbka & Nowicka, 2017, 122). Unfortunately in educational practice such inclusiveness becomes problematic. The most important issue refers to in the mainstream of education the language of instruction which in most countries is the official language of the state. In Poland, regardless of proficiency, children are obliged to receive education in the Polish language which creates, as was mentioned previously, a space for discrimination. Children's assets derived from their cultural heritage, knowledge of the world and familiarity with foreign languages (often several) are not used in formal education as a contribution to learning. Poor national language abilities is always treated as a deficit that needs to be offset first. As a result most or all inclusion efforts are focused on language learning, suppressing the child's natural curiosity.

The Polish educational system offers several solutions for children with a migration background to support their education and integration into Polish society. Some, however, are dependent on the decisions of local government and available resources. As in most European countries and also in Poland, the learning of the official language is treated as the most important or even only integration practice. In Poland, non-Polish citizens who are enrolled into schools have the right to additional language classes. Before this takes place, they are classified into certain classes according to a language performance test score which is the cause of the problem of migrant children being assigned to lower classes than would be the case if it was only dependent on age. The nature of this test is not standardized but is determined by each school's teaching council so may differ across the country. Additionally, language classes are free and available from enrollment but only to a limited extent, decided by principals within a range set by the government. There cannot be fewer than two hours per week, but in fact – due to financial constraints – it is often only a meagre two hours. Teachers themselves perceive this as being insufficient to catch up with the rest of the class or actively participate in lessons (Bąbka & Nowicka, 2017, 134). What is more, the classes are not adjusted to the individual needs of the migrant child. These lessons are usually run for groups of migrant children, often differing in age, language proficiency and cultural experience. These factors make the process of effective teaching extremely difficult for language teachers and a waste of the potential of learning for migrant children.

For Polish citizens returning from abroad, such classes are only available for the first twelve months which demonstrates the paternalistic approach to Polishness by the current government, differentiating children on grounds of their nationality. It is culturally expected that Polish parents *per se* will share the language, customs and suchlike of the so-called "patriotic identity" with their children. Such approach is of course wrong and harmful for such children. Polish language classes are not combined with foreign languages classes for Polish children which, in the author's opinion, could benefit peer integration and generally develop the language capabilities of the whole school community.

Another way of supporting children with migration backgrounds is assigning additional classes to them from a given subject based on the decision of particular subject teacher. Once again, this approach seems to be paternalistic as the will and needs of the child might be overlooked by teachers who do not see migrant children as students with special needs. We identified such an approach as quite frequent (Bulandra, Kościółek & Majcher

Legawiec, 2019, 28). Nevertheless, such classes are organized in order to fill gaps arising from curriculum differences between educational systems. What is more, each child is limited in taking such courses to a maximum of five hours a week.

The school may also organize preparatory classes for children with migration backgrounds who are not prepared linguistically to join regular classes. This is a relatively new tool in the Polish educational system, introduced together with the 2017 school reform and not particularly popular as a form of social support for migrant children. There is no official data showing how many of such classes have been organized. Moreover, such classes cannot include more than fifteen students but children of different grades and ages according to schemes set by government can be included. These usually encompass students from three different school years matched by age and levels of education. The most problematic issue in the functioning of such classes is the obligation not only to teach students Polish but also to provide regular subject classes in line with the curriculum in a range of 20-26 hours per week. If there are students from three different years in such a class, the teacher must provide knowledge from three different curriculum sources, which makes an individual approach futile. Learning in preparatory classes is limited only to a single school year, a period too short for many children with a migration background to adapt to the new environment. This creates yet another problem for this institution, and should therefore be reformed.

A recent development in the range of accessible integration tools for migrant children is the possibility of employing cultural assistants within schools. Their role is to help children in the adaptation process within the classroom and school environment. Unfortunately, the only requirement set by the government for such employees is bilingualism and a basic education. The profession is not standardized, there is no clear indication for the requirements of such a role. All that is mentioned is that such a person is an 'aid' for the teacher. It is unclear if an assistant could be a foreigner. Regulations in this regard fall under different interpretations. Cultural assistants are hired as administrative staff in the school even though they function as teachers. Having such a low status means their jobs are not legally protected and their employment status is not stable. Most are hired on short-term contracts for a single school year with the possibility of their contract being terminated once the migrant child under their care has left school, or even during the course of the school year. The support of the assistant is assigned to a certain child who only receives such aid for a twelve-month period. Once again, assistants can help only those children

with migration backgrounds whose language abilities are too low to join regular classes (Bulandra et al., 2019, 62–63). Such restrictions reduce the potential of persons who become assistants, deteriorating integration opportunities for those children who perform well in Polish. Once again, this is yet another visible sign of the limitation of integration activities for gaining national language abilities. Meanwhile teachers interviewed in the MiCreate project put particular emphasis on the increase of tasks assigned to intercultural assistants. They see such individuals as mediators between school staff, peers and families (Bulandra, Kościółek & Majcher Legawiec, 2019, 21). If this is the case, assistants should in fact enjoy the status of social workers, but our respondents claimed that the status of such employees is unclear, their duties are not listed or known to the rest of the staff. It is also hard to find individuals for these positions as people who apply often do not have the expected competences (Bulandra, Kościółek & Majcher Legawiec, 2019, 27).

ARE POLISH SCHOOLS INTERCULTURAL?

As described above, the Polish educational system has created a relatively modern structure of integration institutions and practices, however, its practical implementation has also created numerous problems, limiting its potential for the empowerment of migrant children. The school itself might be perceived as an institution that should interact constantly with the surrounding environment. However, it should be prepared to take up activities within a diverse environment with often contradicting social phenomena, structures and processes, including the ways people think and engage in activities (Smoter, 2016, 53). There is no clear definition which might make a particular school intercultural but it is assumed that even the presence of a single student with a different cultural background makes a change in the educational environment and creates a space for cultural diversity. Nikitorowicz describe this process as a sum of mutual influences and interactions between individuals, groups, institutions, organizations, associations and unions that foster the development of such a person so that this person could become a fully aware and creative member of a family, local and regional community, religious, national, continental, cultural and a global group and be capable of actively building an unique and durable identity (Nikitorowicz, 2003, 934).

In each case, integration processes usually require facilitation. It is not enough to create tools for equality if certain groups cannot benefit from it. Vesting rights to foreigners that are equal to Polish citizens may even obstruct the integration process. This paradox comes from the belief that the same right warrants the same level of treatment. But such an approach does not consider the special needs of children with a migration background, nor their assets and deficits which require a special approach and additional support. Furthermore, the declaration of equality may release teachers from responsibilities to take care of the migrant child, be interested in their needs or approach them individually whenever possible. As Mucha states, the responsibility for the quality of relations between inferior and superior group is vested in the dominant group. The majority is obliged to be more tolerant and democratic (Mucha, 1999, 13). The current assessment of the author's research team in the MiCreate project demonstrated that nowadays the success of integration depends rather on particular teachers and their intercultural competences than systemic solutions. This was also demonstrated by the previous research of miechowska-Pertrovskij (Śmiechowska-Pertrovskij, 2017, 16–19). The competence of skills is not the collection of limited elements but are flexible and the subject of ongoing development.

It consists in knowledge, skills and attitudes. Each of these elements relates dynamically to teaching practice, pedagogical experience and the conditions of the profession, including social change. According to Zawadzka, intercultural competences are a set of analytical and strategical skills in contact with foreign nationals. Through knowledge about different cultures and behaviors are culturally driven, and analysis should be free of bias and prejudice, intercultural competence enables sensibility towards cultural differences and changes in attitudes. This broadens the spectrum of possible interpretations and activities in social relations (Zawadzka, 2000, 451). Teachers who gained such competences are much more prepared to work with children with a migration background and are more eager to engage such children in the active educational process even if there is a language barrier. However, no teacher is omnipotent and in the end they are usually overloaded with regular school tasks and are unable to use their intercultural competences to their full extent due to the structural constraints of the educational system. In the author's opinion, the solution to the problem (including also the problem of language barriers and proficiency) is the development of the institution of the cultural assistant. Such a person should be a permanent part of the school community but the role should be seen as more of a social worker, working in an intercultural environment.

A cultural assistant with relevant language abilities and knowledge of different cultures should be an aid to teachers and may also take the role of mediating in contacts between school, parents,

the local environment and the children whom he or she assists. They can also resolve conflicts that may arise in peer relations or any other vertical relations with school staff. The presence of such a person in schools could guarantee the success of the integration process if they are competent and take an active part in the empowerment process of the children with migration backgrounds. Despite this institution being new in Poland, many local governments and school boards are investing in supporting its development. More studies are needed in order to clarify the impact of such an assistant's work on the integration of children with migration backgrounds, but the first experiences are very much positive and assistants that have already been hired are gaining confidence in their work to help children themselves gain confidence in school and improve school performance (Bulandra, Ko ciółek & Majcher Legawiec, 2019, 71–94; Lachowicz, 2012, 185–200). This profession should however be standardized, located within the duties of the social services to provide it with some level of stability. It could be the case that their work is key to the real inclusiveness of children with migration backgrounds and preventing their marginalization in the process of education.

OTROCI IZ PRISELJENSKIH OKOLIJ V POLJSKIH ŠOLAH – TEŽAVE IN IZZIVI

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POVZETEK

Namen članka je predstaviti težave in izzive, povezane z navzočnostjo otrok iz priseljenskih okolij v poljskih šolah. Pojav je razmeroma nov in večina pravnih rešitev na tem področju je bila uvedena šele v zadnjih petih letih. Članek je nastal na podlagi več raziskav poljske ekipe projekta MiCreate, ki je del programa za raziskave in inovacije Obzorje 2020, dopolnjujejo pa ga še druge akademske raziskave. Oblikovanje programa glede na aktualne težave in iskanje morebitnih rešitev sta danes v kontekstu razvoja poljskega izobraževalnega sistema izjemno pomembna, saj število otrok, rojenih v tujini, v poljskih šolah naglo narašča. Avtor je na podlagi raziskav in siceršnjega akademskega dela ugotovil, da kljub razmeroma sodobni sistemski ureditvi, ki naj bi olajšala potek integracije, v praksi ta ni povezana s pristojnostmi ustanove, temveč s trudom in predanostjo posameznih učiteljev. Tak sklep napeljuje k temu, da bi morali poseben poudarek nameniti krepitvi medkulturnih kompetenc učiteljev ter razvoju poklica in vloge medkulturnega asistenta.

Ključne besede: medkulturnost, izobraževanje, priseljeni otroci, poučevanje, raznolikost, socialno delo

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EDUCATION OUTSIDE THE MAINSTREAM: VALUING CULTURAL HERITAGE THROUGH ALTERNATIVE RESOURCES FOR THE INTEGRATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN IN THE UK

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ABSTRACT

This article draws on interviews with members of the educational community and fieldwork conducted in five UK schools to unpack the ways in which communities develop alternative resources to mainstream curriculum to assist the integration of migrant children. They consist of additional or parallel curricula offered by supplementary and faith schools, initiatives bridging inter-cultural gaps through additional or arts, charities rating the inclusiveness of schools, and educational tools challenging the mainstream curriculum. The article concludes by discussing the extent to which such diversity of approaches values the cultural heritage of migrant children and successfully complements the existing curricula.

Keywords: migrant children, social anchoring, migrant integration, UK schools, alternative education

ISTRUZIONE FUORI DAGLI SCHEMI: VALORIZZAZIONE DEL PATRIMONIO CULTURALE ATTRAVERSO RISORSE ALTERNATIVE PER L'INTEGRAZIONE DEI BAMBINI MIGRANTI NEL REGNO UNITO

SINTESI

In base a interviste con membri della comunità educante e al lavoro sul campo svolti in cinque scuole del Regno Unito, l'articolo cerca di scoprire le modalità con cui le comunità sviluppano risorse alternative al curricolo convenzionale o 'mainstream' per coadiuvare l'integrazione di bambini migranti. Esse consistono in curricoli paralleli offerti da scuole supplementari e religiose, iniziative che si adoperano per colmare i divari interculturali attraverso l'arte, enti di beneficenza che valutano l'inclusività delle scuole e strumenti educativi che sfidano il curricolo convenzionale. In conclusione, l'articolo discute della misura in cui tale diversità di approcci valorizza il patrimonio culturale dei bambini migranti e integra con successo i curricoli in vigore.

Parole chiave: bambini migranti, punti di riferimento sociale, integrazione di migranti, scuole del Regno Unito, istruzione alternativa

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INTRODUCTION

The total number of international migrants in the UK is estimated at 8.8 million, representing more than 13% of the total country population. Ten percent of this figure (accounting for around 900,000) is comprised of migrants 19 years and younger (see www.un.org), a figure which represents almost 20% of this age group in the country and one of the highest in Europe (Harte, Herrera & Stepanek, 2016). Beyond these statistical numbers lies a complex reality impacting on how the UK migrant population and, specifically for the scope of this article, the migrant children contingent, are embraced by and adapting to their host nation. In the light of the country's decision to leave the European Union, largely driven by an anti-immigration rhetoric, and an ongoing global pandemic which has highlighted, on the other hand, the essential role of migrants for the local labour market (Barber, 2020), the question of migrant integration in the UK appears more timely than in recent years.

The integration of children with migrant background in the UK schools and society is currently hindered by a mix of reasons. They include a 'hostile environment' and a regression of rights in recent years, a decade of austerity that has severely reduced the support schools and other educational players can offer and the lack of an explicit and overarching integration policy. This article draws on fieldwork undertaken with MiCreate (Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe)[1], a pan-European project which aims to stimulate inclusion of diverse groups of migrant children by adopting child-centered approach to migrant children integration on educational and policy level. It uses interviews with members of the educational community and fieldwork conducted in UK primary and secondary schools to unpack the manifold ways in which different communities develop strategies and tools to mitigate the impact of these limitations.

Theoretically, we advance and expand on the concept of social anchoring developed by Grzymala-Kazlowska (2018) to account for the experiences of migrant children in educational contexts. Social anchoring is used here to include, alongside the structural contexts and factors of the host environment, the cultural characteristics of migrants, which determine in equal measure individual agency and offer psycho-social resources for providing footholds. Specifically, the article considers anchors the specific alternative arrangements to mainstream school settings and curricula existing in the UK context. They are additional or parallel curricula offered by supplementary and faith schools, initiatives bridging inter-cultural gaps through music and poetry, charities producing guides and certifications reflecting the inclusiveness of schools. These are complemented by educational tools within schools in the form of multilingual displays, online platforms for learning English and music, history and religious studies classes which are challenging the mainstream curriculum.

The article is structured as follows. Firstly, it provides a brief overview of the current broader context which negatively impacts the integration of migrant children in the British education and policy. It then introduces the concept of social anchoring (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2018) as a critique and alternative to more prevalent notions of integration, adaptation and identity, which are deemed insufficient to fully capture the complex issue of establishing relationship with a receiving society while at the same time preserving one's own identity. This is followed by a brief description of the fieldwork, methods and data we gathered. Thirdly, it explores how such anchors are created in two different environments: both outside and inside the formal educational system. Outside the school gates, we propose a national perspective to identify social anchors developed by community--based and faith schools geared towards specific language, cultural and religious teaching, public initiatives promoting arts and performance as means to develop a sense of belonging, charities working with schools to produce guides and certifications reflecting inclusiveness or campaign groups invested in offering legal aid, facilitating access to education, building leadership or assisting with strategic communication on behalf of migrant children and adults. In the primary and secondary schools we worked with in and around Manchester, we further identified anchors in the forms of multilingual displays and teaching materials, digital and online tools assisting teachers and pupils with their educational endeavour, collective or individual efforts from school staff to diversify the standard curricula and address the needs of migrant children, including through speaking other languages than English, or the acknowledgement and celebration of cultural and religious diversity. Finally, the paper concludes by reflecting on the extent to which this diversity of approaches successfully complements the existing curricula and what are their limitations.

HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT, AUSTERITY, LACK OF EXPLICIT POLICY

The last five years have brought an overall regression of rights for migrants in the UK (MiCreate, 2019b). This has broadly coincided with the introduction of the Home Office hostile environment policy, a set of administrative and legislative measures announced in 2012 under the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition and designed to make staying in the United Kingdom as difficult as possible for people without leave to remain (Taylor, 2018). The

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aim of the legislation was to deter people without permission from entering the UK and to encourage those already here to leave voluntarily. Amongst the adopted measures are limiting access to work, housing, healthcare, and bank accounts, revoking driving licences and reducing and restricting rights of appeal against Home Office decisions. The policy has directly impacted the livelihoods of migrants living in the UK in a number of ways, as pointed out by the representative of an educational NGO we interviewed, a national independent funding body we have approached. Amongst the negative effects are an increasing costs of application fees for settled status, the lack of legal aid for immigration cases and the increasingly prevalent practice of data sharing on immigrants between governmental departments. Specifically related to migrant children is the recent impact of Brexit, which pushes them to apply for settled status in the country and also the university fees that many migrant young people turning 18 realise they need to pay (as often they have not acquired this settled status) (MiCreate, 2019b, 81).

More than a decade of austerity measures has equally affected the migrant population, the UK government having progressively limited free health services for 'overseas visitors' on the grounds of fairness and frugality (Shahvisi, 2019). Representatives of UK charities working with migrants and interviewed for the MiCreate project describe a 'de-humanizing and disempowering' state of affairs and argue that austerity is contributing to an overall lack of compassion towards migrants. At the school level, this can translate into a lack of understanding and knowledge about migration issues amongst some staff. Some teachers lack confidence when working with migrant children and families and may not ask the right questions for fear of not appearing politically correct. On rare occasions staff have felt that teaching migrant children with little or no English was over and above their role and duties according to one local authority (MiCreate, 2019b).

Finally, at policy level a lack of coherent approach is visible in relation to migrant integration. Despite having been part of the UK political discourse since the 1960s, migration has been done quite stealthily: at top there has been a vision, while at the bottom there is good work. While a National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants and later the Community Relations Commission have been charged from mid-1960s with the 'integration of the immigrant' into the wider community (Cantle, 2008, 39), it was mostly at the local level that most efforts were visible. Thus, schools received funding for English language teaching and local authorities benefitted from further assistance to help alleviate any issues arising from migrant arrivals. This arrangement continued throughout the 1990s, with the

multicultural/antiracist education debate prevalent amongst educators and academics, mirrored at the same time by little engagement from central government (Modood & May, 2001).

More recently, in the light of the 2001 riots in the UK and following jihadi terrorist attacks, the central government pushed ideas of cohesion and shared values to the fore, while tasking schools to promote 'fundamental British values'. It can be thus argued that, historically, the legislation aimed at the integration of migrant pupils has been mostly undertaken at the local levels. Similarly, two rather different approaches have become apparent in the last decades. On the one hand the aim was to promote equality through older and newer anti-discrimination and anti-hate legislation, but also a slew of funding, guidance and monitoring for equality purposes. On the other, a more coercive approach aimed at engineering change of migrants' (and others') values through a discourse of counter-extremism, and counter-civil disorder, talk of 'fundamental British values' and preparing pupils for 'life in modern Britain' (MiCreate, 2019c).

One particular recent policy negatively impacting migrant children was the decision of the Department for Education to requested schools to stop collecting pupil nationality data following accusations that this is used for immigration enforcement (Weale, 2019). According to the representative from NALDIC, the national subject association for English as an Additional Language, this has made it both harder to identify and support migrant children and communicate with schools: 'This policy change effectively means that there are increasing gaps for children to fall through without being noticed' (MiCreate, 2019b, 82). A pointedly observation made by one policy expert interviewed for the project was that there is no explicit UK national policy on integration, with no specific focus on migrant integration. Therefore, the focus moves to educational policies at school level, which are regarded by most as welcoming sites for migrant pupils (MiCreate, 2019c).

SOCIAL ANCHORS FOR MIGRANT PUPILS

Most of academic debates in the field of migration studies have been concerned with notions of integration, identity and social networks. Stubbs' conceptualisation of integration is widely used and 'refers to the attempt to facilitate a sharing of resources – economic and social, an equalizing of rights – political and territorial, and the development of cultural exchanges and new cultural forms, between forced migrants and all other members of a society' (1995, 5). It describes a mutual process whereby the old culture is retained while at the same time a new one is gained. At the same time, in public debates and policies, integration has often been confused with assimilation into the dominant society (i.e. losing old culture and gaining new one) rather than

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migrants establishing relationships with a receiving society and at the same time maintaining their own ethnic identity (Berry, 1997).

Identity, on the other hand, is an equally problematic concept to operate with in a liquid, networked and globalised world (Bauman, 2000; Castells, 2000; Urry, 2000). In relation to migrant identities, both structures of the state and families are interested in supporting cultural identity for its own sake. Parents may aim to hold on to and preserve the 'old ways' (see Bowie, Wojnar & Isaak, 2017), while, to some extent, states see 'family cultural and language capital' as something to be supported (Sime & Moskal, 2015; see also the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child). Conversely, there is active encouragement for migrants to gain new elements of cultural identity, including language acquisition and the assumed 'values' of the new society (see Casey, 2016). Despite its analytical rigour both theoretically and empirically, the term 'identity' has been regarded as both overused and fuzzy (Hall, 1996) due its subjectivity and the nature of self-identification.

We use instead here the concept of social anchoring (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2018) as a theoretical lens to analyse experiences of migrant children in educational contexts, both formal and extra-curricular (Arun & Bailey, 2019). Such anchors are defined as 'the processes of establishing footholds which allow migrants to acquire a relative socio-psychological stability and function effectively in new life settings' (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2018, 225). By including the structural contexts/factors of the host environment and/or cultural characteristics of migrants, this social anchoring goes beyond the restrictive concepts of identity and integration to account for the stabilisation of individuals both psychologically and sociologically. This allows for the incorporation of human agency, including emotional aspects of establishing footholds and, on the other hand, acknowledging inequalities and structural constraints that shape their experiences of stability and security.

Innumerable fields are available for 'social anchoring', according to Grzymala-Kazlowska, including education, leisure, food, family, religion, literature etc. As our empirical data show, these anchors exist not only within the school environments, but outside them as well: supplementary schools, charities and various citizenship initiatives provide such social and psychological 'grips' for migrant pupils to rely on. In the process of integration, identity negotiation and community building, new anchors are gained and perhaps others are lost. Looking at migrant adults from Poland building their new lives in the UK, Grzymala-Kazlowska observes that her subjects tend to protect their anchors rather than establishing new ones. On the contrary, our data suggests that pupils are more predisposed than adults to build new such connections.

For the purpose of this article, the concept of social anchoring is useful to highlight not so much the proactive nature of anchoring. Instead, we chart the anchors set up in place at institutional and non-institutional levels to address their needs, both at social and psychological levels. Before going to effectively explore these anchors, the next section will proceed to describe the fieldwork and interviews undertaken for the MiCreate project and briefly present the child-centred approach we developed.

FIELDWORK AND METHODS

This article draws on research undertaken under the MiCreate project (2019–2022), a pan-European initiative involving 15 partners in 12 countries. Its overall objective is to stimulate the inclusion of diverse groups of migrant children by adopting a child-centred approach to their integration at the educational and policy levels. The dataset we present focuses on the UK educational and policy landscape and is divided in two categories.

The first is comprised of semi-structured interviews with 11 experts on the topic of migrant children integration. The organisations we approached range from central institutions operating across the country to smaller scale local entities. The first category includes national charities dedicated to funding work influencing migration policy, associations overseeing the teaching of English as an Additional Language (EAL) or an independent policy think tank focusing on migration and integration. The second category, on the other hand, is comprised of regional bodies such as local authorities dedicated to supporting schools across Greater Manchester in their work with migrant children, supplementary schools or grassroots charities working directly with refugees and asylum seekers. On a reflective note, we must also mention the difficulties and challenges in contacting various stakeholders for an open and honest discussion on this contested topic, with many (particularly small NGOs supporting migrant families and communities) faced with pressures of time, resources and priorities.

For the second dataset we worked with 12 schools in the United Kingdom. The sample included 12 schools of diverse characteristics in terms of location, affluent/deprived areas, school performance, percent of migrant pupils and public/private/faith school status. Thus, out of the 12 schools 10 were located in the North West of England (where the research team is based), one in Northern Ireland and one in Scotland. Half of the schools we investigated are located in areas of high deprivation, while in most of these institutions English is not the first language that pupils speak. Seven of the schools were primary schools and five were secondary schools. Majority

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(ten) of the schools were public (state) schools, two were private schools and two were also classified as faith schools.

The overall methodological approach was a combination of qualitative methods such as interviews, focus groups and observation of the school environment. Informal conversations with staff while observing their classes and participating in class activities were the strategies used to gather information about the school. There was difficulty gaining access and data in schools as some of them were in the middle of exams and Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills) inspections, later compounded by the coronavirus crisis which led to the effective closing of their premises and ensuing discontinuation of our fieldwork. In total, 34 interviews with school representatives were conducted, one focus group with 3 members of school community (parents), as well as analyses of existing visual displays, curriculum and teaching materials in four of the schools. The interview notes and school materials were analysed in order to examine how schools approach integration, how diversity in a migratory context affects schools, what resources and mediators for integration exist, obstacles to integration and possibilities for doing it better.

SOCIAL ANCHORING OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL GATES

Outside the school environment, the UK has a broad range of alternative arrangements contributing to the support of migrant children. Such anchors are represented by parallel curricula designed by supplementary and faith schools, initiatives intended to bridge inter-cultural gaps through artistic means such as music and poetry and charities working with schools to produce guides and certifications reflecting their inclusiveness. The need to consider non-school initiatives as equally important for the successful integration of migrant pupils is acknowledged in the literature (Medarić & Žakelj, 2014; Ahad & Benton, 2018; Dovigo, 2018; Miller, Ziaian & Esterman, 2018). Dovigo, for example, talks about 'a shift from a school-centered view to a network-based perspective focused on active cooperation between services and communities' (2018, 48). In this section, we will present some initiatives in more detail.

Supplementary schools

Outside the formal education, the role of supplementary schools is considered essential for improving the overall achievements of migrant children. Despite the diverse nature of supplementary schools provision, the significance of supplementary school education on overall pupil school achievement has been brought out in a research study by Paul Hamlyn Foundation, which showed that, on average, the supplementary school pupils do better than their peers (Evans & Gillan-Thomas, 2015). Such provision is important in areas with high migrant community concentration, thus an important need for migrant communities. It is important that migrant children are able to speak safely about their migrant experience in a normalised educational context, rather than in compartmentalised debates on migration.

Supplementary schools commonly offer mother--tongue language classes, faith and cultural studies, but also activities such as sport, music, dance and drama, while supporting National Curriculum subjects. They are established and managed by communities, run on a voluntary basis. Some are small local groups run by parents, others are part of larger organisations. An estimated 3,000–5,000 such schools exist across England. We interviewed the Co-ordinator Provider of a Supplementary School for Indian Arts and Culture based in Central Manchester. This is located in a local school and delivers education through arts and culture. Classes are provided during Saturdays, are open to all backgrounds in relation to diversity, special needs and abilities and range from music to dance, yoga, languages etc.

Faith schools

While strictly not outside the school gates, some state schools in the UK have some form of faith affiliation, and not necessarily to the Church of England. They play an important, if not contested, role in reception communities across the country. One third of state schools in England are faith schools (Harrison, 2011). In Scotland most schools are non-denominational, with the faith schools largely being Catholic. In Wales, the small faith school sector includes Catholic and Church in Wales, and in Northern Ireland 45% of schools have a Catholic character. They are funded mainly or entirely by local authorities, but are linked to a charitable body, usually religious. Some of these schools can discriminate in admissions, but not all, and parents may also choose to self-discriminate. The role of faith schools is thus debatable in relation to migrant children integration and our respondents have called for efforts to tackle fragmented or insular identities by encouraging wider debates on identity formation, not based purely on religion or cultural beliefs.

Music and poetry

Arts have proved to have a positive impact on the integration of migrant children. Recent research has demonstrated that music education programs have encouraged them to foster 'a sense of well-being, social inclusion (a sense of belonging), and an enhanced engagement with learning' (Crawford, 2017, 353). Similarly, a study on applied theatre projects

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with young refugee arrivals in Australia (Balfour et al., 2015) has shown that theatre can be used for increasing migrant inclusion and resilience in manifold ways. We have identified two similar initiatives where music and poetry serve as both social and emotional anchors for migrant children.

A creative approach to language learning is delivered by the Mother Tongue Other Tongue Project (MTOT). MTOT is a multi-lingual poetry competition that celebrates cultural diversity and the many languages spoken in the UK schools. Nationally, the Routes into Languages programme (the co-ordinator of the MTOT project) encourages young people in schools to study languages, which have been identified as a Strategic and Vulnerable subjects by the Higher Education Funding Council for England. One of the major aims of Routes into Languages project based in the North West is to boost recruitment to language degrees in higher education. This has led to supporting children who are bilingual in background, primarily due to migrant backgrounds.

Although funding has reduced for these programmes, such projects have made a great impact into promoting foreign languages. While migration is not the focus on the project, it is found that promotion of home languages is popular particularly among second and third generation migrant background children. The project started as a pilot in 2012 with 500 children participating, which increased to 6,000 in 2016. The programme is endorsed and supported by the Poet Laureate Dame Carol Duffy (based in the English Department at Manchester Metropolitan University) and by a number of celebrities from fields such as education, sports, literature and who were themselves second generation immigrant children. The success of the MTOT project has been further endorsed with the Royal College of Music developing a musical programme on Migrant roots based on selected works from the Poetry competition as part of the MIRO initiative (Manchester International Roots Orchestra).

Another inspiring example in Manchester is Stone Flowers, a project that supports traumatised refugee and asylum seeker torture survivors living in the UK through regular therapeutic music sessions. Its aim is to bring together people who are often without family and hope. As sessions develop, survivors have begun to write original songs with messages of hope, peace and resilience. According to the initiators of the project, music helps survivors to 'move beyond trauma to rediscover feelings of motivation and self-esteem, becoming the architects of their own recovery, using music as a strategy for coping with stress and anxiety' (see www.musicaction.org). Stone Flowers members have fled war, conflict and violence from places such as Iran, Egypt, Sri Lanka, Syria, Afghanistan, Cameroon and the DRC. Since 2011, the project has worked with over 200 torture survivors and recorded two studio albums.

Guides and certifications for inclusiveness

A series of charities and organisations both national and international are collaborating with schools across the UK to promote anchors such as citizenship training and education or simply to ensure a welcoming environment for migrant pupils. Their work can be described as building a resilience curriculum that equips migrant children with the skills needed to overcome challenges, focusing on their strengths rather than disadvantages (Quezada, Rodriguez-Valls & Randall, 2016).

One such national organisation is City of Sanctuary, a grassroots movement aiming to provide a welcome to people seeking sanctuary. City of Sanctuary is involved on a daily basis with migrants of all ages through offering basic services such as signposting them to English or arts classes and engaging them in volunteering activities. Its principle is to find a common ground with such people and learn together, through building bridges, recognising similarities and challenging stereotypes. The integration efforts done by some schools across Manchester and Salford is being recognised by the charity, whose program, Schools of Sanctuary, helps their students, staff and wider community understand what it means to be seeking sanctuary and to extend a welcome to everyone as equal, valued members of the school community. There are more than 200 schools across the UK which are recognised as Schools of Sanctuary.

In parallel to the official school curriculum, there is also the work done by the charity Oxfam through the project 'Education for global citizenship' which has received praise from our stakeholders. Conceived not as an additional school subject, but as a framework for learning, reaching beyond school to the wider community, the programme is promoted in class through the existing curriculum or through new initiatives and activities. The project is laid out from primary school to secondary school, every year group having links to every school topic and aims to encourage young people to develop the knowledge, skills and values they need to engage with the world. The programme supports young people to explore and question the world around them. It promotes critical thinking, advocates social justice and encourages learners to apply their learning to real-world issues.

Finally, one of the Manchester schools we have worked with has been certified by UNICEF as a Rights Respecting School. The international organisation works with schools in the UK to create safe and inspiring places to learn, where children are respected, their talents are nurtured, and they are able to thrive. UNICEF awards the title to schools which embed these values in their daily activities, giving children 'the best chance to lead happy, healthy lives and to be responsible, active citizens' (see www.unicef.org). The organisation uses the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child as guide and

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enables 1.6 million children in the UK go to a Rights Respecting School. Nearly 5,000 schools in the country are working through the Award. The head teacher of the Manchester school recognised as a Rights Respecting School argues that the award provides a lot of support for the integration of migrant pupils:

There's this idea that the rights of the child are universal. We have five key rights that are selected by our children: the right to be safe; all children have rights; the right to healthcare, healthy food and water; the right to an education; and the right to an opinion. That opens up conversations about integration (interview, 8 November 2019).

Initiatives offering help with legal aid and media training

We have so far focused on initiatives that provide social anchors for migrant pupils by mainly focusing on the educational aspects of their integration. There are nevertheless enterprises covering domains which are not directly linked to improving their education, but instead address adjacent issues such as legal aid or media representation.

With the significant reduction of legal aid afforded to migrant pupils starting with 2013, there are at least 6,000 children each year who have been left without access to free legal advice and representation in many areas of civil law, including employment, education, non-asylum immigration, private family law, many debt and housing cases, and most welfare benefits cases (Lagrue & Dorling, 2018). Two initiatives are working with migrant children and offering them support with accessing legal aid: the organisation Let Us Learn and the Strategic Legal Fund. The former is an inspiring initiative promoting young people with lived experience of migration and enabling them to lead change. The initiative started from a focusing on the question of education, then broadened out to wider issues around fees and around legal aid. Let Us Learn is led by young people who have migrated to the UK: 'Most of them turned 18 without realising that they didn't have immigration status and were barred from going to university. So, they set up a campaign to allow them to get access to student loans, rather than being considered as foreign nationals' (interview, 9 August 2019).

Another project is the Strategic Legal Fund, funded by Paul Hamlyn Foundation, an organisation we have also included in our research. The Strategic Legal Fund is a source of grants for legal work that can make a significant difference to vulnerable young migrants in UK. The foundation has a pooled fund, with four other foundations, and together they fund pre-litigation research and third-party interventions, around strategic legal cases relating to migrant children and young people.

The British media is regarded to be one of the most intolerant across Europe in their representation of migrants (Vicol & Allen, 2014; Berry, Garcia-Blanco & Moore, 2015; Musolff, 2015; Pierigh, 2017). The manner in which most media outlets describe migration is not only biased and distorted, but, most importantly, it arguably has a strong impact on public perception (MiCreate, 2019a). Within such a challenging environment, it has been demonstrated that media literacy education contributes to strengthening the participation and resilience of migrant children (Leurs et al., 2018).

The work of On Road Media, a charity that tackles social problems by improving media coverage of misrepresented groups and issues, is thus essential to both change the public narrative on migration and contribute to this resilience. One of the charity's projects, The Media Movers is concerned with strategic communication work with young migrants to change the media debate on migration through strategic and 'deep communication' approach. The project focuses specifically on the wellbeing and safeguarding of young people, while at the same time developing personal relationships with strategic figures in the media to try to influence the narrative on migration. Pupils receive media training, mentoring and peer support in order to be able to share with media representatives experience of the issues that may come with having a migrant background.

SOCIAL ANCHORING IN SCHOOLS

Across Europe, the educational system represents one of the greatest weaknesses in migrant integration and it is acknowledged that significant reforms are needed to deliver equal opportunities for migrant children (Huddleston, 2016). Calling for Europe 'to get migrant integration right', the Huddleston report notes that '[t]oo many school systems leave behind pupils from poorly educated families, especially from minority communities, who are more likely to be concentrated in poorly performing schools' (2016, 27). In a context where, as we have indicated, there is no explicit and overarching policy strategy addressing the integration of migrant children in the UK schools, it largely falls, nevertheless, on the latter's responsibility to cater for to the needs of these pupils. The interviews and fieldwork we have conducted with 12 primary and secondary schools in the United Kingdom have suggested that these institutions have a paramount role in the integration of migrant pupils, being regarded as welcoming sites for both children and the wider community to which they belong.

The interviews with school representatives and the analysis of teaching materials revealed that a range of anchors are in place to address the integration needs of migrant children. They come in the forms of displays and teaching materials, digital tools, collective or individual efforts to diversify the curricula or the acknowledgement and celebration of diversity. The In-

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Figure 1: 'Welcome' message in different languages (Photo: Cosmin Popan).

tercultural Development Research Association (IDRA, 2000) notes that children embracing and maintaining the values, language and heritage of their native country contribute to a 'positive self-concept'. This is why it is integral that the student body see themselves represented and reflected in different ways within the teaching material, staff representation and school environment. In this section we propose an inventory of such social anchors.

Multilingual displays and materials

Introducing migrant children symbolic cultural artefacts in school has already been highlighted as essential for their integration (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014;

Thomas, 2016; Amthor, 2017). Most of the schools we have visited share this vision and have multilingual displays featured on entrance halls, hallways and classrooms.

Two of the schools in particular are greeting both pupils and parents with welcoming posters in the school lobby. They feature a map of the world and the message 'Welcome' written, often by pupils themselves, in a dozen of different languages (see Figure 1).

Such posters also provide information about the time the classes start and finish, telephone number, the school's website, the Headteacher's name and picture, photos of uniforms, and information about lunch.

Other generic posters reflecting diversity can be observed in classes and hallways. Amongst the

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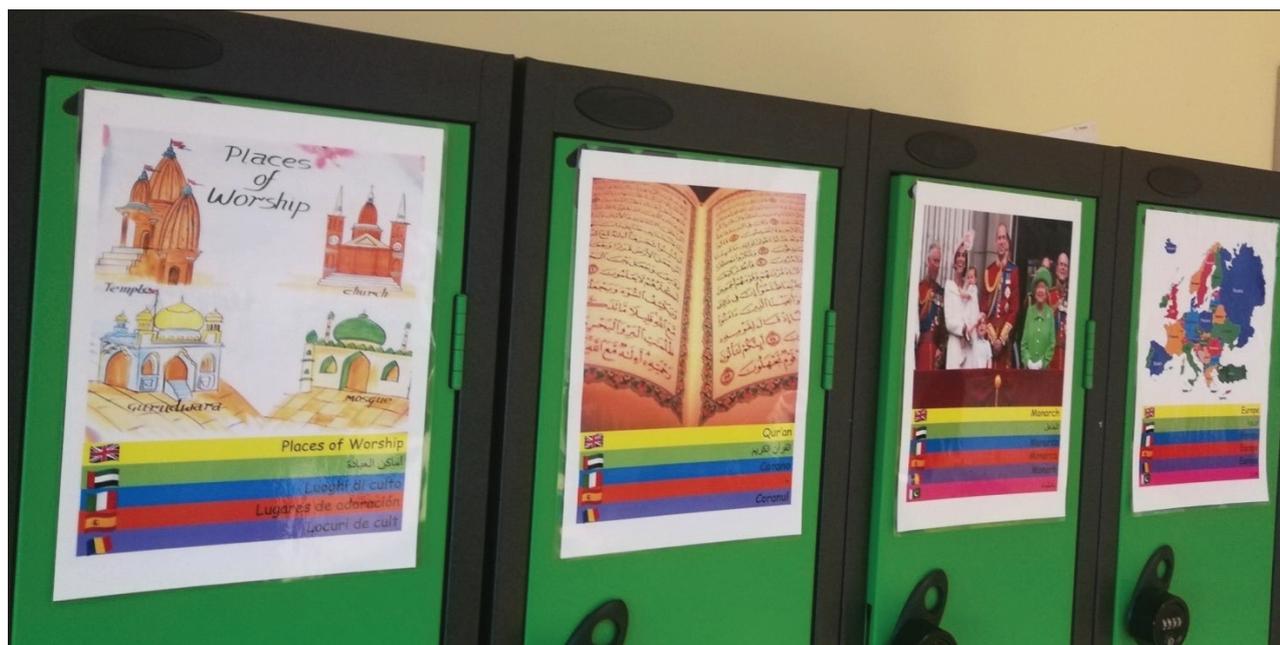
Figure 2: Classroom posters in different languages (Photo: Cosmin Popan).

topics they cover are literature, languages, cultural artefacts, personalities or poetry. One such display, titled 'Authors Around the World', features a world map in the centre alongside the books' cover pages and biographies of different non-British authors (Subhadra Sen Gupta, Marjane Satrapi, Cao Wenxuan). In one specific class from the same school six posters are dedicated to the Punjabi culture, offering a small description of the language, the Punjab cuisine, as well as a list of important words and how to count to 20 in Punjabi. Similar posters in another secondary school translate into Arabic, Romanian, Spanish and Italian various religious and citizenship concepts and characters such as 'prayer', 'Bible', 'Heaven and Hell', 'Buddha', 'Prophet Muhammad', 'Europe' or 'monarch' (Figure 2).

The EAL department in this school is particularly well equipped with posters which list keywords translated in different languages: 'listen', 'read', 'look at', 'speak', 'discuss', 'draw' etc.

Other visual displays function as culturally targeted motivational poster or quotes. For example, one poster pictures Nelson Mandela with the quote 'Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world', while another one presents a generic image of a black woman with the message 'We will not apologize for embracing our culture and acknowledging our history'. In another school, a poster created by pupils is dedicated to the Black History Month and covers topics and personalities such as Black Lives Matter, a poem titled 'Woman. African Woman', Oprah Winfrey, Madam C. J. Walker, Mae Jemison (Figure 3).

Similarly, a visual display in the same school celebrates racial diversity amongst women in science and introduces students to personalities such as Matia da Penha, Gladys West, Hayat Sindi, Juliana Rotich and others.

Aside from these display materials, many schools have dictionaries and multilingual books for the use of migrant pupils. At one of the primary schools we visited, an entire section in the library is dedicated to Languages and is comprised of dictionaries, grammar and spelling books and dual language books. Similarly, another secondary school has an impressive range of dictionaries in several languages, which are stocked in the EAL department, but often used during mainstream classes as well.

Digital and online tools for learning English

A great variety of digital and online tools are used in classes to assist migrant pupils with language acquisition. Below we present an inexhaustive list with short description of each of these programmes.

- *Mantra Lingua Talking Pen* – Device that 'reads' printed text and 'speaks' the translation in the child's home language. It is useful for children who have no previous experience with English. The pen is used in combination with dual language books, in which the whole content is written in two languages throughout, in as close a translation as possible.

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Figure 3: Poster celebrating the Black History Month (Photo: Cosmin Popan).

- *Racing to English programme* – a programme for children that come to the UK with no English. The Racing to English CD-ROM contains 300 language activities to print out and use with pupils.
- *À Tantôt* – Online interactive programme used in class to learn languages, mainly Spanish and French. The interactivity of the games encourages inclusivity as pupils are required to work in teams and help each other with games.
- *Linguascope* – Interactive language learning platform which includes interactive language games on an interactive touch-screen whiteboard.
- *ClassTools.net* – Free online gaming and quizzing class tool. The teacher designs the material which is used to boost interactivity within the classroom.
- *Class Dojo* – Application that provides and promotes the communication between parents and

teachers. Through the app children can receive points and parents can monitor that, but it works as a messaging app as well. Integration is promoted through the translate function.
- *WellComm* – toolkit designed to help early years settings identify children from six months to six years old who might be experiencing delays with speech and language.

Classes challenging mainstream curriculum

In most mainstream classes we observed, engagement with cultural diversity appears both in the topics included in the curriculum and the individual efforts made by staff members. Often though, the curriculum only partly reflects the ethnic diversity of pupils. Amongst the disciplines which best deal with this issue are Religious Studies (where pupils learn about the celebrations of different faiths such

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as Christians, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists, Hindus), Social Issues (where racist and religious bullying are addressed) and Citizenship (which tackles concepts such as emigration, immigration, ethnicity, racism, discrimination or integration). In this context, the effort of individual teachers to provide additional anchors appears extremely important.

In one of the History classes we attended at a secondary school, which focused on the Medieval Times, the teacher, an Iraqi immigrant himself, drew an interesting and engaging comparison between the Christian England and the Muslim Baghdad. As it became apparent, a few of the students were familiar with Baghdad, one of them having even visited recently the city. Another particular instance where the teacher managed to highlight the ethnic diversity in the class was when discussing the meaning of the word 'cosmopolitan', found in the textbook. The teacher took the opportunity to ask pupils where they are coming from, drawing a variety of responses: Romania, Ireland, Iraq.

For pupils with low levels of spoken and written of English there are several ways in which teachers address their cultural diversity outside the mainstream curricula. Art teaching-training programs in particular are shown to enhance sensitivities, and foster community navigating through difference (Wellman & Bey, 2015). During the singing sessions in one of the primary schools, hand gestures and the interpretation of songs in African languages are promoted as ways to engage pupils whose English is not good enough. Similarly, during a literacy lesson in the same school, the teacher is using a system called 'tall, small and fall letters', which is especially useful for pupils without prior school experience. In mainstream classes these reflections of cultural diversity can be observed during reading sessions, when pupils are engaging with a book about a girl from Botswana.

Teachers speaking or learning pupils' language

Jensen et al. (2012) highlight the importance of not treating bilingual (or multilingual, for the matter) students differently from their peers so that being different does not automatically become a problem. Evans and Liu (2018) propose, on the other hand, that the education system as a whole should include all languages, as they play a key role in children's development. Additionally, the Commission of the European Communities (2008), considers that as far as possible teachers should speak the immigrants' mother tongue. While this is aspiration is indeed respectable, it must be said that, in practical terms, this is difficult to achieve and can potentially lead to discrimination towards teachers who are not themselves migrants.

Having said that, the use of home languages both with parents and pupils is valued and used as an effective tool for inclusion in most of the schools we visited. A variety of languages other than English are spoken by staff members, particularly by those who are part of the EAL departments: Urdu, Punjabi, Hindi, Spanish, Italian, Romanian, Arabic, French, Hungarian. These languages are requested as well for communicating with parents or the families of EAL or International New Arrival pupils.

Some members of staff go the extra mile and learn words in the language of their students even if they are not fluent speakers themselves. For example, a Math teacher in one secondary school, who is an Italian migrant herself, was keen to better know her Romanian students: specifically she has learned to count to ten in Romanian, is often using the Romanian equivalent for words such as 'bigger' and 'smaller' and has even picked up some swear words from her students, that she now makes sure are not used again in her classroom. She confesses that this strategy 'does make students see you in a different way rather than just saying it in English all the time. You're making an effort for them and they need to make an effort for you'.

Cultural and religious celebrations

Regarding teacher's multicultural skills, Vižintin (2016) and Suárez-Orozco (2017) propose to implement intercultural competencies to teach social diversity, although Vižintin (2016) considers this is difficult because students need time to adapt themselves and teachers need continuous training on the field of intercultural education.

Many of the staff members of the school we visited undertook training in these areas, through Continuing Professional Development programmes, which further enabled them to be more aware of EAL and international new arrivals strategies. As a result, pupils are given the opportunity to familiarise themselves with different religions and cultures by attending a diversity of events that are organised at their premises: Eid, the Chinese New Year, Diwali, Christmas, Easter. The Black History Month is also celebrated in many of the schools, while in some schools all the food served is halal.

These activities often open the doors of schools to the different local community who feel welcomed and appreciated, as observes one of the head teachers:

The school has organised an Eid party for a certain Muslim community that felt excluded by the larger Muslim community in the neighbourhood. Similarly, we have helped a refugee and asylum charity who needed a space to meet, thus contributing to their sense of community. The school also links families with community projects (Interview, 8 November 2019).

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CONCLUSIONS

While the UK has no overarching policy strategy that specifically addresses the integration of migrant children in the UK schools, its migration history has generated a number of policy frameworks, each impacting on some if not all migrant children. The development of such policies has been in response to waves of migration that differed in composition, periods of racialized urban unrest, and difference in school policy more widely, notably policies on 'choice' and 'attainment' (see Jensen & Gidley, 2014). The resulting policies have included multicultural education in the 1980s, extra funding for schools via various mechanisms that target ethnic minority children, those with English as an additional language, or deprivation more generally, and a later focus on the twin goals of community cohesion and parental choice, including the encouragement of religiously-affiliated schools. Further, such policy responses have been geographically varied, with the context of super-diverse major cities being very different to that of smaller towns with migrant populations with largely similar backgrounds.

This 'bundle' of policy measures include 'the expansion of human rights and equalities legislation; a formal refugee integration strategy; community cohesion strategy (2001–2010); elements of counter terrorism strategy post-2005; citizenship policy and legislation; and additional funding programmed for minorities' (Saggar et al., 2012, 17). Most broadly, the 2018 Integrated Communities Strategy green paper stated a government aim 'to make sure all children and young people are prepared for life in modern Britain and have the opportunity for meaningful social mixing with those from different backgrounds' (HM Government 2019, 5). However, much of this is taken to be contradictory, or at least in tension, with the celebration of other ways of life found in multiculturalism seen as sitting badly with a focus on Britishness and British Values, and inter-faith contact being undermined by faith schools. Further, parental choice and school autonomy makes the translation of policy to practice variable: where schools have a duty to promote community cohesion, and funding that takes into account the needs of their students, the way that this is done is a local decision.

Thus, it is the schools' responsibility to cater for to the needs of these pupils. Our research so far finds that approaches to integration in educational settings work well when taking on a holistic approach that builds on the diversity of student backgrounds, particularly migrant children of different generations. Such strategies engage a wide range of stakeholders such as parents, communities and teachers allowing for consistent approach to student engagement and attainment. This includes use of home languages in schools that is valued and deployed as an effective tool for inclusion. This is all the more so where teaching staff have similar migrant backgrounds and are fluent in the language. So is introducing symbolic cultural artefacts – welcome signs in multiple languages, books, and images – all of which increased confidence in valuing diverse cultural heritage of pupils. In addition, intercultural education approaches, such as cultural adaptation and targeted training through a diversity of events organised at educational premises, provide opportunities for shift in cultural thinking about diversity. The mainstreaming of class engagement with cultural diversity, which is embedded through curriculum and teaching practices, is key for widening understanding about histories of migration. Currently, the issues of diversity, integration and cohesion are only explicitly addressed in the school curriculum through subjects such as Religious Studies and Citizenship studies and foreign languages. However, a history teacher drawing comparisons between medieval England and Baghdad, with the appropriate knowledge and experience, generates another opportunity for intercultural dialogue: this can happen across the curriculum, where the right skills and dispositions are present. In all cases, the role of teachers, and their competency to provide additional anchoring appears extremely important. While some, especially language teachers, may have been given formal instruction for intercultural competences, others gain them through their own life stories or experiences, especially where – like the history teacher – they can make unexpected connections between what are sometimes assumed to be separate worlds. The use of digital and online tools adapted specifically to assist migrant pupils with language acquisition is also critical, particularly with recent evidence on how online learning during lockdown continues to increase the digital divide. Further, the use of art as a subject and learning tool can enhance sensitivities and foster community navigating through difference and is supported by evidence that arts, music and drama impact positively on migrant inclusion and resilience in manifold ways.

In the UK, schools are seen as welcoming sites vital to the achievement of intercultural societies, to the strengthening of communities and to the success of new forms of social learning (Wilson, 2014). Yet, the total school spending per pupil in England has fallen by 8% between 2009–10 and 2019–20 (Britton, Farquharson and Sibieta, 2019), meaning that the effort done by these schools to anchor their migrant pupils in the British society has to be matched sometimes by other non-school initiatives such as

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supplementary schools to supplement and diversify their integration anchors. Such 'out of school' social anchors developed by community-based and faith schools help value cultural heritage through community building and by promoting arts as means to develop a sense of belonging. In all, such effective social and emotional anchors for migrant children are promising evidence for structured, and targeted interventions to improve children's social, emotional, and behavioural well-being and are key for academic attainment and success.

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IZOBRAŽEVANJE ZUNAJ SISTEMA: PREPOZNAVANJE VREDNOSTI KULTURNEGA IZROČILA Z ALTERNATIVNIMI OBLIKAMI INTEGRACIJE OTROK PRISELJENCEV V ZDRUŽENEM KRALJESTVU

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POVZETEK

Integracijo otrok iz priseljenskih okolij v britanske šole in družbo ovirajo različni dejavniki. Med temi so »sovražno okolje« in nazadovanje glede pravic v preteklih letih, desetletje varčevalnih ukrepov, s čimer se je občutno zmanjšala podpora, ki jo lahko zagotovijo šole in druge izobraževalne ustanove, ter pomanjkanje jasne krovne integracijske politike. Članek smo pripravili na podlagi intervjujev s posamezniki s področja izobraževanja ter terenskega dela, opravljenega v petih britanskih osnovnih in srednjih šolah, pri čemer z uporabo teorije družbenega sidra podrobneje pojasnimo, kako se v skupnostih razvijajo taka sidra za omilitev posledic omenjenih omejitev. V članku uporabljamo podatke, zbrane v evropskem projektu MiCreate (2019–2022), v katerem sodeluje 15 partnerjev iz 12 držav. Njegov skupni cilj je spodbuditi vključevanje različnih skupin otrok priseljencev z uveljavitvijo otrokosrediščnega pristopa k njihovi integraciji na ravni izobraževanja in politike. Nabor podatkov, ki jih predstavljamo, se nanaša na britanski izobraževalni sistem in politiko ter obsega dve kategoriji. V prvi so polstrukturirani intervjuji z 11 strokovnjaki na temo integracije otrok priseljencev. Organizacije, s katerimi smo stopili v stik, segajo od osrednjih ustanov, ki delujejo po vsej državi, do manjših lokalnih akterjev. Za drugo kategorijo podatkov smo se povezali z 12 šolami v Združenem kraljestvu. Vzorec je bil raznolik glede na lokacijo, gmotni položaj območja, uspešnost šol, delež učencev ali dijakov priseljencev ter status šol (javne, zasebne, verske). Združeno kraljestvo sicer nima krovne politične strategije, ki bi posebej naslavljala integracijo otrok priseljencev v britanske šole, vendar so se v njegovi zgodovini priseljevanja razvili številni okviri politike, ki vsak zase vplivajo na vsaj del otrok priseljencev. V tem pogledu so šole pogosto same odgovorne za to, da poskrbijo za potrebe takih učencev ali dijakov. Naša raziskava je pokazala, da pristopi k integraciji v izobraževalnih okoljih dobro delujejo, kadar so celoviti in upoštevajo raznolikost okolij, iz katerih izvirajo učenci ali dijaki, predvsem otroci priseljencev različnih generacij. Take strategije predvidevajo sodelovanje najrazličnejših deležnikov, kot so starši, lokalne skupnosti in učitelji, kar omogoča usklajen pristop k zagotavljanju aktivne vključenosti učencev ali dijakov ter doseganju učnih ciljev. Kljub vsemu morajo prizadevanja teh šol pri vključevanju učencev ali dijakov priseljencev v britansko družbo dopolnjevati druge zunajšolske pobude, kot so dopolnilne šole, ki tako za otroke pomenijo dodatna, drugačna integracijska sidra. Taka zunajšolska družbena sidra, ki jih razvijajo skupnostne in verske šole, pomagajo prepoznavati vrednost kulturnega izročila s krepitvijo skupnosti in spodbujanjem umetnosti kot oblike razvoja občutka pripadnosti.

Ključne besede: otroci priseljenci, družbeno sidro, integracija priseljencev, britanske šole, alternativno izobraževanje

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INTEGRATION POLICIES OF MIGRANT CHILDREN IN CATALONIA: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHANGE

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ABSTRACT

This article arises from the European research project Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (MiCREATE). It is focused on a part of the fieldwork carried on with stakeholders in Spain in order to make an empirical public policy evaluation. The results reveal a lack of coordination between governments and institutions, the need to improve policies for the integration of migrant children, the urgency of avoiding segregation, and a significant commitment to policies with a more holistic and child-centred approach.

Keywords: integration policies, compulsory education, migrant children, educational opportunities.

POLITICHE DI INTEGRAZIONE DEI BAMBINI MIGRANTI IN CATALOGNA: SFIDE E POSSIBILITÀ DI CAMBIAMENTO

SINTESI

L'articolo nasce dal progetto di ricerca europeo Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (Mi-CREATE). Si concentra su una parte del lavoro svolto sul campo con le parti interessate in Spagna al fine di effettuare una valutazione empirica delle politiche pubbliche. I risultati rivelano scarso coordinamento tra governi e istituzioni, la necessità di migliorare le politiche di integrazione dei bambini migranti, l'urgenza di evitare la segregazione e l'importanza dell'impegno per le politiche basate su un approccio più olistico e incentrato sul bambino.

Parole chiave: politiche di integrazione, istruzione obbligatoria, bambini migranti, sfide di educazione

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INTRODUCTION

Migration to Europe is not a new phenomenon; however, the profile of new migrants has changed considerably in recent years due to the existing conflict zones in the Middle East and elsewhere. The Eurostat report (2019) indicates that the migration phenomenon has grown considerably in the last five years and European countries are faced with an unprecedented situation, especially in view of the fact that current immigration to Europe can no longer be governed by economically-oriented migration policies but has to comply with humanitarian-oriented asylum law. The need to rethink integration policies and strategies starting from different humanistic and social science viewpoints is therefore timely and, above all, necessary to investigate the current situation and propose adequate solutions (Mügge & van der Haar, 2016; Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016; Rudiger & Spencer, 2003). The present situation calls for the advancement of educational resources and for the development of new expertise in educational institutions, particularly because newly arrived migrant children have unique learning needs.

In light of present conditions, we proposed the European research project Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (MiCREATE) (HORIZON 2020 - 822664)[1] aimed at identifying and responding to specific newly arrived children's needs and translate them into policy measures for educational professionals, practitioners and political decision-makers in order to stimulate social inclusion. This article focuses on a part of this project in which we review European, Spanish and Catalan education policies for migrant children, and relate them to integration in education. To be more specific, this study is based on the results of interviews with 14 stakeholders in Spain.

POLICIES FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN

In this section, we review the main policies referring to integration and education of migrant children in Spain, focusing on the specific details of the Catalan case. We address the three main legal frameworks that converge: the international, the state and the autonomous legal framework.

At the European level, Member States must aim to guarantee children's rights among their high-priority objectives, since they constitute the main test of Human Rights in societies. The 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century have been characterized by an international effort to legislate for the protection of the rights and freedom of minors, resulting in a great proliferation of ratified legislation and practical instruments for their effective protection (Torrado, 2014). These declarations are instruments that seek to combat discrimination against children for different reasons and especially serve foreign minors and the need to address their protection and assistance. Therefore, international law addresses the protection of children in all territories, regardless of race, religion, nationality, sex or disability, or discrimination based on the ideas or opinions of families; it promotes the means and necessary measures by the social welfare organizations, courts or legislative-administrative authorities. The text that has most influenced attention to the rights of minors is the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child (Torrado, 2014). Since the inception of the Declaration, a proliferation of international agreements followed, which has helped to promote and raise awareness of the need for greater involvement of the international community in the protection of children, since it is understood that foreign minors are a vulnerable group facing multiple, intertwined forms of oppression (Torrado, 2014).

At a national level, the State assumes a control role, regulating the entry and exit and the length of stay of foreigners. However, autonomous communities are responsible for integration policies, by addressing social integration such as social services, health and education (Iglesias de Ussel, 2010). Therefore, integration has to be managed by the public administration as an objective to be achieved between immigrants and the reception community. All public policies and services must adhere to this objective, promoting economic, social, cultural and political participation. Thus, integration is characterised by cooperation between the State administration, autonomous communities and city councils (Fernández-Suárez, 2015). To carry out their integration policies, almost all the autonomous communities have „Integration Plans" or „Migration Management Plans" with variable frequency, either biennial or quadrennial (Comunidad de Madrid, 2018). General strategies and policies for integration are developed at each level. Some contain specific measures regarding immigrant children, although they are always linked to their role as students and have an educational focus because the main idea in this legal framework is that their status as minors has priority over their status as foreigners. This means that according to Spanish law, all minors have their rights recognized as minors, regardless of their immigration status (Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos de Andalucía, APDHA, 2019).

Due to the decentralized educational system (Rodríguez-Izquierdo, 2018; Rodríguez-Izquierdo & Darmody, 2017) and the fact that integration policies

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consider the education of migrant children to be the responsibility of each individual region (with the exception of the autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla, which report directly to the Ministry of Education), the legislation can vary significantly from one autonomous community to another. While this is true, all state-level regulations consider migrant students to be students with special educational needs (Arroyo & Berzosa, 2018). Because of this agreement, various measures have been implemented to respond to the specific educational needs of these students: curricular adaptation, preparation of didactic material, flexible grouping, organization of extracurricular activities or specific language classrooms for immigrants (Centro de Información y Documentación Educativa [CIDE], 2005). These measures can be classified into four main types: (1) measures of reception, (2) attention to linguistic and cultural diversity, (3) attention to families, (4) teacher training (Consejo Económico y Social de España [CES], 2019). The main measures are: language support, involving families and local communities, school curriculum and teacher professional development and segregation issues.

Focusing on the case of Catalonia, the objectives established by the educational system should take into consideration and follow those established by the International Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations Human Rights, 1989). In addition, within the framework of International Legislation, the agreements of the European Parliament (April 2, 2009) on the education of the children of migrant workers in Europe indicate some points that establish how the integration of migrant students should be. Carrasco et al. (2011a) draw together some of these points that are interesting for the present investigation, such as: integration must be based on principles of equal educational opportunities and must guarantee equal access to quality education, rejecting temporary or permanent solutions that generate segregation; the integration of children and young people of migrant backgrounds in schools must be carried out as soon as possible since it favours better performance in compulsory and post-compulsory studies; states must dispense with the implementation of special classes for children and minors of migrant origin; all students (migrant and non-migrant) must be treated equally and teachers and schools must consider diversity as an increasingly common, not extraordinary, situation.

However, the research has led us to explore how there are paradoxes and difficulties arise when trying to achieve these objectives. When analyzing educational policies related to the reception and integration of migrant students, in terms of equity and social cohesion, there are some problems and gaps, and a lack of coherence between these policies and discourses and the practices developed.

METHODOLOGY

One of the aims of the MiCREATE project was to collect and identify the common challenges of integration of migrant children through interviews with experts and relevant stakeholders such as government officials, policy-makers, social workers, and NGO representatives. The purpose of the interviews was to assess all stakeholders' needs, to identify gaps for programme development and look for further research directions. At the same time, the project sought to assess the extent to which stakeholders are willing to change, as they are seen as facilitators of change and potential agents for promoting improved integration policies for migrant children.

In this way, the interviews provided insight into what they need and how to make the necessary changes. The criteria for selecting the informants was to have as varied and representative a sample as possible, trying to have representatives from national to local level, from governments to NGOs and educational experts. All the participants were anonymized and accepted to participate voluntarily, after being well-informed about the project, in terms of the information required from them and how that information would be used and disseminated. The interviews were audio recorded, transcribed and translated into English. The results of this paper are based on the transcriptions. The following tables (table 1, table 2) summarize the sample, organized by stakeholder's position, and the type of data collected from each interview.

RESULTS

In this section topics that interviewees considered more relevant or urgent to pay attention to are compiled. That is, the main problems and challenges in the integration policies of migrant children that were highlighted during the interviews. One of the problems that many interviewees mentioned in different ways and by giving several examples was the lack of coordination between institutions. This sometimes is referred to more specifically as coordination among european, national and autonomical policies, and other times is related to coordination among departments within the same governmental institution. Partially due to this fact, another issue which arose was the lack of a holistic approach to the integration of migrant children policies. Although all the institutions are concerned with migrant children, and wish the best for them, often they have a fragmented view of the problem and therefore, they propose solutions and programs focused on one or two dimensions (e.j. language and curricula, missing a sense of belonging and wellbeing) instead of trying to address the migrant children needs in their entirety. Another group of topics that emerged highlight structural problems within the families, specifically the problem

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Table 1: Stakeholders interviewed.

Interviewee from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (Spain).
Two interviewees from Department of Education, Generalitat de Catalunya (Catalan Government, Catalonia, Spain)
Interviewee from Department of Social Welfare and Family, Generalitat de Catalunya (Catalan Government, Catalonia, Spain)
Interviewee from an institution related to UNESCO (Catalonia, Spain)
Interviewee from the area of Equality, Migration and Citizenship, Generalitat de Catalunya (Catalan Government, Catalonia, Spain)
Education Commissioner of the city council of Barcelona (Catalonia, Spain)
Deputy of the rights of children and youth (Ombudsman) (Catalonia, Spain)
Member of the Human Rights Institution of Catalonia (Catalonia, Spain)
Director of NGO (Catalonia, Spain)
Expert in Migration and Mobility, from a NGO (Catalonia, Spain)
Researcher at UAB (Autonomous University of Barcelona) specialising in migration, education and inequality (Catalonia, Spain)
Teacher and researcher at Uvic (University of Vic) specialising in social inclusion and migration (Catalonia, Spain)
Director of Educational Foundation (Catalonia, Spain)

Table 2: Data and information from the interviews.

General Information	Status and function in the organisation, kind of expertise, principles of the organization regarding integration and migration
Assessment of integration policies and practices for migrant children	Assessment of policies, practices, programmes of integration, main problems, measures and suggestions for improvement, what responsible parties should do, the role of academics and researchers
Migrant children's needs	Practices and programmes to respond to the migrant children's needs, difficulties, and responsible actors
Knowledge about integration, readiness for change	Changes that can be made, readiness of the institution to carry out these changes, challenges, the role of researchers in these changes

of the regrouping of them and the unaccompanied migrant minors. In the following subsections, we will present these issues by quoting verbatim responses by interviewees and including studies and publications to illustrate them.

Lack of a holistic approach and a well coordinated effort between institutions

The Spanish legal and political framework is defined by a distribution of responsibilities and authority in the area of integration in various public institutions. It is marked by collaboration and articulation between the general State administration, autonomous communities and city councils (Fernández-Suárez, 2015). However, this system implies that other Administrations assume the integration processes, which may evolve differently in each territory. In this way the framework in which the policy of integration of migrants is developed has diffuse characteristics, resulting in a patchwork integration model (Martínez de Lizarrondo, 2009a, 120).

In this way, some informants complained of a certain disconnection between departments and the policies they propose. For instance, an educational commissioner comments:

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Our (Mediterranean models) are strongly centralised and very segmented. So here we face a complexity, not only do we have a problem of inter-administrative coordination (i.e. how the municipality, the generality, the state and the EU coordinate with each other), but there is also a problem of intra-administrative coordination (i.e. when you within your own administration are competent to do something and you want to do it, the keys you have to touch are at a theoretical level).

A university researcher also points out a division between policies about migration and integration and educational policies towards migrant pupils in the Catalan government. In fact, the Generalitat de Catalunya (the Catalan Government) has thirteen departments and the migrant issues are evident in some of them: Department of Education;[2] Department of Labor, Social Affairs and Families;[3] Department of External Action, Institutional Relations and Transparency, Department of Territory and Sustainability and the Department of Justice.

Martínez de Lizarrondo (2009a) attributes this autonomic and inter-departmental disconnection to the inexistence of a coherent state integration plan, where municipalities are in charge of responding to clear strategies of integration. Nevertheless, Iglesias de Ussel (2010), although at some point argues that:

as a result of the development of immigration policies by the Autonomous Communities themselves, incompatibilities or frictions with the central government increase due to the different competences that each one assumes and the different consequences that immigration causes at the state and regional or local levels (Iglesias de Ussel, 2010, 517).

At the end of the report he defends the effectiveness of the integration plans carried out in Spain. Specifically he highlights the Catalan principle of territoriality as an Integration Plan that "avoids the abstraction or generality of the measures and comes to specify spatial and temporal aspects in the execution of them, involving in this territorialisation the different Administrations" (Iglesias de Ussel, 2010, 179). According to Ussel, these plans are fostering

a better organisation of the competencies between government, autonomous communities and municipalities to respond to the main cornerstones of a decent process for integrating migrant people: the control of flows, integration of immigrants and co-development (or development cooperation).

While the university researcher interviewed recognised good intentions from all sides, she considered it to be unacceptable that social integration policies are disjointed from educational integration policies. In another interview, professionals from the Department of Education respond to this by mentioning that it is a question of disagreement between general directors. Conversely, an expert on migration and mobility, justifies this perception by saying that institutions do not always accomplish adequate policies for children's wellbeing and children's rights decrees. And she asks for more policies of inclusion, and policies that aim to provide equal opportunities in Spain, as well as a review of the international agreements that the country has with other countries. She put the example of the commercial agreement between Spain and Morocco. According to her, if Spain reconsidered some laws between their countries, some Moroccan families would not need to migrate to Spain looking for a better life.

In the same vein, the director of an educational foundation stated that although we have a long tradition of receiving migrants (since the 60s and 70s), "we still do not have a very clear policy on the reception of this population, nor how to assist these children in the educational processes so that they are successful". She calls for a more holistic approach in integration policies: "and the longer we take to resolve and have a policy that is holistic, that addresses the various elements that come into play, that accompany families, that accompany children, etc., the worse it will be".

In line with what has been reviewed, it seems that the Spanish government is aware of the diversity of cases related to migration among autonomous communities. Thus, on one hand there is the acknowledgement of the need for certain autonomy between regions but, on the other hand, there is the risk of contradiction or discoordination with national or even european policies (Sedmak, Medaric & Zadel, 2013). In order to avoid possible conflicts, the government has proposed different integration plans,

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2   In charge of providing information, facilities and resources for the schooling and enrollment to the different educational offers, there is a specific basic information for the enrollment processes in compulsory education in several languages (http://queestudiar.gencat.cat/ca/preinscripcio/info-idiomes/). In addition, this department has two areas committed to orient and accompany migrant and the most vulnerable students and their families in their reception and development throughout different educational stages (http://ensenyament.gencat.cat/ca/arees-actuacio/centres-serveis-educatius/programes-innovacio-pedagogica/formacio-professional/plans-educatius-entorn-0-20 and http://xtec.gencat.cat/ca/projectes/alumnat-origen-estranger/alumnatnou/acollida/).

3   The webpage of this department is in Catalan, Spanish, French and English. It has an area dedicated to immigration and refugees (https://treballiaferssocials.gencat.cat/ca/ambits_tematics/immigracio/) and another one committed to ensure children's and young people's rights, with special attention to those who are the most vulnerable (https://treballiaferssocials.gencat.cat/ca/ambits_tematics/infancia_i_adolescencia/).

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although according to the stakeholders interviewed it creates the impression that at the moment these plans need improvement.

With regards to the need for a holistic approach to migrant children integration, there is also the problem of Intercultural language education policies that have been mainly limited to the language needs of migrant students whilst they may have educational needs of all kinds, and not just the need to learn the language of the host country. There is a need for basic adaptation, since they come from another educational system and another culture. In addition, the different material needs, stability, employment of families, etc., will affect their integration and learning processes. As the ombudsman argued: "They may also have emotional needs due to the difficulties they may have at home and, perhaps, they may need some type of support for their emotional well-being". Moreover, some interviewees criticise that current policies still work under the logic of controlling migratory flows when the present reality is that we are living in a very diverse society. It is not only a question of newly arrived migrants versus national citizens, but the reality is much more complex with many nuances, as well as a two-way process that not only involves migrants, but also wider society.

Integration policies in schools

An important and unsolved issue which arose from the interviews was the segregation of schools due to political, economic, and social reasons. As it was previously discussed, segregation within schools has increased in recent years in Spain (Murillo, Martínez-Garrido & Belavi, 2017; Marcos & Ubrich, 2016; Síndic de Greuges, 2016; Bonal, Zancajo & Scandurra, 2019). The main reason is that Spain tends to be a segregated society (Tort & Simó, 2007), whereby migrants with low incomes and at risk of poverty live in concentrated communities on the outskirts of main cities or in specific districts, where they can find more accessible housing (Martínez de Lizarrondo, 2009b). Since the migrant fluxes has increased in recent years, segregation has risen too. In response to this, in Catalonia, for example, in the last decade the Catalan Ombudsman has been pressuring Catalan Government to face up to this problem. A report from 2006 warns of school segregation and the peril that it entails "not only from the point of view of equal educational opportunities, but also from the perspective of the erosion of social and community cohesion" (Síndic de Greuges, 2006 cited on Tort & Simó, 2007). As a result of this persistent work, in 2019 the Catalan Ombudsman and the Department of Education of Catalan Government

signed an agreement against school segregation (Síndic de Greuges de Catalunya, 2019). However, segregation is still an unsolved problem in those Spanish cities with large proportions of migrant families.

The education commissioner of the city council of Barcelona explained in the interview that one of the main lines in which they work is a contingency plan against school segregation, since unfortunately ghetto[4] schools continue to be created. He gave the example that in Barcelona in a neighbourhood where there are 30% immigrants and there are two schools next door, one welcomes 2% of the foreign population of the neighborhood and the other 60–70%. Thus, the segregation and, therefore the contingency plan, is linked to the child's socio-economic condition, their social vulnerability, not their nationality. This plan is based on two elements: the impact on student admission policies and on enrollment management. Because the reason why some schools have almost all migrant children in the district enrolled, while others have few or none enrolled is related to the Spanish enrollment system in which families can choose the school for their children. As the interviewee exposed:

> There is a phenomenon that we may call pedagogical ghettos because there are families who come to the administration to demand that they have the right to choose the education of their children and you must provide them with a place in the school and the type of pedagogy that they demand.

The result is that there is a contradiction between the social equity and excellence objectives included in educational policies and the mechanisms for selection and admission of students allowed by the educational authorities and carried out in schools, „that respond to pressures from social groups and family strategies to obtain social and academic capital of prestige through school socialisation" (Carrasco et al., 2011b, 369).

This right to choose schools entails that some schools have 'live enrollment'. So, the problem with segregation comes from this phenomenon, which means that students can enroll throughout the year. That is, during the scholastic year, those schools that have not fulfilled all the places can receive new enrollments which most of the time are from newly arrived migrant children. This usually happens with schools that at the beginning of the course already count on a high percentage of migrant pupils being enrolled. On this subject, the Director of Educational Foundation in Barcelona comments that "there can be no policies to accompany the school environment

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4   According to Anyon in his work *Ghetto Schooling* (1997), we can understand the "ghetto-school" as one that is characterized by having at least these three factors perpetuated over time: institutional, economic and professional abandonment; distrust in the integrating and embracing capacity of the school by teachers and families; and sociocultural or racial isolation.

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(issue of ratios, student distribution, live enrolment), if there are no policies that enable this school to do its work to combat the segregated social composition". According to Tort and Simó (2007), the problem lies in the difficulty to find a balance between the right of families to choose a school and the right of all children to enjoy a quality education (Tort & Simó, 2007, 128).

In Spain there are private, concertada (schools sponsored by a public voucher system) and public schools, and usually the highest concentration of migrant students is in public schools (Martínez de Lizarrondo, 2009b; García et al., 2015). In Barcelona, two out of three public schools double the closest private school in foreign student number (Rodríguez, Puente & Oliveres, 2019). According to Martínez de Lizarrondo, 2009b, 260),

> there are more and more cases of parents of native students avoiding schools with a notable presence of immigrants and enrolling their children in other schools where their presence is less numerous. In this sense, the concertada schools usually do their best not to take in immigrant students.

In addition to inter-school segregation mediated by social processes that affect educational inequality, the interviews have highlighted the importance of paying attention to intra-school segregation. Thus, another important issue pointed out by the interviewees is the excessive emphasis on linguistic integration in intercultural educational policies in schools. Foreign students are considered as „students with special needs" by the regulatory bodies. Firstlly, we find that within the category of students with special needs, different subgroups are combined. Students who have enrolled late or are living in disadvantaged social situations, groups that often also correspond to the first stages of immigration, can study in classes together with students with cognitive, sensory, motor, psychic or behavioural problems (Carrasco, 2011). In this way, there cannot be a good understanding of migrant minors, nor are their specific needs being attended to. Secondly, newly arrived migrant children with low level language skills in the host country's language are placed in „specific language classrooms". The aim is to promote the acquisition of the language as quickly as possible to join specific classes (Arroyo, 2010; Rodríguez-Izquierdo & Darmody, 2017). As a result, these students are placed in separate groups for some lessons (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2019). The fact that integration is mainly limited to the acquisition of the host country language, makes other structural problems invisible or lower on the agenda of migrant children integration. As an interviewee states:

> The linguistic correction is placed above the knowledge of the curricular contents and that is very serious […] the communicative competence and the curricular competence and the language have to be valued, the linguistic correction should be the last thing. It cannot be the first nor can it be the barrier to evaluation and that this is leaving them behind. (researcher at the UAB, specialising in migration, education and inequality)

Thus, cultural difference is almost perceived as a migrant condition rather than a social condition (Gregoriou, 2011). Migrant children not only need to learn the new country's language, but need to know and get used to a different educational system and culture. Going to separated classrooms makes it difficult to access cultural practices and learning that go beyond the knowledge of the language. In addition, the different material needs, stability, employment of families, etc., will affect their integration and learning processes. As the Deputy of the rights of children and youth in Catalonia (Ombudsman) argued: "They may also have emotional needs due to the difficulties they may have at home and, perhaps, they may need some type of reinforcement for their emotional well-being". Therefore, the work with a foreign student must be adapted and delivered with full awareness of their particular social, cultural, educational and personal circumstances, as well as their emotional and psychological state.

The consequence is that the practice of separating students within schools in order, paradoxically, to achieve their integration, can create internal segregation. Differentiated educational spaces reproduce unequal relationships within the school, since students of foreign origin do not end up accessing the same opportunities as the regular classroom. Research shows the ways in which internal segregation hinders intercultural contact and relationships between the students (Hallinan & Williams, 1987; Oakes, 1985 both cited in Carrasco et al., 2011b). The goal is to integrate or include these foreign students, but the current measures do not help to build a socio-culturally and linguistically diverse student population.

Policies in regrouping families

As it has been discussed, one of the political objectives that should be met, in line with other international policies, is the integration of migrant children and youth in schools should be carried out as soon as possible, since it facilitates better performance in their studies. However, one of the obstacles to achieving this is in Immigration Law itself, due to the family reunification system, which is not designed to facilitate immigration including children. Family reunification is a process of integration within immigrant populations. This occurs when non-EU foreigners with a residence and work

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permit start to join members of their family to live in their host country (spouse, own children and children of the spouse and own ascendants and of the spouse) who are in a non-EU country (Pastor & Martínez, 2015). According to Council Directive 2003/86/EC (European Union, 2003, point 4), "Family reunification . . . helps to create sociocultural stability facilitating the integration of third country nationals in the Member State". However, it gives certain freedom to Member States to apply it in any manner they see fit. In Spain, there are several laws related to family reunification,[5] and among other requirements, the applicant must prove to have a renewed residence permit, have employment and / or sufficient financial resources to meet the needs of the family and provide documentation of adequate housing (Pastor & Martínez, 2015).

According to an expert on Migration and Mobility, these conditions are „practically impossible to achieve". And she adds: "these women come here to work, to support and to guarantee a generational improvement for their children and instead cannot bring them. So that is an impediment and a big frustration for them". And not only frustration, but also a mixture of emotions such as stress, loneliness, and emotional turmoil (Martínez-Taboada et al., 2017). A respondent from the Department of Social Welfare and Family also mentions: "The Immigration Law establishes that the migratory process is individual, and once people have the conditions to emigrate, which are not simple, they can request the right to family reunification".

In relation to this issue, an informant from the area of Equality, Migration and Citizenship states that this legislation depends on the State, and that there are regrouping guidelines that are European, a standard EU law that is very difficult to change. He pointed out that family migration has a big impact on education, that one of the reasons why migrants have worse school results is the late family reunification, and that the earlier they arrive, the greater the probability of success in school:

> For example, with Latin America, there is a separation of 7 or 8 years. When you arrive you don't know your mother; you have grown in a certain way, with your grandparents [...] Besides, it is clear that separating a mother from her child is inhuman.

This is not only an issue that affects the school integration system and pupils' performance. According to this interviewee, the consequences of transnational motherhood can be very serious for children who come to Spain, especially on an emotional and personal level. Migration is already a difficult process, and minors often experience situations of migratory duels, uprooting, etc. Delayed family reunification only adds complexity for both parents and children. That's why it is important that the governments take a sensible view with this and try to make it easier for migrant families.

Policies for young migrants between 16 and 18 years old

Another issue that appeared frequently in the interviews was the reality of unaccompanied migrant minors becoming an important phenomenon. Recently, populations have increased and their profiles have diversified. Within this reality, there is still a lot of work to be done from the side of the reception countries. An interviewee from an NGO expert in Migration and Mobility, mentioned the criminalisation of this specific group and how generally young men are assumed to have a criminal risk profile. According to this, the interviewee from the Department of Social Welfare and Family in the Catalan Government explains:

> in Catalonia a fake image of radicalised young migrants has been built. Therefore, I believe that there are increasing challenges or new important lines to consider when discussing public policy. Not only for the attention but also for the management of all the perception that is socially held of these groups. (Department of Social Welfare and Family, Catalan Government)

Another interviewee from the Department of Social Welfare and Family in the Catalan Government also mentioned that the work with unaccompanied foreign minors is a big challenge. She explained how in Central Catalonia there are approximately 200 unaccompanied foreign minors who are in centers supervised by the DGAIA (General Directorate for the Care of Children and Adolescents), or in reception centers. The majority, between 70% or 80%, come under an agreement with their families. Educational work is being done with them: children under 16 are all in school; those between 16 and 18 years old are doing occupational training programs. Also, once they arrive they have to surmount difficult barriers while trying to formalise their citizenship conditions. There are many administrative obstacles, and although the protection centers help them in this process, there is still widespread stigmatization:

> It is thought that unaccompanied foreign minors are those who steal... When they do not even reach 1% in Catalonia. Only this percentage does not want to be part of this process,

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5 Organic Law 4/2000 on the rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain, Organic Law 2/2009 on the rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain and their social integration and Royal Decree 557/2011 of April 20

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and they have disruptive behaviors or live in situations of theft, trafficking or prostitution. (Department of Social Welfare and Family)

On the other hand, the education commissioner of Barcelona interviewed pointed out the present issue experienced in Catalonia where MENAS (Unaccompanied Migrant Minors) are fleeing from Morocco. These young people basically arrive in Catalonia and Andalusia, overwhelming the response capacities of the system for attending them. These administrations are not prepared to accommodate such an enormous volume of MENAS. Thus, according to him,

this has a bounce effect on the city, because, as the Generalitat (Catalan Government) can't offer enough places or enough skilled professionals to work with these guys, many of these teenagers escape the CRAEs (Residential Centres for Educational Action) and live on the streets [...] so these guys are living in vulnerable infrahuman situations. (Educational Commissioner of the city council of Barcelona)

According to the Commissioner, the City Council is the institution "that has to handle it without initially being its competence". Further to this, and related to the previous example of ununified policies, a teacher and researcher of the University of Vic who was interviewed, acknowledges that the most effective policy is one that operates on a municipal level: "it is the one that ends up articulating social and educational policy possibilities or limits. What happens is that the other policies either push or hinder. You see that when it is aligned it works better". Another problem within this issue comes from the regulation in relation to the age of these cohorts. As the Educational Commissioner reported, autonomous communities can take care of MENAS until they are 18. After that, the responsibility falls upon the Spanish Government, changing the situation of these youths overnight.

In general, unaccompanied foreign minors receive treatment that is more in line with the irregular immigrant status than with their underage condition. The interviews also highlighted the existing paradoxes in the current policies:

When they turn 18 years old, the Immigration Law applies to them. Then they are expelled from the system at that young age. So, for foreigners, we do have the consideration that at 18 you are already of legal age, but we are having our children until 30 years old at home. So there are some discrepancies of criteria in a crisis context that reproduce a structural precariousness (NGO member, Expert in Migration and Mobility).

It has to be acknowledged that most of the unaccompanied minors who come to Spain contribute to their families' support. Only 3.6% of them are prosecuted, mainly for minor offences, such as conflict in a refugee center, petty theft, etc (González & Torrado, 2008).

The consideration of these youth as irregular foreigners leads them to the application of the Immigration Law, with their consequent restrictions on rights and freedoms, and even deportation when reaching the age of maturity. On the contrary, the consideration of these migrants as unprotected minors due to their condition of being alone in Spain, means that they are covered by child protection laws, and that the guarantee of their physical, affective and material well-being and their social integration is ensured. European, national and regional regulations reflect this polarity regarding the protection of the less unaccompanied foreigners. This duality is translated into measures and resource planning that move from integration models to expulsion ones. Precisely because of their status as minors and their status as foreigners in an irregular administrative situation, unaccompanied minors are more vulnerable and systematically oppressed.

CHALLENGES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING EXISTING INTEGRATION POLICIES OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

As a result of the research with experts and stakeholders the following challenges and recommendations arose. Some issues are complemented by the interviewee's suggestions and others with literature reviewed for this paper:

a. Towards **better coordination** between institutions and governments

Regarding this topic, Tort & Simó (2007) suggest:

to define politically what role local and territorial authorities should have in zoning regulation and quota setting and, logically, what is the necessary degree of coordination between the different competent regulatory agents in a given territory [...] in order to act against the segregative and unequal outcomes (Tort & Simó, 2007, 125).

Some stakeholders also have mentioned the importance of achieving coordination between different institutions and organisations. An expert from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, for instance, asks for a coordination of all the protection systems, and coordination between the different policies, not only educational, but also health, social, etc. An educational commissioner complains that there are some 'made-up policies', that is to say, "the state has plans

of intercultural coexistence which is an abstraction ... that only for administrative functioning, you know, it is rhetoric". However, Iglesias de Ussel (2010, 203–204), explains this phenomenon by saying that "those plans that barely have economic resources remain as mere formal declarations and declarations of intent, but never as authentic social policies". That makes evident the importance of not only establishing good cooperation and articulation between departments and institutions, but also of having enough resources to apply the policies properly.

b. **Avoiding segregation**

When exploring the capacity of the receiving countries and their educational systems to welcome and integrate migrant students, we find that there are deep and structural imbalances that need to be faced and changed. There is no true equality of school and social opportunities for some children and young people (Carrasco et al., 2011a). Because of this, a truly inclusive policy must guarantee that the conditions that schools offer to access learning, participation and sociability are the same for all students, regardless of origin, social conditions, nationality, etc. According to Tort & Simó (2007, 128), "policies against inequalities or urban policies against residential segregation are indispensable if we want to limit school segregation". It is therefore important to propose policies that seek to avoid segregated neighbourhoods, as well as to ensure balanced enrolment in schools, where families of different backgrounds have the same academic opportunities.

c. **Unaccompanied minors**

Empirical research with experts and stakeholders points to the need to establish new systems of analysis of the specific and international problems of unaccompanied minors aimed at social protection and integration, which must come from the EU. Therefore, young migrants need reform of the policies that work to create assistance and legal protection measures in accordance with the defense of human rights (Torrado, 2014). Thus, policies at both the international and national levels should ensure that the goal of protection and integration is really achieved. At the same time, there needs to be some policies that address the current gap between 16 and 18 years of age, that is, from the time these children finish compulsory education until they become adults.

d. **Family reunification**

According to UNICEF report (United Nations Children's Fund, 2016), family reunification ensures better social integration of migrant children, as well as protecting them and can even save their lives. In this way, they recommend: 1) Providing available information on family reunification processes; 2) Interpreting the conditions for family reunification in the light of the best interests of the child; 3) Giving priority to extension and family reunification files affecting children; and 4) Extend the concept of family. In addition, if there was a regularised entry for fathers and mothers, it would also simplify the process of integrating children. Finally, a follow-up before, during and after the authorisation to reunite the immigrant's relatives has to be granted, in order to promote a more harmonious and successful reunification (Clavijo, 2012).

e. Towards **an holistic approach** to integration

Policies should contemplate integration beyond the educational system. In different interviews, the idea of the importance to work with migrant students' families has emerged, and of building a relationship between the educational community and the school environment, and that public policies should favour the sense of belonging to the community or the neighbourhood. In this regard, an expert from an institution related to UNESCO mentioned:

There should be an empowerment of the social and associative network and learning spaces beyond schools. [...] The opportunities to consolidate quality education for these children is not only having a good school, but it is also having a good network of interrelation, and this fosters relationships with different groups, diverse networks of social relationships.

On the other hand, „linguistic correction must be the last thing, not to be the first nor to be the barrier for evaluation" (university researcher interviewed). The focus must go beyond the school system to address the whole process of settlement of a migrant child in the new host community, working on the economic, emotional and symbolic dimensions of their sense of belonging.

f. Towards **a child-centered approach:**

Throughout the interviews, it emerged frequently that there is no child-centered approach to the implementation of policies in practice. The right to be heard has been introduced in constitutional law, but it needs further implementation. This implies assuming a conception of minors as active and participatory subjects, with the agency to modify their own environment and to participate in the search and satisfaction of their needs. It is necessary to design new approaches in the construction of policies from dialogue and from listening to migrant minors.

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CONCLUSIONS

What can be observed from the interviews is that there is no holistic integration currently. Schools cannot carry out their reception and integration plans in isolation. With this in mind, educational policies must be accompanied by labor and housing policies, they must cover the family, educational and social sphere, in order to adequately cover children's needs. Furthermore, currently in Spain the various agents and institutions involved in the integration of migrant children need to work in a more coordinated manner.

What this study has brought to light is the necessity of a paradigm shift for policies to abandon the logic of controlling migratory flows, and to start accepting the diverse society that currently exists, and accepting diversity as an increasingly common phenomenon.

Therefore, it is important not to focus policies only on migration, but to consider policies that involve the whole of society in order to avoid segregation and foster a more egalitarian and diverse country. The challenge is to work towards lines of inclusion policies for equal opportunities, with policies of interaction and recognition. Learning from the experiences of migrant children in the reception countries helps to make transformations towards equality and global justice. Therefore, public policies should take into account the child-centered approach. For this, it is necessary to see them as participants in our society, recognizing their agency to make decisions about their own lives and their well-being. This can also be achieved by reviewing the current policies with unaccompanied migrant minors, and the conditions for regrouping migrant families.

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POLITIKE INTEGRACIJE OTROK PRISELJENCEV V KATALONIJI: IZZIVI IN PRILOŽNOSTI ZA SPREMEMBE

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POVZETEK

Članek smo pripravili v sklopu evropskega raziskovalnega projekta Otroci priseljenci in priseljenske skupnosti v spreminjajoči se Evropi (MiCREATE), v njem pa se usmerjamo v tisti del projekta, ki obsega pregled evropske, španske in katalonske politike izobraževanja otrok priseljencev in analizo obravnave integracije v teh politikah. Rezultati temeljijo na oceni javnih politik, ki je bila podlaga za predhodna poročila, ter informacijah, pridobljenih z intervjuji z osrednjimi deležniki, kot so vladni uradniki, oblikovalci politik, raziskovalci, socialni delavci in predstavniki nevladnih organizacij. Namen članka je ugotoviti, katere so glavne vrzeli in pomanjkljivosti obstoječih politik, s katerimi integracijskimi izzivi se srečujejo otroci priseljenci v Španiji ter kakšne spremembe bodo potrebne. Rezultati postavljajo v ospredje štiri ključne teme: potrebo po večji usklajenosti med ustanovami ter po celovitem pristopu, segregacijo, združevanje družin in mladoletnike brez spremstva. V zaključku podajamo nekaj priporočil za boljše usklajevanje obstoječih politik, izboljšave veljavnih politik v korist mladoletnikov in preprečevanje segregacije v šolah ter zahtevo po celovitejšem in otrokosrediščnem pristopu k oblikovanju politik.

Ključne besede: integracijske politike, obvezno izobraževanje, otroci priseljenci, izobraževalne možnosti

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EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES TO PROMOTE INTERCULTURAL INCLUSION AT A PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOL IN BARCELONA

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ABSTRACT

This article presents a study carried out at a public secondary school in Barcelona, where 70% of student enrolment are migrant students. The study had the aim to find out what kind of teaching practices in the classroom work towards intercultural inclusion. The methodology process was carried out based on observations, individual interviews and group discussions. The results show an active collaborative work between students, teachers and the management team, consideration of the socio-educational and cultural difficulties that their students face and an active professional commitment. The results also show how the school may be reproducing the marginality of these migrant groups in society´s broader context.

STRATEGIE DI ISTRUZIONE PER PROMUOVERE L'INCLUSIONE INTERCULTURALE IN UNA SCUOLA SECONDARIA PUBBLICA DI BARCELLONA

SINTESI

L'articolo presenta uno studio svolto in una scuola secondaria pubblica di Barcellona dove il 70 per cento degli studenti iscritti sono migranti. L'obiettivo dello studio era di individuare le pratiche di insegnamento in classe che favoriscono l'inclusione interculturale. Il processo metodologico è stato condotto in base a osservazioni, interviste individuali e discussioni di gruppo. I risultati mostrano un attivo lavoro di collaborazione tra studenti, insegnanti e il team di gestione, considerazione delle difficoltà socio-educative e culturali degli studenti da parte degli insegnanti, e un impegno professionale attivo. I risultati dimostrano inoltre come la scuola possa riprodurre l'emarginazione che questi gruppi migranti vivono nel più ampio contesto sociale.

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INTRODUCTION[1]

Migration is currently one of the most pressing matters on the political agenda of European countries. This is particularly the case in Spain as it is one of the gateways into Europe via the Mediterranean Sea. During the year 2000, a total of 923,879 foreigners resided in the Spanish territory; as of 2020, that number had risen to a total of 5,423,198 (IDESCAT, 2020). This explosive trend can also be seen in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia where the study in this article was developed. During 2000, foreigners there represented 2.9% (181,590) of the overall Catalonian population. As of 2019, that number rose to 16.2% (1,259,013 individuals) (IDESCAT, 2020). The total number of foreigners officially registered is 1,253,913. This means that 5,100 are undocumented immigrants.

In the face of such a scenario, which is characterised by a burgeoning cultural diversity, but also tainted by socioeconomic inequality, the need to rely on policies and initiatives that promote the integration of migrant populations is ever more urgent. Ever since the Tampere Programme (1999–2004)[2] this challenge has been understood as a "*process that works towards being an accepted part of society*" (Garcés-Mascareñas & Pennix, 2016, 14). Despite these efforts, a large proportion of the migrant population from non-EU countries is at risk of poverty, and children are one of the most affected groups. In most European states, education is seen as playing a crucial role in helping migrant and refugee children and youth settle in new countries (Lifelong Learning Platform, 2016). However, education systems tend to reproduce the structural inequalities of society, which is evinced by the fact that migrant children are disadvantaged in comparison to their local peers, as they "*represent a disproportionate amount among low academic achievement students, as well as among those who do not graduate from school*" (Essomba, 2014, 1).

It is within this context that the European MiCreate project[3] emerges with the objective of *identifying, understanding and analysing teaching practices that could contribute to intercultural inclusion at school* of migrant students through a child-centred approach (Due, Riggs & Augoustinos, 2016) that may favour their school integration.[4]

Although the field work has been carried out in six countries, the focus of this article is centred on Spain, and especially in the context of Catalonia, where the problem of school inclusion of migrant children is relevant (Murillo Torrecilla, Belavi & Pinilla Rodríguez, 2018). In Spain, fieldwork was conducted in five Catalonian public schools, but, in this article, we have selected one primary-secondary school located in a working-class neighbourhood on the outskirts of Barcelona, where more than 70% of students are of foreign origin.[5] We will present the results of fieldwork activities carried out at the secondary level during a five-month period to be able to identify in detail whether teachers' practices hinder or benefit intercultural work within the school.

The management of intercultural relations in Catalan schools has been studied in various ways. Part of the focus has been on dimensions such as: linguistic diversity and inclusion (González Riaño, Huguet & Chireac, 2013), school coexistence (Buendía et al., 2015) and policies for the inclusion of migrants (Etxeberria et al., 2018; Garreta-Bochara, Macia-Bordalba & Llevot-Calvet, 2020). However, there are not many studies in Catalonia that make an in-depth analysis of intercultural school contexts, and, particularly, inclusive teaching practices in the classroom. Recently Rosado (2019) and Garreta-Bochara & Torrelles-Montanuy (2020) have approached the issue, although their efforts have focused more on the analysis of inclusive and intercultural practices promoted from the schools' own educational projects.

For this reason, we have put the spotlight on the teaching staff, and how they face the daily challenge of operating in classrooms of manifest cultural diversity. In this regard, the questions driving the present article are the following: What teaching practices work in favour of intercultural aspects within schools? What does it mean to work with the local community and the migrant community from the perspective of a double-sided approach[6]? What are the obstacles and advantages that teachers identify when working with this approach?

We consider, as a broad hypothesis, that taking on the responsibility (or not) of cultural diver-

2   Jai-Tampere-consultation@cec.eu.int.
3   MiCreate. "Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe" (822664 - MiCREATE -H2020-SC6MIGRATION-2018) emerges as a research project funded by the European Commission's H2020 program.
4   The project consists of a consortium of 15 academic and research institutions from 12 European countries. In 6 of these countries, case study fieldwork is being carried out in schools. For more information in regards to this project please visit http://www.micreate.eu/.
5   Information provided by the headteacher of the school
6   Double-sided approach means to be accepted by the host society and at the same time the migrant adapts to this new society. This concept is explained in detail forward.

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sity management and working efficiently in this new socio-educational context affects both staff members that work in these schools, as well as those in charge of formulating and assessing public policies.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Migration, alongside strategies that enable educational and social integration of foreign populations in host societies, represents one of the most important challenges in the construction of today's societies. It is undoubtedly a multi-dimensional phenomenon that we will attempt to address below.

Inclusive education within the context of migrant population integration

When talking about inclusive education we must first take into account the World Declaration on Education for All (EFA, Education for All) (UNESCO, 1990) which aimed at universalising education rights around the world. This declaration places particular emphasis on those groups of children most exposed to discrimination and exclusion, particularly those who face poverty, disabilities, street workers, rural populations, ethnic minorities, and other groups (UNESCO, 1990). Accordingly, schools should develop and implement initiatives that contribute to the advancement of a society based on the universal values of justice and social inclusion (Murillo Torrecilla, Belavi & Pinilla Rodríguez, 2018) that go beyond particular educational needs (Ainscow, Booth & Dyson, 2006). In other words, this document recognises and appreciates the value of diversity by reducing social exclusion and discriminatory attitudes. The guidelines that stem from the concept of inclusion relate to the idea of non-discrimination, equal opportunities, and valuing differences within the framework of constructing more democratic and just societies (Simón & Echeita, 2016). Therefore, inclusive education aims to generate appropriate responses to the broad spectrum of student needs, not only in terms of learning but also in terms of affection and emotion (Tijoux, 2013), socialisation and connectivity. Moreover, it is expected that the values and knowledge produced and assimilated in curricular action will have an impact not only within the school, but also outside of it (Erstad, Gilje, & Arnseth, 2013).

Over the past years Spain's legal framework has been redefining the notion of cultural diversity, as has been stated by Bernabé (2012, 69):

Laws did not specify an explicit outline for what cultural diversity is. They merely merged immigrant children to those children (sic) with

special educational needs (mental, physical and sensory disabilities), despite the fact that the LOCE[7] legally stipulates the inclusion of the former, as well as the separate consideration of their needs. The last decade of the 20th century was marked by educational legislation that defended the use of specific classrooms that could attend to the special educational needs stemming from migratory processes.

Therefore, as laws on inclusive education were enacted, it was necessary to separate those that focused on special educational needs from those focusing on working with cultural diversity derived from migration. In other words, it was necessary to arrive at a definition that could express the particularities of an inclusive system focused on intercultural contexts, and on how to respond to the educational and learning needs arising from this particular context.

In recent years, we may identify the social integration of migrant populations as an active phenomenon and so in recent years, it has played a crucial role in global political agendas. Garcés-Mascareñas & Pennix (2016) analyses the transformations undertaken by migratory processes and how they have had an impact on public policies and the social development of host societies. In his analysis, he draws attention towards a particular perspective in which a host society does not accept this burgeoning and new diversity, advocating instead for a forced process of assimilation of new arrivals into the society. This assimilation approach seeks to generate a cultural uniformity where the dominant culture imposes its forms and the minority cultural groups adopt the language, values, norms and identity of the territory to which they have arrived. This perspective – based on the concept of assimilation established by Warner & Srole (1945) – has been criticized due to its implicit idea that the receiving society is, in itself, a homogeneous society. This notion avoids the fact that all societies are heterogeneous with structural and socio-economic inequalities. Likewise, the criticism directed towards this notion of assimilation comes from the vast constellation of integration processes and the actors, with different approaches and opinions, who participate in it. Civil society does not have a single, uniform and homogeneous view on the receiving population (Garcés-Mascareñas & Pennix, 2016).

Thus, as migratory processes increase, the approach in regard to assimilation is also transformed towards a different perspective, evincing a so-called two-way process. For Garcés-Mascareñas (2020), this means that insofar as the arriving community is accepted with its own ways and values, it simultaneously adapts to the community of origin. This is what could be understood

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7   LOCE, Ley Orgánica de Calidad de la Educación de España (National Organic Law on Education Quality). Retrieved from: https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-2002-25037 (last access: 21. 11. 2020).

as a two-way process. According to Garcés-Mascareñas & Pennix (2016), this process is based on the reciprocity of rights and obligations of third-country nationals and host societies. Integration, therefore, is seen as a balance of rights and obligations. Policies have been taking on a holistic approach that includes economic, social and cultural rights and the acceptance of religious diversity, advocating for active citizenship and civic participation (Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016). In 2004, the Council of the European Union established the Common Basic Principles, which set the framework for the subsequent development of integration policies. It understands integration as the process of acceptance by society, as a process that goes well-beyond language learning, which must necessarily include social, cultural, economic, and political integration as well.

Interculturalism. The evolution of an inclusive concept

In many cases, the terms intercultural and multicultural seem to be interchanged, regardless of the fact that they actually represent different genealogies and traditions when it comes to "*the negotiation of cultural difference within the context of liberal democracies*" (Levey, 2012, 217). "Multiculturalism" means different things depending on the context. When one crosses the border between the United States and Canada, for example, this concept suddenly bears different connotations and institutional ramifications. The same is the case for the meaning of "interculturalism." For Levey (2012) at the beginning of the XXI century, "*interculturalism, as was employed in continental Europe, tended to focus on the interactions between citizens and civil society groups, rather than on the relationship of the state with its cultural minorities, which was possibly the predominant concern of multiculturalism*" (Levey, 2012, 218).

Interculturalism is a concept that originated in France in the 1970s as the result of administrative management of cultural diversity which emerged in schools due to the increase of foreign students, especially African, as a result of growing migration (Essomba, 2006). Its spirit resides in the deep ideological roots of French republicanism, where the idea of equality is placed above the idea of freedom, unlike the Anglo-Saxon tradition which prioritizes freedom (Levey, 2012).

Essomba (2008) claims that what we find within the notion of interculturalism is the idea of creating spaces where exchange, enrichment and understanding can take place. It is with this framework in mind that three great principles can be identified as conditions of interculturalism: a) equal opportunities for all people simultaneously sharing and coexisting within the same space b) respecting diversity c) the creation of social environments that enable exchange and mutual enrichment between individuals of different ethnic or cultural backgrounds (Essomba, 2006).

In general, in Spain, there is no clear definition on what kind of cultural diversity management is institutionally employed, which is why some authors such as Hidalgo (2005), Essomba (2008), Díaz-Aguado (2004), Bernabé (2012) remark on intercultural experiences, while others (Bartolomé, 1997) emphasize multicultural experiences.

In this study, cultural diversity management was approached from the perspective of interculturalism, since cultural interactions, and cultural management were analysed taking into account the values of respect, equal opportunities and cultural exchange that take place within the school and between teacher-student bonds.

Teaching practices towards school coexistence

In regard to the domain of teaching practices, although composed by particular individual actions, it also represents a broader social behaviour insofar as they are forms of collective reproduction upheld within a determined social space. Fardella & Carvajal (2018) understand teaching practices as:

> a concept that exceeds the idea of repeated action (routine) or a set of activities. (...) In order to further this concept we may describe its main components: sense, competence and materiality. […] There is a common challenge to make practice visible as a central study unit which may enable us to address or access the social realm (Fardella & Carvajal, 2018, 4).

By analysing the teaching practices taken into account in this study, we will be able to identify in detail if these practices hinder or benefit intercultural relations within the school. Moreover, one of the fundamental elements in which teaching practices bear impact is the mediation of conflict, insofar teaching professionals play an essential role by "*incorporating a participatory and peaceful system with the goal of facilitating school coexistence, empowering the educational community and promoting a culture of peace and social wellbeing*" (Iglesias & Ortuño, 2018, 382). Classroom environments emerge from the interaction between rules, habits, daily life and the specific relationship between teachers and their students (Manota & Melendro, 2016), the result of which is coexistence.

Emotional support is necessary for all children, however, it could be more relevant for migrant children. According to Belhad, Koglin & Peterman (2014), most migrant children within the European schooling context demand emotional support from their schools. Responding to this need is an aspect that, according to these authors, can affect their personal development and being connected with possible adaptations problems in the classroom.

The situation in Spain and the field work context

With the increasing arrival of the migrant population and refugees since the beginning of 2015, and in consideration of the subsequent challenge in the integration of schoolchildren, Decree 187/2015[8] was enacted in Spain. This decree establishes a teaching standard in secondary education and guarantees equal opportunities among students for the development of individual, social, intellectual, artistic, cultural and emotional capabilities[9]. The decree specifies fostering democratic, critical and committed education by promoting attitudes that favour coexistence within today's complex and diverse society.

In the Catalonian context, the Department of Education is working through different initiatives, such as didactic materials, teaching resources and adjustments in the laws, to promote school integration and an intercultural inclusion of children.[10] Each school is encouraged to develop the procedures it deems most appropriate when implementing the provisions of this legislation. Along these lines, in 2017, the Catalonian Department of Education (2017) decreed resolution ENS585/2017[11] which establishes that all schools must design and implement a School Conviviality Project in accordance with the Schooling Educational Project. Its purpose is to meet standards that promote equity and respect for the diversity of students, promote school mediation, a culture of dialogue as a basic tool in managing conflict, and a culture of peace and non-violence.[12]

If we take into account the figures pertaining to the Catalonian public-school system, we notice that in 2000 a total of 16,577 students with a nationality other than Spanish were enrolled, whereas in 2018 this figure increased to 151,887 (INDESCAT, 2020). In the face of this new reality, schools have had to incorporate different initiatives to meet the challenge of their social and educational inclusion.

Such is the situation of the school in which we focus this article on. It is located in the Bon Pastor district, which was established three years ago as a primary-secondary school and belongs to the Sant Andreu district of Barcelona. The neighbourhood's social reality is defined by a complex mosaic of historical, geographical and cultural aspects (Viñas,

2018). Like other neighbourhoods with high levels of social segregation, the resident population is mainly composed of low-income, working-class and a large migrant and Roma community, who still lag behind the native population in terms of literacy, schooling and training (Tarabini, Curran & Fontdevila, 2017; Murillo Torrecilla, Belavi & Pinilla Rodríguez, 2018; Bonal, Zancajo & Scandurra, 2019). The nationalities present at the school include countries from Central and South America, North Africa, Eastern Europe, Asia, as well as the Spanish Roma population. Together they make up for approximately 70% of total enrolment (Viñas, 2018).

At the present (2020), the teaching staff in secondary level is composed of 15 teachers, 3 members of the managerial board and 4 administrative staff. The primary level, initially with the name of Bernat de Boil, has existed since the 1940s. In the last ten years, an educational project focused around the values of care and inclusion has been developed. It has only been three years since secondary education was incorporated, to give a continued attention to students. Its educational project is constantly changing and reinventing itself due to the need to improve educational practice and respond to daily teaching demands. Since 2017 the school has been considered a High Complexity School by the Department of Education, which means receiving more human resources, incorporating professionals in Reception Classrooms, a psychologist, a social educator, a cultural promoter, a social worker, social integration technicians and the possibility of having two teachers per classroom.

METHODOLOGY

This study has been undertaken to employ a comprehensive-interpretative approach to describe the routines and practices of teachers' daily work (Fardella & Carvajal, 2018) and the way that they contribute to the creation of social and educational environments through interactive processes (Flick, 2002). It was carried out over the course of four months in 2020 within the framework of the MiCREATE project in an immersive attempt to understand the culture of the school. An ethnographic approach has been followed by using ethnographic

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8 All resources may be read at: https://dogc.gencat.cat/ca/pdogc_canals_interns/pdogc_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&mode=single&documentId=701354&language=ca_ES (last access: 21. 11. 2020).

9 Law Resolution ENS585/2017. See more at: http://cido.diba.cat/legislacio/6924309/resolucio-ens5852017-de-17-de-marc-per-la-qual-sestableix-lelaboracio-i-la-implementacio-del-projecte-de-convivencia-en-els-centres-educatius-dins-el-marc-del-projecte-educatiu-de-centre-departament-densenyament (last access: 21. 11. 2020).

10 Available at: http://xtec.gencat.cat/ca/projectes/intercultural/ (last access: 21. 11. 2020).

11 Available at: http://cido.diba.cat/legislacio/6924309/resolucio-ens5852017-de-17-de-marc-per-la-qual-sestableix-lelaboracio-i-la-implementacio-del-projecte-de-convivencia-en-els-centres-educatius-dins-el-marc-del-projecte-educatiu-de-centre-departament-densenyament (last access: 21. 11. 2020).

12 Ibid. Law Resolution ENS585/2017.

Table 1: A summary of information-gathering methods

	Method		
	Observations	**Interviews**	**Discussion groups**
Amount	31	4	1
Space in which it was employed	Secondary classrooms	Digital software, synchronic	Secondary teachers' room
Participants	Tutors, students and subject teachers (Music, English, Maths, History, ApS, Projects, Biology, Catalan, Physics and a recreational trip to the neighbourhood's Recycling Yard).	Teacher tutor, first grade of secondary level Teacher tutor, second grade of secondary level Teacher tutor, third grade of ESO Primary-Secondary School Headteacher	13 secondary school teachers

methods (interviews, participative observation, and discussion groups) that may allow for a report on teacher-student interactions relative to experiences of intercultural inclusion.

Information-gathering strategies

The first strategy employed as a means of obtaining information was through 'participant observation' (Angrosino, 2012) focused on students' and teachers' interactions in this lower secondary school.

Secondly, discussion groups were held with the participation of all secondary school teachers (13). This method stimulates the emergence of collective concepts and meanings (Barbour, 2013), and constitutes a source of reliable raw material for the analysis and interpretation of the results.

As a third strategy, we used the active semi-structured individual interview (Valles, 2000; Holsten & Gubrium, 2016). This strategy was undertaken with the participation of each of the teachers responsible for the first three years of high school, in addition to the headteacher.

The observations were collected during school classes and tutorials time. These spaces were fundamentally relevant, insofar as our goal was to analyse a heterogeneous and diverse group (Denzin, 2012). During tutorial hours, teachers proposed introspective work and group coexistence dynamics. The school headteacher was generally present at these meetings. During class time, they worked according to a pre-established schedule of subject matters and inquiry projects. The school meets twice a week for optional study sessions from the Service-Learning project[13].

A summary of the observations, interviews and discussion groups is reflected in table 1.

In total, 4 active interviews (Holstein & Gubrium, 2016) and 1 focus group were carried out with school management teams and teachers. In order to validate the instruments, the interview guidelines were reviewed by peer experts on the subject. Along with this, the authors made 31 observations at the educational centre and analysed relevant documents for the cases (Shah, 2017). Each interview was recorded and transcribed, and notes were taken during participant observations. To maintain confidentiality, the name of the centre and the participants who were included in the article are not mentioned.

Regarding the analysis, the total corpus of the transcripts and field notes were coded according to the thematic areas initially proposed in the guidelines and with the categories that emerged in the empirical work itself. In this way, patterns of meaning units were generated that could respond to the objectives of the research. The analysis was carried out by systematically reading the codes, patterns and themes, looking for contrasts, paradoxes and irregularities (Denzin, 2003). Subsequently, the codes were grouped and regrouped until they made sense, generating three emerging categories where we have grouped the evidence and developed the discourse (Erstad, Miño & Rivera-Vargas, 2021) that we present in the following part.

RESULTS

The results of the field work developed from the grouping of evidence into the three identified emerging categories: intercultural inclusion teaching practices; advantages in intercultural inclusion work; and obstacles that hinder the processes of coexistence, learning and intercultural interaction.

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13   Service-Learning is a methodology that combines the academic curriculum with community service.

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Intercultural inclusion teaching practices

With regard to this category, we have identified three subcategories that are stressed by teacher's due to their importance: first, the curricular framework that guides their teaching; second, the pedagogical strategies employed; and third, mechanisms that foster coexistence and schooling developed within the classroom context.

With respect to the *curricular framework*, one of the main components that teachers remark upon is the flexibility they have at their disposal in order to work properly in their respective areas. In this regard, one of the teachers interviewed explained:

> *It's about the flexibility you are allowed to work with. If today we didn't advance as much as we needed to go along with the educational curriculum, it's okay because we're going to work on many other things along the way. [...] We are not afraid to do different and new things. We venture trying many different things (sic) with the kids. As it is not a big and rigid institution, it encourages plenty of learning and possibilities. We are all learning; they are, we are. It is extraordinarily positive.* [Secondary school teacher, 1st grade ESO]

Curricular flexibility also generates intra-school spaces that go beyond the classroom itself. Some of them are pedagogical activities such as Peace Day, "Open-Door Days" or the Commemoration of the Holocaust, an activity that places special emphasis on the atrocities endured by the Roma population.

With respect to *pedagogical strategies*, there are several relevant elements that demonstrate a thought-out and articulated methodology working to benefit the students. On the one hand, the secondary school endorses and follows a collaborative approach, constantly encouraging help and assistance between peers. Teachers work with methodologies that allow the merging of classes during elective subjects and Service-Learning activities. During the 'reading project' activities, they draw from diverse cultural heritages and encourage the learning of the Catalan language not through direct translation, but by explaining in Catalan the meaning of words when students do not know them. In addition, they strive to bridge life experiences pertaining to the countries of origin of the students and the curricular content (even if at times the students seem uninterested, it becomes an encouraging challenge for teachers). The following is what one of the teachers participating in the discussion group expressed:

> *I thought to myself: I am going to benefit from the fact that half the class comes from different countries. So, I asked some of them to explain things about the countries they came from and I could see that, in general, there was no greater interest coming from them or their classmates. For example, in one case I thought of something that would be super interesting, I asked F. (student), who speaks 4 languages, to talk a little bit about her culture, about Pakistan, but you could see that there was such a great apathy about it at all!* [Secondary school teacher, discussion group]

It is a challenge that can also be taken as an opportunity, as one of the interviewed teachers expressed:

> *We have to benefit from everything that happens when people that come from different cultures interact with one another. That is to say, I must make the most out of the interaction between L., Honduran and Catholic and I., Moroccan and Muslim. Everything that emerges in this interplay, the way they behave and relate, is what we must seize in order to learn new ways of interaction. We benefit from and integrate everything that happens between people of different cultures. I. (student) would not be the same person if she had stayed in her village in Morocco, without this space of interaction with (the student) L. [...] in my opinion, here lies the worth of interculturalism. It comes from the union of these cultures and what emerges from that union.* [Secondary school teacher, 1st grade of ESO]

Concerning the subcategory that seeks to *foster coexistence and learning*, we identify 'conflict mediation' as the key to coexistence. Each teacher understands the importance of working on conflicts by talking to those involved, establishing a dialogue with the students and making rules for coexistence in the classroom.

> *"Let's review the rules we made when we get to our class," says one of the teachers. They reflect and realize that nobody respects them and that everything continues in a bad environment. Teachers and students talk about respect. They are quiet at last. There, one of the students says "but teachers, although we talk about it, this is not going to change!" what solutions do you propose? says the teacher. Student makes a gesture of not knowing what to do.* [Fieldwork observation]

Despite observing the difficulties surrounding the establishment of collective rules, teachers encourage students to maintain a permanent dialogue in the school. This is why despite not finding an obvious solution at hand, the dialogue continues to be intentional.

Another strategy observed that works towards co-existence and learning is student-teacher negotiation regarding class management and planning. There is a quest for a greater articulation of the contents of the subject matters with the learning of coexistence. A first-grade teacher mentions: "*I draw heavily from the curricular content so that they learn to organize themselves, to structure their knowledge and to co-live together. Everything is linked. There is no academic learning if there is no learning in our common and shared space*" [Secondary school teacher, 1st grade ESO].

In this quotation, we observe the curriculum is part of the strategy for working on life and coexistence content, as the teachers themselves call it.

Advantages in intercultural inclusion work

The process of identifying advantages, especially for teachers, is directly linked to the specific context in which they develop their educational work. Thus, at the level of infrastructure, having access to computers with an Internet connection for students and teachers, access to a projector and audio equipment (in most classrooms), and access to a colour printer and air-conditioned classrooms are elements that teachers consider as contributing to this process.

Additionally, teachers describe advantages related to pedagogical work, such as having two teachers per classroom; the support of a Moroccan intercultural mediator (an adult referent with whom students could communicate in Arabic), flexibility and autonomy given in their pedagogical activity providing them the possibility to bond with students; and the development of affective ties among groups of students that go beyond their differences. Finally, teachers identify that working in a primary-secondary-school is an advantage, since most public education is divided into separate primary and secondary schools:

With this about being a "New Creation Institute," we have a new trait (being a primary-secondary school). We are able to attend students in a much better way. It happens that this student body is many times not that very well taken care of by adults. In some contexts, the relationship between children and adults is very much unstructured, estranged. Who do I look at as an adult referent; who do I look at as an example to follow? And here, as bonds become narrower, we can develop a level of trust that allows us to open doors for them. Even more so during their adolescence, at a time when they begin to define who they wish to be. [Secondary school teacher, 1st grade ESO].

The school is considered a "primary-secondary school," where they have the chance to get to know the students in a deeper way and with more continuity. Thus, it allows them to establish important bonds of trust that open up other ways of dealing with conflicts or disrespectful situations.

Obstacles that hinder the processes of coexistence, learning and intercultural interaction

These obstacles are very much connected with the aforementioned context of the school, as well as the different situations in which new students are integrated (which practically happens throughout the entire school year and becomes very demanding). Additionally, in each class group, we find different learning rhythms, asymmetries in basic knowledge and difficulties in starting the same "*there are some girls in 3rd grade of secondary level who do not know how to add yet. The same happens with basic grammar. So, all this makes it very difficult when it comes to planning daily classes*" [Secondary school teacher, discussion group]. It often happens that they are disruptive students with changing moods in the span of a single class, which leads to a loss of class rhythm and tends to be exhausting for teachers.

Therefore, we identify that the main obstacle relates to the fact that teachers are constantly faced with the challenge of finding a balance between pedagogical action and group management. Being able to deal with conflicts without losing the thread of teaching, as the following teacher expresses:

It is a complex context, not in a negative sense, but in the sense that it is multi-faceted. In the classroom work of a teacher one must take into account many more things and many more dimensions of education. That which relates to coexistence or to a social aspect, which perhaps in other schools is simpler […] here it comes down to improvising, because everything is extreme, of taking into account the cultural aspect, the aspect of immigration, the cohesion between them, coexistence, social boundaries. It's like having many open fronts and it becomes not so difficult, but complex, like a job that tends to be very elaborate [Secondary school teacher, discussion group].

Moreover, it is essential to remark that some of the conflicts generated within the classroom could be connected to young people's relationships with limits and roles, not only by young migrants and the behaviour they reproduce from what they experience in their family and social environments.

In the words of the teachers:

There are times when you say, I can't let this conflict slide, because they often have no limits. And the school is one of the few places where they actually have limits. They always play at pushing those limits. And [as a team] we are very conscious of working on that. […] You have to explain to them why certain things are not allowed. Not only imposing a prohibition on something that should not be said, for example, sexist comments and such… because they have very much normalized that! [Secondary school teacher, 3rd grade of ESO]

In the above quotation, we see a reflection of the difficulties that teachers often face. At the same time, we notice that knowing how to face this challenge is a fundamental characteristic of the professional profile required to work in such environments. In spite of having to face difficulties in interactions among students and teachers, the analysis of the interviews shows that the bond between teachers and students fosters an evident change and improvement in students' behaviour.

DISCUSSION

The field work undertaken at the school has allowed us to give answers to the questions that are proposed in the introduction of this article. In the following section, we present them according to the three categories identified in the previous section.

In regard to *Intercultural Inclusion Teaching Practices* identified at the school:

In this study, we have looked closely at the meanings, skills and materiality related to how teaching practices were carried out in a secondary level in this school. Thus, fieldwork activities showed that, in general terms, teaching practices encourage respect for diversity and positive ways of relating to their environment among students. Moreover, along the lines of Erstad, Gilje, & Arnseth (2013) and Fardella & Carvajal (2018), and in the form of the voices of the teachers, these practices have an impact not only within the school context, but also on their families, neighbours, and on everything that surrounds their daily life outside school.

Bearing in mind what Tijoux (2013) and Belhad, Koglin & Peterman (2014) have proposed, another common denominator identified during fieldwork relates to the fact that all kinds of intercultural practice developed at the school are channelled through intense emotional and affective bonds between teachers and students, which in turn also go beyond school space. Following Iglesias & Ortuño (2018), teachers, aside from and beyond curricular content, place special emphasis on generating a space where students

can feel safe and emotionally restrained, given the complexity of their particular family realities which they have to face on a daily basis. School, therefore, is the space for care and behavioural learning.

In regard to the *Advantages of intercultural inclusion work* that takes place within the specific space of the school, the following aspects are recognised:

The first advantage relates to the school's own context. It is a space where various nationalities converge. The majority comes from Central and South America, North Africa, Eastern Europe, and Asia (Viñas, 2018). In addition, there is a large Spanish Roma population; generally speaking, family profiles are also varied. All this creates a day-to-day context of cultural diversity and heterogeneity at the school (Essomba, 2006), alongside the educational challenge of inclusion that teachers must face (Bernabé, 2012; Levy, 2012). Their purpose is to generate an environment that fosters opportunities and the acknowledgement of value in the diversity of each classroom.

The second advantage relates to the domain of teaching practices. Fieldwork has led us to recognise a favourable context that allows teachers to assimilate and generate intercultural practices emerging in each of the spaces and situations of schoolwork. This is a great step towards reaching the overall objectives of creating a plural and democratic society. Therefore, we find coherence between what the Department of Education (2017) proposes regarding the role of the school as a place that should favour the social integration of migrant populations and what Essomba (2006, 2008) suggests in relation to certain teaching practices and skills in contexts of high cultural diversity.

The third identified advantage is in line with what García-Mascareñas (2016) has said regarding the social integration of migrants and the role of the educational system within that process. First off, we have observed that school regulations and teacher profiles are formulated and adapted year after year in order to favour the educational and social integration of students and their families. Secondly, the school promotes a double-sided integration approach by acknowledging the value of cultural practices and the experiences of migrant students (ensuring they do not become invisible), as well as through a connection with the cultural and identity practices of the territory of reception (language, festivals, calendar, etc.).

The fourth advantage relates to the permanent effort and dedication of teachers to working within classroom spaces in order to resolve conflictive situations that may arise, employing a long-term working approach and tools for societal inclusion. This allows them to resolve conflicts at the level of confrontation between peers, disruptive situations, the need to attract continuous attention or working around

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conflictive situations resulting from students' cultural diversity.

The fifth advantage derives from the fact that the school constitutes a safe zone and a space of emotional support for the majority of students who attend. It is the space where all this collective diversity can emerge and where students can live together on the basis of respect and tolerance (Tijoux, 2013).

In relation to the *obstacles that hinder the processes of coexistence, learning and intercultural interaction* within the school:

- The first obstacle is placed by the very same two-way process referred to by Garcés-Mascareñas (2016). At the school we could observe certain behaviours and attitudes of both the student body and the teaching staff which play on the limit between what is negotiable and what is not. In any given activity it often happens that students activate a defence response, perhaps unconsciously or automatically, of the values and practices pertaining to their communities, which then become strained with those of Western European society to which the school abides. Although cultural diversity is present, teachers tend to contain certain attitudes or expressions, such as those linked to sexism or racism, that in their criteria should not be allowed to come from any member of the school and that, in the long run, do not favour their integration into Spanish and Catalan society. Others, linked to certain religious practices, or even to the expectations of social inclusion with which some students view their future, generate certain situations of conflict, which at times are challenging to manage.
- The second obstacle refers to the tension of the context itself. Although teachers recognise that working in this school represents a genuine and motivating professional challenge, it also implies dedication and involvement, which often exceeds professional practice, generating personal stress and frustration. They are dealing with a complex student body, with disruptive behaviours and changing moods, which, following the observations made by Manota & Melendro (2016), lead the teaching staff to a permanent quest for balance between pedagogical action and the exercise of emotional support for the student and class group. This has even led some teachers to situations of depression and leave of absence and left the school facing a constant rotation of teachers.
- The third obstacle refers to the social and economic situation of the student body and their respective families. The school is located in a neighbourhood on the outskirts of Barcelona, with high levels of social segregation. There

are working-class families with a low socio-economic level alongside an abundant migrant population, who, in line with what Murillo Torrecilla, Belavi & Pinilla Rodríguez (2018) have pointed out, have less opportunities than the local population in terms of literacy, schooling and training in general. For Tarabini, Curran & Fontdevilla (2016), schools located in these environments, as we have referred to in this study, have a high degree of social stigmatisation that is often internalised by the educational community working in these schools, affecting the possibilities of fostering the social mobility of their students.

CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of this article has been to identify and analyse teaching practices that work towards intercultural inclusion. To this end, three key questions have been raised in the introduction, to which we will now attempt to give answers based on the background information that has been consulted and the evidence gathered.

As regard to the first question: What teaching practices work in favour of intercultural aspects within schools? We may assert that a successful experience currently exists as regards working towards intercultural inclusion on behalf of the management team, the commitment assumed by teachers and the approach of a constant review of the dynamics and methodologies with which this school works. Additionally, they have successfully created conditions that favour emotional containment and affection (Tijoux, 2013). In this regard, based on the results of this study, and along the lines of what Essomba (2006) stated, these would be some of the skills and characteristics of the teaching profile which become necessary when working in an environment of manifest cultural diversity: fostering and facilitating dialogue; favouring conflict resolution; guiding academic work; seeking strategies that favour emotional commitment with students, and possessing the necessary skills in emotional education.

As regards the second question: What does it mean to work with the local community and the migrant community from the perspective of a double-sided approach? This is visualised in pedagogical spaces that depend on pedagogical elements that span from spatial planning (order of the tables, patio spaces, etc.) to ways of managing conflict. We also observed how this approach permeates the beliefs, actions and commitment of teachers and the way it leads towards the societal adaptation and acceptance of the students who attend in secondary level in this primary-secondary school (Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016).

Finally, with respect to the third question: what are the obstacles and advantages that teachers identify when working through this approach? The management of cultural diversity and the fortification of the learning environment in which pedagogical action takes place were positively assessed, identifying as advantages the curricular freedom and closeness to the students that the school promotes. However, a question remains unanswered regarding the formative future of the school's students.

Although teachers show a consensus with regard to coexistence and the social insertion of students - identifying academic education as a secondary objective - a question arises with respect to what extent the school is reproducing the marginality of these migrant groups in the broader context of the Catalonian society (Bonal, Zancajo & Scandurra, 2019).

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POVZETEK

Šolanje otrok priseljencev je eden najpomembnejših izzivov pri vključevanju v družbo in izobraževanje tako v Španiji kot v Evropi nasploh. V članku predstavljamo raziskavo, opravljeno na javni srednji šoli v Barceloni, kjer je priseljencev 70 odstotkov vseh vpisanih dijakov. Namen raziskave je bil ugotoviti, kakšne didaktične prakse v razredu pripomorejo k medkulturnemu vključevanju. Metodologija je temeljila na opazovanju, intervjujih s posamezniki in skupinskih razpravah. Opravljena analiza je dala pozitivne rezultate glede tega, kako učiteljski zbor obvladuje kulturno raznolikost, kar lahko pripišemo (a) aktivnemu sodelovanju med dijaki, učitelji in vodstvom šole, (b) izjemni in predani občutljivosti za družbene in učne ter kulturne težave, s katerimi se srečujejo dijaki, (c) aktivni profesionalni zavezanosti izboljševanju kakovosti življenja dijakov. V analizi se je izluščilo tudi še neodgovorjeno vprašanje: v kolikšni meri morda šole reproducirajo marginalizirani položaj teh priseljenskih skupin v širšem družbenem kontekstu? Članek dokazuje, kaj je mogoče doseči, kadar šole prevzamejo odgovornost za obvladovanje kulturne raznolikosti in si prizadevajo za uspešno medkulturno vključevanje.

Ključne besede: didaktične prakse, medkulturne prakse, medkulturnost, vključujoča šola, dijaki priseljenci, tuji dijaki

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SLOVESNOSTI OB PRIKLJUČITVI PREKMURJA H KRALJESTVU SRBOV, HRVATOV IN SLOVENCEV

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IZVLEČEK

V prispevku je podrobno analiziran odziv slovenskih in madžarskih časnikov ter literature na jugoslovansko vojaško zasedbo Prekmurja, s poudarkom na odzivih, ki jih je vzpodbudila beltinska slovesnost ob priključitvi Prekmurja h Kraljestvu Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev, 17. avgusta 1919. Prav tako je podrobno predstavljeno poročanje časnikov o obeleževanju pomembnih obletnic priključitve Prekmurja v času Kraljevine Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev/Jugoslavije. Slovenskemu bralcu je v pričujočem prispevku prikazana tudi druga plat zgodbe, in sicer reakcija madžarskih časnikov na odcepitev Prekmurja.

Ključne besede: Prekmurje, priključitev Prekmurja, 1919, slovesnosti, Beltinci, Kraljevina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev, Madžarska

LE CELEBRAZIONI PER L'ANNESSIONE DI OLTREMURA AL REGNO DEI SERBI, CROATI E SLOVENI

SINTESI

L'articolo analizza in dettaglio le reazioni dei giornali sloveni e ungheresi e inoltre prende in considerazione la letteratura riguardo all'occupazione militare jugoslava di Oltremura. Viene posta particolare attenzione alle reazioni per la cerimonia dell'annessione della regione al Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni nella cittadina di Beltinci il 17 agosto 1919. Viene inoltre presentato in maniera dettagliata di come i giornali avevano descritto le commemorazioni in varie occasione di importanti anniversari dell'annessione al Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni ovvero Jugoslavia. Nel presente articolo viene proposta al lettore sloveno anche l'altra faccia della medaglia, ovvero le reazioni dei giornali ungheresi alla secessione di Oltremura.

Parole chiave: Oltremura, annessione di Oltremura, 1919, cerimonie, Beltinci, Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni, Ungheria

UVOD[1]

Dogajanje v Prekmurju v prelomnih letih 1918–1919, njegova priključitev h Kraljevini Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev (SHS) ter potek diplomatske bitke, ki se je zanj bila na mirovni konferenci v Parizu, so tematike, ki so v slovenskem zgodovinopisju že dobro raziskane in o katerih so napisane številne znanstvene in strokovne publikacije,[2] objavljenih pa imamo tudi nekaj spominov iz tega obdobja (Jerič, 2000; Jerič, 2001; Camplin, 2003; Smej, 1992; Slavič, 1921). Med slovensko znanstveno in strokovno periodiko vezano na Prekmurje v obravnavanem obdobju velja izpostaviti zbornik razprav s simpozija v Radencih, maja 1979, *Revolucionarno vrenje v Pomurju v letih 1918–1920*, ki ga je s sodelovanjem Miroslava Ravbarja uredil Janko Liška. V slednjem najdemo tudi prispevek Miroslava Kokolja, »Prekmurje v prevratnih letih 1918–1919«, kjer je podrobno predstavljen potek dogajanja v Prekmurju, od konca prve svetovne vojne do jugoslovanske vojaške zasedbe (Kokolj, 1981, 53–206)

Med slovenskimi publikacijami moramo omeniti tudi zbornik *Slovenska krajina*, ki je jubilejno izšel ob petnajstletnici priključitve Prekmurja h Kraljestvu SHS. Uredil ga je Vilko Novak, v njem pa najdemo prispevke tedaj enih najuglednejših slovenskih strokovnjakov za Prekmurje. Zbornik je podrobneje predstavljen v samem tekstu, na tem mestu pa velja izpostaviti prispevek »Prekmurske meje v diplomaciji«, ki je nastal izpod peresa dejanskega udeleženca na pariških mirovnih pogajanjih, Matija Slaviča (Slavič, 1935a, 83–103). Prav tako ne moremo mimo omembe zbornika *Mi vsi živeti ščemo: Prekmurje 1919: okoliščine, dogajanje, posledice: zbornik prispevkov mednarodnega in interdisciplinarnega posveta na Slovenski akademiji znanosti in umetnosti* (Štih, Ajlec & Kovács, 2020).

V letu 2008 sta Arhiv županije Vas in Arhiv županije Zala izdala *Források a Muravidék Történetéhez: Viri za zgodovino Prekmurja*, gre za drugi zvezek zbirke izbranih dokumentov, ki zajemajo obdobje med letoma 1850 in 1921. Poseben doprinos publikacije prinaša tudi dvojezičnost, vsa besedila so namreč zapisano tako v madžarskem kot tudi v slovenskem jeziku in kot takšna predstavljajo pomemben vir informacij zgodovinarjem obeh držav (Mayer & Molnár, 2008).

Med madžarskimi zgodovinarji, ki se ukvarjajo s problematiko Prekmurja v tem obdobju moramo ob soavtorju prispevka Attilom Kovácsom, omeniti tudi Lászla Göncza, oba pripadnika madžarske narodne skupnosti v Republiki Sloveniji. Gönczova in Kovácsova obsežni osebni bibliografiji vključujeta številne znanstvene publikacije o Prekmurju, tako v slovenščini kot tudi v madžarščini. Na tem mestu naj omenim zbornik *A Mura mente és a trianoni békeszerződés = Pokrajina ob Muri in trianonska mirovna pogodba*, ki je pod uredništvom Lászla Göncza izšel v letu 2000. Oba omenjena zgodovinarja sta v njem objavila prispevek, Gönczov je nosil naslov »Svojstveni dogodki ob Muri leta 1919« (Göncz, 2000, 51–72), Kovácsov pa »A magyar-szlovén nyelvhatár és a trianoni határ = Madžarsko-slovenska jezikovna meja ter trianonska meja« (Kovács, 2000, 100–113).

O pogledu današnjega madžarskega zgodovinopisja so 23. marca 2020 zgodovinarji dr. Božo Repe, dr. Darja Kerec, dr. László Göncz in dr. Attila Kovács opravili intervju *Zgodovinarji o Prekmurju*, ki je dostopen na spletnem portalu YouTube. V njem je dr. László Göncz, na vprašanje dr. Boža Repeta o pogledih slovenskih in madžarskih zgodovinarjev na priključitev Prekmurja leta 1919, odgovoril, da so si pogledi med zgodovinskim krogom pripadnikov madžarske manjšine, ki delujejo v Sloveniji in slovenskimi zgodovinarji: »*ti pogledi praktično identični ali pa so si zelo blizu*«, dalje je opozoril, da je bil vidik pred nekaj desetletji precej bolj pester (Repe et al., 2020).

Medtem, ko je v slovenskem zgodovinopisju o Prekmurju v prvih letih po prvi svetovni vojni zapisanih, kar nekaj del, pa so slovesnosti ob priključitvi Prekmurja h Kraljestvu SHS, manj raziskane. Na tem mestu velja omeniti monografijo Klaudije Sedar, *Prekmurje ob zgodovinski prelomnici: Zbornik izbranih dokumentov ob 100. obletnici priključitve Prekmurja in združitve prekmurskih Slovencev z matičnim narodom*, ki je izšla v času nastanka pričujočega prispevka (Sedar, 2019).

Na podlagi analize prispevkov slovenskega časniškega gradiva so avtorji pričujočega prispevka pisali o poteku, tako beltinske slovesnosti (17. avgusta 1919) kot tudi pomembnejših obletnic priključitve Prekmurja h Kraljestvu SHS, ki so potekale za časa Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije.

Bistven doprinos, ki ga sledeč članek, ob natančni analizi in interpretaciji pomena beltinske slovesnosti in kasnejših slovesnih obeležij jubilejev, prinaša je, da prikaže tudi drugo plat medalje, in sicer madžarsko stran zgodbe. Slovenskemu bralcu je na podlagi analize madžarskega periodičnega tiska tako predstavljen tudi odziv madžarskega prebivalstva na dano situacijo.

PREKMURSKI SLOVENCI

Medtem ko je večinski delež slovenskega prebivalstva spadal pod avstrijski del habsburškega žezla, so prekmurski Slovenci bivali pod ogrsko nadvlado. Čeprav so skoraj tisočletje živeli pod madžarsko oblastjo in je bila slovenščina vse do leta 1918 zaradi tretjega šolskega zakona v pomurskih šolah zelo okrnjena (Kerec, 2019, 403), so kljub temu uspeli ohraniti slovenski jezik (Kerec, 2003, 65–70). Temu daje še večji pomen dejstvo, da so bili prekmurski Slovenci na drugi strani Mure »izven glavnih političnih tokov«, sama odrezanost od ostalega slovenskega ozemlja pa je bolj ali manj rezultirala v nezanimanju slovenskih politikov za to področje (Lipušček, 2019). Ohranitev narodnostne zavesti navkljub večstoletni izoliranosti od ostalega dela slovenskega naroda, od katerega je prekmurske Slovence ločevala tudi naravna prepreka – reka Mura, bi tako lahko označili kot fenomen.

Prekmurje je bila izrazito agrarna pokrajina in tudi gosto naseljena. Kot ugotavlja Viktor Vrbnjak je enajst madžarskih in nemških veleposestnikov »s fevdalno mentaliteto« imelo v svojih rokah več kot polovico vse obdelovalne zemlje. Pripadnike izobražencev so predstavljali duhovniki, deloma učitelji in nekateri zdravniki ter odvetniki. Oblast v Prekmurju so večinoma sestavljali uradniki, ki so bili v te kraje poslani iz notranjega dela monarhije (Vrbnjak, 2007, 76–77).

Glede na statistične podatke iz leta 1910 naj bi v ogrskem delu monarhije živelo 74.000 Slovencev, od sicer vsega skupaj 14 milijonov prebivalcev (Kokolj, 1981, 58). V Slovenski krajini, kot so imenovali področje med Muro in Rabo, naj bi po popisu iz leta 1910 živelo 90.000 prebivalcev, od katerih naj bi bilo 68.000 Slovencev (75,5 %), 20.000 Madžarov (22,2 %) in 2.000 Nemcev (2,2 %) (Ilešič, 1935 10). Večinoma so tamkajšnji slovenski prebivalci bili majhni kmetje in kočarji, le nekaj malega je bilo trgovcev in obrtnikov. Prekmurje je bilo upravno ločeno med murskosoboški, dolnjelendavski, monoštrski in letinski (Letenye) okraj ter med Železno in Zalsko županijo (Kokolj, 1981, 59).

Maloštevilnost znotraj ogrskega dela monarhija, socialno šibek položaj večinsko kmečkega prebivalstva, relativno slaba izobraženost ter nehomogenost Slovencev napram upravni razdelitvi, je slovenskemu prebivalstvu onemogočala, da bi vidno stopili na madžarsko politično sceno in se borili za narodnostne pravice v ogrskem delu monarhije. Slovanske narode so v več plasteh življenja, kot na primer pri preštevanju nacionalne strukture vojakov, vpoklicanih v madžarskem delu monarhije, preprosto pomadžarili (Hazemali, 2017, 173). Zaradi naštetega je tudi madžarski politični vrh na slovensko prebivalstvo znotraj svojih meja gledal kot na že bolj ali manj asimilirano skupnost in jim tako ni posvečal posebne pozornosti. O slednjem priča tudi dejstvo, da do vojaškega zloma Avstro-Ogrske slovensko vprašanje na Ogrskem s političnega vidika skorajda[3] ni bilo obravnavano v madžarskem revialnem, dnevnem in ostalem tisku (Šebjanič, 1981, 318–320).

Po razpadu Avstro-Ogrske je vlada Mihálya Károlyija[4] s tem, ko je skušala vpeljati koncept narodnostne politike, s seboj v madžarski tisk prinesla delno poročanje o dogajanju v Prekmurju. Z obljubami po avtonomiji in svobodnim kulturnim razvojem različnim narodnostim, je Károlyijeva vlada skušala ohraniti več nacionalnost v okviru madžarske integritete (Šebjanič, 1981, 318–319; Šiftar, 1989, 36). Predvsem pa je vprašanje Prekmurja postalo aktualno zaradi nastalega povojnega položaja in vprašanja koncesij poraženk. Z razpadom Avstro-Ogrske, umestitve ogrskega dela monarhije med poraženke in slovenskimi željami po Prekmurju, so se Madžari morali začeti zavedati, da je možnost izgube tega ozemlja realna, kar pa je usmerilo vsaj del madžarske pozornosti proti tej pokrajini.

PREKMURJE V PREVRATNIH LETIH 1918 IN 1919

V oktobru 1918, ko je Avstro-Ogrska iskala premirje in je bilo, kot politično predstavništvo Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov živečih v monarhiji, v Zagrebu osnovano Narodno vijeće, so se madžarski Prekmurci v Murski Soboti zavedeli nevarnosti odcepitve prekmurskih Slovencev (Kokolj, 1981, 66–67). V tem strahu so 20. oktobra 1918 v Murski Soboti priredili zborovanje Madžarskega izobraževalnega društvo za Vendsko krajino – Vendvidéki Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület (VMKE), z namenom, da bi se tamkajšnji prebivalci izrazili za ogrske državljane in s tem preprečili potencialne jugoslovanske trditve po slovenskem

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3   V svojem prispevku Franc Šebjanič kot eno izmed redkih izjem madžarskega tiska, ki so slovensko vprašanje na Ogrskem obravnavale s političnega vidika izpostavi prispevke Roberta Brauna iz Banata v reviji »Huszadik század« iz let 1917 in 1918.

4   Mihály Károlyi se je rodil 4. marca 1875 v eni izmed premožnejših madžarskih aristokratskih družin. Bil je madžarski liberalni politik. Leta 1910 je postal član ogrskega parlamenta. Tik pred koncem prve svetovne vojne, natančneje 31. oktobra je bil imenovan za ogrskega ministrskega predsednika, položaj je zasedal do 11. januarja 1919, ko je postal predsednik Demokratične republike Madžarske. 20. marca istega leta je odstopil kot predsednik. V juliju 1919 je emigriral v tujino in se na Madžarsko vrnil šele leta 1946. Med letoma 1947 in 1949 je bil veleposlanik v Parizu. Umrl je 20. marca 1955 v Franciji (Šentlja et al., 1978, 288–289).

značaju tega območja. Proti njihovem pričakovanju pa so dosegli ravno nasprotno, saj je večinski del[5] udeležencev z vzkliki „*Mi smo Slovenci! Živela Jugoslavija!*" poudaril svojo slovensko oz. jugoslovansko pripadnost (Perovšek, 2007, 54–55). Matija Slavič[6] je v prispevku »Narodnost in osvoboditev Prekmurja« napisal, da so se takrat Prekmurci sami odločili za Jugoslavijo (Slavič, 1935b, 46–83). Kot ugotavlja Miroslav Kokolj je prav murskosoboški shod, ki je bil mimogrede tudi zadnja madžarska nacionalistična manifestacija v slovenskih krajih ob Muri za časa avstro-ogrske monarhije, povzročil, da so nekateri zavedni Slovenci vse bolj sprejemali idejo po skupnem življenju z ostalimi Slovenci in se oddaljevali od ideje bivanja pod Madžari (Kokolj, 1981, 68, 70).

O dogodku v Murski Soboti v organizaciji VMKE so se razpisali tudi madžarski časniki. Dnevniki iz Budimpešte (*Friss Újság, Budapest, Budapesti Hírlap, Magyarország in Az Újság*) so zahvaljujoč brzojavki oziroma telegramu iz Murske Sobote že 22. oktobra poročali o shodu VMKE ob petindvajseti obletnici ustanovitve društva.[7] Najbolj obširno je seveda o zborovanju poročal »domači« časnik *Muraszombat és Vidéke*, ki je izhajal v madžarskem jeziku ob nedeljah v Murski Soboti.[8] Omenjeni časnik je na več straneh podrobno predstavil govore, ki so jih imeli slavnostni vabljenci, med njimi politični veljaki iz murskosoboškega okraja in Železne županije ter državni sekretar iz Ministrstva za notranje zadeve. Samo zborovanje je bilo v časniku opisano kot manifestacija vendskega ljudstva[9] za Madžarsko, niti z besedo pa ni bilo omenjeno, da bi večji del zbranih vzklikalo za Jugoslavijo.[10] Kot so navedli v časniku: »*Po zaključnih besedah dr. Jánosa Czifráka in dr. Lajosa Sömena se je ljudstvo ob navdušenem vzklikanju razšlo, inteligenca in del množice, ki se je lahko spravila v telovadnico meščanske šole, pa se je udeležila jubilarnega praznika društva.*«[11]

Prav tako ni niti z besedo omenil jugoslovanske oziroma slovenske simpatije prisotnih Prekmurcev na shodu v Murski Soboti veliki župan Železne županije Lajos Ostffy v pismu, ki ga je posredoval ministru za notranje zadeve 7. novembra 1918. V dopisu se je veliki župan prvenstveno odzval na kritike zaradi prisotnosti Prekmurcev na slavnosti ob razglasitvi države Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov 3. novembra 1918 v Ljutomeru, hkrati pa se je dotaknil tudi murskosoboške prireditve, katere se je osebno udeležil in imel tudi govor pred zbranim občinstvom. Po poročanju Ostffyja naj bi se prisotni ob njegovem govoru, ki ga je sicer imel v madžarskem jeziku, odzvali z domoljubnimi vzkliki in ga podprli. Zanimiva pa je njegova ocena Slovencev v Prekmurju, ki jih imenuje Vendi:

> *Kar se tiče Vendov v Železni županiji, je situacija taka, da večina njih razume naš jezik in so zelo dobri madžarski domoljubi, in če jih v miru vprašajo, kam bi radi pripadali, bi se brezpogojno odločili za madžarsko domovino. Če pa bi jih npr. z orožjem napadli Slovenci z namenom zasedbe, potem, če bi nam uspelo ta poskus preprečiti, bi naši Vendi z veseljem držali z nami proti Slovencem, vendar če nam to ne bi uspelo in bi se zgodila slovenska zasedba, potem bi se brezpogojno pridružili njim* (Kunt, Balogh & Schmidt, 2018, 391).

Samo dejstvo, da med madžarskim periodičnim tiskom nismo zasledili poročanja o slovenskih vzklikih na omenjenem zborovanju, ni presenetljivo, saj bi s poročanjem o le-tem lahko le še podkrepili potencialne jugoslovanske trditve po slovenskem značaju tega območja. Prav tako je na drugi strani razumljeno, da so slovenski avtorji temu dogodku dajali precejšen pomen.

2. novembra 1918 je peštanski Narodni svet odločil, da se po vsej deželi osnujejo narodni sveti v upravnih mejah in tako sta bila ustanovljena tudi narodna sveta v Murski Soboti in Dolnji Lendavi, katerih naloga je

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5   Na zborovanju, kjer se je zbralo približno 1500 udeležencev, večinskega slovenskega oz. jugoslovanskega prepričanja ni podprlo 300 udeležencev (Perovšek, 2007, 54–55). Po pisanju budimpeštanskih časopisov naj bi se shoda v Murski Soboti udeležilo okoli 6.000 oseb, murskosoboški tednik Muraszombat és Vidéke pa je poročal o več tisoč prisotnih (Friss Ujság, 22. oktober 1918: A muraköziek hűségnyilatkozata", 5; Budapest, 22. oktober 1918: A muravidéki vendek hüségesküje", 3; Budapesti Hirlap, 22. oktober 1918: Az egységes Magyarországért, 7; Magyarország, 22. oktober 1918: A muraközi vendek magyaroknak valljak magukat).

6   Matija Slavič (1877–1958) je bil slovenski biblicist in narodnoobrambni delavec. Po končanem študiju bogoslužja je na mariborskem bogoslovnem učilišču predaval biblične vede. Leta 1918 ga je Narodni svet za Štajersko zadolžil za izdelavo karte narodne meje v Prekmurju, leto kasneje pa je kot izvedenec za Prekmurje sodeloval na pariški mirovni konferenci. Slavič je dvakrat zasedel položaj dekana teološke fakultete (1930–1931 in 1937–1938) ter dvakrat položaj rektorja ljubljanske univerze (1932–1934 in 1939–1940) (Aleksič, 2013).

7   Friss Újság, 22. oktober 1918: A muraköziek hűségnyilatkozata, 5; Budapest, 22. oktober 1918: A muravidéki vendek hüségesküje, 3; Budapesti Hírlap, 22. oktober 1918: Az egységes Magyarországért, 7; Magyarország, 22. oktober 1918: A muraközi vendek magyaroknak vallják magukat, 5; Az Újság, 22. oktober 1918: A muraközi magyarság hűségnyilatkozata, 6.

8   Tednik Muraszombat és Vidéke je v obdobju od izida prve številke (24. decembra 1884) do 30. junija 1889 izhajal v dveh jezikih, in sicer v madžarščini in prekmurščini, od 7. julija 1889 pa samo v madžarščini. Več o tem: https://www.kl-kl.si/domoznanstvo/digitalna-periodika/murska-sobota-in-okolica-1885-1919/ (zadnji pristop: 3. 11. 2020).

9   Po poročanju časopisa je kar nekaj govorcev poudarilo, da so Prekmurci Vendi (ali celo Madžari) in da s Slovenci z druge strani reke Mure nimajo nobenih sorodstvenih stikov.

10   O projugoslovanskih izjavah ali vzklikih niso poročali niti budimpeški časopisi.

11   Muraszombat és Vidéke, 27. oktober 1918: A nagy ünnepünk és nagyságunk, 1–3.

ob urejanju napetih socialnih ter vojaških razmer, bila tudi krotiti narodne zahteve slovenskega prebivalstva (Kokolj, 1981, 71–73).

S porazom avstro-ogrske monarhije v prvi svetovni vojni in posledično tudi njenim koncem je bilo 13. novembra 1918 sklenjeno t. i. beograjsko premirje med antanto in Madžarsko. V sklopu tega je bilo določeno, da se morajo madžarske čete umakniti za reko Dravo. Do nadaljnjih določil mirovne konference pa je območje Prekmurja ostalo pod madžarsko upravno in vojaško zasedbo (Krizman, 1970, 85–86). V prvi polovici novembra se je na obeh straneh Mure s strani siromašnih kmetov in vračajočih se vojakov razvilo upomniško gibanje proti staremu družbenemu redu. 16. novembra, je bila na Madžarskem oklicana republika, predsednik katere je postal Mihálya Károlyija. Konec meseca novembra je bila pod predsedstvom Béle Kuna ustanovljena Komunistična partija Madžarske (Kokolj, 1981, 68, 70, 78–80; Šiftar, 1989, 36; Vinaver, 1971, 21).

Kot že omenjeno, je Károlyijeva vlada želela vpeljati koncept narodnostne politike in z obljubami po avtonomiji ter svobodnim kulturnim razvojem znotraj Madžarske skušala zadržati različne narodnosti (Šebjanič, 1981, 318–319). Pod Károlyijevo vlado je bil kot novi vladni komisar za t. i. »Vendsko krajino« imenovan dr. Béla Obál.[12] 1. decembra, torej na isti dan, ko je bila razglašena Kraljevina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev, je bil s strani Narodnega sveta in na pobudo Obála sprejet sklep o samoodločbi, ki je med drugim omenjal tudi Mursko županijo – ideja, da bi se okraji in občine slovenske narodnosti v Zalski in Železni županiji preosnovali v skupno županijo z županijskim središčem v Murski Soboti. Načrti o Murski županiji, s katero bi Slovenci znotraj Madžarske dobili avtonomijo, so »živeli« do konca decembra, ko so jih ustavili nepričakovani dogodki v Medmurju (pohod hrvaškega prostovoljca kapetana Jureta Jurišića) in Prekmurju (neuspeli poskus osvoboditve Prekmurja s strani Jožefa Godine ter načrtovana zasedba Prekmurja s strani generala Maistra, ki zaradi neuspele akcije Jurišiča posledično ni bila izpeljana) (Kokolj, 1981, 80, 83–92; Vrbnjak, 2007, 90–93).

Ker se je madžarska oblast zavedala, da bo ozemlje »Vendske krajine« najlažje obdržala, če bodo tamkajšnji prebivalci sami izrazili željo po tem, se jim je z obljubami avtonomije skušala približati. 14. ja-

nuarja so se na domu Jožefa Klekla starejšega[13] zbrali slovenski duhovniki iz lendavskega okraja in sprejeli »Načrt ali plan autonomije, šteroga je spravišče slovenskih duhovnikov, Zalske županije, 14. jan. 1919. leta enoglasno sprejelo«. Načrt je med drugim zahteval tudi, da se Prekmurju ne glede na to, kateri državi bi po določilih mirovnih pogajanj pripadlo, zagotovijo avtonomne pravice (Kokolj, 1981, 92–98; Šiftar, 1989, 40). Šele 9. februarja pa ga je Klekl tudi objavil v svojih Novinah.[14]

Kleklov načrt avtonomije ni bil edini, temveč so se v tem času pojavili tudi drugi. Tak je bil Obálov načrt o posebni Murski županiji, ki je do neke mere sicer upošteval samoupravne zahteve Kleklovega načrt, a je težil k čim večjem zoženju slovenske samouprave v okviru upravne avtonomije in ne teritorialne, kot si je zanjo prizadeval Kleklov načrt. Še ena avtonomistična skupina pa se je začela razvijati okoli Vilmoša Tkalca[15] v Murski Soboti. Pogajanja za avtonomijo Slovenske krajine so bila neuspešna, saj »kleklovci« niso odstopili od tega, da mora pogodbo potrditi mirovna komisija v Parizu ter da ta velja tudi v primeru, da so priključeni h Kraljevini SHS – slednjega madžarska oblast preprosto ni mogla sprejeti (Kokolj, 1981, 103–108).

Medtem so se razmere na Madžarskem razplamtele do te stopnje, da je po odstopu Károlyija, 20. marca 1919, na oblast nastopila diktatura proletariata. Tako je bila, 21. marca razglašena Madžarska sovjetska republika (Magyarországi Tanácsköztársaság), ki je obstajala do 1. avgusta tistega leta. Za časa tega obdobja je bilo dogajanje v Prekmurju zelo pestro, na tem mestu pa bomo izpostavili zgolj tri dogodke: 1) lendavsko protirevolucijo, ki je potekala 21. aprila 1919 in je bila zatrta, 2) načrtovanje slovenskih legionarjev za vstajo domačinov v Slovenski krajini, ki so nasprotovali boljševizmu. Ideja o vstaji je bila aktualna od 14. aprila do 14. maja, a se zaradi pomanjkanja »zunanje« podpore ni uresničila. 3) Murska republika (29. maja–3. junija), ki je kljub kratkotrajnem obstoju, povzročila, da so bili po njej novi predstavniki v Prekmurju bolj pozorni na protirevolucionarne poskuse (Kokolj, 1981, 124–172; Šiftar, 1989, 41; Lorenčič, 2019, 109).

Klekl in njegovi somišljeniki, ki so bili še za časa Károlyija pripravljeni ostati znotraj madžarskih mej, so se že z nastopom sovjetske oblasti začeli oddalje-

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12 Béla Obál je bil prekmurski Slovenec. Po končanem študiju teologije se je v Prešovu zaposlil kot izredni profesor evangeličanske teologije. V decembru 1918 je bil imenovan za vladnega komisarja in velikega župana v Sombotelu (Kokolj, 1981, 54).

13 Jožef Klekl starejši (1874–1948) je bil slovenski katoliški duhovnik, urednik prekmurskih Novin (1913–1924) in eden vidnejših prekmurskih politikov (Šlebinger, 2013).

14 Novine, 9. februar 1919: Načrt ali plan autonomije, šteroga je spravišče slovenskih dühovnikov, Zaladske županije, 14. jan. 1919. leta, ednoglasno sprijalo (Jožef Kekl), 1–2. Klekl je Novine izdajal v vseh letih vojne. Stalnica so bila pričevanja vpoklicanih vojakov ter stališča Rimskokatoliške cerkve do antantnih in centralnih sil (Kerec, 2018, 812).

15 Vilmoš Tkalec (1894–1950) je bil slovenski učitelj in politik. Po razglasitvi Madžarske sovjetske republike je postal namestnik ljudskega komisarja za Prekmurje. 29. maja je z razglasitvijo Murske republike, predsednik katere je bil prav Tkalec, dosegel kratkotrajno odcepitev velikega dela Prekmurja od Madžarske. Po zatrtju Murske republike je odšel v Avstrijo, od koder se je kmalu vrnil nazaj. Po vrnitvi so ga oblasti zaprle v Lendavi, od koder uspel pobegniti na Madžarsko (Slovenska biografija, 2013).

Slika 1: Zemljevid Slovenske krajine, ki je bil predložen na mirovni konferenci v Parizu. Matija Slavič je zaslužen za izdelavo etnografske karte, razmejitvena meja med Muro in Rabo pa je bila predlog P. W. Johnsona (Slavič, 1999, 293).

vati od ideje skupnega življenja pod madžarsko oblastjo, še zlasti po Tkalčevi vstaji, pa so bili dokončno odločeni za priključitev h Kraljevini SHS (Kokolj, 1981, 172). Istočasno se je na drugi strani Evrope o Prekmurju odločalo na mirovni konferenci v Parizu.

DIPLOMATSKA BITKA ZA PREKMURJE NA MIROVNI KONFERENCI V PARIZU

Narodni svet za Štajersko je ob svoji ustanovitvi, 26. septembra 1918, kot eno svojih najpomembnejših nalog izpostavil določitev jasne narodne meje z avstrijskim in madžarskim ozemljem. Za izdelavo načrta narodne meje v Prekmurju so zadolžili dr. Matija Slaviča (Perovšek, 2007, 54). Tako se je že pred samim uradnim razpadom Avstro-Ogrske slovenska politika ukvarjala z vprašanjem Prekmurja, kjer naj bi takrat

svojo pripadnost slovenskemu narodu sicer že glasno izražali – že omenjeno murskosoboško zborovanje 20. oktobra 1918 (Perovšek, 2007, 54–55). Mnenja o sami odcepitvi od svetoštefanske krone pa so bila še zmerom deljena.

Konec prve svetovne vojne je »borbo za Prekmurje« prenesel v diplomatske vode. Na mirovnih pogajanjih v Parizu se je med drugim razpravljalo tudi o meji med novo nastalima državama Kraljevino Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev ter Demokratsko Republiko Madžarsko oz. kasneje Madžarsko sovjetsko republiko. Jugoslovanska delegacija[16] je 18. februarja 1919 Vrhovnemu svetu prvič predložila memorandum ozemeljskih zahtev Kraljevine SHS, s katerim je med drugim skušala doseči tudi priznanje slovenskega ozemlja med Muro in Rabo (Kokolj, 1981, 112–115; Perovšek, 2019a). Vrhovni svet je reševanje vprašanja slovenskih meja predal v roke Komisije za študij teritorialnih vprašanj, ki zadevajo Romunijo in Jugoslavijo (dalje: teritorialne komisije) (Grafenauer, 1970, 295–378), pomožnega organa sveta peterice, ki sta ga sestavljala po dva predstavnika Združenih držav Amerike, Francije, Velike Britanije in Italije (Kyovsky, 1981, 250–251).

Kot poroča Matija Slavič je problematika Prekmurja v ospredje prišla šele konec marca (Slavič, 1935a, 84), natančneje po 21. marcu 1919, ko je na Madžarskem na oblast prišla boljševistična vlada Béle Kuna. Ključno vlogo pri razrešitvi vprašanja meja med Kraljevino SHS in novo nastalo Sovjetsko republiko Madžarsko je odigral član teritorialne komisije ameriški kartograf major Douglas W. Johnson. Prvič je teritorialna komisija konkretneje o vprašanju Prekmurju razpravljala na seji 9. maja, ko je Johnson neuspešno predlagal, da se Prekmurje severno od Mure priključi Kraljevini SHS (Lipušček, 2019, 70–74). Njegov predlog je teritorialna komisija na drugem zasedanju (20. maja), kljub nasprotovanju Italijanov, nato sprejela in začela pripravljati predlog za Vrhovni svet mirovne konference v Parizu (Fujs, 1999, 68).

O Prekmurju je Vrhovni svet nato razpravljal na zasedanju 9. julija, kjer so upoštevali predlog teritorialne komisije, ki je vključeval označitev bodoče meje, po razvodnici med rekama Muro in Rabo. Utemeljenost jugoslovanskih zahtev glede Prekmurja so pojasnjevali predvsem z demografsko sestavo območja, ki je bilo v treh-četrtinah poseljeno s strani Slovencev (Mayer & Molnár, 2008, 303; Kyovsky, 1981, 251; Mitrović, 1975, 176). Slavič piše, da so se tudi po tem slovenski diplomati trudili, da bi jim uspelo »rešiti« slovenske vasi ob Rabi ter s tem namenom pisali pisma in izdelovali karte (Slavič,

16 Jugoslovansko delegacijo na pariški mirovni konferenci je vlada Kraljevine SHS imenovala 22. decembra 1918. Pod vodstvom srbskega državnika Nikole Pašiča, so jugoslovansko delegacijo sestavljali: generalni sekretar delegacije slovenski pravnik Bogumil Vošnjak, minister za zunanje zadeve Ante Trumbić, poslanik v Parizu Milenko Vesnić, nekdanji poslanik v Londonu Mata Bošković, nekdanji dalmatinski poslanec Josip Smodlaka, nekdanji tržaški poslanec v dunajskem parlamentu Otokar Rybář in pooblaščeni delegat Ivan Žolger. Zadnja našteta sta bila slovenskega rodu. Več o pomembni vlogi, ki jo je na pariški mirovni konferenci odigral Ivan Žolger v: Rahten, 2018.

1935a, 87), a kot je ugotovil Franc Kovačič »*je bila vsaka zahteva po prekorabskih Slovencih zastonj*« (Kovačič, 1926, 409).

Teritorialna komisija je 26. julija predlagala, da se ugodi jugoslovanskim zahtevam po zasedbi Prekmurja, o čemer je Vrhovni svet zasedal nekaj dni kasneje (Kyovsky, 1981, 251) in 1. avgusta,[17] ko je padla komunistična vlada v Budimpešti, jugoslovanski vojski odobril tudi vojaško zasedbo Prekmurja (Fujs, 1999, 68). S tem je bila po besedah pravnika Rudija Kyovskyga diplomatska bitka za Prekmurje v glavnem končana (Kyovsky, 1981, 251). Pismo mirovne konference (datirano 2. avgusta) je jugoslovanska delegacija v Parizu prejela 4. avgusta. Vlada v Beogradu pa je bila o tem obveščena dva dni kasneje, 6. avgusta (Lažeta, 2019, 76). Vest o določilih sprejetih na pariški mirovni konferenci je slovensko prebivalstvo dosegla že naslednji dan, 7. avgusta, ko je na primer časnik *Slovenec* objavil prispevek: *Najnovejše. Naše čete zasedejo Prekmurje. Prekmurje definitivno priznano Jugoslaviji.*[18]

JUGOSLOVANSKA VOJAŠKA ZASEDBA PREKMURJA

Še pred podpisom Trianonske pogodbe, 4. junija 1920, je Vrhovni svet pariške mirovne konference jugoslovanski strani odobril vojaško zasedbo Prekmurja.[19] V torek 12. avgusta 1919 so jugoslovanske čete skupaj s prostovoljci Sokolske legije v Štrigovi vkorakale v Prekmurje in ga brez bojev zasedle (Kyovsky, 1981, 253–255). Po ugotovitvah Perovška so bili z zasedbo v mednarodnem pogledu ustvarjeni temelji za priključitev Prekmurja h Kraljestvu SHS (Perovšek, 2019b, 371). Ves slovenski narod se je veselil priključitve Prekmurja, kot ugotavlja Matija Slavič, pa so se posebno veselili svoje osvoboditve Prekmurci sami (Slavič, 1935b, 77). Domala ves slovenski periodični tisk je poročal o jugoslovanski zasedbi Prekmurja,[20] velik del pa je izpostavljal tudi lep sprejem, ki so ga bile deležne jugoslovanske čete. Kot primer navajamo citat prispevka, ki je bil 16. avgusta objavljen v *Murski Straži*:

Povsod so jih pozdravljali veseli jutranji pozdravi, povsod radostni vzkliki naroda, ki se je čutil obsojenega' na smrt a se je v plapolanju jugoslovanske trobojnice vzbudil k novemu življenju. Naše čete so v vsaki vasi radostno pozdravili kot osvoboditelje in brate.[21]

Zapise o lepem sprejemu jugoslovanskih čet najdemo tudi v marsikateri slovenski literaturi, predvsem v spominih (Ude, 1979, 114–117). Na drugi strani pa je zgodovinar László Göncz v svojem prispevku *Muravidek, 1919*, glede sprejema jugoslovanski čet zapisal, da, čeprav naj bi številni prispevki in zapisi trdili, da so prebivalci slovesno in veselo čakali na rešitelje v Murski Soboti, Beltincih, Gornji Bistrici in Lendavi, naj bi v primeru Lendave jugoslovansko vojsko čakalo zelo malo slovenskih skupin in le nekaj prebivalcev, ki so bili srečni in so jugoslovanske čete videli kot odrešenike pred boljševiškim režimom. Absolutna večina prebivalcev naj bi po ugotovitvah avtorja prestrašena čakala na prihodnost. Göncz tudi zapiše, da so prebivalci v pretežno slovenskih krajih čakali jugoslovansko vojsko, ponekod z velikim navdušenjem. Kot primer tega navdušenja pa izpostavi slovesnost, ki je 17. avgusta potekala v Beltincih (Göncz, 2001).

Podobno kot na izid koroškega vprašanja gleda slovensko zgodovinopisje kot na nacionalno katastrofo, gotovo smatra madžarsko zgodovinopisje izgubo Prekmurja za velik neuspeh. Na tem mestu pa moramo opozoriti, da je Ogrska, kot poraženka prve svetovne vojne, s Trianonsko mirovno pogodbo[22] doživela izgubo 71 procentov ozemlja in 64 procentov prebivalstva. Več kot tri milijone etničnih Madžarov je postalo državljanov novonastalih držav, znotraj madžarskih meja jih je ostalo osem milijonov (Gyáni, 2012, 103). Medtem ko med slovenskim časniškim gradivom mrgoli zapisov sličnih temu: »*Mirovna pogodba z Ogrsko je podpisana. Na veke je odločeno, da pripada Prekmurje Jugoslaviji in da za vsigdar ostane združeno s svojo pravo in veliko domovino, Jugoslavijo*«[23] je na drugi

17 Istega dne so v prekmurskem časniku Murska straža klicali po vojaški zasedbi Prekmurja. (Murska Straža: Glasilo obmejnih Slovencev, 1. avgust 1919: Prekmurje (J. G.), 1–2).

18 Slovenec, 7. avgust 1919: Najnovejše. Naše čete zasedejo Prekmurje. Prekmurje definitivno priznano Jugoslaviji, 3.

19 Samo razmejevanje med Horthyjevo Madžarsko in Kraljevino SHS je trajalo od avgusta 1921 do julija 1924. Podrobneje o razmejitveni komisiji glej: Slavič, 1935a, 92–108; Ude, 1976, 88.

20 Murska Straža, 16. avgust 1919: Prekmurje zasedeno, 1; Slovenski gospodar, 14. avgust 1919: Osvobojena Prekmurska!, 1; Slovenski narod, 13. avgust 1919: Najnovejša poročila: Osvoboditev Prekmurja, 3; Slovenec, 13. avgust 1919: Prekmurje osvobojeno, 1; Jugoslavija, 13. avgust 1919: Osvobojenje Prekmurja – Protislovenski izgredi v Gorici, 1; Domoljub, 21. avgust 1919: Tedenske novice: Jugoslavija, 3; Mariborski delavec, 14. avgust 1919: Naše čete zavzele Mursko Soboto, 2–3; Naprej: glasilo Jugoslov. socialno-demokratične stranke, 13. avgust 1919, Jugoslovanske čete zasedle Prekmurje, 2; Nova Doba, 14. avgust 1919: Politične vesti: Prekmurje zasedeno in osvobojeno, 2.; Ptujski list, 17. avgust 1919: Prekmurje osvobojeno, 1; Straža, 16. avgust 1919: Politični pregled: Naše Prekmurje, 2.

21 Murska Straža, 16. avgust 1919: Prekmurje zasedeno, 1.

22 Mirovna pogodba med antantnimi silami in Madžarsko je bila podpisana 4. julija 1920 v palači Grand Trianon v Versaillesu. Pri določanju mejne črte med Madžarsko in Kraljevino SHS so upoštevali načelo razvodnice med Rabo in Muro na gornjem Goričkem. Tako je s trianonsko pogodbo devet naselij v okolici Monoštra/Szentgotthárd, ki so bila pretežno slovenska, ostalo pod Madžarsko. Trianonska meja je ustvarila etnične manjšine na obeh straneh – Slovenci v Porabju in Madžari v Prekmurju (Munda Hirnök & Slavec Gradišnik, 2019).

23 Prekmurski glasnik, 6. avgust 1920: Prekmurskim rojakom!, 1.
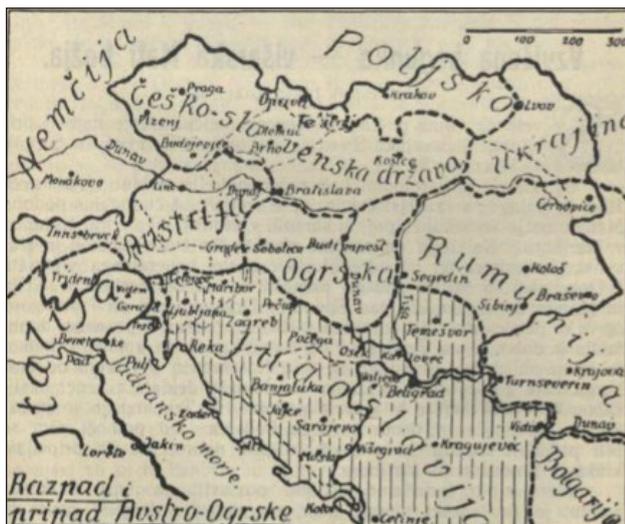
Slika 2: Zemljevid novonastalih držav po propadu Avstro-Ogrske monarhije, objavljen v Koledarju družbe sv. Mohorja (1920) (Koledar družbe sv. Mohorja za leto 1920, 109).

strani izguba Prekmurja in tamkajšnjih prebivalcev predstavljala le eno izmed mnogih ozemeljskih izgub, ki jih je povojna Madžarska lahko objokovala.

O velikih izgubah, ki jih je Trianonska mirovna pogodba prinesla Madžarski so leta 1920 v *Koledarju družbe sv. Mohorja* zapisali:

Čehoslovaška je republika, seže dale notri na Ogrsko, na jugu do Donave. Ogrsk a je prikraj-šana, da se Bogu usmili, na vseh koncih. Zahodni deli pripadejo Avstriji, severni Čehoslovaški, vzhodni in deloma južni kraji Rumuniji, drugi del juga pa nam. Hudi so bili boji na Ogrskem doma, dolgo časa je vladal tam komunist Bela Kun. Se-daj so na krmilu zmernejši državniki. Rumunija je zelo zelo velika, dosti večja kakor je zaslužila po svojih uspehih. Cela Erdeljska, večji del Banata, Bukovina, Besarabija! Bo med večjimi in ne med srednjimi državami.[24]

ODZIV MADŽARSKE STRANI NA JUGOSLOVANSKO ZASEDBO PREKMURJA

Preden se lahko posvetimo odzivom madžarskih časnikov na zasedbo Prekmurja, je treba na kratko predstaviti položaj medijev v času 133-dnevne oblasti Sovjetske republike in v času takoj po propadu dik-tature proletariata. Kmalu po prevzemu oblasti, 25. marca 1919, je najvišji organ madžarskih sovjetov,

Revolucionarni vladni svet, ukinil nekatere pomemb-ne meščanske politične dnevnike v Budimpešti, kot so bili *Budapesti Hírlap, 8 Órai Újság* in *Alkotmány,* ter še nekaj manjših. Na začetku aprila so ukinili še dodatnih 223 časnikov, tako da je konec meseca maja 1919 v Budimpešti izhajalo le še 5 provladnih dnev-nikov, in sicer komunistični *Vörös Újság* (uredništvo časnika se je enostavno vselilo v nacionalizirano poslopje in uredništvo dnevnika Budapesti Hírlap), *Népszava* in *Világszabadság,* ter dva dnevnika v nemškem jeziku (*Volkstimme* in *Pester Lloyd*). Komu-nisti so poleg budimpeških časnikov, ki so bili prvi na udaru, nacionalizirali tudi časnike na podeželju s tem, da so v večini primerov že obstoječe časnike v duhu časa preimenovali (Paál, 2019). Po propadu madžarske Sovjetske republike 1. avgusta 1919 so omenjeni »rdeči« časniki razen *Népszava* prenehali izhajati, meščanski pa so se na novo oblikovali, in to pod romunsko cenzuro, saj je romunska vojska na začetku avgusta zavzela Budimpešto, kasneje pa je zasedla še severozahodni del Prekodonavja (Kontler, 2005, 272). Časnik *Zalai K̈özlöny*, ki je izhajal v Veliki Kaniži (madž. Nagykanizsa), železniškem vozlišču v Zalski županiji, in ki je po prisilnem premoru v času sovjetov ponovno začel izhajati v avgustu leta 1919, je v svoji izdaji 22. avgusta med drugim navedel:

Po dolgem času premora so ponovno redno za-čeli prihajati v Nagykanizso časopisi iz glavnega mesta. Čeprav jih trenutno le potniki prinašajo s sabo, pa iz njih lahko ugotovimo, da so ma-džarski mediji končno ponovno pred razcvetom. V Budimpešti trenutno izhajajo štirje dnevniki. [...] Čeprav izgleda žalostno, pa je hkrati tudi zanimivo videti na nekaterih izvodih časopisov tiskan napis romunske cenzure: Censurat![25]

V tem za madžarsko državo izredno kaotičnem času je jugoslovanska vojska zasedla Prekmurje. Čeprav so budimpeški meščanski časniki, o čemer smo že pisali, ponovno začeli izhajati po propadu madžarske Sovjet-ske republike avgusta 1919, pa so se na žalost prav za mesec avgust in delno tudi za september 1919 ohranile le posamezne številke budimpeštanskih časnikov. Do-mnevamo, da nam prav zaradi tega v njih ni uspelo najti nobenega zapisa o zasedbi Prekmurja. Kot potrditev napisanega citiramo članek, objavljen v budimpeškem dnevniku *Pesti Hírlap* z naslovom Muravidék (Prekmur-je) iz leta 1928, v katerem je avtor v zvezi z zasedbo Prekmurja navedel: »*Šele v sredini avgusta 1919 so uspeli jugoslovani zasesti Prekmurje. Brez odpora. Zelo žalostni dnevi. Tedaj so v Budimpešti grabili opiti Romu-ni. Kdo bi tedaj pomislil na Prekmurje.*«[26]

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24 Koledar družbe sv. Mohorja za leto 1920, 108.
25 Zalai Közlöny, 22. avgust 1919: Megjöttek a budapesti lapok, 2.
26 Pesti Hírlap, 22. februar 1928: Muravidék, 1.

Več sreče smo imeli z županijskimi časniki. Tako je že omenjeni dnevnik *Zalai Közlöny* takoj naslednji dan po zasedbi, se pravi 13. avgusta, poročal o prihodu jugoslovanske vojske v Prekmurje v prispevku z naslovom *»Srbi so okupirali Prekmurje«*:

V torek popoldan je vojaško zapovedništvo zalske županije poslala odposlanca k srbskemu vojaškemu poveljniku. Vlak, na katerem je potoval odposlanec, stotnik Andor Kovács, je srbska vojaška patrulja zadržala pri Csömödér-ju in so mu naznanili, da so Dolnjo Lendavo zasedle srbske enote in da vlak lahko pelje le do Rédics-a. Stotnik je v Rédics-u vzpostavil telefonsko zvezo s srbskim poveljstvom, od koder so nato poslali vojaško komisijo pod vodstvom enega polkovnika. Komisija se je pripeljala z avtomobilom, med njimi je bil tudi podpolkovnik Perko, poznan tudi v Nagykanizsi, nekdanji poveljnik kadetske šole v Sopronu. Na vprašanje stotnika Kovács-a, ali je napredovanje zasedba (megszállás) ali pa okupacija (okkupáció), je srbski polkovnik dal odgovor, da izvajajo okupacijo, ki jo je na podlagi versajskih pogajanj odredil vrhovni vojaški svet antantnih držav. Meja okupiranega ozemlja je Rédics-Göntérháza-Kerkaszentmiklós in zgornji tok potoka Krke vse do štajerske meje«. Na vprašanje, ali bodo srbske čete zasedle tudi Nagykanizo, pa polkovnik ni odgovoril, vendar je izjavil, da konkretnega ukaza glede tega nima. Srbski polkovnik se je nato pozanimal, ali odgovarja resnici novica, na podlagi katerega naj bi se v Nagykanizsi borili rdeči in beli. Na pomirjajočo razlago stotnika Kovács-a je srbski poveljnik izjavil, da so srbske enote v primeru izgredov pripravljene na takojšnje vkorakanje.[27]

Naslednja vest v zvezi s Prekmurjem je v omenjenem časniku datirana na 28. avgust, ko so na kratko poročali o tem, da so »Srbi« izpraznili naselji Dobri in Rédics.[28]

Dnevnik *Zala*, ki je prav tako izhajal v Veliki Kaniži (madž. Nagykanizsa) kot *Zalai Közlöny*, je na kratko poročal o zasedbi naselij Murska Sobota, Beltinci, Dolnja in Gornja Lendava s strani jugoslovanske vojske.[29] Pri tem so še zapisali: *»Misija antante v Budimpešti je storila korake za preklic zasedbe v Beogradu, vendar je očitno poziv prišel prepozno. Naše enote so dobile povelje, da se naj ne upirajo. Upajmo, da se bo zadeva uredila po mirni poti.«*[30]

Tudi osrednji dnevnik Železne županije, časnik *Vasvármegye*, ki je po padcu vlade Béle Kun ponovno začel izhajati, je poročal o zasedbi Prekmurja, vendar zelo na kratko. V rubriki Novice so 13. avgusta 1919 pod naslovom *»Jugoslovani v Murski Soboti«* zapisali: *»Jugoslovani so danes dopoldne zasedli Mursko Soboto. Z mestom se je prekinila železniška, telegrafska in telefonska povezava.«*[31] Se je pa uvodna kolumna iste številke časnika Vasvármegye malce širše dotaknila zasedba Prekmurja. Uvodnik se je posvetil zunanjepolitičnim posledicam vladavine sovjetov, ki je po mnenju neznanega avtorja članka botrovala temu, da je antanta pod pretvezo, da napravi red v državi, zasedla celo ozemlje Madžarske. V zvezi s Prekmurjem je uvodnik izpostavil*:*

Prihajajo Srbi, včeraj zjutraj so zasedli Mursko Soboto. Našim vojakom so dali eno uro časa za umik, nato pa so se po stranskih linijah začeli pomikati proti Balatonszentgyörgy-u, da bi se od tam usmerili na sever. Njihove glavne sile se pravkar zbirajo pri Radgoni. Torej, lahko računamo na to, da bodo z velikimi silami in čim hitreje poskusili napredovati in čim hitreje čim večje kose Prekodonavja iztrgati zase pred romunsko zasedbo. [...] Očitno še vedno nismo dovolj trpeli. Čaka nas še zadnja predstava v tej preizkušnji; zasedba. Da s tem država ne bo bogatejša, je sigurno. Slaba tolažba, da nas bodo zasedli dobrosrčni Srbi in ne neusmiljeni Romuni. Čeprav je srbski vojak discipliniran in ni ropar, pa zagotovo zasedba več odnese kot prinese.[32]

Zasedba Prekmurja je med drugim za sabo potegnila daljnosežne posledice tudi na področju časopisja v Prekmurju. Oba osrednja tednika pokrajine, pisana v madžarskem jeziku, *Muraszombat és Vidéke* v murskosoboškem in *Alsólendvai Híradó* v dolnjelendavskem okraju, sta namreč prenehala izhajati. Zadnja številka *Muraszombat és Vidéke* je izšla v nedeljo, 10. avgusta 1919, torej dva dni pred zasedbo Prekmurja. V časniku ni nobenega sklicevanja na to, da je pariška mirovna konferenca dodelila Prekmurje Jugoslaviji oziroma da bodo v kratkem jugoslovanske čete zasedle pokrajino na levem bregu Mure. Kdaj natančno je izšla zadnja številka lendavskega tednika, ki je začel izhajati januarja 1889, ni znano. Zadnja, še dostopna številka *Alsólendvai Híradó*, nosi datum 20. julij 1919 in ima na vrhu naslovnice v duhu trenutnih političnih razmer v državi napisan slogan *»Proletarci vseh dežel, združite se!«*.[33]

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27 Zalai Közlöny, 13. avgust 1919: A szerbek okkupálták a vendvidéket, 2.
28 Zalai Közlöny, 28. avgust 1919: Kivonulnak a szerbek, 2.
29 Danes Grad na Goričkem.
30 Zala, 14. avgust 1919: Jelentések az országból, 1.
31 Vasvármegye, 13. avgust 1919: A jugoszlávok Muraszombatban, 3.
32 Vasvármegye, 13. avgust 1919: Jelenségek, 1.
33 Alsólendvai Híradó, 20. julij 1919: Világ proletárjai, egyesüljetek!, 1.

SLOVESNOST OB PRIKLJUČITVI PREKMURJA H KRALJESTVU SHS

Prvo nedeljo po jugoslovanski vojaški zasedbi Prekmurja, 17. avgusta 1919, je v čast priključitvi Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS v Beltincih potekala slovesnost. O razlogih za izbiro Beltincev kot kraja poteka slovesnosti so 30. avgusta pisali v murskosoboških *Novinah* pod rubriko »Glasi«. Zapisali so, da je bilo najprej načrtovano, da bo v tem času potekal ljudski tabor v Radgoni, a ker je med pripravami nanj prišlo do zasedbe Prekmurja, so se odločili, da bodo slovesnost prestavili v Beltince.[34]

Beltinska slovesnost ob priključitvi Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS je potekala v dopoldanskih urah.[35] Na njej sta se vojaška in civilna oblast najprej uradno predstavili ljudstvu ter nato pred njim opravili prevzem iz vojaške oblasti v roke civilne uprave.[36] Pred pričetkom slovesnosti je množica na ulicah pričakala pomembnejše goste, med katerimi naj izpostavimo poveljnika dravskega odreda podpolkovnika Vladimirja Uzorinaca, civilnega komisarja za Prekmurje dr. Feliksa (Srečka) Lajnsiča, višjega poštnega ravnatelja dr. Janka Debeljaka,[37] pol. nadkomisarja dr. Vekoslava Stržana in mariborskega profesorja bogoslužja dr. Franca Kovačiča.[38] Kako slavnosten naj bi dejansko bil sprejem pomembnih gostov najbolje povzame spodnji citat iz časnika *Jugoslavija*:

Medtem se je v Belatincih zbrala velika množica ljudstva v svrho slovesnega sprejema. Mladina je nosila slovenske zastavice, možje in fantje so prijahali na konjih, drugi zopet so se pripeljali na okrašenih vozovih. Pred trgom se je množica zbrala in razporedila, nato pa je krenil ves velečastni izprevod pod vodstvom narodnega mučenika, visokošolca Pavla Horvata proti trgu. Tu se je izprevodu pridružilo na tisoče ljudstva, ki je privrelo iz vsega Prek-

murja. Nato se je izprevod nanovo razvrstil in je krenil z domačimi godbami na čelu daleč ven iz trga, da sprejme zastopnika vojaške in civilne oblasti. Ves sprejem je bil prisrčen in prekipevajoč naj večjega veselja, ki ga sploh ni mogoče popisati. Podpolkovnik Uzurinac in dr. Lajnšič sta se peljala skozi pet do šest slavolokov in sta bila sprejeta kot triumfatorja. Peljala sta se v mesto med tri kilometre dolgim veličasten špalirjem, ki ga je tvorilo nad 20.000 ljudi.[39]

Po sprejemu pomembnih gostov se je sprevod premaknili pred župnijsko cerkev, kjer je na prostem potekala slovesna pridiga in maša.[40] Slovesno pridigo je imel dr. Franc Kovačič.[41]

Kot je zapisano v *Murski Straži* se je po cerkvenem delu slovesnosti pričel ljudski tabor.[42] Zborovanje je odprl prekmurski legionar Jožef Godina, ki je pozdravil podpolkovnika in civilnega komisarja[43] ter govoril o pomenu shoda, in sicer da »*teptani prekmurski Slovenci prvič pozdravljajo svojo svobodo in ujedinjenje z močno Jugoslavijo*«.[44] Sledil mu je hrvaški legionar podporočnik Franjo Svetec, ki je spregovoril v imenu legije. Dalje je v imenu vojaških oblasti govoril poveljnik jugoslovanskih čet, ki so zasedle Prekmurje, podpolkovnik Vladimir Uzorinac. Ta naj bi v govoru poslušalcem obljubil, da bo Prekmurje branil do zadnje kaplje krvi, kar je publika sprejela z entuziazmom. V imenu civilne oblasti je spregovoril[45] civilni komisar za Prekmurje, dr. Feliks Lajnšič, ki je iz vojaških rok prevzel začasno upravo nad pokrajino (Fujs, 1999, 68). V svojem govoru pa se je za priključitev Prekmurja zahvaljeval kralju Petru I. Karađorđeviću. Velik vtis na poslušalce je po pisanju časnika *Murska straža* pustil govor Jožefa Klekla, ki so ga vzhičeno označili kot »očeta prekmurskih Slovencev«. Pripovedoval je o svojem življenju, o preganjanju ter vzpodbujal prekmursko

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34 Novine, 30. avgust 1919: Glasi, 4; več o poteku slovesnosti tudi v: Sedar, 2019, 69.

35 Novine: Političen list za Prekmurske Slovence, 24. avgust 1919: Tabor Prekmurcov v Belotincih, 1–2.

36 Jugoslavija, 19. avgust 1919: Iz osvobojenega Prekmurja: Prvi narodni tabor prekmurskih Slovencev – Najvažnejše vprašanje – Proglas civilnega komisarje, 2.

37 Slovenski narod, 19. avgust 1919, Narodni tabor v Prekmurja, 1.

38 Novine, 24. avgust 1919, Tabor Prekmurcov v Belotincih, 1–2.

39 Jugoslavija, 19. avgust 1919: Iz osvobojenega Prekmurja: Prvi narodni tabor prekmurskih Slovencev – Najvažnejše vprašanje – Proglas civilnega komisarje, 2; skoraj identičen citat najdemo tudi v Mariborskem delavcu, ki je izšel dan za Jugoslavijo, so drugače zapisali nekatere besede npr. namesto Uzorinac – Uzorinac ali namesto veličasten špalirjem – veličastni špalirjem ter besedno zvezo prijahali na konjih zamenjali s prihajali na konjih (Mariborski delavec, 20. avgusta 1919: Prekmurje, 2). Podobnost med omenjenima prispevkoma v Jugoslaviji in Mariborskem delavcu se ne nanaša zgolj na omenjen citat, temveč jo je moč zaslediti skozi ves prispevek o beltinski slovesnosti.

40 Medtem ko v Novinah poročajo, da je najprej bila Kovačičeva pridiga, ki ji je nato sledila maša, pišejo v Murski Straži, da je bila najprej maša, šele nato pa je imel Kovačič »cerkveni govor«. (Novine, 24. avgust 1919: Tabor Prekmurcov v Belotincih, 1–2; Murska Straža, 23. avgust 1919: Prvi ljudski tabor v jugoslovanskem Prekmurju, 1).

41 Novine, 24. avgust 1919: Tabor Prekmurcov v Belotincih, 1–2.

42 Murska Straža, 23. avgust 1919: Prvi ljudski tabor v jugoslovanskem Prekmurju, 1.

43 Novine, 24. avgust 1919: Tabor Prekmurcov v Belotincih, 1–2.

44 Murska Straža, 23. avgust 1919: Prvi ljudski tabor v jugoslovanskem Prekmurju, 1.

45 Novine, 24. avgust 1919: Tabor Prekmurcov v Belotincih, 1–2.

ljudstvo k veri v Boga ter k ljubezni do naroda in domovine. Naslednji govornik je bil dr. Franc Kovačič, član delegacije na mirovni konferenci v Parizu, ki je svoj govor posvetil predvsem diplomatskemu boju za prekmursko ozemlje.[46] Med nastopajočimi omenimo še Vladimirja Pušenjaka, ki je govoril o gospodarskih vprašanjih Prekmurja, o agrarni reformi in tudi o Judih; Toneta Vahtarja, ki je udeležence pozdravil v imenu „Murskega Sokola"; Viktorja Kukovca, govoril v imenu Ljutomera; Kereca, v imenu Goričancev in Matjaža Balažiča, v imenu Beltincev.[47] Zborovanje je po pisanju *Novin* trajalo do 12. ure, z vzkliki: »*Živio rešeni Prekmurci! Živijo Jugoslavija!*« ga je sklenil Jožef Godina. Sledil je nastop godbe, ki je odigrala „Lepo našo domovino", „Naprej zastava Slave" in „Hej Slovani".[48] Po zborovanju se je med udeležence proslave razdelila proklamacija civilnega guvernerja.[49] V popoldanskih urah pa se je razvila prosta zabava.[50]

Ocene števila obiskovalcev beltinske slovesnosti se v slovenskem časniškem tisku precej razlikujejo. Najnižjo oceno obiskanosti je podal *Slovenski narod*,[51] ki je poročal o 12.000 udeležencih. Precej višje je obiskanost ocenila prekmurska *Murska Straža*,[52] in sicer med 18.000 in 20.000 udeleženci. Sledijo ji *Slovenec*,[53] *Slovenski gospodar*,[54] *Jugoslavija*[55] in *Mariborski delavec*,[56] ki so poročali o 20.000 udeležencih. Ocene takratnega slovenskega časniškega gradiva tako variirajo med 12.000 in 20.000 udeležencih. Presenetljivo pa v prekmurskih *Novinah*,[57] ki so drugače podrobno opisale beltinsko slovesnost ni podano točno število udeležencev, te poročajo le, da se je slovesnosti udeležilo več tisoč oseb.

Poročanje o beltinski slovesnosti v slovenskem periodičnem tisku

O slovesnosti ob priključitvi Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS v Beltincih je poročal domala ves slovenski periodičen tisk.[58] V nadaljevanju pa bomo izpostavili le dele poročanja v izbranih časnikih, in sicer v *Murski straži*, *Novinah* (oba prekmurska časnika), *Slovenskem narodu*, *Slovencu*, *Slovenskem gospodarju*, *Jugoslaviji* in *Mariborskem delavcu*, ki nazorno prikazujejo kako velik pomen so pripisovali beltinski slovesnosti.

Slovenski narod je 19. avgusta 1919 na naslovni strani objavil prispevek »Narodni tabor v Prekmurja«, ki ga je poetsko pričel z opisom pomena, ki naj bi ga priključitev Prekmurja imela za tamkajšnje prebivalstvo:

Zopet se je uvrstil biser naših tal v območje naše Jugoslavije. Prekmurje je naše — naša zopet krv onstran Mure. Iztrgane so rodovitne poljane iz požidovljenih rok odurne Madžarske. Zopet ima del našega naroda prost zrak, v prostem delu je najsevernejši del naših poljan, zopet svobodno poje vesela slovenska prekmurska duša svojo slovensko pesem. Prva nedelja v svobodnih Belotincih onstran Mure! Iz sosednih vaseh je pridrvelo okrog 12.000, reci dvanajst tisoč naših sto in sto let zatiranih — svojega jezika, šol in uradov popolnoma oropanih Slovencev, da se vesele svojega osvobojenja, da prvikrat lahko svobodno govorijo, se veselijo in pojeio v mili, kljub vsem zatiranju ohranjeni govorici.[59]

46 Matija Slavič, ki je na pariški mirovni konferenci sodeloval kot izvedenec za Prekmurje, se beltinske slovesnosti v Prekmurju ni udeležil. 29. avgusta 1919 je časnik Straža objavil prispevek »Pogovor z dr. Slavičem«, v katerem je na vprašanje urednika časnika ali je z zasedbo Prekmurja zadovoljen, bil Slavičev odgovor: »*Pri slabih poštnih razmerah v Pariz nismo zvedeli o tem nič do 17. avgusta. Zvedel sem še le 19. avgusta na kolodvoru v Ljubljani iz ljubljanskih listov. Poročilo o taboru v Beltincih je bilo razveseljivo*« (Straža: neodvisen političen list za slovensko ljudstvo, 29. avgust 1919: Pogovor z dr. Slavičem o Prekmurju, 1).
47 Murska Straža, 23. avgust 1919: Prvi ljudski tabor v jugoslovanskem Prekmurju, 1; Slovenski narod, 19. avgust 1919: Narodni tabor v Prekmurja, 1.
48 Novine, 24. avgust 1919: Tabor Prekmurcov v Belotincih, 1–2.
49 Novine, 24. avgust 1919: Naznanje Prekmurcom!, 4.
50 Slovenec, 19. avgust 1919: Ljudski tabor v Prekmurju, 1.
51 Slovenski narod, 19. avgust 1919: Narodni tabor v Prekmurja, 1.
52 Murska Straža, 23. avgust 1919: Prvi ljudski tabor v jugoslovanskem Prekmurju, 1.
53 Slovenec, 19. avgust 1919: Ljudski tabor v Prekmurju, 1.
54 Slovenski gospodar: List ljudstvu v pouk in zabave, 21. avgust 1919: Prvi ljudski tabor v Prekmurju, 1.
55 Jugoslavija, 19. avgust 1919: Iz osvobojenega Prekmurja: Prvi narodni tabor prekmurskih Slovencev – Najvažnejše vprašanje – Proglas civilnega komisarje, 2.
56 Mariborski delavec, 20. avgusta 1919: Prekmurje, 2.
57 Novine, 24. avgust 1919: Tabor Prekmurcov v Belotincih, 2.
58 Slovenski narod, 19. avgust 1919: Narodni tabor v Prekmurja, 1; Slovenec, 19. avgust 1919: Ljudski tabor v Prekmurju, 1; Novine, 24. avgust 1919: Tabor Prekmurcov v Belotincih, 1–2; Slovenski gospodar, 21. avgust 1919: Prvi ljudski tabor v Prekmurju, 1; Murska Straža, 23. avgust 1919: Prvi ljudski tabor v jugoslovanskem Prekmurju, 1; Mariborski delavec, 20. avgusta 1919: Prekmurje, 2; Jugoslavija, 19. avgust 1919: Iz osvobojenega Prekmurja: Prvi narodni tabor prekmurskih Slovencev – Najvažnejše vprašanje – Proglas civilnega komisarje, 2. Prav tako je beltinska omenjena v: Straža: neodvisen političen list za slovensko ljudstvo, 29. avgust 1919: Pogovor z dr. Slavičem o Prekmurju, 1. O Razglasu civilnega komisarja za Prekmurje, ki je bil 17. avgusta 1919 razdeljen na beltinski slovesnosti, tudi v: Naprej: Glasilo Jugoslov. socialno-demokratične stranke, 19. avgust 1919: Brzojavne vesti: Razglas civilnega komisarja za Prekmurje, 1; Ptujski list: Politično gospodarski tednik, 24. avgust 1919: Politične vesti: Proglas Prekmurcem, 2.
59 Slovenski narod, 19. avgust 1919: Narodni tabor v Prekmurja, 1.

O osvoboditvi slovenskega naroda so prav tako poročali v *Slovencu*, 19. avgusta, kjer so zapisali, da je z beltinsko slovesnostjo prekmursko slovensko prebivalstvo »*slovesno proglasilo svoje osvobojenje*«.[60] O združenju z ostalim Slovenci so v prekmurskem časniku *Novine*, 24. avgusta, zapisali: »*Z tem vüpanjom je Šla jezero — jezerna vnožina domo, da je našla, kaj je iskala — svoj zgübljeni dom. Nikdar ne pozabljeni den!*« in s temi besedami zaključili svoj prispevek o slovesnosti v Beltincih.[61] V časniku *Jugoslavija* so o proslavi zapisali: »*Naše Prekmurje je včeraj na najprisrčnejši in najsijajnejši način proslavilo največji dan svoje zgodovine, najsvetejši praznik svojega vstajanja in osvobojenja*«.[62]

Slovenski gospodar je 21. avgusta dogodek opisal kot: »*kakoršnjega še naše slovensko Prekmurje ni videlo in kakor si sijajnejega in veličastnejega niti bujna domišljija predstavljati ne more*« ter »*Po vsej pravici je prištevati ljudski tabor v Beltincih v vsakem oziru med najvažnejše trenotke v zgodovini slovenskih Prekmurcev*«.[63] Dva dni za tem, so v prekmurski *Murski Straži* o slovesnosti zapisali: »*Belatinski tabor bo zapustil v narodni duši Prekmurcev trajne sledi, kot mejnik novega čuvstvovanja in pomlajenja*«.[64]

Medtem, ko so na eni strani slovenski časniki, vzhičeni nad priključitvijo Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS, v svojih prispevkih o beltinski slovesnosti uporabljali superlative ter poetične zapise o osvoboditvi in vrnitvi zgubljenih narodnjakov domovini, pa o beltinski slovesnosti madžarski periodični tisk ni poročal. O predaji vojaške oblasti civilni upravi tako ni bilo ničesar napisanega ne v županijskih časnikih (*Zala, Zalai Közlöny, Vasvémegye*), ne v časnikih, ki so izhajali v Budimpešti (*Budapesti Közlöny, Budapesti Hírlap, Pester Lloyd*).

Praznovanje pomembnejših jubilejev priključitve Prekmurja v Kraljevini SHS/Jugoslaviji

Slovesnost ob prvi obletnici (leta 1920)

Poročanja o slovesnosti ob prvi obletnici priključitve Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS je v slovenskem periodičnem tisku bistveno manj kot pa ga je bilo o beltinski proslavi leto prej. Slovenski časniki tej niso posvečali pozornosti,[65] eni izmed izjem sta časnika *Slovenec* in *Novine*, ki sta poteku jubileja namenila nekaj prostora.

Omenjena časnika poročata, da je v nedeljo 15. avgusta 1920 v beltinski župni cerkvi potekala slovesna orkestralna maša, pri kateri je sodeloval tudi pevski zbor in orkester Abstinenčnega krožka. Prav tako so pri proslavi sodelovali tudi ljubljanski dijaki in dijakinje (učiteljišča) Abstinenčnega krožka, ki so se v Prekmurju mudili med 14. in 16. avgustom. V popoldanskem času se je slovesnost, ki so se je po poročanju *Slovenca* udeležili: »*vsi zavedni prekmurski Slovenci iz Beltinc in okoliša*« nadaljevala na prostem. Otvoril jo je pevski zbor, kateremu sta sledila pozdravna govora podpredsednika krožka in župana, za konec pa še igra[66] ,»*Doktor seznai*«.[67] Po poročanju *Slovenec* se je po proslavi razvila ljudska veselica obarvana s petjem različnih narodnih pesmi, godbo in šaljivimi nastopi.[68]

Slovesnosti ob peti obletnici (leta 1924)

Med tem, ko so v *Slovencu*[69] pisali, da so 17. avgusta 1919 istočasno z obhajanjem desetletnice smrti prekmurskega rojaka dr. Franca Ivanoczyja[70] obhajali tudi peto obletnico priključitve Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS, v prekmurskih *Novinah*[71] in *Slovenskem gospodarju*[72] poročajo le o slovesnosti v čast deseti obletnici smrti Ivanoczyja.

60 Slovenec, 19. avgust 1919: Ljudski tabor v Prekmurju, 1.

61 Novine, 24. avgust 1919: Tabor Prekmurcov v Belotincih, 1–2.

62 Jugoslavija, 19. avgust 1919: Iz osvobojenega Prekmurja: Prvi narodni tabor prekmurskih Slovencev – Najvažnejše vprašanje – Proglas civilnega komisarje, 2; Skoraj identičen citat najdemo tudi v: Mariborski delavec, 20. avgusta 1919: Prekmurje, 2.

63 Slovenski gospodar, 21. avgust 1919: Prvi ljudski tabor v Prekmurju, 1.

64 Murska Straža, 23. avgust 1919: Prvi ljudski tabor v jugoslovanskem Prekmurju, 1.

65 Pri pregledu tistih številk časnikov *Jugoslavija*; *Murska Straža*; *Naprej, Slovenski gospodar* in *Slovenski narod*, ki so izšle pri številkah, ki so izšli blizu 15. avgusta 1920, nismo zasledili poročanja o poteku beltinske slovesnosti ob prvem jubileju.

66 Slovenec, 22. avgust 1920: Prekmurje, 4.

67 Novine, 22. avgust 1920: Glasi, 3.

68 Slovenec, 22. avgust 1920: Prekmurje, 4.

69 Slovenec, 22. avgust 1924: Proslava desetletnice smrti dr. Ivanoczyja, 3.

70 Franc Ivanoczy (1857–1913) je bil slovenski rimsko-katoliški duhovnik in prekmurski narodni buditelj. Od leta 1889 do svoje smrti je kot župnik deloval na Tišni, kjer je popolnoma je prenovil cerkev, oskrbel nove zvonove ter orgle in dvignil cerkveno petje. Od leta 1893 je bil dekan in šolski nadzornik sobotskega okraja, leta 1907 pa ga je kralj imenoval za častnega kanonika. Napisal je knjižico Pobožnost Srca Jezušovega (1892), priredil novo izdajo Molitvene knjige (Radgona 1904), ustanovil Društvo Nájszvetejsega Szrca Jezusovoga (1895), sodeloval pri nastanku nabožnega mesečnika »Nevtepeno poprijeta Devica Marija, zmožna Gospa vogrska« (1906), s pomočjo törjanskega kaplana Petra Kollárja je izdal za normalne šole prevod Jos. Gerelyjeve »Male biblie z kejpami ali Zgodbe zveličanja za malo dečico« (1897, 1898, 1898) ter širil med ljudstvo nabožne knjige. Prav tako se je tudi udeleževal političnega življenja. Ivanóczy je bil neustrašen zagovornik svojega materinskega jezika (slovenščine), kljub temu pa je madžarščino cenil kot državni jezik (Šlebinger, 2013; Slovenec, 22. avgust 1924: Proslava desetletnice smrti dr. Ivanoczyja, 3).

71 Novine, 24. avgust 1924: Glasi: Slovanska krajina, 1–2.

72 Slovenski gospodar, 21. avgust 1924: Prekmurski Slovenci ob 10 letnici smrti kanonika dr. Ivanoczyja, 2.

Omenjena slovesnost je potekala pri cerkvi sv. Benedikta v Kančevcih. Po ocenah *Slovenca* naj bi se je udeležilo 6. 000 ljudi,[73] nižje so ocene *Novin* in *Slovenskega gospodarja*, ki poročajo o 5. 000 udeležencih.[74] Med pomembnimi udeleženci Ivanoczyjeve slovesnosti velja imensko izpostaviti Jožefa Klekla in narodnega poslanca Josipa Hohnjeca.[75]

Med časniškim gradivom zasledimo omembo še ene slovesnosti ob peti obletnici priključitve Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS, ki je potekala v Beltincih. O tej sta poročala lokalna časnika, in sicer *Novine*,[76] 31. avgusta 1924 in *Mőrszka krajina*,[77] 24. avgusta 1924. V nobenem izmed teh ne omenja datuma poteka slovesnosti, po uporabi preteklika pa je razvidno, da je ta že bila izvedena. Organizacija obletnice je v prispevku *Novin* prejela precej kritik, češ da je bila »*cela stvar* […] *slabo organizirana i napačno organizirana*«. Glavni vzrok za kar so iskali v tem, da domačini niso sodelovali pri organizaciji.[78] Kar pa bi po drugi strani tudi znal biti eden izmed razlogov, zakaj so prekmurske *Novine* potek slovesnosti tako kritizirale.

Slovesnost se je pričela po nedeljski maši, z nastopom vojaške godbe, ki so ji sledili razni govorniki. O prvih štirih govornik je v *Novinah* zapisano le to, da so bili Slovenci, a ne Prekmurci. Po teh so s svojimi govori nadaljevali trije Prekmurci, Franc Kolenc, predsednik dijaškega društva, ki sta mu sledila še tajnik Vseslovenske ljudske stranke in predsednik dobrovoljskega društva.[79] Slednja v prispevku nista poimenovana.

Glede obiskanosti dogodka so v *Novinah* zapisali: »*Par gostov: zastopnikov, komandantov, četo vojaštva, godbo, gasilce, veržejske strelce, dobrovolce i par sto domačinov, ki so prišli bole zavolo nedelne slüžbe bože, kak pa zavolo slavnosti.*«[80]

Praznovanje petega jubileja priključitve Prekmurja očitno ni doseglo večje razsežnosti. Vzroke za to lahko v prvi vrsti iščemo v tem, da domačini pri organizaciji slovesnosti niso sodelovali. Vsaj delno bi lahko vzroke iskali tudi v tem, da sta si praznovanja slovesnosti pete obletnice in velike slovesnosti ob deseti obletnici smrti Franca Ivanoczyja (17. avgust 1924) morala biti relativno blizu. Velika udeležba na Ivanoczyjevi slovesnosti bi lahko delno vplivala tudi na manjšo udeležbo pete obletnice.

Slovesnost ob deseti obletnici (leta 1929)

Za razliko od skopega poročanja slovenskih časnikov ob proslavah prve in pete obletnice, pa je bila deseta obletnica priključitve Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS v slovenskem časniškem tisku bistveno bolj obeležena[81] – kar pa ni presenetljivo, saj je bila izvedena v precej večjem obsegu kot prejšnji dve.

Za organizacijo slovesnosti ob jubileju je bil zadolžen akcijski odbor za proslavo, ki se je po besedah *Jutra* na to pripravljal dolge tedne ter javnosti dajal razne objave in izjave. Glede na *Jutro*, je tekom priprav na proslavo prišlo do nesoglasij med akcijskim odborom ter raznimi prekmurskimi nacionalnimi in kulturnimi društvi. Slednja so se pritoževala, da se manifestaciji želi dati enostransko obeležje, kakor da je imela le ena struja vse zasluge za osvoboditev Prekmurja. Razna društva, med katerimi *Jutro* omenja Sokolsko društvo v Dolnji Lendavi, učiteljsko društvo za okraj Dolnja Lendava in odbor Narodne odbrane v Dolnji Lendavi, so akcijskemu odboru tudi očitala, da niso prejela vabila na sestanke akcijskega odbora za proslavo.[82]

Glede na *Novine* so po nekaterih občinah slovesnosti ob jubileju potekale že v soboto zvečer, 17. avgusta 1929. Glavna proslava pa je potekala naslednji dan, v nedeljo 18. avgusta, in sicer kar v treh krajih – v Murski Soboti, Črenšovcih in Dolnji Lendavi. Glavnega dela proslave, ki je potekal v Murski Soboti, se je udeležilo, več častnih gostov, med katerimi velja izpostaviti: polkovnika Raka Radovića, ki se je proslave udeležil kot zastopnik kralja, pod-

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73 Slovenec, 22. avgust 1924: Proslava desetletnice smrti dr. Ivanoczyja, 3.

74 Novine, 24. avgust 1924: Glasi: Slovanska krajina, 1–2; Slovenski gospodar, 21. avgust 1924: Prekmurski Slovenci ob 10 letnici smrti kanonika dr. Ivanoczyja, 2.

75 Slovenec, 22. avgust 1924: Proslava desetletnice smrti dr. Ivanoczyja, 3.

76 Novine, 31. avgust 1924: Petletnica – narodnost, 1.

77 Mőrszka krajina, 24. avgust 1924: Je vsze mogôcse!?, 1.

78 Novine, 31. avgust 1924: Petletnica – narodnost, 1.

79 Novine, 31. avgust 1924: Petletnica – narodnost, 1.

80 Novine, 31. avgust 1924: Petletnica – narodnost, 1.

81 Slovenec, 18. avgust 1929: Jubilej Slovenske krajine, 1; Slovenec, 18. avgust 1929: Pred proslavo osvoboditve Slov. krajine: ljudstvo se z ljubeznijo udejstvuje pri pripravah: Kraljev zastopnik na proslavi, 1; Slovenski narod, 19. avgust 1929: Po 10 letih osvobojene Slovenske Krajine: Proslava v Murski Soboti in Dolnji Lendavi – Vidiki novega nacijonalnega življenja, 2; Novine, 25. avgust 1929: Veličastna proslava desetletnice osvobojenja naše krajine, 1–3; Domoljub, 21. avgust 1929: Po desetih letih… (F.S), 402; Domovina, 22. avgust 1929: Desetletnica osvobojenja Slovenske Krajine: proslava v Murski Soboti (A.B), 1; Jutro, 20. avgust 1929: Pomembna slovesnost Slovenske Krajine: Proslava prve desetletnice – Misli ob začetku drugega desetletja, 3; Mariborski večernik »jutra«, 19. avgust 1929: Slovenska Krajina manifestira za Jugoslavijo: Veličastna manifestacija o priliki proslave desetletnice ujedinjenja Prekmurja z Jugoslavijo, 2; Slovenski gospodar, 21. avgust 1929: Proslava 10 letnice osvobojenja Prekmurja, 3; Ponedeljek, 19. avgust 1929: Proslava 10-letnice osvobojenja v Slovenski krajini«, 2; Najszvetejsega Szrca Jezusovoga veliki kalendar, (1930), Proslava desetletnica, 86–87.

82 Ponedeljek, 19. avgust 1929: Proslava 10-letnice osvobojenja v Slovenski krajini, 2

Slika 3: Naslovna stran prekmurskih Novin o deseti obletnici priključitve Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS (Vir: Novine, 25. avgust 1929: Veličastna proslava desetletnice osvobojenja naše krajine, 1–3).

polkovnika Gustava Stejskala, kot zastopnika vojnega ministrstva, oba slovenska oblastna komisarja, [83] dr. Josipa Leskovarja in dr. Marka Natlačena,[84] dr. Matijo Slaviča, dr. Vekoslava Kukovca,[85] sreskega poglavarja Gašperja Lipovška in mariborskega župana Alojzija Juvana.[86]

Po cerkvenem delu se je slovesnost nadaljevala pred hotelom Dobray, kjer je množico najprej nagovoril Jožef Klekl, ki so mu nato sledili še Matija Slavič, veteran Gregor Matjašec, komisar mariborske oblasti dr. Josip Leskovar in komisar ljubljanske oblasti dr. Marko Natlačen. V imenu Narodne odbrane je poslušalce nagovoril bivši minister dr. Vekoslav Kukovec in jim prenesel pozdrave generala Rudolfa Maistra, ki se slovesnosti zaradi bolezni ni uspel udeležiti. Po proslavi v Murski Soboti je Klekl povabil goste na svoj dom v Črenšovce. V poznopopoldanskih urah pa je sledila še slovesnost v Dolnji Lendavi, kjer se je po večernici, slovesno zborovanje nadaljevalo pred hotelom Krona.[87]

V Kleklovih *Novinah* so ocenjevali, da se je proslave v Murski Soboti udeležilo med 12 in 15 tisoč oseb, v Črenšovcih nad 6 tisoč, v Dolnji Lendavi pa do 8 tisoč oseb. Prav tako je *Najszvetejsega Szrca Jezusovoga veliki kalendar*[88] obiskanost ocenjeval na 15.000 udeležencev. Nižje so bile ocene *Mariborskega večernika »Jutra«*,[89] ki poroča o 10.000 udeležencih. Po besedah Klekla, objavljenih v *Novinah*, 25. avgusta:

> *Takše manifestacije, kak se je vršila dnes tjeden, naš narod ne ešče dоживо. Zato si štem v sveto dužnost, da se vsem poprek i vsakomi posebi najtoplej zahvalim, ki so nam pripomogli, da je ta Proslava tak veličastno potekla.*[90]

Popolnoma drugo sliko o slovesnosti ob deseti obletnici priključitve Prekmurja pa dobimo iz članka z naslovom *»"Osvoboditev" Medžimurja je Jugoslavija proslavila z „navdušeno množico" plačancev«*, ki ga je objavil že večkrat citirani županijski časnik *Zalai Közlöny* iz Nagykanizse. Po poročanju dnevnika naj bi slovenski uradniki dobili ukaz, da ob jubileju predstavijo tudi navdušenje ljudstva. Ker pa Prekmurci in Medžimurci niso bili pripravljeni v tem sodelovati, so uradniki za dober denar in dnevnico naložili goriške koloniste[91] na s srbskimi, hrvaškimi in slovenskimi zastavami okrašene kočije, ki so se nato dopoldne udeležili prireditve v Murski Soboti, popoldne pa so se zapeljali v Dolnjo Lendavo. Lendavsko slovesnost je omenjeni članek povzel na podlagi očividca iz Zagreba, ki se je ta dan zadrževal v kraju:

> *Popoldne ob 5. uri so se v Dolnjo Lendavo zapeljali goriški kolonisti, ki so predstavljali ljudstvo lendavskega okoliša, kjer jih je pričakala mestna uprava. Na glavnem trgu je bil ljudski zbor, kjer je na balkonu Hotela Krona bivši turniški madžarski župnik Kleckl spregovoril prisotnim. Poslušalce so predstavljali le za dnevnico naročeni uradniki in goriški kolonisti, prebivalci Dolnje Lendave pa so se od tega jugoslovanskega cirkusa popolnoma distancirali.*[92]

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83 Novine, 25. avgust 1929: Veličastna proslava desetletnice osvobojenja naše krajine, 1–3; Slovenski narod, 19. avgust 1929: Po 10 letih osvobojene Slovenske Krajine: Proslava v Murski Soboti in Dolnji Lendavi – Vidiki novega nacijonalnega življenja, 2; Slovenec, 18. avgust 1929: Deset let svobode Slovenske krajine, 3–5.

84 Slovenski gospodar, 21. avgust 1929: Proslava 10 letnice osvobojenja Prekmurja, 3.

85 Jutro, 20. avgust 1929: Pomembna slovesnost Slovenske Krajine: Proslava prve desetletnice – Misli ob začetku drugega desetletja, 3.

86 Ponedeljek, 19. avgust 1929: Proslava 10-letnice osvobojenja v Slovenski krajini, 2.

87 Novine, 25. avgust 1929: Veličastna proslava desetletnice osvobojenja naše krajine, 1–3; Slovenski narod, 19. avgust 1929, Po 10 letih osvobojene Slovenske Krajine: Proslava v Murski Soboti in Dolnji Lendavi – Vidiki novega nacijonalnega življenja, 2; Slovenec, 18. avgust 1929, Deset let svobode Slovenske krajine, 3–5.

88 Najszvetejsega Szrca Jezusovoga veliki kalendar, 1930: Proslava desetletnice, 86–87.

89 Mariborski večernik »jutra«, 19. avgust 1929: Slovenska Krajina manifestira za Jugoslavijo: Veličastna manifestacija o priliki proslave desetletnice ujedinjenja Prekmurja z Jugoslavijo, 2.

90 Novine, 25. avgust 1929: Veličastna proslava desetletnice osvobojenja naše krajine, 1–3.

91 V obdobju med obema vojnama so jugoslovanske oblasti v naselja s pretežno madžarskim prebivalstvom v okolici Dolnje Lendave na razlaščeno veleposestniško zemljo Esterházyjev naselili 254 družin, med njimi 111 družin iz Primorske (z Istro in Goriško vred). Več o tem Kovács, 2013, 186–190.

92 Zalai Közlöny, 27. avgust 1929: Napidíjas „lelkes tömeggel" ünnepelte Jugoszlávia Muraköz „felszabadítását"«, 2.

Sicer pa je treba poudariti, da je bila madžarska zunanjepolitična dejavnost po podpisu trianonske mirovne pogodbe pa vse do leta 1927, ko si je Madžarska povrnila svojo finančno in delno tudi vojaško suverenost, močno omejena, kar je seveda vplivalo tudi na revizionistično politiko. Madžarski ministrski predsednik István Bethlen se je v prvi polovici dvajsetih let dvajsetega stoletja v zunanji politiki odločil za pot prilagajanja, čeprav jo je opisal kot *»samoodpovedovanje, ki ga pravici navkljub zahteva duh časa«*. Konec politike prilagajanja in madžarske mednarodne osame je pomenil podpis sporazuma z Italijo 5. aprila 1927. Voditelja obeh držav, Bethlen in Mussolini, sta se namreč strinjala v oceni, da je stanje v Evropi po mirovnih pogodbah v Parizu začasno. S tem se je v bistvu uradno začela madžarska revizionistična politika na državni ravni, kar se je kmalu odrazilo tudi v revizionistični politiki do Jugoslavije in Prekmurja (Kontler, 2005, 286). Že decembra leta 1927 v madžarskem tisku zasledimo vest, da je Pomurska zveza (*Muravidéki Szövetség*), ki je združevala simpatizerje iz Prekmurja in Medžimurja, ki so živeli na Madžarskem in so nasprotovali odcepitvi obeh pokrajin od svetoštefanske krone, v spomenici obrnili na angleškega tiskovnega magnata lorda Rothermera[93] in mu predstavili položaj obeh pokrajin.[94] Od tega dogodka pa vse do aprila 1941 v bistvu ni leta, ko v madžarskem časniškem gradivu ne bi zaznali delovanja Prekmurske zveze (*Vendvidéki Szövetség*), ki je združevala podpornike priključitve Prekmurja k Madžarski in podpirala revizionistična prizadevanja Madžarske z zvezi s Prekmurjem.[95]

Leta 1929 je omenjena zveza organizirala dve zelo odmevni slovesnosti. Prva je bila ob deseti obletnici tako imenovane murskosoboške bitke, ko so 2. januarja 1919 Madžari ob znatni podpori Prekmurcev pregnali enote Jurišiča. Obletnico bitke, ki jo je časopisje pojmovalo kot *»referendum Prekmurcev za Madžarsko«*, je povzelo nekaj večjih budimpeških dnevnikov.[96] Drugo prireditev pa so pripravili v nedeljo, 10. novembra, v Monoštru, v bližini Prekmurja. Na prireditvi, katere se je po poročanju časnikov udeležilo več tisoč ljudi, med njimi naj bi bilo precejšnje število Prekmurcev, so imeli govore predsednik Madžarske revizionistočne lige Tibor Eckhard, predsednik in podpredsednik Prekmurske zveze (*Vendvidéki Szövetség*), Sándor Mikola in Vilmos Némethy, pred množico pa je nastopil tudi župnik Jožef Sakovič.[97]

Slovesnost ob petnajsti obletnici (1934)

Proslava petnajste obletnice priključitve Prekmurja je bila sprva načrtovana za dne 8. in 9. septembra 1934 v Dolnji Lendavi,[98] a je bila prestavljena na 22. in 23. september.[99] Teden dni pred predvideno proslavo v Dolenji Lendavi, natančneje 14. septembra 1934, so v *Slovencu* objavili program slovesnosti. Načrtovan dnevni red je bil sledeč: v soboto (22. septembra) ob 15. uri bi položili venec na grob za osvoboditev Prekmurja padlih legionarjev na pokopališču v Murski Soboti, ob 19. uri bi sledila »bakljada« po Dolnji Lendavi in ob 21. uri slavnostna seja v hotelu »Krona« v Dolnji Lendavi. V nedeljo (23. septembra) bi ob 6. uri potekala budnica v Dolnji Lendavi, ob 8.25 bi sledil sprejem zastopnika kralja, ob 8.30 maša, nato sprevod, potem revija prizorov iz prekmurskega narodnega življenja, ob 11. uri bi se pričelo slavnostno zborovanje pred hotelom »Krona«, kjer bi nato sledil banket, ob 14.30 je bil predviden telovadni nastop ter naposled še veselica.[100]

Vse priprave na petnajsto obletnico priključitve Prekmurja, 22. in 23. septembra 1934 v Dolnji Lendavi, so bile zaman. Dva dni pred predvidenim jubilejem, 20. septembra, najdemo v *Slovencu* prispevek »Proslave 15 letnice osvobojenja Slov. krajine ne bo«, v katerem piše:

Z odlokom kraljevske banske uprave v Ljubljani je nameravana proslava v dneh 22. in 23. t. m. v Dol. Lendavi prepovedana. O tej prepovedi obveščamo tem potom (ker je premalo časa) vse osebno vabljene goste in vso javnost. Kedaj se bo ta nameravana proslava vršila, se sporoči naknadno. – Odbor.[101]

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93 Lord Rothermere je junija 1927 v Daily Mailu objavil članek z naslovom »Madžarska in njeno mesto pod soncem«, v katerem je predlagal vrnitev Madžarski obmejne dežele sosednjih držav, kjer večinoma živijo Madžari.

94 8 Órai Újság, 31. december 1927: A Muravidéki Szövetség hálafelírata Rothermere lordhoz, 7.

95 Predhodnica Prekmurske zveze je bilo Društvo madžarskih Vendov (Magyarországi Vendek Egyesülete), ki so ga januarja leta 1920 ustanovili v Budimpešti živeči Prekmurci, nasprotniki odcepitve pokrajine na levem bregu Mure. Vodstvo društva je prevzel prekmurski rojak iz Gornjih Petrovcev, Sándor Mikola. (Več o tem Tolnai Világlapja. 24. januar 1920, A Budapesten lakó vendek hazafias szervezkedése. 4, 5.).

96 Budapesti Hírlap, 15. februar 1929: Tíz éve volt a muraszombati csata, amelyben a vend fiúk kiverték földjükről a szerbeket, 9; Magyarság, 15. februar 1929: A „muraszombati csata" tizedik évfordulója, 8; Nemzeti Újság, 17. februar 1929: A muraszombati csata. Hogyan rendeztek népszavazást a muraszombati vendek, 10.

97 Budapesti Hírlap, 12. november 1929: A vendvidék hatalmas tüntetése, 7; Friss Újság, 12. november 1929: A vendek tiltakoznak az elszakítás ellen, 4; Magyarság, 12. november 1929: A határszéli vendek naggyűlésen tiltakoztak a vendvidék elcsatolása ellen, 2.

98 Mariborski večernik »jutra«, 23. julij 1934: Dnevne vesti: Petnajst let svobode v Prekmurju, 2; Murska Krajina, 2. september 1934: Sokol: vsem bratskim edinicam Prekmurskega okrožja, 3.

99 Murska krajina, 9. september 1934: Sokol, 4.

100 Slovenec, 14. september 1934: 15 letnica osvobojenja Slovenske krajine, 3.

101 Slovenec, 20. september 1934: Proslave 15 letnice osvobojenja Slov. krajine ne bo, 5.

Pod rubriko »Naša Krajina« v časniku *Murska krajina* so 23. septembra 1934 zapisali, da bo mursko-soboški sokolski orkester v pričetku meseca oktobra priredil proslavo petnajste obletnice v Sokolskem domu v Murski Soboti.[102] Ta prireditev je bila izvedena, in sicer 6. oktobra 1934.[103]

Koncertna proslava ob petnajsti obletnici pa ni bila izvedena na takšnem nivoju in tudi ni dosegla takšnih razsežnosti kot jih je pred njo proslava ob deseti obletnici priključitve Prekmurja. To se je odražalo tudi pri skopem poročanju slovenskih časnikov o koncertu, na kar pa bi lahko vplivalo tudi, da je le tri dni po koncertu, natančneje 9. oktobra 1934, bil v Marseillu izveden atentat na jugoslovanskega kralja Aleksandra Karadžordževića.[104] Kakšno večje daljše poročanje o koncertni slovesnosti ob obletnici priključitve Prekmurja bi bilo v času, ko je Jugoslavija obžalovala nepričakovano in prehitro smrt svojega voditelja, neprimerno.

Največji doprinos petnajste obletnice priključitve Prekmurja gotovo predstavlja zbornik, ki je nastal ob tem jubileju. *Slovenska krajina: zbornik ob petnajstletnici osvobojenja* (Novak, 1935), ki je pod uredništvom Vilka Novaka izšel leta 1935, vsebuje prispevke tedaj enih najuglednejših slovenskih znanstvenikov ter poznavalcev Slovenske krajine. O geografskem orisu Slovenske krajine je pisal Svetozar Ilešič, o narodnostni in jezikovni razdelitvi prekmurskih Slovencev Avgust Pavel, o zgodovini Panonske krajine od naselitve Slovencev do prihoda Madžarov je pisal Milko Kos, o umetnosti France Stele, o lokalni literarni zgodovini, o kulturnih stikih prekmurskih Slovencev z ostalimi Slovenci ter o bibliografiji o Slovenski krajini Vilko Novak. O narodnosti in osvoboditvi Prekmurja, v smislu nesoglasij med Hrvati in Slovenci glede narodnosti Prekmurcev, ter o diplomatski bitki za prekmurske meje na mirovni konferenci je pisal Matija Slavič. Narodopisni položaj Slovenske krajine pa je opisal Franjo Baš.[105]

O izidu zbornika *Slovenska krajina* (Novak, 1935) so *Novine* 21. aprila 1935 zapisale:

Pričujoči zbornik je najlepša proslava 15 letnice osvobojenja najsevernejše jugoslovanske pokrajine in tistega dela slov. zemlje, ki je bil celih tisoč let docela ločen od svojega narodnega jedra.[106]

Slovesnosti ob dvajseti obletnici (leta 1938 in 1939)

Zadnja izmed velikih obletnic priključitve Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS, ki je potekala za časa Kraljevine Jugoslavije, je bila dvajseta obletnica. Prvič so jubilej praznovali v Črenšovcih že 11. septembra 1938, torej eno leto prej, kot je bilo v navadi, kar so opravičevali s tem, da je časovni razpon za praznovanje dvajsete obletnice od 13. avgusta 1938 do 13. avgusta 1939 ter da so se odločili, da bodo praznovali na začetku. Razlog za odločitev pa morda tiči tudi v tem, da bi naj najkasneje do 8. decembra praznovali petindvajset let izhajanja *Novin*. Tako so jubileja združili in na 11. september obenem praznovali dvajseto obletnico priključitve Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS in 25 let izhajanja časnika *Novin*.[107]

Že dan pred proslavo, v soboto 10. septembra 1938, se je v večernih urah pred stavbo »Naš Dom« v Črenšovcih, po ocenah *Kalendarja srca Jezušovega*, zbrala dva tisoč glava množica, ki je spremljala odkritje spominske plošče.[108] Zatem so se premaknili h kresu v Črensovcih, kjer so poslušali govore Jožefa Godine in Matjaža Rousa.[109]

V nedeljo, 11. septembra, je po sprejemu pomembnih gostov, med katerimi velja še posebej izpostaviti jugoslovanskega ministra dr. Antona Korošca, potekala slovesna maša, ki jo je opravil stolni dekan Franc Cukala, odposlanec knezoškofa. Slovesni maši je sledilo zborovanje, ki ga je z pozdravnim nagovorom otvoril Jožef Klekl. Sledil mu je častni gost dr. Anton Korošec, ki je ljudstvu govoril o Slovenski krajini, židovskem vprašanju in časniku *Novine*.[110] Glede na *Kalendar srca Jezušovega* naj bi navdušena množica njegov govor večkrat prekinila z burnim aplavzom. Za njima je sledilo še sedem go-

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102 Murska krajina, 23. september 1934: Naša Krajina, 2.

103 Murska krajina, 14. oktober 1934: Domače vesti (V. Šk), 3.

104 Murska krajina, 14. oktober 1934: Naš kralj junak – je mrtev…, 1–2.

105 Novine, 21. april 1935: Slovenska krajina – zbornik: uredil Vilko Novak (IZ), 5.

106 Novine, 21. april 1935: Slovenska krajina – zbornik: uredil Vilko Novak (IZ), 5.

107 Novine, 7. avgust 1938: Zakaj obhajamo 11. september 20 letnico oslobodjenja Slov. krajine i zakaj v Črensovcih (Jožef Klekl), 1.

108 Napis na plošči: »Z mogočno Marijino pomočjo je slaboten duhovnik v Črensovcih leta 1904, dne 8. decembra, izdal mesečnik „Marijin list" za poglobitev verskega življenja. Leta 1913, dne 8. decembra, je izdal tednik „Novine za obrambo narodnih in verskih pravic slovenskega ljudstva ter svobode Slovenske Krajine. Leta 1929 je ustanovil prvo posojilnico v Slovenski Krajini, leta 1928 pa je zidal „Naš dom" za katoliško prosveto in ustanovil Agrarno zadrugo, ki je priborila kruh našemu narodu. Popotnik, zaupaj v Marijino pomoč!" (Kalendar srca Jezušovega (1939): 25 letnica Novin i 20 letnica sloboščine: Slov. krajine v Črensovcih sept. 11. 1938, Klekl, J. (ur.), 22, 193.

109 Kalendar srca Jezušovega (1939): 25 letnica Novin i 20 letnica sloboščine: Slov. krajine v Črensovcih sept. 11. 1938, Klekl, J. (ur.), 22; Ponedeljski Slovenec, 12. september 1938: Narodni tabor v Črensovcih: 18.000 Prekmurcev manifestira za Jugoslavijo: Doslej največji in najveličastnejši tabor v Sloveniji – Prekmursko ljudstvo navdušeno pozdravlja narodnega voditelja dr. Korošca, 1–2.

110 Kalendar srca Jezušovega (1939): 25 letnica Novin i 20 letnica sloboščine: Slov. krajine v Črensovcih sept. 11. 1938, Klekl, J. (ur.), 17–27; Jutro, 13. september 1938: O govoru ministra so poročali tudi v: »Minister dr. Korošec o volitvah, taborih JRZ in o židovskem vprašanju, 2; Domovina, 15. september 1938: O volitvah in o židovskem vprašanju, 2; Murska krajina, 18. september 1938: Politika, 2.

vornikov, med katerimi velja izpostaviti bana Marka Natlačena in Matijo Slaviča. Ob pol enih je Jožef Klekl zaključil zborovanje, za izbrane goste pa se je slovesnost nadaljevala na banketu v stavbi »Našega Doma«.[111]

Poročanja o poteku dvajsete obletnice priključitve Prekmurja je bilo med slovenskim časniškim gradivom veliko. Zelo podrobno je potek slovesnosti, ob Kleklovih *Novinah*, opisan tudi v časniku *Slovenec*, saj je bil njegov urednik dr. Ivan Ahčin tudi sam prisoten na slovesnosti. Ocene obiskanosti dvajsete obletnice so v pregledanih časnikih sovpadale, in sicer so Slovenec,[112] Domoljub,[113] Edinost,[114] Slovenski delavec,[115] Slovenski dom,[116] in Slovenski gospodar[117] poročali o 18.000 udeležencih. Izjema so bile *Novine*[118] po poročanju katerih, naj bi se slovesnosti udeležilo okoli 20.000 ljudi – o podobnem številu udeležencev so v slovenskem periodičnem tisku poročali ob beltinski slovesnosti leta 1919.

Koroščev govor v Murski Soboti pa je pritegnil pozornost tudi madžarske javnosti, ker je poleg že omenjenih tematik (Slovenka Krajina, židovsko vprašanje in časnik Novine) spregovoril še o madžarski manjšini. Tako je dnevnik *Magyarság* pod pomenljivim naslovom *»Prijateljske besede iz Južnoslavije«* zapisal, da po mnenju Korošca *»Madžari v Južnoslaviji niso zatirani, ker jim tukaj priznavajo pravico do opredeljevanja za Madžare. Ne verjame – je rekel notranji minister –, da bi v Južnoslaviji živel vsaj en Madžar, ki bi se pritoževal. Po mnenju notranjega ministra ima vlada popolni posluh za utemeljene zahteve narodnih manjšin.«* Nato se je po poročanju časnika Korošec dotaknil vprašanja pripadnikov južnoslovanskih narodnih manjšin na Madžarskem in poudaril, da imajo ti podobne manjšinske zahteve kot Madžari v Jugoslaviji. Izpolnjevanje teh želja bo po Koroščevih besedah utrdilo prijateljstvo med obema državama in omogočilo Madžarski *»približevanje k miru zavezani Mali antanti«*.[119]
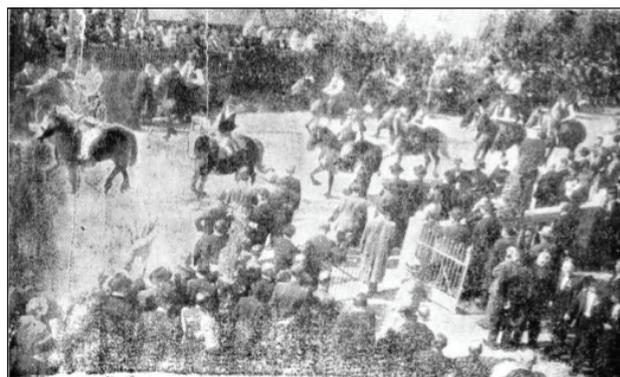
Veličastni tabor v Črensovcih sept. 11.
Krasna konjenica odpre pod vodstvom Kolenko Ivana mimohod pri Našem Domi.

Slika 4: Dvajseta obletnica priključitve Prekmurja (Črensovci, 11. 9. 1938) (Kalendar srca Jezušovega (1939): 25 letnica Novin i 20 letnica sloboščine: Slov. krajine v Črenšovcih sept. 11. 1938, 22).

Drugič so jubilej ob dvajseti obletnici priključitve Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS praznovali še 27. avgusta 1939 v Beltincih. Po slavnostni maši, je beltinska mladina izvedla veliki telovadni nastop, po nastopu pa so sledili govori.[120]

Pomembnejše jubileje priključitev Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS so slovenski Prekmurci slovesno obeleževali s proslavami in nastopi častnih govornikov. Med predstavljenimi jubileji velja posebej izpostaviti dva, proslavo desete obletnice priključitve Prekmurja, ki je v kar treh krajih potekala 18. avgusta 1929 in prvo izvedbo proslave dvajsete obletnice, 11. septembra 1938, ki je dosegla število obiskovalcev primerljivo tistemu iz prvotne proslave. O razsežnosti in pomenu desete in dvajsete obletnice priključitve Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS priča tudi to, da so se obeh slovesnosti udeležili predstavniki slovenskega in jugoslovanskega političnega vrha (oz. njihovi zastopniki), kar do neke mere odraža tudi odnos države do Prekmurja.

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111 Kalendar srca Jezušovega (1939): 25 letnica Novin i 20 letnica sloboščine: Slov. krajine v Črensovcih sept. 11. 1938, 17–27; Ponedeljski Slovenec, 12. september 1938: Narodni tabor v Črensovcih: 18.000 Prekmurcev manifestira za Jugoslavijo: Doslej največji in najveličastnejši tabor v Sloveniji – Prekmursko ljudstvo navdušeno pozdravlja narodnega voditelja dr. Korošca, 1–2; Slovenski dom, 12. september 1938: Važen govor voditelja dr. Korošca: o volitvah, o madžarski manjšini, o Judih pri nas in o narodnem jubileju Slovenske krajine, 1.

112 Ponedeljski Slovenec, 12. september 1938: Narodni tabor v Črensovcih: 18.000 Prekmurcev manifestira za Jugoslavijo: Doslej največji in najveličastnejši tabor v Sloveniji – Prekmursko ljudstvo navdušeno pozdravlja narodnega voditelja dr. Korošca, 1–2.

113 Domoljub, 14. september 1938: Napis pod fotografijo slovesnosti, 3; v isti številki so o slovesnosti poročali pod rubriko: Iz domače politike, 6.

114 Edinost, 17. september 1938: 7 dni domačih vesti, 2.

115 Slovenski delavec, 17. september 1938: Sonce in sence doma in drugod: narodni tabor Prekmurcev«, 4.

116 Slovenski dom, 12. september 1938: Slovenska krajina se je strnila okrog dr. Korošca, 2.

117 Slovenski gospodar, 14. september 1938: Doslej največji tabor v Sloveniji, 1.

118 Novine, 18. september 1938: Kaj takega Slovenska krajina ešče nikdar ne vidla, pa Slovenija tüdi ne že davno, 1–3.

119 Magyarság, 13. september 1938: Baráti hangok Jugoszláviából, 5.

120 Novine, 27. avgust 1939: Proslava dvajsetletnice: prvega slovenskega tabora v osvobojeni Slov Krajini: Velik telovadni nastop v Beltincih, 1; Novine, 3. september 1939: 20-letnica prvog slovenskoga tabora v beltincih, 2.

ZAKLJUČEK

Ker je madžarski politični vrh, na slovensko prebivalstvo znotraj svojih meja, ki je bilo že skoraj tisočletje pod ogrsko nadvlado, gledal kot na že bolj ali manj asimilirano skupnost in jim tako ni posvečal posebne pozornosti, je vprašanje Prekmurja v ospredje prišlo šele tekom prve svetovne vojne in zaradi povojno nastalega položaja ter vprašanja koncesij poraženk postalo aktualno po tej. To se je odražalo tudi v madžarskem revialnem, dnevnem in ostalem tisku, v katerem s političnega vidika slovensko vprašanje na Ogrskem skorajda ni bilo obravnavano (Šebjanič, 1981, 318–320), kar pa se je začelo spreminjati po vojaškem zlomu Avstro-Ogrske. Tako so na primer o murskosoboškem zborovanju Madžarskega izobraževalnega društvo za Vendsko krajino – VMKE, 20. oktobra 1918, ob murskosoboškem *Muraszombat és Vidéke* poročali tudi budimpeški časniki *Friss Újság, Budapest, Budapesti Hírlap, Magyarország* in *Az Újság*.

Medtem ko so ob jugoslovanski vojaški zasedbi Prekmurja ves slovenski periodičen tisk »preplavili« prispevki o jugoslovanskem dosežku, pa je zasedba sovpadala z izredno kaotičnim časom za madžarsko državo. Posledično so se ohranile le posamezne številke budimpeških časnikov, v katerih avtorji niso našli poročanj o madžarski izgubi Prekmurja. So pa o jugoslovanski zasedbi poročali županijski časniki – *Zalai Közlöny* in *Zala*, oba iz Velike Kaniže (madž. Nagykanizsi) ter *Vasvármegye* iz Sombotela – ki so bili zasedbi tudi geografsko bližji od same prestolnice. Med drugim je zasedba Prekmurja s seboj prinesla tudi konec obema osrednjima tednikoma pokrajine, pisanima v madžarskem jeziku, *Muraszombat és Vidéke* v murskosoboškem in *Alsólendvai Híradó* v dolnjelendavskem okraju, kar je moralo za madžarsko govoreče prebivalstvo pomeniti velik udarec. Obenem pa njun konec predstavlja tudi izgubo potencialnega vira informacij o dogajanju v Prekmurju v tistem času z madžarskega vidika.

Slovesnosti ob prvi in peti obletnici priključitve Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS sta bili skopo pokriti celo v slovenskih časnikih. Popolnoma drugačna pa je bila situacija ob praznovanju desete obletnice, o kateri so pisali, tako vsi vidnejši slovenskih časniki, kot tudi madžarski časnik *Zalai Közlöny*. Če je slovenski časniški tisk (tudi lokalni) pisal o veličastnosti dogodka, pa so v *Zalai Közlöny,* madžarskim bralcem predstavili popolnoma drugačno zgodbo, češ da Prekmurci in Medžimurci pri samem dogodku niso želeli sodelovati, zaradi česar naj bi uradniki najeli plačance, da ti predstavijo navdušenje ljudstva. Poročanje o slovesnosti je v *Zalai Közlöny* povsem kontradiktorno poročanju v slovenskih časnikih, kar pa v duhu tistega časa ni presenetljivo (Pomurska zveza).

Poročanje v madžarskem časniškem tisku je bilo prisotno tudi ob naslednjem velikem praznovanju jubileja, in sicer ob dvajseti obletnici priključitve Prekmurja, ko je o govoru jugoslovanskega ministra dr. Antona Korošca o madžarski manjšini poročal *Magyarság*.

V zaključku velja ponovno poudariti, da je Ogrska, kot ena izmed poraženk prve svetovne vojne, s Trianonsko mirovno pogodbo doživela ogromne izgube dotedanjega ozemlja in prebivalstva ter da je izguba Prekmurja v prid Kraljevini SHS za Madžarsko pomenila le eno izmed mnogih ozemeljskih izgub, ki jo je doletela. Ob tem se je s težavami soočala tudi na ozemlju, ki ga je obdržala. Izredno kaotičen čas za madžarsko državo je posledično privedel do tega, da je bilo poročanje o jugoslovanski zasedbi Prekmurja in o njenih slovesnostih skopo. Na drugi strani je priključitev Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS in slovenskemu ozemlju predstavljala edino »zmago« slovenskega naroda v svojih ozemeljskih težnjah, ob drugače velikih izgubah etničnega prebivalstva na Koroškem in Primorskem.

CELEBRATIONS AFTER THE ANNEXATION OF PREKMURJE TO THE KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES

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SUMMARY

After an introductory review of events in Prekmurje in the crucial years of 1918 and 1919, the central part of the article follows, in which the authors present the response of Slovenian and Hungarian newspapers to the Yugoslav military occupation of Prekmurje and analyse in detail the course of the ceremony in honour of the annexation of Prekmurje by the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which took place on August 17, 1919, in Beltinci. Based on newspaper reports, the authors then present the course of select ceremonies that marked the milestone anniversaries of the annexation of Prekmurje, which were celebrated during the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. These were solemnly celebrated by the people of Prekmurje with celebrations and speeches by honorary speakers. Presented in detail are the ceremonies on the occasion of the first (1920), fifth (1924), tenth (1929), fifteenth (1934), and twentieth anniversaries (1938 and 1939). Including the celebration of the annexation of Prekmurje to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1919, many visitors also attended its tenth and twentieth anniversaries - both were attended by members of the Slovenian and Yugoslav political leadership (or their representatives). The article is based on Slovenian and Hungarian newspaper material. By including the latter, we attempted to present the "other side" to the Slovenian reader.

Keywords: Prekmurje, the annexation of Prekmurje, 1919, ceremonies, Beltinci, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Hungary

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SESTOP HABSBURŽANOV IN AVSTRO-OGRSKIH JUNAKOV S PIEDESTALA. PRISPEVEK K SLOVENIZACIJI JAVNEGA PROSTORA MARIBORA IN SOSEDNJIH MEST LETA 1919

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IZVLEČEK

V prispevku je predstavljeno odstranjevanje javnih spomenikov, ki so bili v Mariboru in sosednjih mestih postavljeni v zadnjih desetletjih 19. in v zgodnjem 20. stoletju. Na osnovi govorov ob odkritjih spomenikov in člankov v dnevnem časopisju je osvetljena propagandna vloga postavljanja spomenikov za nacionalne in stran- karske namene. Politizacija spomenikov v obdobju nacionalnih sporov je najbolj očitna pri spomenikih cesarju Jožefu II., ki so bili postavljeni v Mariboru, Celju in na Ptuju. Prvič je v okviru dogajanja na narodnostno mešanem območju Štajerske obravnavana tudi odstranitev spomenika Jožefu II. v Radgoni (Radkersburg, Bad Radkersburg), odstranjevanje spomenikov pa je postavljeno v kontekst dogajanja na Češkoslovaškem po prvi svetovni vojni. Odstranjevanje spomenikov leta 1919 je pripomoglo k slovenizaciji javnega prostora.

Ključne besede: javni spomenik, Maribor, Štajerska, cesar Jožef II., Habsburžani, Kraljevina Srbov, Hrvatov in
Slovencev

LA CADUTA DEGLI ASBURGO E DEGLI EROI AUSTRO-UNGARICI DAL PIEDISTALLO. CONTRIBUTO INTORNO ALLA SLOVENIZZAZIONE DELLO SPAZIO PUBBLICO DI MARIBOR E DELLE CITTADINE LIMITROFE NEL 1919

SINTESI

L'articolo presenta la rimozione dei monumenti pubblici che furono a Maribor e nelle città limitrofe eretti negli ultimi decenni del secolo XIX e all'inizio del secolo XX. Sulla base dei discorsi pronunciati durante le loro inaugu- razioni e dei quotidiani pubblicati in tali occasioni, viene messo in evidenza il ruolo della propaganda intorno alle erezioni di monumenti per scopi nazionalisti e di partito. La politicizzazione dei monumenti durante il periodo delle dispute nazionali risultava maggiormente evidente intorno ai monumenti dedicati all'Imperatore Giuseppe II a Maribor, Celje e Ptuj. Inoltre, l'articolo affronta per la prima volta la rimozione del monumento di Giuseppe II a Radkersburg, Bad Radkersburg (Radgona) in Austria, vale a dire sullo sfondo degli eventi nell'area etnicamente mista della Stiria slovena e nel contesto della rimozione dei monumenti in Cecoslovacchia dopo la Prima guerra mondiale. Le rimozioni avevano contribuito alla slovenizzazione dello spazio pubblico.

Parole chiave: monumento pubblico, Maribor, Stiria, Imperatore Giuseppe II, gli Asburgo, Regno dei Serbi,
Croati e Sloveni

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UVOD

Leta 1919 so v Mariboru in sosednjih mestih na slovenskem Štajerskem odstranili avstro-ogrske in starejše javne spomenike, ki so bili posvečeni zgodovinskim osebnostim, zlasti članom cesarske hiše (Vidmar, 2013, 83–84). Postavljanje in odstranjevanje javnih spomenikov je tesno povezano z zgodovinskim dogajanjem v Mariboru, ki se je od sredine 19. stoletja pospešeno gospodarsko in urbanistično razvijal, vendar je bilo življenje zaznamovano s hudimi spori med slovensko in nemško govorečimi meščani, mesto pa je pridobilo položaj bistvenega člena v »trdnjavskem trikotniku« spodnještajerskega nemštva, h kateremu sta sodila tudi Celje in Ptuj.[1] Dogajanje v mestu so zlasti v obdobju zadnjega župana avstrijske dobe, dr. Johanna Schmidererja (1902–1919), ki se je že v nastopnem govoru izrekel, da bo »varoval nemški značaj Maribora«, zaznamovali nacionalni nemiri in konflikti (Jenuš, 2017, 907; Jenuš, 2018, 201–202). Protislovenska politika mariborske občine se je nadaljevala v obdobju prve svetovne vojne; zlasti razglasitev majniške deklaracije 30. maja 1917 in deklaracijsko gibanje je mestna občina pod Schmidererjevim vodstvom sprejela kot grožnjo, saj so se bali, da bi bili Nemci v primeru uspeha južnih Slovanov na odcepljenih delih države »iztrebljeni« (Jenuš, 2018, 223–225). Strahovi Nemcev na Spodnjem Štajerskem so se uresničili konec oktobra 1918 s proglasitvijo odcepitve slovenskega etničnega ozemlja od Avstro-Ogrske in združitve z drugimi Jugoslovani v novo državo; mariborski nemški mestni svet je sklenil, da Maribora ne bo predal brez boja, vendar je bil Schmiderer 2. januarja 1919 prisiljen predati mestno oblast vladnemu komisarju za mesto Maribor, dr. Vilku Pfeiferju (1919–1920) (Jenuš, 2018, 225–229; Antoličič, 2017, 929–948; Antoličič, 2018, 253–258). Čeprav je skušal Pfeifer nekdaj nemško mesto preobraziti v novo slovensko podobo previdno in postopno, je 27. januarja 1919 prišlo do množične demonstracije mariborskih Nemcev s smrtnimi žrtvami, ki so imele močan odmev v tiskanih medijih.[2] Pfeifer je za slovenizacijo mesta poskrbel z zamenjavo nemških uslužbencev mestne uprave ter slovenizacijo šolstva in kulturnih ustanov, v javnem prostoru pa se je odrazila s preimenovanjem ulic in trgov, izdajo uredbe, po kateri so morali obrtniki in trgovci označiti svoje trgovine in delavnice izključno z napisi v slovenskem jeziku in spremembo imen vojaških objektov v mestu (Antoličič, 2018, 253–258). V kontekst slovenizacije javnega prostora sodi tudi odstranjevanje javnih spomenikov.

Sergej Vrišer je zapisal, da je bilo odstranjevanje spomenikov v novi državi razumljivo, v spomeniškovarstvenem in urbanističnem pogledu pa je vendarle pomenilo osiromašenje mariborske mestne vedute (Vrišer, 1971, 194; prim. Pertassek, 2000, 155). Odstranjevanje ni bilo posledica uradnega ukrepa novih oblasti, saj za slovensko območje ni znano, da bi bil izdan tovrstni ukrep, za razliko od Češkoslovaške, kjer so 19. aprila 1923 po razsodbi vrhovnega sodišča zapovedali odstranitev kipov, napisov in obeležij protidržavnega značaja, vključno s člani dinastij Habsburžanov in Hohenzollernov.[3] Kakor je razvidno v nadaljevanju, so spomenike na slovenskem Štajerskem v stihijskih napadih odstranili prebivalci mest, v Celju ob pomoči policije, pri čemer lahko pri spomenikih, ki jih niso odpeljali na odpad, domnevamo, da so za njihov prenos v lokalne muzeje poskrbeli člani muzejskih društev. V prispevku je odstranjevanje spomenikov obravnavano v kontekstu nacionalnih in ideoloških sporov,[4] pri čemer izhajamo iz predpostavke, da so spomeniki iz trpežnih materialov, ki zbujajo vtis trajnega spomina, v času političnih sprememb idealne žrtve za skrunitve, odstranjevanje in uničenje (prim. Wingfield, 1997, 153–154, 66; Rakovec, 2015, 181). Z namenom poglobljenega razumevanja položaja obravnavanih spomenikov kot orodja v lokalnih mednacionalnih in liberalno-klerikalnih sporih, so v prispevek vključeni citati iz dnevnega časopisja.[5] Retorika govorcev ob odprtjih spomenikov in piscev časopisnih prispevkov odraža propagandni namen spomenikov za nacionalistične in strankarske namene ter politizacijo javnega spomina. Iz časopisnih prispevkov razbiramo pomen javnih spomenikov kot propagandnega orodja oblasti, zlasti lokalnih veljakov, medtem ko je osebnostim, ki so jim bili spomeniki posvečeni, namenjene manj pozornosti, še manj pa je zapisov o spomenikih kot likovnih delih. V pričujočem prispevku je največ pozornosti namenjene spomenikom cesarju Jožefu II., ki so bili v novi državi najbolj sporni zaradi z njimi povezanih manifestacij nemških nacionalistov in liberalcev v Mariboru, Celju in na Ptuju. Po raziskavah Sonje Žitko so spomenike Jožefu II. načrtovali tudi v Slovenski Bistrici, Rogatcu in Slovenj Gradcu,

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1   O »trdnjavskem trikotniku« in odnosu med Slovenci in Nemci na Štajerskem v zadnjih desetletjih 19. stoletja do 1914 glej Friš, Matjašič Friš & Maver, 2018, 9; Cvirn, 1997, 53–62; Almasy, 2014, 178–181.

2   O novejšem pogledu slovenskih zgodovinarjev na demonstracije glej Jenuš, 2011, 120–139; Antoličič, 2017, 942–943; Antoličič, 2018, 252–253; o pogledu Nemcev, ki so po prevratu zbežali v Avstrijo, glej Hausmann, 1925, VII–X.

3   Z oblikovanjem simbolov nove države in odstranjevanjem sledi nekdanje habsburške oblasti so pričeli že ob ustanovitvi Češkoslovaške republike oktobra 1918; z navedenim ukrepom vrhovnega sodišča so legalizirali odstranitev tistih spomenikov, ki jih niso stihijsko odstranili v letih 1919 in 1920 (Wingfield, 1997, 153–154, 166).

4   O teh podrobneje Kerec, 2019, 399–418; ter Griesser-Pečar, 2019, 301–332.

5   O mednacionalnih sporih glej Cvirn 1997, 53–62; Almasy, 2014, 178–181; o politični in nacionalni usmeritvi časopisov Kramberger, 2005, 37–52.

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vendar namere niso izpeljali (Žitko, 1996, 16). Prvič je v kontekstu dogajanja na slovenskem Štajerskem obravnavano odstranjevanje spomenika cesarju Jožefu II. v Radgoni (Radkersburg, Bad Radkersburg), ki je tudi fotografsko najboljše dokumentirano. Potem ko je 6. četa mariborskega pehotnega polka pod poveljstvom nadporočnika Benedikta Zeilhoferja 1. decembra 1918 zasedla Radgono (Steinböck, 1983, 6; Potočnik, 2018, 129), je radgonski spomenik delil usodo spomenikov v mestih, ki so po podpisu Saintgermainske mirovne pogodbe pripadla Kraljevini Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev. Ker je mogoče največ relevantnih podatkov o postavljanju in odstranjevanju spomenikov pridobiti iz dnevnega časopisja, velja za proučevanje spomenikov enako kakor za prikaz sočasnih političnih razmer, za katerega je Janez Cvirn zapisal, da imamo za Maribor in Celje obilico virov, medtem ko so viri za Ptuj in druga spodnještajerska mesta in trge pomanjkljivi (Cvirn, 1997, 8).

ODSTRANJENI SPOMENIKI V MARIBORU

V Mariboru so iz javnega prostora odstranili figuralne spomenike in obeležja iz časa Avstro-Ogrske, od katerih je bil najbolj reprezentančen spomenik viceadmiralu Wilhelmu Tegetthoffu (Žitko, 1996, 112–113; Vidmar, 2013, 68–75). Z realističnim bronastim doprsjem viceadmirala na visokem kamnitem podstavku in monumentalnima bronastima personifikacijama njegovih zmag pri Helgolandu in Visu, ki jih je izdelal kipar Heinrich Fuss (1845–1913) v Innsbrucku (sl. 1), je Tegetthoffov spomenik presegal vse dotlej postavljene spomenike v slovenskem prostoru (Žitko, 1996, 112). Zasluge za njegovo postavitev si je pripisoval zlasti mariborski župan Matthäus Reiser, ki je bil od 15. aprila 1871 načelnik Odbora za postavitev Tegetthoffovega spomenika, odstop z županskega položaja v začetku decembra 1882 pa mu je preprečil, da bi lahko v vlogi župana sodeloval pri slovenskem odkritju spomenika. Kljub mnenju, objavljenem v časniku *Marburger Zeitung*, da bi bil za postavitev spomenika najprimernejši tedanji Sofijin trg, sedanji Trg svobode, je Matthäus Reiser vztrajal pri postavitvi na Tappeinerjevem trgu, sedanjem Trgu generala Maistra, saj je s spomenikom želel obeležiti svoj doprinos k razvoju mesta, to je gradnjo reprezentančne stavbe Višje realke (Vidmar, 2013, 71–73). Odbor je zahteval tudi, da mora biti spomenik visoke umetniške vrednosti in vreden velikega junaka in je pogodbo s kiparjem podpisal šele, ko je komisija treh dunajskih profesorjev, Carla Kundmanna, Georga Niemanna in Casparja Zumbuscha, preučila Fussov osnutek in v izvedenskem mnenju

Slika 1: Spomenik viceadmiralu Wilhelmu von Tegetthoffu v Mariboru (PAM, Zbirka albumov fotografij in razglednic, inv. št. 3378).

zapisala, da bo spomenik umetniško delo (Vidmar, 2013, 71). Odkritje Tegetthoffovega spomenika 10. julija 1883 so spremljale velike slovesnosti, ki se jih je udeležil tudi cesar Franc Jožef I.[6] Po navedbah Franja Baša so Slovenci in Nemci mobilizirali vse pristaše, da so s klicema »Živijo« in »Heil« cesarju manifestirali slovenstvo oziroma nemštvo Maribora in Podravja (Baš, 1989, 196; prim. Čuček, 2006, 394). Po Baševem mnenju je bilo odkritje spomenika priložnost, ob kateri se je prvič očitno pokazalo nacionalno razpoloženje v Mariboru; ker so bili Slovenci glasnejši, so izzvali nemško mestno županstvo, da v Mariboru ni nikoli več dovolilo množičnega slovenskega nastopa (Baš, 1989, 196).

Leta 1919 so bronasto doprsje in personifikaciji Helgolanda in Visa prenesli v muzej, visok podstavek iz mauthausenskega granita pa so odstranili šele leta 1935 in ob tem našli skrinjico s spomenico o nastajanju spomenika, ki so jo podpisali župan in člani Odbora za postavitev spomenika, ter srebrnike, nikljaste in bakrene kovance (Zajšek, 2017, 858; prim. Ciglenečki, 2006, 537). Granitni ostanki 34-tonskega podstavka so še leta 1991 ležali na območju deponije v Hočah.[7] Doprsje in personifikaciji so bili s spomenika odstranjeni pred 23. januarjem 1919, ko je anonimni pisec v rubriki *Tedenske vesti* časnika *Slovenski gospodar* zabeležil, da so nekateri ljudje, ki jim spomeniki, postavljeni na raznih mestih po Mariboru, niso pogodu, oskrunili spomenike, zlasti Tegetthoffovega,

> […] *katerega so neznane osebe pokvarile, vsled česar so ga drugi krogi spravili na varno. Mi tako početje odločno obsojamo kot nevredno omikanih ljudi, katerim ne pristoja razbijanje.*[8]

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6   O dvodnevnem cesarjevem obisku, imenovanem »Marburger Kaisertage«, ki je potekal 9. in 10. julija 1883, so podrobno poročali v tedanjih časnikih, zlasti v *Marburger Zeitung*; glej Vidmar, 2013, 73–74; Zajšek, 2017, 855–858; Zajšek, 2018, 141–144.

7   Za podatke, poslane fotografije in izris podstavka se iskreno zahvaljujem kolegu dr. Igorju Sapaču.

8   Tedenske vesti, Slovenski gospodar, 23. 1. 1919, št. 4, 3.

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Iz zapisa je razvidno, da se je skrunjenje in posledično odstranjevanje spomenikov začelo že v prvih mesecih po koncu prve svetovne vojne, najverjetneje pa so bili odstranjeni po primopredaji mestne oblasti 2. januarja 1919 in pred objavo prispevka v *Slovenskem gospodarju* 23. januarja 1919.[9] Razvidno je tudi, da so bili skrunilci Slovenci, medtem ko so bili »drugi krogi«, ki so prenesli Tegetthoffov spomenik v muzej in jih navaja anonimni pisec, bližje nekdanji nemški mestni oblasti in zaradi prenosa spomenikov v muzej najverjetneje člani Muzejskega društva.[10] V rubriki *Politične vesti* iste številke časnika je anonimni pisec zapisal, da je opravičen sum, »[…] *da so Nemci sami podrli Tegethofov spomenik, da bi javno mnenje spravili nad Slovence. Nemška surovost postaja zopet vedno hujša.*«[11] Podobna sumničenja in lažna namigovanja so bila naslednjega dne objavljena v časniku *Straža*:

Mariborski nemški kulturni delavci so v eni preteklih noči z rdečilom pomazali zid in napis Spodnještajerske ljudske posojilnice. Vspričo takega početja je odveč vsako povpraševanje, komu se mora staviti na rovaš oskrunjenje Tegetthofovega spomenika. Saj je tudi dokazano, kdo je nekdaj oskrunil Jahnov spomenik.[12]

Za odstranjevanje mariborskih spomenikov ni bilo mogoče najti podrobnejših informacij o udeležencih in času odstranjevanja.[13] Domnevati smemo, da so poleg Tegetthoffovega tudi druge spomenike odstranili pred 23. januarjem 1919, torej pred medijsko odmevnimi demonstracijami mariborskih Nemcev 27. januarja 1919.[14] Kakor je razvidno iz navedenih citatov iz *Slovenskega gospodarja* in *Straže*, so bili spomeniki tudi po odstranitvi v slovenskem dnevnem časopisju zlorabljeni za lažna namigovanja in podtikanja v mednacionalnih sporih.

Muzejsko društvo je Tegetthoffovo doprsje in personifikaciji Helgolanda in Visa razstavilo na dvorišču tedanjega muzeja v Cankarjevi ulici,[15] kjer jih je videl Henning Volkmar (psevdonim Huga Suetteja) in o Tegetthoffu zapisal, da so njegovo doprsje s slepim sovraštvom odstranili s spomenika samo zaradi njegove nemške narodnosti, čeprav je pri Visu tudi Slovence zavaroval pred Italijani (Volkmar, 1934, 32). Po zaprtju muzeja v Cankarjevi ulici, 10. aprila 1938, so tri bronaste plastike prenesli v muzejske prostore v mariborskem gradu, v katerem je viceadmiralovo doprsje še ohranjeno, za personifikaciji Tegetthoffovih zmag pa je bilo usodno leto 1947 (Oman, 1999, 15; Vidmar, 2013, 84). 21. avgusta 1947 je muzejski ravnatelj Franjo Baš poslal Izvršnemu odboru Mestnega ljudskega odbora Maribor-mesto pismo, v katerem je zapisal, da je od treh bronastih kipov samo kip Tegetthoffa dobro umetniško delo, personifikaciji njegovih zmag pa sta konvencionalni deli s konca 19. stoletja brez umetniške vrednosti, in predlagal ohranitev viceadmiralovega doprsja in prelitje personifikacij v sodoben namen (Oman, 1999, 15). Mestni ljudski odbor je 27. avgusta 1947 odgovoril, da naj kip Tegetthoffa kot umetniško delo ostane v muzeju, personifikaciji pa naj prelijejo v spomenik padlim borcem v narodnoosvobodilni borbi (Oman, 1999, 15).

Spomenik nadvojvodi Janezu, ki so ga v mariborskem parku slovesno odkrili 10. junija 1883 v okviru praznovanj ob 600-obletnici habsburške vladavine na Štajerskem, je mestu podaril anonimni donator (sl. 2).[16] Uradno anonimni darovalec, odvetnik Othmar Reiser, bratranec nekdanjega župana Matthäusa Reiserja, je bil glavni govorec na slavnostni prireditvi, drugi govorci pa so se mu za dragoceno darilo javno zahvaljevali.[17] Litoželezni celopostavni kip nadvojvode je bil ulit že leta 1859 po modelu kiparja Franza Weissenbergerja (1819–1875) v Salmovi železarni v Blanskem na Moravskem, vendar je bil zaradi žanrske upodobitve člana cesarske družine v lovski noši v času nastanka izjemen in nesprejemljiv za postavitev v javnem prostoru (Žitko, 1998, 110; Žitko, 2000/2001, 462). Zato ga

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9   O primopredaji mestnih oblasti v Mariboru glej Jenuš, 2017, 922–923.

10 Muzejsko društvo v Mariboru (*Museumsverein in Marburg*) je bilo ustanovljeno leta 1902 in je svoje zbirke ob podpori mariborske občine uredilo v tedanji mestni nadaljevalni šoli na vogalu sedanjih Cankarjeve in Razlagove ulice. Leta 1916 so odprli nove prostore v opuščeni kaznilnici v Cankarjevi ulici. Leta 1920 so zbirkam Muzejskega društva pridružili zbirke Zgodovinskega društva za Slovensko Štajersko in leta 1924 še zbirke Škofijskega muzeja (Oman, 1999, 9–10).

11 Politične vesti, Slovenski gospodar, 23. 1. 1919, št. 4, 3.

12 Razne politične vesti, Straža, 24. 1. 1919, št. 7, 3.

13 V *Marburger Zeitung* januarja 1919 o odstranjevanju niso poročali. V nasprotju s tem je celjski nemški časnik *Deutsche Wacht* o poškodbah in porušenju celjskega spomenika cesarju Jožefu II. v noči iz 1. na 2. januar 1919 poročal takoj v naslednji številki in dejanje opredelil kot predigro k odstranitvi spomenika, pripisal pa ga je »neznanim storilcem«; glej Das Kaiser Josef-Denkmal beschädigt und umgestürzt, Deutsche Wacht, 4. 1. 1919, št. 1, 2.

14 O demonstracijah in reakciji slovenskih varnostnih sil glej Jenuš, 2011, 120–139.

15 Nekdanja kaznilnica v sedanji Cankarjevi ulici, ki so jo za muzejske prostore preuredili po načrtih Friedrigerja in Czeikeja, je bila pozneje porušena (Oman, 1999, 10).

16 O spomeniku glej Žitko, 1996, 114–115; Krasa, 1996, 298; Žitko, 1998, 110; Žitko, 2000/2001, 462; Telesko, 2008, 374, 376; Vidmar, 2013, 79–82.

17 Ferdinand Duhatsch, Erzherzog Johann-Denkmal, Marburger Zeitung, 3. 6. 1883, št. 66, 1.

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niso postavili v Zidanem Mostu, za katerega je bil sprva namenjen.[18] Othmar Reiser je kip kupil leta 1882 na Dunaju in od Mariborčanov zahteval, da ga postavijo v novem severovzhodnem delu parka, s čimer je želel poudariti zasluge bratranca Matthäusa Reiserja za Maribor (Vidmar, 2013, 80–81). Skladno z uradno podobo nadvojvode, čigar tesno povezanost z naravo je razširjala dvorna propaganda (Telesko, 2008, 376), so kip v lovski noši vizualno zelo učinkovito postavili na dva metra visoko umetno skalo iz sivozelenega pohorskega kamenja. Skalo je kmalu obrasel bršljan in spomenik harmonično povezal z naravnim okoljem. O odstranitvi kipa iz mariborskega parka po prvi svetovni vojni še niso bili najdeni viri, domnevno pa so za njegovo shranitev v muzeju poskrbeli člani Muzejskega društva. Na Slovenskem so bili nadvojvodu postavljeni tudi spomeniki pri slapu Savica (1807), v Zidanem Mostu (1825/26) in v soteski Huda Luknja (1829), od katerih sta na mestu postavitve ohranjena spomenika pri slapu Savica in v Hudi Luknji (Žitko, 1998, 103–110). Na fotografiji, ki je bila objavljena leta 1934, je bil mariborski kip postavljen na dvorišču muzeja v Cankarjevi ulici, ob personifikacijah Tegetthoffovih zmag pri Helgolandu in Visu (Volkmar, 1934, 32). Kip nadvojvode Janeza je ohranjen v Pokrajinskem muzeju Maribor.

Spomenik cesarju Francu Jožefu I. pred mariborsko kadetnico so postavili ob petdesetletnici cesarjevega vladanja (o spomeniku glej Žitko, 1996, 17–18, 27; Curk & Premzl, 2004, 147; Ferlež, Kac & Jenuš, 2012, 25; Lazarini, 2014). Slavnostno odkritje spomenika je bilo za eno leto odloženo zaradi žalovanja po smrti cesarice Elizabete, ki je bila umorjena v atentatu 10. septembra 1898 v Ženevi, in je ob prisotnosti vojaških, deželnih in mestnih oblasti, knezoškofa Napotnika in nekaj tisoč prisotnih potekalo 10. maja 1899.[19] 2,35 m visok bronast kip cesarja v feldmaršalski uniformi, kakor ga je z manevrov poznal vsak vojak, je stal na 2,8 metra visokem granitnem podstavku, ki sta ga krasila bronast lovorov venec in bronasta napisna plošča z napisom *Franz Josef I. 1898* (sl. 3).[20] Spomenik je po naročilu poveljstva kadetnice in s sredstvi občine in mestne hranilnice izdelal dunajski akademski kipar Edmund Hofmann von Aspernburg (1847–1930).[21] Spomenik, ki so ga iz najboljše bronaste topovske zlitine ulili v

Slika 2: Spomenik nadvojvodi Janezu v Mariboru (PAM, Zbirka albumov fotografij in razglednic, inv. št. 3751).

livarni Hansa Frömmla na Dunaju, so si pred prevozom v Maribor ogledali številni člani cesarske hiše in generalitete ter izrazili svoje občudovanje.[22] Tudi v *Marburger Zeitung* so se za razliko od večine drugih v Mariboru postavljenih spomenikov podrobneje posvetili likovnim kvalitetam kipa in ga označili za mojstrovino monumentalne portretne umetnosti in popolnoma samostojen in kakovosten umetniški dosežek.[23] Po sodbi »strokovnjakov« je cesarjev celopostavni portret veljal za dotlej najodličnejši

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18 Engelbert H. je zabeležil, da je spomenik za Maribor zaradi bližine nadvojvodovega posestva v Pekrah zelo dragocen, in navedel razlog, zakaj ni bil postavljen v Zidanem Mostu: »Hier sei noch jener kleinlichen Auffassung gedacht, welche die Aufstellung dieses früher für Steinbrück bestimmt gewesenen Standbildes dort untersagte: weil ein kaiserlicher Prinz nicht im Jagdkleide dargestellt werden dürfe!« glej Engelbert H., Ein Blick auf Marburg im Jubiläumsjahre 1898, Deutscher Bote für Steiermark und Kärnten. Kalender für das Jahr 1899, 6, 17.

19 Die Enthüllung des Kaiserdenkmals im Parke des Cadetteninstitutes, *Marburger Zeitung*, 11. 5. 1899, št. 38, 4. Skoraj identično besedilo je objavil E. H., Freud und Leid eines Jahres. Vom August 1898 bis Ende August 1899, Deutscher Bote für Steiermark und Kärnten. Kalender für das Jahr 1900, 7, 19–21. Množično obiskano slovesnost pred kadetnico je fotografiral mariborski fotograf Ferdinand Weitzinger (Vrišer, 1977, 62; Curk & Premzl, 2004, 198).

20 Die Enthüllung des Kaiserdenkmals im Parke des Cadetteninstitutes, Marburger Zeitung, 11. 5. 1899, št. 38, 4.

21 Die Enthüllung des Kaiserdenkmals im Parke des Cadetteninstitutes, Marburger Zeitung, 11. 5. 1899, št. 38, 4.

22 Die Enthüllung des Kaiserdenkmals im Parke des Cadetteninstitutes, Marburger Zeitung, 11. 5. 1899, št. 38, 4.

23 Die Enthüllung des Kaiserdenkmals im Parke des Cadetteninstitutes, Marburger Zeitung, 11. 5. 1899, št. 38, 4.

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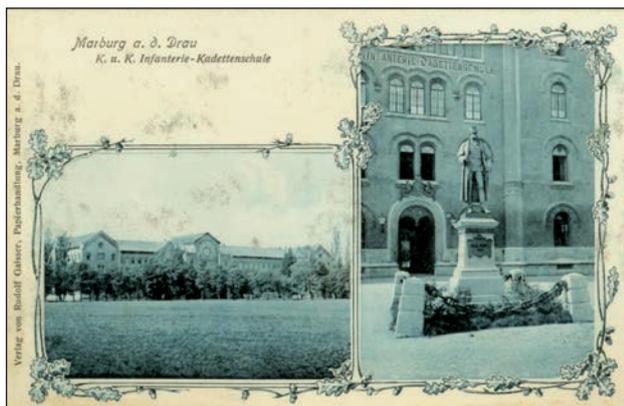
Slika 3: Spomenik cesarju Francu Jožefu I. pred mariborsko kadetnico (PAM, Zbirka albumov fotografij in razglednic, inv. št. 3861).

Slika 4: Spomenik cesarju Francu Jožefu I. v Radvanju (PAM, Zbirka albumov fotografij in razglednic, inv. št. 3373).

spomenik monarhu in za mariborsko znamenitost.[24] Spomenik Francu Jožefu v feldmaršalski uniformi po modelu Edmunda Hofmanna von Aspernburga je bil leta 1904 postavljen tudi v kraju Bad Deutsch Altenburg v Spodnji Avstriji (Telesko, 2008, 153). Usoda mariborskega kipa Franca Jožefa I. po propadu Avstro-Ogrske ni znana, verjetno je bil pretopljen, podstavek pa je v kadetnici še ohranjen.[25]

Odstranjen in verjetno pretopljen je bil tudi doprsni kip cesarja Franca Jožefa I., delo dunajskega kiparja Viktorja Oskarja Tilgnerja (1844–1896), ki je bil leta 1898 postavljen v Radvanju (Žitko, 1996, 17, 27) (sl. 4). Sonja Žitko je domnevala, da sta bila po istem Tilgnerjevem modelu (sl. 5) ulita tudi spomenika, ki so ju Francu Jožefu leta 1898 postavili v Gornjem Gradu in leta 1891 v Šmarju pri Jelšah; tudi za slednjima po prvi svetovni vojni ni sledu (Žitko, 1996, 17). Po istem Tilgnerjevem modelu ulita, približno 80 cm visoka busta monarha stoji pred Bolnišnico cesarja Franca Jožefa I. na dunajski Kundratsraße.[26] Francu Jožefu I. so v mestih habsburške monarhije postavljali spomenike zlasti v doprsnem izrezu, pri čemer je po mnenju Nine Kallina poudarjen Red zlatega runa aludiral na nadnacionalnost cesarja, neobaročna vihravost plašča pa po slogovni navezavi na »veliko deželno mater« habsburškega cesarstva, Marijo Terezijo (Kallina, 2016, 15). Cesarjevo slavo so obeleževale lovorove veje v spodnjem delu buste. Po Kallininen mnenju je cesar s takšno podobo in dobrodušnim videzom insceniral mit zadnjega

monarha stare šole že v času svojega življenja (Kallina, 2016, 16).

Busta cesarja Franca Jožefa I., verjetno mavčni odlitek, za katerim so se po prvi svetovni vojni izgubile sledi, je krasila tudi sejno sobo mariborske občinske hranilnice, kar je razvidno iz fotografije Ateljeja Mackart, posnete ob odkritju spomenika ustanovitelju hranilnice in nekdanjemu županu Andreasu Tappeinerju leta 1904 (Vidmar, 2014, 67). Spomenik so postavili v počastitev štiridesete obletnice ustanovitve, hranilnica pa je zanj prispevala 30.000 kron (sl. 6).[27] Skoraj poltretji meter visok kip iz kararskega marmorja je izklesal koroški kipar Josef Valentin Kassin (1856–1931), ki je imel v času nastanka kipa atelje v dunajski Bäckerstraße (Ponta-Zitterer, 2018, 156–157, 399). Kipar je Tappeinerjevo obličje ustvaril po fotografiji in nekdanjega župana upodobil v tipu uradniškega portreta z listino v levici in knjigo pod desno roko. Po navedbah Sonje Žitko je spomenik ostal na sedanjem Slomškovem trgu do konca druge svetovne vojne, potem pa so marmorni kip brez podstavka prenesli v muzej (Žitko, 1996, 116).

Nemirno obdobje po prvi svetovni vojni sta delno preživela spomenika v mestnem parku, ki sta ob koncu dvajsetih 20. stoletju dobila novo namembnost.[28] Mariborsko mestno olepševalno društvo je dalo leta 1900 v novem, severozahodnem delu parka postaviti kamnit spominski steber z dvoglavim orlom na vrhu in napisom *Kaiser Franz Josef Anlagen* (Žitko, 1996, 18). V *Slovenskem gospodarju* so 29. marca 1900

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24 Die Enthüllung des Kaiserdenkmals im Parke des Cadetteninstitutes, *Marburger Zeitung*, 14. 5. 1899, št. 39, 4.

25 O usodi podstavka po prvi svetovni vojni gl. Lazarini, 2014.

26 Fotografija modela je bila objavljena v Hevesi, 1897.

27 Gemeinde-Sparcasse in Marburg. 1902, 29–30; Freud und Leid eines Jahres. Vom September 1901 bis Ende August 1902, Deutscher Bote für Steiermark und Kärnten. Kalender für das Jahr 1903, 10, 19.

28 Sekundarna raba delov spomenikov, zlasti podstavkov, ni bila redka. Leta 1926 so na primer v Ljubljani nekdanji spomenik cesarju Francu Jožefu z namestitvijo portretne buste posvetili Franu Miklošiču (Murovec, 2015, 675–678).

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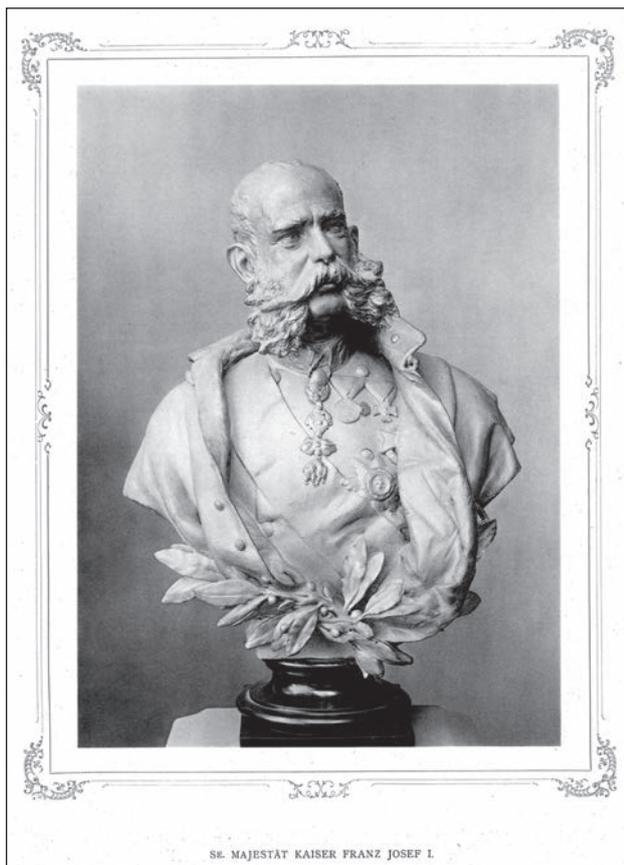
Slika 5: Viktor Oskar Tilgner, Doprsje cesarja Franca Jože-fa I. (Wikimedia Commons).

Slika 6: Spomenik Andreasu Tappeinerju v Mariboru (PAM, Zbirka albumov fotografij in razglednic, inv. št. 3785).

zapisali, da o lepem marmornem spomeniku z avstrijskim orlom na vrhu mariborski nemški časnik in mariborski občinski zastop popolnoma molčita in da spomenik ne bo slovesno odkrit (sl. 7).[29] Anonimni avtor je to pripisal sporom mariborskih Nemcev z načelnikom mestnega olepševalnega društva »Kokošinkom«, zlasti zaradi njegovega nasprotovanja poimenovanju Bismarckove ulice.[30] Mariborski trgovec Josef Kokoschinegg, predsednik Olepševalnega društva med letoma 1891 in 1905, je leta 1888 od zakoncev Bernert kupil velik travnik zahodno od sedanje promenade, ki ga je nato s sredstvi občinske hranilnice, podarjenimi v spomin na štiridesetletnico vladavine Franca Jožefa I., kupila mestna občina (Kolšek, 2007, 23; Hriberšek Vuk, 2010, 79). Nove parkovne površine, ki so jih uredili do leta 1897, so poimenovali *Kaiser Franz-Josef-Anlagen* (Hriberšek Vuk, 2010, 79). Spomenik je leta 1900 izdelal mariborski kamnosek Josip Peyer (Žitko, 1996, 18). Na podnožju stebra, ki je bil izklesan v volutastih neobaročnih formah, je bil pritrjen portretni medaljon z

upodobitvijo cesarja v profilu. Spominski steber je po prvi svetovni vojni ostal v parku; leta 1928 so ga obnovili in posvetili osvoboditvi Maribora (Čopič, 2000, 233).

Spomenik nemškemu pedagogu in očetu gimnastike Friedrichu Ludwigu Jahnu (1778–1852) v novem delu parka je dalo ob svoji petdesetletnici postaviti nemško usmerjeno telovadno društvo *Turnverein* (Žitko, 1996, 121), ki je bilo ustanovljeno 24. novembra 1862 (Pertassek, 2000, 227). Temeljni kamen so položili leta 1912 in leto pozneje odkrili spomenik, sestoječ iz grobo obklesanega granitnega bloka na skalnatem podnožju in bronastega Jahnovega portretnega medaljona (sl. 8). Jahnove spomenike s portretnim medaljonom na steli so postavljali po vsem nemškogovorečem območju. V graškem parku so Jahnov spomenik s portretnim medaljonom odkrili leta 1902 (Riesenfellner, 1998, 170; Telesko, 2008, 386). Postavitev spomenika v Gradcu je bila pomembna manifestacija nemških nacionalistov, ki so razglašali Gradec za najbolj nemško mesto v

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29 Cesarjev spomenik, Slovenski gospodar, 29. 3. 1900, št. 13, 4; glej tudi Birk & Urekar Osvald, 2014, 79–80.
30 Cesarjev spomenik, Slovenski gospodar, 29. 3. 1900, št. 13, 4.

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Slika 7: Spomenik cesarju Francu Jožefu I. v mariborskem parku (PAM, Zbirka albumov fotografij in razglednic, inv. št. 3281).

monarhiji (Riesenfellner, 1998, 170). V napovedi slovesnega odkritja mariborskega spomenika, ki je potekalo 22. junija 1913, je avtor poudaril mogočen kamnit blok in ostri pogled starega mojstra Jahna na portretnem medaljonu.[31] Slavnostni govorec profesor Jörg je orisal Jahnovo življenjsko pot, delovanje in nacionalno gorečnost in kot povod za postavitev spomenika navedel, da so člani društva čutili dvojno dolžnost, da narodnemu velikanu v nemškem Mariboru, okopu nemškega naroda in jezika, postavijo spomenik.[32] Ob otvoritvi Mariborske koče na Pohorju je turnarsko društvo 24. avgusta 1913 organiziralo štafetni tek svojih članov, ki se je začel pri Jahnovem spomeniku v parku.[33] Nacionalno obarvana prireditev se je zaključila s petjem stare nemške bojne pesmi *Wacht am Rhein* ob spremljavi kapele Južnih železnic.[34] Portretni medaljon Friedricha Ludwiga Jahna s hrastovimi listi v spodnjem delu so po prvi svetovni vojni premazali s črno barvo in odbili z granitnega bloka (Pertassek, 2000, 228). Granitni blok so leta 1927 s pritrditvijo marmorne napisne plošče na mestu Jahnovega medaljona uporabili za spomenik Majniški deklaraciji (Žitko, 1996, 121). Po razdejanju leta 1941 so kamen prestavili in ob petinsedemdeseti obletnici Majniške deklaracije leta 1992 nanj pritrdili novo napisno ploščo.

Iz javnega prostora sta bila umaknjena tudi vojaška spomenika, ki v novi državi v političnem pogledu nista bila sporna. Eden od njiju je spomenik češkemu dragonskemu korporalu Vaclavu Kraliku, ki je padel 5. junija 1809 v boju s francoskimi vojaki (Žitko, 1996, 10, 118–119; Rakovec, 2015, 182). Kralika so ustrelili kot žrtev »blaznega poguma«, potem ko je prigalopiral v mesto, se polastil številnih francoskih

Slika 8: Spomenik Friedrichu Ludwigu Jahnu v mariborskem parku (Pokrajinski muzej Maribor).

konj in vznemiril vso posadko (Puff, 1999, 279). V prvi polovici 19. stoletja so mu Mariborčani postavili spomenik s krsto, obeliskom, reliefnim portretom, vojaškimi emblemi in nagrobno žaro, ki je bil vzidan v steno nekdanje normalke na trgu ob mestni župnijski cerkvi sv. Janeza Krstnika (Žitko, 1996, 10, 118–119). Zaradi poškodb je kamnosek Josip Peyer leta 1902 izdelal nov marmorni spomenik, ki so ga odkrili leto pozneje (Žitko, 1996, 118). V spodnjem delu je napis z opisom Kralikovega junaškega boja, v zgornjem je obelisk z bojno trofejo, sestavljeno iz šlema, prekrižanih sabelj, pištol, zastav, lovorovih listov in levje glave. Spomenik je ohranjen v Pokrajinskem muzeju Maribor. Drug vojaški spomenik so leta 1904 postavili padlim častnikom in vojakom 47. mariborskega pešpolka na Kalvariji; sestavljen je bil iz skal, zloženih v piramidasto obliko in obraslih z bršljanom ter spominske plošče na sredini (Radovanovič, 2007, 7). Namesto odstranjenega spomenika je Območno združenje veteranov vojne za Slovenijo Maribor leta 2007 na Kalvariji postavila betonsko

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31 Jahngedenksteinenthüllung und Schauturnen im Volksgarten, Marburger Zeitung, 7. 7. 1913, št. 68, 4.
32 Die Enthüllung des Jahngedenksteines, Marburger Zeitung, 24. 6. 1913, št. 75, 4.
33 Eilbotenlauf des Marburger Turnvereines zur Bachernhütte, Marburger Zeitung, 9. 8. 1913, št. 95, 5.
34 Eilbotenlauf des Marburger Turnvereines zur Bachernhütte, Marburger Zeitung, 9. 8. 1913, št. 95, 5.

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piramido z napisom »V spomin in opomin vsem nesmiselnim vojnam«.[35]

POSTAVLJANJE IN ODSTRANJEVANJE SPOMENIKOV CESARJA JOŽEFA II.

Z vidika razumevanja postavljanja, odstranjevanja in ponovnega postavljanja javnih spomenikov v širšem srednjeevropskem prostoru nekdanje monarhije so posebne pozornosti vredni spomeniki cesarju Jožefu II., ki so jih postavljali v zadnjih dveh desetletjih 19. stoletja in v zgodnjem 20. stoletju (o spomenikih glej Stieglitz & Zeillinger, 2008, 352–355, 546–552; Krebs, 2016a, 42–45; Žitko, 1996, 15–16; Telesko, 2006, 130–141; Vidmar, 2013, 75–79). Prvi večji val postavljanja spomenikov cesarju Jožefu II. ob stoti obletnici njegovega domnevnega pluženja pri vasi Slavíkovice na Moravskem (19. avgusta 1769) se na Štajerskem ni odrazil (o spomenikih v Slavikovicah glej Zemek, 1980, 291–292; Měchurová, 2007). Številne kipe in reliefe z upodobitvijo cesarja s plugom je dal v Spodnji Avstriji postaviti pangermanski in antisemitski politik Georg von Schönerer, da bi z njimi obeležil tradicionalno spoštovanje kmečkega prebivalstva do njihovega »osvoboditelja in prijatelja«, hkrati pa je Schönerer z njimi izražal tudi nemški nacionalni protest proti klerikalnim stališčem Habsburške hiše in po njegovem mnenju pretirano slovanofilski politiki Taaffejeve vlade (1879–1893) (Wingfield, 1997, 152–153).

Postavljanje spomenikov Jožefu II., imenovano tudi »Gibanje cesarja Jožefa II.« ali »Kult cesarja Jožefa II.«, se je razvilo v času, ko so številni »Nemci« verjeli, da vladne koncesije slovanskim narodom ogrožajo nemško kulturo in nemški jezik v monarhiji (Wingfield, 1997, 152, 164; Wingfield, 2001, 185; Wingfield, 2007, 23; Telesko, 2006, 130; Cvelfar, 1997, 78). Za potrebe dnevne politike v času nacionalnih konfliktov so nemški nacionalisti Jožefa II. stilizirali v simbol zlate dobe nemške prevlade v monarhiji in v velikega germanizatorja (Wingfield, 1997, 152; Telesko, 2006, 130). Postavljanje spomenikov v monarhiji je spodbudil prispevek »Ein Gedenktag der österreichischen Landwirthe«, ki ga je 3. maja 1879 objavil urednik časnika *Leitmeritzer Zeitung*, Julius Gierschick (Vocelka, 1980, 295; Wingfield, 2007, 23). V zadnjih dveh desetletjih 19. stoletja so modele za spomenik Jožefu II. ustvarili številni umetniki, med njimi Antonín Břenek, ki je ustvaril spomenike v Brnu, 1891, Libercu, 1892 in Novem Jičínu, 1902 (Telesko, 2006, 133), Franz Metzner, ki je avtor spomenika v Teplicah, 1913 (Wingfield, 1997, 166) in Carl Kundmann po osnutku

Josefa Messnerja v Beljaku, 1888 (Telesko, 2006, 139–140). Model za busto cesarja Jožefa II., ki so jo leta 1887 na zasebno iniciativo postavili na sedanjem Opernringu v Gradcu, je izdelal kipar Ludwig Peckary (Telesko, 2008, 387). Prvotni napis na graškem spomeniku *Dem glorreichen Unsterblichen, ein deutscher Mann der Steiermark* so pozneje zamenjali s preprostim *Kaiser Joseph II.* (Riesenfellner, 1998, 185). Busto naj bi v začetku leta 1919 za krajše obdobje odstranili s spomenika (Riesenfellner, 1998, 185).

Večina naročnikov spomenika Jožefu II., ki so jih po monarhiji postavili več kot sto, zlasti na narodnostno mešanih območjih Češke, Moravske, Šlezije, Spodnje Štajerske, pa tudi v Spodnji Avstriji in drugih deželah, pa se je odločila za nakup cenovno ugodnega litoželeznega spomenika s podstavkom, ki so ga po modelu kiparja Richarda Kauffungena (1854–1942) od leta 1880 ulivali v Salmovi železarni v Blanskem na Moravskem (Gutkas, 1980, 696; Stieglitz & Zeillinger, 2008, 547). V železarni, ki jo je na družinskih posestih ustanovil Hugo Franz stari grof Salm-Reiffenscheidt, so že od leta 1822 sodelovali z dunajskimi kiparji in ulivali tudi številne litoželezne kipe in reliefe po sodobnih modelih in kopije antičnih kipov.[36] Model je pri Kauffungenu naročila Salmova železarna (Stieglitz & Zeillinger, 2008, 547), verjetno v pričakovanju naročil ob obletnicah Jožefovega prihoda na prestol, odprave tlačanstva, izdaje tolerančnega edikta ter po objavi navedenega Gierschickovega članka v *Litomeritzer Zeitung*. Kauffungen je ateljejsko fotografijo modela za spomenik datiral z letnico 1879 (Stieglitz & Zeillinger, 2008, 353), od naslednjega leta je bilo spomenik mogoče naročiti po katalogu Salmove železarne. Približno 800 kg težak kip cesarja v naravni velikosti (185 cm) je leta 1880 stal 580 goldinarjev, za nadaljnjih 400 goldinarjev pa je bilo mogoče naročiti pripadajoč prizmatičen podstavek, ki je bil visok 191,5 cm in je bil na sprednji stranici opremljen z napisom *Josef II.*, na hrbtni stranici pa je bil podpis izdelovalca *BLANSKO* (Krebs, 2016a, 43). Elisabeth Krebs je na podlagi ohranjenih dokumentov ugotovila, da so bila plačila za spomenik različna in da so se sčasoma višala (Krebs, 2016a, 43). Poleg naročila kipa in podstavka je moral naročnik pripraviti samo še graniten podest z dvema stopnicama, na katerega so pritrdili prizmatičen podstavek (Stieglitz & Zeillinger, 2008, 548). Da so se številni naročniki odločili za izdelek Salmove železarne, verjetno ni bila samo posledica ugodne cene, ampak tudi preproste in za vse sprejemljive ikonografije cesarskega portreta. Po vzoru portretov iz časa cesarjevega življenja, verjetno po slikah Josefa Hickla, je Kauffungen detajlno

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35 V napisu je zabeleženo tudi: »*V čast in slavo slovenskim fantom 47. mariborskega pešpolka, ki si je v več kot 200 letih bojevanja na vseh bojiščih avstrijske monarhije pridobil sloves enega najboljših polkov. 1682–1918.*« Svojo požrtvovalnost in neomajnost je mariborski pešpolk potrdil tudi v prvi svetovni vojni, še zlasti v eni največjih bitk tistega časa proti Rusom na vzhodu Evrope (Hazemali, 2017, 191–195).

36 Leta 1835 so na primer ulili relief *Cesar Jožef II. orje pri Slavikovicah* po modelu kiparja Josefa Klieberja (Sedlářová, 2016, 137–140; prim. Krebs, 2016a, 43–44).

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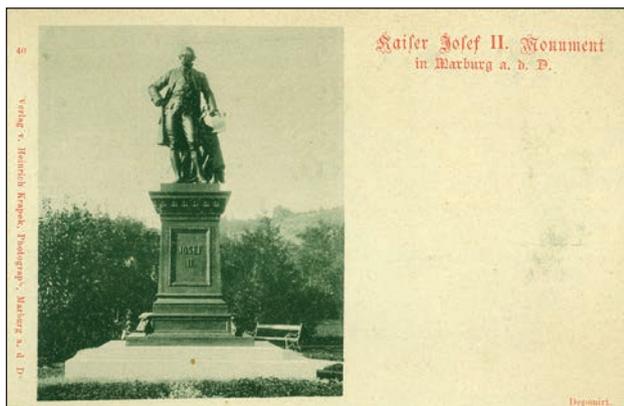
Slika 9: Spomenik cesarju Jožefu II. v Mariboru (PAM, Zbirka albumov fotografij in razglednic, inv. št. 3297).

modeliral cesarjev obraz in portretiranca predstavil v dragonski uniformi. Cesar stoji v kontrapostu, desnico upira ob bok, v levici drži pergamentno listino z vgraviranim napisom *Aufhebung der / Leibeigenschaft / Josef II.*, pri čemer je bil napis lahko prilagojen želji naročnika oziroma mestu postavitve; na spomeniku na dvorišču dunajske bolnišnice je napis *Saluti / et solatio / aegrorum* (Stieglitz & Zeillinger, 2008, 548; Telesko, 2006, 136). Litoželezni kip in podstavek so že v železarni zaščitili pred rjo s firnežem ali katranom ter površino broncirali (Stieglitz & Zeillinger, 2008, 548; Krebs, 2016a, 45).

Prvi spomenik Jožefu II. iz serijske produkcije v Blanskem, značilne za obdobje industrializacije, so leta 1880 postavili v severnočeškem mestu Varnsdorf (Stieglitz & Zeillinger, 2008, 353). Spodnještajerska mesta so nekoliko zaostajala, vendar je Franz Wiesthaler 8. septembra 1882 v *Marburger Zeitung* že lahko zapisal, da je Maribor prvo mesto na jugu monarhije, v katerem so postavili spomenik cesarju Jožefu II.; v prispevku je poudaril vlogo Maribora kot kažipota, ki naj mu sledijo druga mesta.[37] Litoželezni spomenik cesarju Jožefu II. je svojemu rojstnemu mestu podaril na Dunaju živeči odvetnik Othmar Reiser, bratranec tedanjega mariborskega župana Matthäusa Reiserja (Žitko, 1996, 15; Vidmar, 2013, 75–79). Spomenik so postavili v jugovzhodnem delu parka, ki ga je graški vrtnar Franz Marauschegg uredil s sredstvi občinske hra-

nilnice v času Reiserjevega županovanja (sl. 9).[38] Stal je v bližini atraktivnega ribnika z vodnimi rastlinami in labodi, leta 1890 so romantični ambient dopolnili z litoželeznim glasbenim paviljonom in kavarno (Kolšek, 2007, 203).

Odkritje mariborskega spomenika v petek, 8. septembra 1882, je kljub dežju potekalo nadvse slovesno.[39] Številne vzporednice mariborski slovesnosti najdemo v odkritjih spomenikov Jožefu II. na Češkem, za katera je Nancy Meriwether Wingfield zapisala, da so bila namenjena definiranju, ekspanziji in integraciji nemške skupnosti in da so odbori za postavitev spomenikov spodbujali Nemce iz vseh stanov družbe, da so krasili svoje domove in sodelovali na prireditvah; interpretirali so jih kot dneve veselja vseh Nemcev v deželi, dneve nacionalnega duha zvestobe, hvaležnosti in patriotizma (Wingfield, 2007, 36). Mariborske hiše so bile okrašene z venci, slikami in zastavami v belo-zelenih, belo-rdečih, belo-modrih, črno-zlatih in črno-rdeče-zlatih barvah.[40] Slovesnost se je pričela ob 6. zjutraj s sprevodom pihalne godbe Južnih železnic skozi mesto, ob 11. dopoldne so se udeleženci zbrali na dvorišču mestne hiše in se ob glasbeni spremljavi odpravili v park. Po navedbah Franza Wiesthalerja so okrog spomenika stali tisoči, ki so se zbrali z vseh strani, iz vseh slojev prebivalstva.[41] Slavnostni govorci Othmar Reiser, Matthäus Reiser in Ferdinand Duhatsch so navajali zasluge cesarja Jožefa II. za odpravo tlačanstva, šolske reforme, izdajo tolerančnega patenta, omilitev cenzure in reforme vojske, uradništva in davkov, ter poudarili svojo zvestobo cesarski hiši in pomen nemškega duha, jezika in kulture. Za sočasno razumevanje in propagiranje »nemštva« Jožefa II. je povedna Duhatscheva izjava, da je bil cesar francosko vzgojen in da so na dvoru prevladovale španske navade, vendar ni želel o njih ničesar slišati, saj je v njem bilo zvesto nemško srce in je cenil samo nemške šege; bil je nemški knez v pravem pomenu besede.[42]

Franz Wiesthaler je lakonično zabeležil, da med udeleženci slovesnosti ni bilo nobenega katoliškega duhovnika, vodje Slovencev, političnega državnega uradnika in oficirja. Kratka sta bila tudi zapisa v *Slovenskem gospodarju* pred odkritjem: »*(Pekerski Reiser) je Mariborčanom kupil podobo cesarja Jožefa II.*«[43] in po njem:

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37 Franz Wiesthaler, Denkmal im Herzen, Denkmal von Erz, Marburger Zeitung, 8. 9. 1882, št. 108, 1.

38 Za pogodbo, ki jo je mestna občina februarja 1872 podpisala z Marauschkom in sredstva mestne hranilnice glej Kolšek, 2007, 202.

39 Slovesnosti je podrobno opisal Franz Wiesthaler, Enthüllung des Kaiser-Josef-Denkmals, Marburger Zeitung, 10. 9. 1882, št. 109, 1–3.

40 Franz Wiesthaler, Enthüllung des Kaiser-Josef-Denkmals, Marburger Zeitung, 10. 9. 1882, št. 109, 2.

41 Franz Wiesthaler, Enthüllung des Kaiser-Josef-Denkmals, Marburger Zeitung, 10. 9. 1882, št. 109, 2. O odkritjih spomenikov cesarju Jožefu II. na Štajerskem glej tudi Suette, 1936, 75–78.

42 Povzeto po citatu *Als Prinz hat er eine französische Erziehung genossen, am Hofe galt spanische Sitte, doch er wollte von all' dem nichts wissen, und seiner Brust trug er einen hellen Edelstein, ihm schlug ein treues deutsches Herz, deutschen Brauch und deutsche Sitte hielt er vor Allem hoch. Er war in des Wortes Vollbedeutung ein deutscher Fürst*; glej Franz Wiesthaler, Enthüllung des Kaiser-Josef-Denkmals, Marburger Zeitung, 10. 9. 1882, št. 109, 2.

43 Razne stvari, Slovenski gospodar, 31. 8. 1882, št. 35, 279.

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(Spomenik cesarju Jožefu) razkrili so pretečeno nedeljo v Mariboru pa veliko žvekali o nemštvu in tako pokazali, da jim ni bilo toliko za cesarja mar, kakor za nemško-liberalno demonštracijo zoper sedanjo vlado, sv. Cerkvo in Slovence.[44]

Za uredništvo časnika *Südsteirische Post* se zdi, da ob odkritju mariborskega spomenika še ni bilo obveščeno o pomenu protislovenske demonstracije, kakor pozneje ob odkritjih spomenikov v Celju in na Ptuju, saj so v časniku samo poročali, da je bila prireditev slovesna in uspešna in da je izhajala iz dinastičnih stališč.[45] Kot eni redkih pa so se posvetili likovnim značilnostim kipa in zapisali, da je uspešno delo, izdelano iz litega železa.[46] Povedno za slovensko odsotnost je tudi v *Marburger Zeitung* objavljeno poročilo o domnevnem dogodku pred odkritjem spomenika, ki odraža protislovenska in protiklerikalna stališča uredništva. Anonimni avtor je zabeležil, da je radovedni farček, verjetno posebni dopisnik enega od vindišarskih časnikov, na predvečer odkritja ponujal stražniku 50 krajcarjev, da bi si lahko ogledal spomenik cesarju Jožefu, ki je bil še zaščiten z deskami. Seveda ga je lojalni policijski uradnik zavrnil in radovedni farček se je med mrmranjem vindišarskih kletvic nejevoljen vrnil v mesto.[47]

Otvoritvi spomenika je popoldne sledil slavnostni banket s številnimi napitnicami nemškemu duhu in kulturi.[48] Izbor izrazov, s katerimi so Mariborčani v govorih, napitnicah in na napisnih trakovih darovanih vencev opisovali Jožefa II. (»Cenitelj človeštva« (Schätzer der Menschheit), »Filantrop na prestolu« (Menschenfreund auf dem Throne), »Ljudski cesar« (Volkskaiser), »Skrbnik Nemštva« (Pfleger des Deutschen)), se ujema z retoriko govorcev ob odkritjih spomenikov na Češkem, Moravskem, v Spodnji Avstriji in v Šleziji, ki so odlično dokumentirana v monografiji Carla Richterja (Richter, 1883). Odkritja spomenikov so bila politične manifestacije nemško-nacionalnih in liberalnih krogov, ki so z njimi častili cesarja kot velikega reformatorja in germanizatorja, o aktualnem dogajanju pa sporočali, da je samo nemščina primeren uradni jezik v monarhiji in da lahko samo nemška kultura izkoreniti ostanke polbarbarstva in ustvari močan okop proti vzhodu (Richter, 1883, 15; Wingfield, 2001, 185). Spomeniki Jožefu II. so pronemško zavest

odslikavali in hkrati propagirali, postali so pomembna prizorišča za proslavljanje nemških nacionalnih praznikov in zbirališča nacionalistov. Ferdinand Duhatsch je v slavnostnem govoru navedel spomenik kot bodoče zbirališče nemško usmerjenega prebivalstva, ob katerem se bodo vedno pomudili s hvaležnimi srci. Za mariborski spomenik pa je tovrstni namen razviden tudi iz bojevite Wiesthalerjeve izjave, da je 8. september 1882 dan časti in veselja za Maribor, saj so se znova pomladili za boj in če bodo zmagali, se bodo ob zvenečem igranju in vihrajočih zastavah srečali pred spomenikom cesarja Jožefa.[49]

O odstranitvi mariborskega spomenika Jožefu II. po prvi svetovni vojni, najverjetneje januarja 1919, tedanji časniki niso poročali, znano je le, da so neznanci, verjetno člani Muzejskega društva, kip cesarja prepeljali v mestni muzej. Kip je stal na dvorišču tedanjega muzeja v Cankarjevi ulici v Mariboru vse do leta 1929; 18. decembra 1928 je predsednik Muzejskega društva, dr. Franc Kovačič, pisal Tovarni strojev, livarni železa in kovin K. in R. Ježek v Melju o možnosti odkupa kipa cesarja Jožefa II. (Ferlež, Kac & Jenuš, 2012, 26). 2. januarja 1929 so iz tovarne odgovorili, da ga lahko odkupijo samo kot staro železo, po ceni 1 dinar za kilogram (Ferlež, Kac & Jenuš, 2012, 26). Franc Kovačič se je s pogoji strinjal in simbol mariborskega nemštva je bil pretopljen v livarni, ki je bila podružnica železarne v Blanskem, v kateri je bil ulit.

Slovesnosti ob odkritju spomenika Jožefu II. v Celju in njegovo odstranitev leta 1919 je raziskal Bojan Cvelfar (Cvelfar, 1997, 78–82). V najbolj južnem nemškem mestu monarhije so celjski Nemci v začetku leta 1882 ustanovili Komite za postavitev spomenika cesarju Jožefu II., ki je nemudoma začel zbirati prostovoljne prispevke (Cvelfar, 1997, 78–82). Spomenik so naročili v Salmovi železarni, komiteju pa je uspelo pridobiti lokacijo v središču mesta, na Grajskem trgu, sedanjem Trgu Celjskih knezov (Cvelfar, 1997, 78–82). Na naslovnici lokalnega časopisa *Cillier Zeitung* so 26. novembra pozivali meščane h krašenju hiš z venci in cvetjem ter izobešanju zastav, da bodo primerno obeležili postavitev spomenika cesarju, ki je tudi v tem prispevku imenovan »Schätzer der Menschheit« in »eifriger Germanisator«.[50] Zadnjo nedeljo v oktobru, 29. oktobra 1882, dober mesec po mariborskem, so

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44 Razne stvari, Slovenski gospodar, 14. 9. 1882, št. 37, 295.

45 Kleine Chronik, Südsteirische Post, 9. 9. 1882, št. 72, 3.

46 Kleine Chronik, Südsteirische Post, 9. 9. 1882, št. 72, 3.

47 Povzeto po citatu *(Ein neugieriges Pfäfflein), wahrscheinlich Spezial=Correspondent irgend eines windischen Weltblattes bot am Vorabende der Kaiser=Josef=Feier dem inspizirenden Polizeimanne 50 kr. dafür an, daß er hinter den Bretterverschlag, der das Denkmal des Kaiser Josef den Augen des Publikums entzog, gucken dürfte. Selbstverständlich wies der pflichttreue Polizeibeamte das Ansinnen des hochwürdigen zurück und so trottete das neugirige Pfäfflein, windische Flüche murmelnd, wieder verdrossenen Sinnes nach der Stadt zurück*; glej Marburger Berichte, Marburger Zeitung, 10. 9. 1882, št. 109, 3.

48 Franz Wiesthaler, Enthüllung des Kaiser-Josef-Denkmals (Schluss), Marburger Zeitung, 13. 9. 1882, št. 109, 2.

49 Povzeto po citatu *Der achte September 1882 ist ein Ehren- und Freudentag für Marburg; er verjüngt uns auf's Neue für die Tage des Kampfes und siegen wir, dann sehen wir uns mit klingenden Spiele und fliegenden Fahnen wieder – vor dem Denkmal des Kaisers Joseph*; glej Franz Wiesthaler, Denkmal im Herzen, Denkmal von Erz, Marburger Zeitung, 8. 9. 1882, št. 108, 1.

50 Fahnen heraus!, Cillier Zeitung, 26. 10. 1882, št. 86, 1.

Slika 10: Spomenik cesarju Jožefu II. na Ptuju (Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj – Ormož).

spomenik odkrili z veliko slovesnostjo, ki je podobno kot v Mariboru potekala ob spremljavi godbe in pevskih zborov iz Celja, Maribora in Ptuja, slavnostnimi govori, položitvijo vencev in banketom v kazini (Cvelfar, 1997, 78–82). Medtem ko so izjave v *Cillier Zeitung*, ki jih navaja Cvelfar, primerljive s tistimi v *Marburger Zeitung*, je sočasen slovenski tisk poudarjal, da gre za nemško demonstracijo zoper Slovence, ki nima zveze s sicer blagosrčnim in dobro nameravajočim cesarjem (Cvelfar, 1997, 79). Podobno so tudi Čehi ob odkritjih spomenikov Jožefu II. Nemce opozarjali, naj ne zlorabljajo dobrega imena cesarja za pronemške demonstracije in propagando (Telesko, 2006, 134). V mariborskem časniku *Südsteirische Post* so izpostavili neprimerno izkoriščanje šolske mladine za štafažo prireditve, saj se na ta način v mlade duše vtre nacionalno nestrpnost, označili slovenski govor posestnika Lenka

za nepravilen v vzporejanju zgodovinskih in sodobnih dejstev in nelojalen do oblasti ter opozorili na neudeležbo podeželskega prebivalstva na prireditvi.[51] Kmalu po odkritju, februarja 1883, so celjski spomenik oskrunili, tako da so odlomili meč, poškodovali tolerančni patent in v cesarjev hrbet vrgli velik kamen (Suette, 1936, 76; Cvelfar, 1997, 81). Leta 1897 je bilo v tisku zabeleženo pljuvanje spomenika, novembra 1918 pa so mu neznanci odlomili nos, ga ogrnili z raztrganim dežnim plaščem, mu dali na glavo tropsko čelado in ga okoli vratu z vrvjo privezali k drevesu (Cvelfar, 1997, 82). 2. januarja 1919 so kip vrgli s podstavka in kmalu nato pod varstvom orožnikov odstranili in prodali za staro železo (Cvelfar, 1997, 82).

Precej slabše je raziskano in objavljeno dogajanje ob odkritju spomenika v ptujskem parku, 14. maja 1883 (Cvelfar, 1997, 78), verjetno tudi kot posledica dejstva, da v tem obdobju na Ptuju ni izhajal lokalni časopis (sl. 10).[52] Veliki slovesnosti ob odkritju so se podrobno posvetili mariborski časniki, med njimi *Südsteirische Post*, v katerem so dva dni pred odkritjem spomenika razkrili namen »Kaiser Josefs-Feier« na Ptuju z navedbo, da bodo s slovesnostjo sredi slovenskega prebivalstva, na staroslovanskih tleh, propagirali Nemštvo.[53] Denar za nakup spomenika naj bi prispeval pred kratkim umrli meščan, ki mu je bil denar življenjski smisel in je ostal v slabem spominu kmetov, vendar njegovega imena niso razkrili.[54] Opozorili so tudi na nevarnost izgredov, zlasti razbijanja neosvetljenih oken, saj »pravi patrioti« ne bodo upoštevali zapovedane svečane osvetlitve mesta.[55] Časnik *Slovenski gospodar* je štiri dni pred odkritjem objavil članka, namenjena odvrnitvi udeležbe Slovencev na prireditvi. Avtor s psevdonimom *Desterniški* je razreševal vprašanje, »[…] *zakaj nemški liberalci nikdar drugod na Štajerskem, kakor ravno v Mariboru, Celji in Ptuji naenkrat na uže pred blizu 100 leti pokopanega cesarja Jožefa toliko gorijo.*«[56] Vzroke je deloma pripisal zgodovinskim okoliščinam, zlasti pa političnim razlogom, predvsem cesarjevemu prizadevanju za odpravo deželnih pravic, ponemčevanje in povečanje nemškega cesarstva, kar je označil za popolnoma zastarelo v času, ko so vsi jeziki enakopravni in se morajo narodom priznati pravice, »[…] *da bodo vsi zadovoljni in srečni državljani pod milim žezlom avstrijanskega, od vseh narodov ljubljenega cesarja Franca Jožefa.*«[57] Poudaril je, da »[…] *mi nimamo v nemškem 'Reichu' ničesar iskati, mi imamo svojega avstrijskega cesarja*«, in bralstvu obrazložil, da so svečanosti, namenjene cesarju Jožefu II., »*na videz ne-*

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51 Correspondenzen, Südsteirische Post, 31. 10. 1882, št. 87, 2–3.

52 O izdajanju časopisov na Ptuju glej Kramberger, 2009, 423–436.

53 Povzeto po citatu *Mitten unter einer slovenischen Bevölkerung, auf altslavischem Boden wird Propaganda für's Deutschthum gemacht*; glej Correspondenzen, Südsteirische Post, 12. 5. 1883, št. 38, 3.

54 Correspondenzen, Südsteirische Post, 12. 5. 1883, št. 38, 3.

55 Correspondenzen, Südsteirische Post, 12. 5. 1883, št. 38, 3.

56 Desterniški, Zakaj nemški liberalci cesarja Jožefa častijo, Slovenski gospodar, 10. 5. 1883, št. 20, 146–147.

57 Desterniški, Zakaj nemški liberalci cesarja Jožefa častijo, Slovenski gospodar, 10. 5. 1883, št. 20, 146–147.

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dolžna igrača«, s katero nemški liberalci izražajo svoje »*politične sanjarije*« proti vladi, ki je pravična do narodov in Cerkve, zaradi izražanja tovrstnih idej pa bi ob drugačnih priložnostih kot veleizdajalci dobili zaporno kazen.[58] *Desterniški* je svojo politično interpretacijo odkritij spomenika zaključil z mislijo, da je navidezno hvaljenje politike cesarja Jožefa II. demonstracija proti tedanji vladi, neprimerna za Slovence, ki imajo avstrijskega cesarja raje kot nemškega in spoštujejo svoj slovenski dom in sveto Cerkev.[59] Odvrnitvi Slovencev, da bi se udeležili slavnostnega odkritja, je bil namenjen tudi prispevek anonimnega korespondenta iz Ptuja, ki je zapisal, da je prireditev »[…] *demonštracija proti ne nemškim narodom in tukaj Slovenskemu*,« in poudaril, da Nemci na Zgornjem Štajerskem, Tirolskem in drugod ne postavljajo spomenikov cesarju Jožefu: »*Naši ,nemci' le hočejo pokazati svetu, da je Ptuj ,nemško' mesto, da so njega prebivalci ,Nemci' in Bog vé kaj je še vse nemško.*«[60] Dopisu korespondenta je v odebeljenih črkah sledilo svarilo uredništva, naj Slovenci prireditve ne izkoristijo za brezplačno pogostitev:

> *Dostavek uredništva: Tiste slovenske gladovnjake pa in lačenbergerje, ki bodo šli v Ptuj k cesar-Jožefovej svečanosti žret in pit in kadit ter nemčurskih kostij glodat, te pa prosimo nam naznaniti, da jih denemo v črne bukve.*[61]

V odgovor na odvračanje Slovencev od odkritja spomenika je anonimni avtor članka, ki je dva dni po prireditvi izšel v *Marburger Zeitung*, poudaril, da je v slavnostnem sprevodu več stotih gostov iz številnih mest, trgov, vasi, predstavnikov telovadnih, pevskih, gasilskih in šolskih društev od železniške postaje do mestnega parka korakalo tudi več kot sto slovenskih kmetov, kljub »bedni agitaciji famoznega katoliškega pogrošnega lista *Gospodar*.«[62] Med slavnostnimi govorci je bil tudi kmet Leschnigg iz Starš, ki naj bi mu navzoči Slovenci navdušeno vzklikali »Živio«.[63] Slovesnost je potekala podobno kot v Mariboru in Celju, s slavnostnim sprevodom skozi mesto, okrašeno z zastavami in girlandami cvetja, slavnostnimi govori in položitvijo 43 vencev na grič, na katerem je stal spomenik v mestnem parku, ter slavnostnim banketom,

Slika 11: Glava časopisa Štajerc, 11. 1. 1903 (Knjižnica Ivana Potrča Ptuj).

ki se ga je udeležilo približno 300 gostov.[64] Ptujski župan Franz Rodoschegg je sprejel spomenik v imenu mesta in zagotovil, da ga bodo vedno obravnavali kot častni znak nemškega mest Ptuj.[65] Slavnostni govornik, deželnozborski poslanec Josef Schmiderer je poudaril, da v nasprotju z drugimi spomeniki, ki oznanjajo slavo regentov, spomenike cesarju Jožefu postavlja ljudstvo, ki je še vedno zvesto privrženo velikemu »ljudskemu cesarju«, ki je z baklo svojega genija zanetil razsvetljenstvo v Avstriji.[66] Navedel je cesarjeve zasluge za razvoj pravne države na nemških temeljih, svobodo veroizpovedi in vesti, osvoboditev kmetov in uvedbo nemščine kot uradnega in državnega jezika.[67] Čeprav cesar ni mogel uveljaviti vseh načrtovanih reform, je seme, ki ga je zasejal, vzklilo v mogočno drevo, katerega sadovi še vedno krepčajo ljudstvo.[68] Josef Schmiderer je ptujski spomenik opredelil kot pričo hvaležnosti ljudstva in mesta Ptuj ter govor zaključil s citatom Anastazija Grüna (Antona Aleksandra grofa Auersperga), da ljudstvo ne bo pozabilo tistega, ki

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58 Desterniški, Zakaj nemški liberalci cesarja Jožefa častijo, Slovenski gospodar, 10. 5. 1883, št. 20, 146–147.

59 Desterniški, Zakaj nemški liberalci cesarja Jožefa častijo, Slovenski gospodar, 10. 5. 1883, št. 20, 146–147.

60 Cesar Jožefova svečanost meri zoper Slovence, Slovenski gospodar, 10. 5. 1883, št. 20, 148–149.

61 Cesar Jožefova svečanost meri zoper Slovence, Slovenski gospodar, 10. 5. 1883, št. 20, 148–149. Naznanitev Slovencev, ki so se kljub svarilu udeležili odprtja spomenika, je bila mišljena dobesedno, saj so nekaj dni pozneje objavili zapis: »(V črne bukve) se naj dene Miha Predika s Podlož, ki je hodil v Ptuj nemškutarskih kostij glodat;« glej Razne stvari, Slovenski gospodar, 7. 6. 1883, št. 23, 182.

62 Das Kaiser-Josef-Fest in Pettau, Marburger Zeitung, 16. 5. 1883, št. 58, 1–2.

63 Das Kaiser-Josef-Fest in Pettau, Marburger Zeitung, 16. 5. 1883, št. 58, 1–2.

64 Das Kaiser-Josef-Fest in Pettau, Marburger Zeitung, 16. 5. 1883, št. 58, 1–2.

65 Prav tam. Das Kaiser-Josef-Fest in Pettau, Marburger Zeitung, 16. 5. 1883, št. 58, 1–2.

66 Das Kaiser-Josef-Fest in Pettau, Marburger Zeitung, 16. 5. 1883, št. 58, 1–2.

67 Das Kaiser-Josef-Fest in Pettau, Marburger Zeitung, 16. 5. 1883, št. 58, 1–2.

68 Das Kaiser-Josef-Fest in Pettau, Marburger Zeitung, 16. 5. 1883, št. 58, 1–2.

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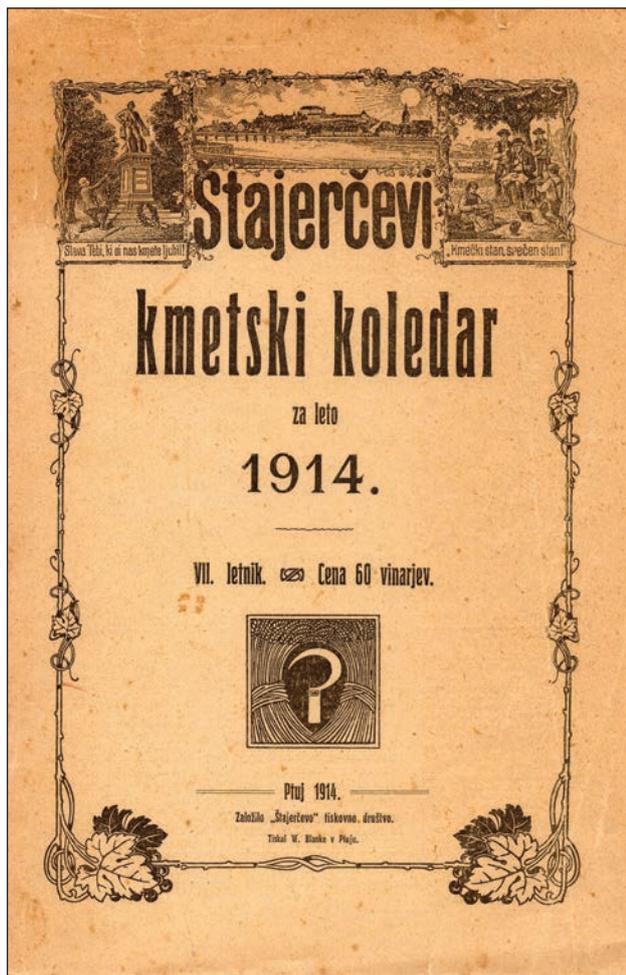
Slika 12: Naslovnica Štajerčeviga kmetskega koledarja, 1914 (Knjižnica Ivana Potrča Ptuj).

nikoli ni pozabil ljudstva.[69] Tudi slavnostni banket je bil politična manifestacija, med katero so poveličevali pomen Združene levice, njenih 138 poslancev in Josefa Schmidererja,[70] profesor Anton Nagele iz Maribora pa se je v govoru posvetil zlasti pomenu nemškega *Schulvereina*, ki je želel nemški duh ter duh svobode

in napredka razširiti po vseh avstrijskih okrožjih in slovanske kmete popeljati k svobodi in samostojnosti na temelju moči nemške omike.[71] Slavnostno odprtje spomenika so zvečer obeležili še z razsvetljavo mesta in sprevodom z baklami. Anonimni avtor članka je zabeležil, da je bila nepopisno lepa slovesnost tudi pričevanje o moči nemškega položaja ne samo na Ptuju, ampak na Spodnjem Štajerskem, ter poudaril, da mora Štajerska ostati enotna in da so vsako veselo obličje, navdihujoče besede in plameni svetlobe, ki so v mraku osvetlili spomenik, pomenili poraz »pervakov«.[72]

Ptujski spomenik so tudi v naslednjih desetletjih izkoriščali za namene politične propagande, pri čemer je bila v smislu vizualne propagande za široke kroge slovenskega kmečkega prebivalstva najbolj učinkovita naslovnica časnika *Štajerc*, ki je na Ptuju izhajal od 1. julija 1900 do 3. novembra 1918.[73] Časniku, ki je izhajal v 14.000 izvodih, razširjal ideje štajercijanstva in bil pronemško in protiklerikalno naravnan, so v prvi številki četrtega letnika povečali obseg in glavo časnika obogatili z upodobitvami ptujskega spomenika Jožefu II., veduto Ptuja in žanrskim prizorom idiličnega kmečkega življenja (sl. 11).[74] Okrog okvirja ptujske vedute v pogledu z jugovzhoda se razraščajo vitice vinske trte, ki jih dopolnjuje preplet žitnega klasja okrog stranskih prizorov. Upodobitev cesarjevega spomenika je podnaslovljena »*Slava Tebi, ki si nas kmete ljubil*«. Ob vznožju spomenika kleči slovenski kmet, ki je odložil popotno palico in predaja venec čaščenemu cesarju. Uredništvo je tudi naslovni članek podobno naslovilo in v njem poudarilo zasluge Jožefa II. za izboljšanje življenja kmečkega prebivalstva in ubranitev kmetov pred klerikalci: »*Slava Ti, ki si nas kmete ljubil, slava Ti, kateri si nas prvi začel braniti hudega peklenskega zmaja, klerikalizma, slava Ti cesar Jožef II.*«[75] Cesarja, ki so ga predstavili kot »[…] *morda najslavnejši vladar naše presvitle cesarske hiše*«, so povezali tudi z aktualno protiklerikalno naravnanostjo: »*Slava Ti, cesar, ki si nas kmete ljubil, slava Ti cesar Jožef II. ki si že pred več kakor 100 leti spoznal največjega sovražnika kmetov – klerikalizem.*«[76] V prispevku avtor litografije v glavi časnika ni naveden, upodobitev spomenika je omenjena samo kot »naša podobica«.[77] Pod litografijo je signatura »M. Bauer fec«,

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69 Das Kaiser-Josef-Fest in Pettau, Marburger Zeitung, 16. 5. 1883, št. 58, 1–2. Citat *Unvergessen lebt im Volke, der des Volkes nie vergaß* je zapisan tudi na severovzhodni strani spomenika nadvojvodi Janezu, ki je bil v Gradcu odkrit leta 1878; glej Baravalle, 1968, 94.

70 O recepciji stranke Združena levica, ki je bila ustanovljena 19. novembra 1881, med spodnještajerskim nemštvom glej Cvirn, 1997, 102–107.

71 Das Kaiser-Josef-Fest in Pettau, Marburger Zeitung, 16. 5. 1883, št. 58, 1–2.

72 Povzeto po citatu *Nein! Sie sollen es nicht zerreißen das schöne Steierland! Jedes frohe Antlitz, jedes geistesbeflügelte Wort, jedes Licht, das aufflammte um das Denkmal, als die Nacht heraufzog, bedeutete eine Niederlage – der Pervaken*; glej Das Kaiser-Josef-Fest in Pettau, Marburger Zeitung, 16. 5. 1883, št. 58, 1–2.

73 O časniku glej Zmazek, 2013, 42–52; o časniku ter politični in nacionalni usmeritvi Stranke Štajerca glej Rihtarič, 1996, 27–47.

74 Štajerc, 11. 1. 1903, št. 1, 1. Za prodor nemške politike med slovensko kmečko prebivalstvo so se zavzemali tudi s časnikom Kmetski prijatel, ki je v Celju izhajal od 1882 do 1884, ter z ustanovitvijo Spodnještajerskega naprednega društva v Celju leta 1883 (Čuček, 2006, 392–393).

75 Slava Ti, ki si nas kmete ljubil!, Štajerc, 11. 1. 1903, št. 1, 2.

76 Slava Ti, ki si nas kmete ljubil!, Štajerc, 11. 1. 1903, št. 1, 2.

77 Slava Ti, ki si nas kmete ljubil!, Štajerc, 11. 1. 1903, št. 1, 2.

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vendar avtorja žal ni bilo mogoče identificirati.[78] Termin naša podobica in upodobitev klečečega kmeta pred spomenikom dajeta litografiji sakralni značaj, kar je primerljivo z besedilom, ki je izšlo ob odkritju spomenika Jožefu II. v češkem mestu Most leta 1882, v katerem so cesarja stilizirali v svetnika ljudstva avstrijske države in svetnika svobodnega, naprednega, nemškega ljudstva (Telesko, 2006, 141). Glava časnika je bila v veljavi vse do zadnje natisnjene številke 3. novembra 1918. V uredništvu *Štajerca* so litografijo uporabili tudi leta 1914 za naslovnico *Štajerčeviga kmetskega koledarja*, ki ga je urejal Karl Linhart in je izhajal enkrat letno od 1908 do 1914 (sl. 12).[79]

Po navedbah Balduina Sarie so »Jugoslovani« ptujski spomenik Jožefu II. s podstavka vrgli že leta 1918 (Saria, 1943, 28). Odpeljali so ga v mestni muzej; leta 1943 je bil razstavljen v pritličju cerkvene ladje nekdanjega dominikanskega samostana (Saria, 1943, 28). Prevoz odstranjenega spomenika dokumentira fotografija neznanega avtorja, ki jo hrani Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj-Ormož (sl. 13). Odlomljena leva noga cesarja dokazuje, da je bil spomenik pred prevozom v muzej nasilno prevrnjen. V času nemške okupacije je okupacijska uprava Mestne občine Ptuj nameravala spomenik ponovno postaviti v mestni park (Kotnik, 2019, 217), vendar ni znano, da bi namero izvedli. Ponovna postavitev spomenika kot simbola nemštva bi sicer bila v skladu s sočasno propagando, vendar si je težko predstavljati, da bi nacisti ponovno postavili spomenik Habsburžanu. V češkem mestu Ústí nad Labem so nacisti konfiscirali spomenik Jožefu II. iz mestnega muzeja in ga dali pretopiti, na številne prošnje sudetskih Nemcev za ponovno postavitev odstranjenih spomenikov Jožefu II. pa je bil 18. januarja 1939 izdan odlok (*Beseitigung bzw. Wiederaufrichtung von Denkmälern*), ki je določal, da smejo ponovno postaviti samo spomenike z umetniško vrednostjo (na primer Metznerjevega v Teplicah), v znak repatriacije nemških kulturnih objektov in ne zaradi obujanja spomina na čas pred 1918, zlasti ne na Habsburžane (Wingfield, 1997, 167). Usoda ptujskega kipa cesarja Jožefa II. ni znana, verjetno je bil pretopljen kot staro železo.

V dosedanjih obravnavah spomenikov Jožefu II. na slovenskem Štajerskem je bil izpuščen spomenik, ki so ga leta 1902 postavili v Radgoni (o spomeniku in njegovi

Slika 13: Odstranitev spomenika cesarju Jožefu II. na Ptuju (Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj – Ormož).

odstranitvi glej Zangger, 2018, 106–109).[80] Spomenik, izdelan v Salmovi železarni,[81] je bil postavljen na najbolj prominentni lokaciji v mestu, pred mestno hišo na Glavnem trgu in v neposredni bližini Marijinega stebra (sl. 14). Kakor mariborski in ptujski je bil tudi radgonski spomenik Jožefu II. darilo zasebnega darovalca, dolgoletnega radgonskega župana Oswalda pl. Kodolitscha (1897–1921) (Zangger, 2018, 106). Kodolitsch je bil med največjimi posestniki vinogradov na Štajerskem in je med županskim mandatom skrbel zlasti za gospodarski razvoj mesta (Kurahs, 1984, 7). Na posvetilno ploščo, pritrjeno na podstavek spomenika, je dal Kodolitsch napisati, da je spomenik podaril mestu v trajen spomin na nepozabnega cesarja.[82] Slavnostno odkritje spomenika 30. avgusta 1902 in srečanje kolesarskega društva 7. in 8. septembra istega leta je v »prijazno nemško mesto na jezikovni meji« privabilo številne goste.[83] V *Marburger Zeitung* so zapisali, da se je z velikodušno donacijo župana Kodolitscha in podporo občine uresničil načrt občudovalcev velikega cesarja Jožefa II., da mu tudi v Radgoni, v kateri se je nekoč mudil, postavijo spomenik.[84]

Odstranitev spomenika po zasedbi Radgone 1. decembra 1918 je boljše dokumentirana kakor v drugih

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78 Za pomoč pri identifikaciji M. Bauerja se iskreno zahvaljujem dr. Marjeti Ciglenečki in gospodu Francu Golobu.

79 Karl Linhart je bil urednik časnika *Štajerc* od 8. julija 1906 do 2. junija 1918 (Zmazek, 2013, 42).

80 Za podatke o spomeniku in poslane fotografije se iskreno zahvaljujem kolegicama Beatrix Vreča in Mateji Močnik iz radgonskega muzeja Museum im alten Zeughaus (Bad Radkersburg).

81 Knez Leopold Salm-Reiffenscheid je železarno leta 1896 prodal, vendar so novi lastniki, podjetje Breitfeld, Danek & Co nadaljevali z ulivanjem spomenikov Jožefu II. po modelu Richarda Kauffungena; leta 1901 je bil na primer odkrit spomenik v spodnjeavstrijskem kraju Bad Vöslau (Krebs, 2016b, 46–47).

82 *»Dieses Denkmal widmet zur dauerhaften Erinnerung an den unvergesslichen Kaiser Josef II. der Stadt Radkersburg ihr Bürgermeister OSWALD EDLER von KODOLITSCH 1902.«*

83 Freud und Leid eines Jahres. Vom September 1901 bis Ende August 1902, Deutscher Bote für Steiermark und Kärnten. Kalender für das Jahr 1903, 10, 29.

84 Slovesnosti so se pričele v soboto, 30. avgusta zvečer z glasbo in se nadaljevale naslednjega dne z odkritjem spomenika in banketom v veliki dvorani radgonske hranilnice; glej Marburger Nachrichten (Kaiser Franz Josef-Denkmal in Radkersburg), Marburger Zeitung, 28. 8. 1902, št. 103, 4. Slovesnosti so pritegnile manj medijske pozornosti kakor odkritja v Mariboru, Celju in na Ptuju v letih 1882 in 1883, kakor je razvidno iz naslova v tej opombi citiranega članka v *Marburger Zeitung*, pa so celo napačno navedli cesarjevo ime.

Slika 14: Spomenik cesarju Jožefu II. v Radgoni (Museum im alten Zeughaus, Bad Radkersburg).

spodnještajerskih mestih. Karl Freyberger je v svoji kroniki opisal dogajanje v noči z 9. na 10. marec 1919, ko so »Militäristen« (verjetno člani vojaške policije SHS) pojoč korakali skozi mesto in prevrnili spomenik Jožefu II. (Zangger, 2018, 105). Kipu so okrog vratu ovili jekleno vrv in ga odvlekli do Fluckove mesnice nasproti mestne hiše, da bi ga obesili na železni drog, vendar jim to ni uspelo (Zangger, 2018, 105). Naslednji dan so si radovedneži ogledovali prevrnjen podstavek in poškodovan kip (sl. 15), občina in vojaško poveljstvo pa se po Freybergerjevem mnenju ob tem nepotrebnem vandalizmu nista želela vmešavati (Zangger, 2018, 105). Dogajanje na glavnem trgu 10. marca 1919 je dokumentiral radgonski fotograf Bund (sl. 16). Istega dne zvečer so po Freybergerjevih navedbah vojaki kip z vozom odpeljali do mostu in vrgli v Muro (Zangger, 2018, 107).

Verjetneje je, da so vojaki spomenik prodali za staro železo.[85] Od radgonskega spomenika Jožefu II.

sta ohranjeni posvetilna plošča z navedbo darovalca in plošča z napisom *Josef II.*, ki sta obdani z lovorjevim vencem in sedaj vzidani v vhodno vežo radgonske občinske stavbe. Med obnovo radgonskega glavnega trga leta 1998 po načrtih Herberta Missonija so na mestu, kjer je stal spomenik, v tlaku izpisali letnico 1919, ki označuje njegovo odstranitev.[86] V Museum im alten Zeughaus pa je na ogled noga cesarja Jožefa, edini preostanek radgonskega kipa in vseh štirih spomenikov po modelu Richarda Kauffungena, ki so bili postavljeni Jožefu II. na narodnostno mešanem območju Štajerske. Obdobje prevrata je preživela samo piramida, ki je bila leta 1881 postavljena v čast cesarju Jožefu II. na zasebnem posestvu družine Bouvier v Hercegovščaku pri Gornji Radgoni (sl. 17). Piramida iz poroznega slovenjegoriškega peščenjaka, z dolžino stranice 120 cm in visoka približno 3 metre, je opremljena z napisom *Josef II.* in letnico *1881*. Nefiguralni spomenik

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85 Za podatek o reševalni akciji spomenika, med katero ga potapljači v Muri niso našli, se zahvaljujem mag. Beatrix Vreča.

86 Poleg letnice 1919 je v tlaku izpisana tudi letnica 1945, ki označuje postavitev spomenika sovjetski zasedbi Radgone, ki so ga leta 1958 prenesli na obrobje mesta (Habsburg-Lothringen & Vreča, 2009, 27).

Slika 15: Prevrnjen spomenik cesarju Jožefu II. v Radgoni, 10. 3. 1919 (Museum im alten Zeughaus, Bad Radkersburg, foto: Bund).

Slika 16: Prevrnjen spomenik cesarju Jožefu II. v Radgoni, 10. 3. 1919 (Museum im alten Zeughaus, Bad Radkersburg, foto: Bund).

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Slika 17: Spomenik cesarju Jožefu II. v Hercegovščaku (foto: Polona Vidmar).

na zasebni posesti je bil po prvi svetovni vojni manj vpadljiv kakor spomeniki v mestih, poleg tega je sprednja stranica z napisom zaradi poraslosti z gozdom komaj opazna. Piramida je po desetletjih pridobila značaj orientacijske točke v krajini, ohranila se je samo legenda, da piramida označuje razgledno točko, s katere je cesar Jožef II. spremljal vojaške manevre.

Preden je severno pobočje hriba zarasel gozd, je bil s piramide odličen razgled, kar dokazuje tudi litografija *Radkersburg vom Herzogberg*, ki je bila objavljena na naslovnici koledarja *Deutscher Bote für Steiermark und Kärnten* v letih od 1897 do 1904.[87]

OB KONCU

Odstranjevanje spomenikov po prvi svetovni vojni odseva narodnostna razprtije v nacionalno ne-homogenih mestih v zadnjih desetletjih 19. stoletja, zgodnjem 20. stoletju in ob nastanku novih državnih tvorb na območju nekdanje monarhije. Figuralni spomeniki v javnem prostoru so zbujali in utrjevali nacionalne spore in zlasti ob slavnostnih odkritjih služili kot orodje nacionalistične in strankarske propagande, zato ni presenetljivo, da so jih na slovenskem Štajerskem odstranili takoj po koncu prve svetovne vojne in v letu 1919. Da so bili javni spomeniki bolj izpostavljeni od drugih likovnih del, ki so spominjala na monarhijo, je razvidno iz dejstva, da je ostala županova soba v mariborskem rotovžu tudi po prevratu opremljena s simboli »staroavstrijskega nemškega režima in duha«, saj so leta 1925 na Mestnem stavbnem uradu zapisali,

[…] *da se soba gospoda župana in njena oprema kritizira v javnosti na način, ki nikakor ne povzdiguje ugled mestne občine. To se posebno mučno občuti pri obiskih zunanjih uglednih predstaviteljev* (citirano po Vidmar, 2014, 70).

Portrete cesarjev Leopolda I., Jožefa I. in Karla VI. ter portrete mariborskih županov avstrijske dobe so iz sejne sobe mariborskega rotovža odstranili šele leta 1931 in jih predali Zgodovinskemu društvu za Slovensko Štajersko.[88]

23. januarja 1919 je anonimni pisec, ki je v *Slovenskem gospodarju* obsodil skrunitev spomenikov kot dejanje, »nevredno omikanih ljudi«, zapisal tudi: »Pride čas, ko se bomo mirno in pametno pogovorili kakšni spomeniki sodijo na ulice in prostore Maribora.«[89] Po sto letih je njegov zapis še vedno aktualen.[90]

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87 Koledar je izdajal Leopold Kralik v Mariboru. Na naslovnicah koledarja v letih od 1897 do 1904 so bili ob pogledu na Radgono s Hercegovščaka upodobljeni še Ptuj, Cmurek, Marenberk, grad Ormož, glavni trg v Slovenski Bistrici in Maribor.

88 O portretih, ki so ohranjeni v Pokrajinskem muzeju Maribor, glej Vidmar, 2020, 79–106. Za podatek, da so bili portreti leta 1931 predani Zgodovinskemu društvu za Slovensko Štajersko, se zahvaljujem dr. Valentini Bevc Varl.

89 Tedenske vesti, Slovenski gospodar, 23. 1. 1919, št. 4, 3.

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HABSBURG AND AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN HEROES DESCENT FROM PEDESTAL. CONTRIBUTION TO SLOVENISATION OF PUBLIC SPACE OF MARIBOR AND NEIGHBOURING TOWNS IN 1919

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SUMMARY

In 1919, the territory of Slovenian Styria witnessed the removal of several public monuments depicting histori-cal personalities, particularly the members of the royal house, erected prior to and during the era of Austria-Hungary. The removals were hardly surprising under the new regime since they contributed to the Slovenisation of the public space; they did, however, deplete the town's veduta in terms of monument protection and urban planning. The removals in Slovenian Styria were not based on any official decree by the new government; they were unorganised attacks, desecrations and demolitions by the townspeople. The article places the removal of monuments in the context of national and ideological dispute. During the periods that new state entities were created, the removal of monuments mirrored national opposition in ethnically diverse towns and cities on the ter-ritory of the former monarchy. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the role of the discussed monuments as a tool of creating national tensions and clashes between liberals and clericals, the paper presents citations from daily newspapers of the time. The rhetoric used by both the invited speakers at the unveilings of the monuments and journalists in their newspaper reports on them testifies to the monuments' propaganda role and their (mis) use for nationalist and party purposes. The newspaper articles also bear witness to the use of public monuments as a propaganda tool by the authorities, particularly local dignitaries; the figures to whom the monuments were dedicated received little attention, while there were even fewer mentions of the monuments as works of art. The monuments of Emperor Joseph II are the focal point of this paper. Their erection aroused the most controversy because of the accompanying events staged by German nationalists and liberals in Maribor (Marburg), Celje (Cilli), and Ptuj (Pettau). This paper is also the first to address in extensive detail the monument of Joseph II in Ptuj, which was depicted in the masthead of the Štajerc newspaper and on the front page of the annual Štajerčevi kmetski koledar farmer's almanac, and was thus able to reach the widest circles of the Slovenian rural population as a symbol of the anti-clerical and pro-German orientation of the Štajerc-Partei political party. In the context of the removal of monuments in Slovenian Styria, the paper is also first to address the fate of the monument of Joseph II in Radkersburg. The majority of relevant data on the erection of the monuments was gathered from articles appearing in the daily newspapers, which provided detailed accounts of the unveilings and the content of celebratory speeches. The local newspapers, however, rarely reported on the removals. In this respect, we observe a certain dissimilarity with Czechoslovakia, where newspapers in ethnically mixed areas in the post-WWI period frequently documented such acts.

Keywords: public monument, Maribor (Marburg), Styria, Emperor Joseph II., the Habsburgs, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS)

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SLOVENIJA V EVROATLANTSKIH INTEGRACIJAH: IZGINJAJOČI POSREDNIK?

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IZVLEČEK

Prispevek na osnovi konceptualnih podob »izginjajočega posrednika« (F. Jameson in E. Balibar), izhajajoč iz opredelitve njegovega pasivnega in aktivnega principa, analizira dosedanjo in potencialno vlogo Slovenije v evroatlantskih integracijah. Sledeč tem izhodiščem avtor najprej razčleni posebnosti slovenskega prisvajanja / udomačevanja evropskega integracijskega diskurza v času pred vstopom Slovenije v Evropsko unijo, se nato posveti analizi razvojnih neravnovesij v post-krizni Evropi, oboje s ciljem primerjalno opredeliti vlogo Slovenije kot »majhne države« na regionalni, evropski in mednarodni ravni. Avtor se osredini zlasti na vprašanje »normativne moči« Slovenije, vendar pa tozadevne potenciale države (v zunanji politiki) raziskuje skozi perspektivo formiranja identitetnih in diskurzivnih vzorcev slovenstva, specifičnih v tem, da so v njih integralno reflektirane tudi izkušnje, ki so jih imeli Slovenci s članstvi v večnacionalnih integracijah.

Ključne besede: Slovenija, post-krizna Evropska unija, evropske integracije, zunanja politika, slovenska »izjemnost«

LA SLOVENIA NELLE INTEGRAZIONI EURO-ATLANTICHE: IL MEDIATORE CHE SPARISCE?

SINTESI

In base alle immagini concettuali del «mediatore che sparisce» (F. Jameson ed E. Balibar) e partendo dalla definizione del suo principio passivo e attivo, il contributo considera il ruolo finora attuale e potenziale della Slovenia nelle integrazioni euro-atlantiche. Procedendo da queste premesse, l'autore esamina dapprima le particolarità dell'adozione/adattamento sloveno del discorso europeo di integrazione del periodo precedente l'adesione della Slovenia all'Unione europea e quindi analizza gli squilibri di sviluppo nell'Europa del post-crisi, sempre con l'obiettivo di definire all'interno di un quadro comparativo il ruolo della Slovenia come «stato piccolo», al livello regionale, europeo e internazionale. L'autore si incentra principalmente sulla questione del «potere normativo» della Slovenia, esplorando, tuttavia, queste potenzialità dello Stato (nella politica estera) nei termini della formazione degli schemi d'identità e discorsivi della «slovenità», specifici in quanto riflettono in maniera integrale anche le esperienze degli sloveni acquisite attraverso la partecipazione alle integrazioni multinazionali.

Parole chiave: Slovenia, Unione Europea post-crisi, integrazione europea, politica estera, «eccezionalità» slovena

UVOD[1]

Koncept »izginjajočega posrednika« (orig. *vanishing mediator*) je leta 1973 v eseju o »narativni strukturi« Maxa Webra v analizo družbenih sprememb vpeljal Fridrick Jameson. Britanski filozof je bil v svoji razčlembi Protestantske etike in duha kapitalizma, enega izmed temeljnih Webrovih del in seveda sociologije nasploh, pozoren na nenavadno »posredniško« vlogo kalvinizma, ki je pravzaprav omogočil nemogočo izmenjavo energij med religiozno in posvetno etiko,[2] po opravljeni »nalogi« pa je kot akter družbenih sprememb »zapustil« prizorišče zgodovine (Jameson, 1973, 76). Filozof v svojem izjemnem, a do Webrovih tez tudi neizprosno kritičnem eseju navaja še več takšnih »izginjajočih posrednikov«, ki so z vsebovanjem sestavin obeh svetov, torej tistega, ki izginja in tistega, ki se poraja, v različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih omogočili pot k družbenim spremembam. Vlogo izginjajočih posrednikov so v sklopu podobnih tematik, zlasti z analizo nalog in vloge intelektualcev v družbenih spremembah, proučevali mnogi družbeni teoretiki (glej v Kahambing, 2019), za koncipiranje naše teze pa je zanimiva zlasti uporaba tega koncepta v eseju Etienna Balibarja, v katerem razmišlja o normativni moči Evrope. Francoski filozof izginjajočega posrednika opredeli kot »*podobo (zavedajoč se spekulativnosti te opredelitve) prehodne institucije, sile, skupnosti, ali duhovne formacije, ki oblikuje pogoje za novo družbo ali nove civilizacijske vzorce – čeprav na obzorjih in v besednjaku starega – s preurejanjem sestavin, ki jih je podedovala prav od tistih institucij, ki naj bi jih presegla*« (Balibar, 2003, 334). Po njegovem nobena tranzicija od stare k novi družbi ni mogoča brez »izginjajočega« posredništva. V svojem razmišljanju poveže »izginjajočega posrednika« z dilemami o evropski kulturni in politični identiteti ter o »mehki moči« evropske (zunanje) politike, ki so zaznamovale razmisleke o evropskem združevanju v prvem desetletju 21. stoletja. Na osnovi omejenih (z)možnosti Evrope v razreševanju svetovnih konfliktov in usmerjanju zgodovinskih procesov sugerira drugačen pogled na Evropo, takšnega, ki vključuje spoznanje, da je treba raziskati njene »lastne ranljivosti in nedoločenosti – v nekem smislu njen 'prehodni' značaj – kot učinkovito mediacijo v procesu oblikovanja nove politične kulture, novega vzorca politike *per se* v kontekstu pereče nacionalne in mednarodne krize« (Balibar, 2003, 334).

V ti dve različni videnji izginjajočega posrednika – s poudarkom, da gre v naši uporabi tega koncepta le za idealno-tipski podobi, ki zadevata razumevanje pasivne in aktivne razsežnosti procesov in akterjev družbenih sprememb (in nič več) – konceptualno vpenjamo pričujoč prispevek, katerega namen je opredeliti (historično in potencialno) vlogo Slovenije v evroatlantskih integracijah. Prva teza je, da je Slovenija leta 2004, torej ob vstopu v Evropsko unijo (in v zvezo Nato), bila potisnjena v vlogo »izginjajočega posrednika« v smislu Jamesonove opredelitve tega koncepta. V primerjavi z vzhodno- in srednjeevropskimi državami, ki so – največkrat ob nasvetih z Zahoda, zlasti ekonomistov iz Svetovne banke in Mednarodnega denarnega sklada – v procesih tranzicije svoje ekonomije podvrgle »šok terapiji«, se je Slovenija zaradi drugačnih socio-ekonomskih izhodišč, zlasti že v prejšnjem sistemu uvedenih nekaterih prvin tržnega sistema, a tudi drugačne politične zgodovine in zagotovo tudi zaradi na Zahodu pridobljenega (bolj kritičnega) razumevanja postulatov, na katerih temeljijo zahodne ekonomije, odločila za »mehkejšo«, gradualistično tranzicijo (Mencinger, 2004), svojo »izjemnost« v obliki neo-korporativističnega modela (Lindstrom, 2015, 12) pa je ohranila tudi ob vstopu v evroatlantske integracije (Guardiancich, 2012).[3] Ni namreč naključje, da je Slovenija, ki je na ravni socio-ekonomskih dejavnikov in tudi družbenih antagonizmov utelešala svet, ki naj bi izginjal[4] in se porajal, bila maja 2004, kot nekakšen emblem »big banga« kar zadeva vstopanje majhnih vzhodno oz. srednjeevropskih v Unijo, v fokusu evropske pozornosti. To ne nazadnje izpričuje tudi izbira Slovenije kot organizatorke »osrednje evropske svečanosti«, ki je bila na trgu med Novo Gorico in Gorico, in udeležba tedanjega predsednika Evropske komisije Romana Prodija na njej.

Hkrati pa je – to zadeva prvo tezo - prav njena dokončana »posredniška« vloga v teh spremembah petrificirala tiste mehanizme, ki (lahko) – na osnovi »izjemnosti« oz. samosvojosti slovenske izkušnje – prikličejo v razmislek o evropskih integracijah drugačna razumevanja urejanja ekonomskih in družbenih vprašanj, ki bi bilo v novih članicah Unije utemeljeno na re--afirmaciji njihovih družbenozgodovinskih, kulturnih in identitetnih sestavin, v primeru Slovenije pa morda tudi na izkoriščanju njene geostrateške / geokulturne vloge v razvoju (zahodno-balkanske, srednjeevropske ali zahodnoevropske) regije, kamor država sega (glej Vodopivec, 2003; Bufon, 2006; Darovec, 2017). Zdi se, da je po opravljeni »zgodovinski« vlogi slovenska družbeno-zgodovinsko, politično-filozofsko, (morda tudi) z avtonomizmom (Toplak, 2019) pogojena misel v odnosu do reflektiranja nove integracije »opustila« evropsko zgodovinsko prizorišče. Kar nas pripelje k

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1 Prispevek je nastal v okviru projekta *Kultura spominjanja gradnikov slovenskega naroda in države* (ID J6-9354), ki ga financira ARRS.
2 Weber je, spomnimo, v svojem delu utemeljeval, da je kalvinistična etika dvojne predestinacije (med »izbrani« in »neizbranimi«) tlakovala pot k sekularni kapitalistični etiki (Weber, 1988).
3 Za kritično opredelitev slovenske gradualistične tranzicije, zlasti kar zadeva analizo šibkih točk »plitve institucionalizacije«, glej Bugarič (2015).
4 Recidive tega sveta zagotovo izpričuje podatek o najnižji stopnji dohodkovne neenakosti med državami članicami EU in tudi visoka stopnja enakosti med spoloma (glej Poročilo o razvoju, 2019).

drugi tezi, ki zadeva opredelitev Slovenije kot »izginjajočega posrednika« v smislu Balibarjeve idealno-tipske definicije tega pojma; torej kot aktivnega interpreta / posrednika družbeno-zgodovinskih, političnih, kulturnih in identitetnih silnic, ki bi lahko s svojo normativno močjo, utemeljeno na znanju, izkušnjah, idejah in ne nazadnje modrosti v razumevanju dinamike družbenih sprememb in ustroja večnacionalnih združb, pomembno vplival na vzpostavitev drugačnih razmerij v regiji in njeni soseščini. To je – kot bomo videli - ena izmed pogostih strategij, ki se jih »majhne države« poslužujejo v utrjevanju svoje vloge v mednarodnem prostoru.

Ta čas je vidno, da Slovenija, tako država kot družba, pravzaprav oscilira med obema podobama »izginjajočega posrednika«. Njeno pot k t.i. »normalnosti« zahodnoevropskih držav, a percipirani kot nekakšen izhod iz teleološkosti, v katero se je del slovenske misli ujel v poskusih udejanjanja nekakšne »balkanske Švice« (Nonne, 2018) ali »druge Švice« (Bojinović Fenko & Svetličič, 2017),[5] na videz onemogočajo možnosti in neizkoriščeni potenciali Slovenije v afirmiranju »avtonomističnih« politik na ekonomskem, socialnem in kulturnem področju, ki izhajajo iz specifičnega razvoja in ustroja njene družbene pogodbe. S sklicevanjem na politične in družbene profile uspešnih socialnih, demokratičnih, naprednih in inovativnih družb, kot so denimo skandinavske, pa velja, seveda, tudi obratno. Rezultat te oscilacije, ki je utemeljena v dveh različnih razvojnih paradigmah, ki se v razvoju »slovenstva« perpetuirata zadnjih 150 let, niso le premalo izkoriščeni potenciali Slovenije na zunanjepolitičnem in širše družbenem področju, temveč očitno dejstvo, da se je skupnost, ki je bila v dolgem 20. stoletju del treh različnih večnacionalnih integracij in je izkusila, v dobrem in slabem, dva družbeno-ekonomska sistema, (samo)izolirala. Po (ne)uspešnem drvenju z Zahodnega Balkana v devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja v naročje Zahodne Evrope je zamudila niz priložnosti za utrjevanje vezi z državami in družbami, ki tvorijo njeno historično in duhovnozgodovinsko »naravno« okolje. Vidno je, da Slovenije države Zahodnega Balkana več ne percipirajo kot enega izmed členov »regije«, srednjeevropske države, zlasti članice Višegrajske skupine (V4), je ne priznavajo kot svoj del, medtem ko je vpliv Slovenije v EU, v primerjavi z njeno vlogo v prejšnjih, zlasti v jugoslovanskih integracijah, po nekateri kazalcih

neznaten,[6] politični ali družbeni profil Slovenije pa neprepoznaven oz. nerazpoznaven.[7] Vztrajanje pri »izjemnosti« Slovenije se kaže tudi v – blago rečeno – krčevitem snovanju dolgoročnih razvojnih vizij Slovenije (glej npr. Darovec, 2017), saj te niso utemeljene na upoštevanju specifičnih družbeno-zgodovinskih okoliščin in geografskih danostih in drugih dejavnikov, na katerih gradijo zrele družbe, ki se učijo iz svojih in napak drugih ter s pogledom uprtim v prihodnost. Pokojni starosta slovenske politike France Bučar je zato upravičeno opozarjal na razliko med dejanskim stanjem današnjega sveta in dojemanjem tega sveta v naši zavesti: »Naše odločanje in ravnanje bo toliko bolj v skladu z objektivnimi potrebami našega bitja, kolikor bo manjša ta razlika – čeprav bo tudi odgovor, kaj so naše objektivne potrebe, moral čez prag našega subjektivnega dojemanja« (Bučar, 2009, 1).

Opredelitev (potencialne) vloge Slovenije v evroatlantskih integracijah, kar je namen tega prispevka, torej zahteva sočasno naslovitev obeh razsežnosti »izginjajočega posrednika«, ki (nad)določata Slovenijo v mednarodnem, zlasti evropskem političnem in družbenem okolju. Nadaljevali bomo v treh »prestavah«: najprej bomo na osnovi analize gradiva o vlogi Slovenije v evropskih integracijah, ki je izšlo v letih pred njenim članstvom v EU, opredelili specifičnosti slovenskega prisvajanja evropskega integracijskega diskurza, saj je ta proces zaznamoval, a tudi pasiviziral ne le slovensko, temveč celotno srednje- in vzhodnoevropsko izvorno misel, kar zadeva iskanje rešitev za dileme v oblikovanju skupnega evropskega doma. Sledila bo nujna analiza post-krizne Evrope, v kateri so se (znova) vzpostavile ločnice in delitve, ki izhajajo iz nerazrešenih vprašanj ob širitvi Unije v letu 2004. V tretjem poglavju bomo na tej osnovi analizirali procese re-artikulacije slovenstva znotraj teh novih delitev in ločnic v Evropi s ciljem opredeliti možnosti, ki jih ponuja »diverzificirana« oz. »segmentirana« oblika integracije; ta zadeva vprašanje, kako v Evropi, vse bolj zaznamovani z načelom »več hitrosti« in »grupiranja« nadaljevati s procesi integracije (Eriksen, 2019; Fabbrini, 2019). V kontekstu razmerij v post-krizni Evropi, v kateri popušča centripetalna sila Bruslja, se namreč ponujajo nove priložnosti tudi za manjše države članice EU. Tudi za Slovenijo, če se bo afirmirala v (zunanje)političnem prostoru tako, kot od nje - pravzaprav - pričakuje mednarodna skupnost; torej z okrepitvijo »posredniške« vloge med regijami, v katere kot (ob)mejna, »vmesna« država sodi / sega. Ta

5 Gre seveda za referenco na gospodarstva z visoko dodano vrednostjo, saj je Slovenija po nekaterih kazalcih konkurenčnosti, navkljub kakovostnemu izobraževalnemu sistemu in potencialom v inovacijah, pod povprečjem članic EU (glej v prejšnji opombi omenjeno poročilo UMAR-ja, 2019).

6 Glej raziskavo European Council of Foreign Relations, nastalo v okviru projekta »EU Coalition Explorer« (2019).

7 Primer, da so tudi ozemeljsko in po številu prebivalcev manjše države lahko prepoznavne v EU je denimo Estonija, ki izstopa s svojo zgodnjo in široko zastavljeno e-demokracijo. Glej intervju (Novak, 2017) z novinarjem spletnega portala Politico Europe Ryanom Heatherjem. Dostopno na: https://novinar.com/novica/slovenija-v-eu-svojih-potencialov-ne-izkorisca/ (zadnji pristop: 30. 11. 2020).

pričakovanja so utemeljena na pobudah Evropske unije, izraženih zlasti v prvih letih po vstopu Slovenije,[8] a tudi članic Višegrajske skupine (Orosz, 2015; Visvizi, 2015), na simbolični ravni tudi ZDA (glej Bufon, 2003, 125; Benedejčič, 2016). Seveda to »posredništvo« ne vključuje le največkrat izpostavljene pomoči državam Zahodnega Balkana na poti v evroatlantske integracije, temveč tudi »prevajanje« kulturnih, političnih in družbenih diskurzov v širšem regionalnem prostoru. Obenem pa – kar je bistveno – to »posredništvo« vključuje tudi iskanja zglednih rešitev za pereče probleme, ki se zaradi neustreznih politik »jedrne« Evrope v odnosu do novih članic perpetuirajo tudi v slovenskem političnem in družbenem prostoru. To tezo, ki zadeva sočasno naslovitev obeh podob Slovenije kot »izginjajočega posrednika«, saj se medsebojno pogojujeta (vendar ne nujno tudi izključujeta), bomo naslovili v sklepnih poglavjih na osnovi družbeno--konstruktivistične analize »izjemnosti« slovenstva kot specifično formirane etno-nacionalne skupnosti in na osnovi analize (potencialne) normativne / diskurzivne moči Slovenije kot »majhne države«.

ANNUS FANTASTICUS IN »IZGUBLJENO DESETLETJE«

Slovenija v Evropsko unijo (in v zvezo NATO) ni vstopila nepripravljena, še manj naivno, temveč na osnovi temeljitega premisleka o prednostih in slabostih, ki jih prinaša članstvo. Iz gradiva, objavljenega pred vstopom Slovenije v EU v letu 2004, je vidno, da je bila poglavitna skrb namenjena ohranitvi slovenske kulturne identitete in slišnosti slovenskega glasu v novi večnacionalni politični skupnosti. Pomemben, zgodovinsko inherentni del teh premislekov je bilo tudi vprašanje, v kolikšni meri lahko članstvo v EU slovenstvo obvaruje pred italijanskimi in nemškimi ozemeljskimi apetiti. S temi poudarki razprave o(b) članstvu mlade države v EU pravzaprav niso bistveno odstopale od premislekov slovenskega izobraženstva, ki so v minulih sto letih zagovarjali članstvo v različnih večnacionalnih integracijah, da bi v danih okoliščinah zagotovili obstoj slovenstva.

Iz zgodovinskega gradiva je vidno, da je bil odnos Slovencev in Slovenk do večnacionalnih integracij v katere so vstopali pragmatičen. Obstoj Avstro-ogrske monarhije, čeprav naj bi bila »ječa narodov«, so denimo podpirali vse do njene formalne razpustitve v letu 1918. »Habsburžani so na slovenskih tleh vladali več kot pol tisočletja in dvojna monarhija je bila nezamenljiva in trajna zgodovinska tvorba, ki je Slovence - naj so bili

še tako nezadovoljni z njo – varovala pred nemškimi in italijanskimi ozemeljskimi apetiti,« pojasnjuje Peter Vodopivec (2006, 148–149; glej tudi Repe, 2004, 22). Tudi po njenem razpadu je bilo v določenem, čeprav manjšem delu slovenskega izobraženstva zaslediti premisleke o tem, kako v novih razmerah, na pogorišču nekdanje skupne države zasnovati novo, a bolj enakopravno federacijo (Rahten, 2009), čeprav je bila tedaj velika večina naklonjena vključitvi v jugoslovansko državo, saj so menili, da ta ponuja najboljše možnosti za ohranitev identifikacijske točke slovenstva, kar je predstavljal program Zedinjena Slovenija. Omenjene analize, k njim pa je treba prišteti vsaj še analize slovenskih narodnih programov izpod peresa Janka Prunka (1986), položaja Slovencev v Srednji Evropi (Vodopivec, 1991), zlasti pa raziskave vloge Slovencev v obeh Jugoslavijah (Repe, 2001; 2004; Pirjevec, 2004), potrjujejo zgoraj omenjeni odnos Slovencev do večnacionalnih integracij, katerih del so bili, v dobršni meri tudi do zdajšnje EU, čeprav je pomembna razlika v tem, da je Slovenija tokrat vstopila v »pogodbeno skupnost« in že kot samostojna država.

V kontekstu naše raziskave bi bilo poučno, čeprav bi s to digresijo presegli njen vsebinski obseg, raziskati tudi vprašanja, kako in v kolikšni meri so Slovenci – glede na svoj identitetni diskurz – s svojimi pobudami solidarnostno prispevali k udejanjanju politik, katerih cilj je zagotoviti dobrobit vseh narodov, vključenih v večnacionalne skupnosti. Takšna *post festum* analiza slovenskega delovanja v večnacionalnih integracijah – prispevki o vseevropskih programih slovenskih izobražencev (Rahten, 2009) so korak v tej smeri, zajeti pa bi morala zlasti še delovanje Slovencev in Slovenk v SFRJ, saj so imeli v njej v primerjavi s poprejšnjimi integracijami pomembnejšo vlogo – bi razkrila karakteristike narodnostnega značaja na osnovi katerih bi lahko tudi družbeno-zgodovinsko in psihosociološko opredelili zdajšnjo vlogo Slovencev v evroatlantskih integracijah. V kontekstu vprašanja o konstruktivnem sodelovanju Slovencev v večnacionalnih integracijah, je denimo izzivalna ugotovitev socialnega psihologa Janeka Muska glede slovenskega »avtostereotipa« o »hlapčevskem sindromu«, torej neagresivnosti, ponižnosti in premajhni samozavesti. Njegove analize namreč kažejo, da Slovenci gojimo visoko stopnjo agresivnosti, dominantnosti, uporništva, brezobzirnosti, sebičnosti, odpora zoper avtoritete, težnje po neodvisnosti, pa tudi dogmatizma in avanturizma. Tipično namreč je, da si »*stereotipa o ponižnosti, hlapčevanju in neagresivnosti ne bo ustvarjal tisti, ki se je s takšno vlogo sprijaznil, temveč tisti, ki se z njo noče sprijazniti*« (Musek, 1994, 183). Musek to

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8   Leta 2006, v obdobju, ko je Slovenija so-predsedovala Evropskem svetu, je tedanji predsednik Evropske komisije Jose Manuel Barroso po pogovoru s slovenskim predsednikom vlade Janezom Janšo dejal: »V Evropski uniji si izkušnje delimo. EU deluje na način 'kolektivne diplomacije' in ko si delimo izkušnje o tem, kaj se dogaja na drugih koncih Evrope ali sveta, se vedno obračamo na tiste, ki določeno območje bolje poznajo. In jasno je, da Slovenija to regijo pozna bolje. Kar pričakujemo od Slovenije je, da bo dala svoj input našemu kolektivnemu mišljenju pri oblikovanju politike do območja Zahodnega Balkana«. Premier Janša je potrdil, da bo sosedska politika oziroma območje Zahodnega Balkana ena od prednostnih nalog Slovenije pri predsedovanju EU v prvi polovici leta 2008 (glej Dnevnik / STA, 2006).

značajsko lastnost Slovencev pripiše specifičnim okoliščinam, v katerih so se gibali in živeli Slovenci. Neuspešno soočanje s sosedi, ki so po številu in nacionalnih rezervah neprimerno močnejši, je po njegovem moralo poglabljati resentimente in porajati depresivne reakcije. Opozarja, da naš odnos do sodelovanja in kooperacije ni najbolj konstruktiven. Radi oponiramo drugim, in če nimamo komu, ali pa drugim ne moremo, potem oponiramo drug drugemu. Privoščljivost, nepripravljenost popuščati in nespravljivost se verjetno skrivajo v visokih vrednostih psihoticizma (Musek, 1996, 199). To opredelitev podkrepljuje tudi misel, zapisana v drugem kontekstu, da za Slovence ni značilno »uporništvo«, temveč »odporništvo« (Hribar, 2004). Po drugi strani pa slovenski značaj zadeva tudi priprave na težja obdobja, kamor sodi oblikovanje različnih podpornih mrež, kar je bilo značilno za krekovstvo (Žižek, 1984).

No, vsekakor je v primerjavi z vzhodno- in srednjeevropskimi državami, kjer so v odnosu do EU in Nata večinoma prevzeli nekritični »instrumentalistični pristop, zavedajoč se, da (članstvo) lahko koristi njihovim nacionalnim interesom« (González Enríquez, 2002), v Sloveniji pred vključitvijo v Evropsko unijo potekala intenzivna, tudi zelo kritična razprava *pro et contra* članstvu. Ta je zadevala zgoraj omenjen družbenozgodovinsko in identitetno pogojen odnos slovenstva do večnacionalnih integracij, njen pomemben del pa je bil tudi doprinos k temeljitejšemu seznanjanju javnosti z ustrojem, cilji, smotri, a tudi hibami integracije, v katero je Slovenija vstopala. Seveda je, razumljivo, tudi Slovenijo zlasti v zadnjih letih pred formalnim vstopom v EU zajelo prekomerno navdušenje, ki so ga teoretiki imenovali »neverjetno enoumje«, celo »evroza« (Velikonja, 2005), pomemben del teh razprav pa je obsegal tudi premisleke o alternativah članstvu (glej Kovačič Peršin, 1999). A vendar so se naklonjena, manj naklonjena in do članstva tudi kritična mnenja stikala bodisi v pragmatični ugotovitvi, da Slovenija nima druge oz. boljše izbire, kot je članstvo v EU (Mastnak, 1999) bodisi v razumevanju pridruževanja EU kot logične dopolnitve procesa, pričetega v *annus mirabilis,* torej v letu 1989 (glej Brnič & Mastnak, 1999).

Značilnosti evropskega integracijskega diskurza v prvem desetletju novega tisočletja, ko je Slovenija vstopila v EU, so bistveno zaznamovale slovensko »udomačevanje« skupnega evropskega doma, v dobršni meri pa so tedanji premisleki botrovali tudi kasnejšem odnosu slovenske družbe do EU. V tistem obdobju so se, spomnimo, v »jedrni« Evropi intenzivirale razprave o novi evropski ustavi, ki jo je utelešala Konvencija o prihodnosti Evrope[9] in pozivi, kot je bil Larryja Siedentopa, ki se je v primerjalni analizi premislekov ameriške in

evropske izkušnje ob pisanju ustave, spraševal: »*Zakaj ni ničesar, kar bi razburkalo domišljijo evropskih ljudstev v zvezi s smerjo njihovega lastnega razvoja, v zvezi z njihovo lastno usodo?*« (Siedentop, 2001, 13). A vprašanje snovanja evropske ustave je bilo le hrbtna stran prevladujočega kulturalizma v integrativnem diskurzu, ki je bil tudi še v tistem obdobju navzoč v obliki recidivov miselnosti, da je mogoče Evropejce povezati z afirmiranjem skupne evropske kulturne identitete (Stråth, 2002; Horvat, 2010), s poudarjanjem evropskih vrednot (Shore, 2006) ali s povezovanjem evropske kulture, zlasti nacionalnih avdiovizualnih sektorjev (Schlesinger, 2001). Da je v tistem obdobju še prevladoval diskurz integracije, utemeljen na (skupni) evropski kulturi, izpričujejo tudi spremembe v vsebinah evropskega državljanstva. Iz analiz je vidno, da so bile v osemdesetih letih, v času prodora neoliberalnih praks, odpravljene vse socialne razsežnosti evropskega državljanstva in zanemarjene vse poprejšnje pobude za oblikovanje transnacionalne države blaginje, ključna prizadevanja pa so bila usmerjena v razvoj esencialistično etnokulturnega diskurza državljanstva, ki naj bi zagotovil kohezivnost Evrope (Hansen, 2000; Hansen & Hager, 2012).

Nemški filozof Jürgen Habermas (2001) je tedaj progresivno povezal politično in kulturno raznolikost Evrope v konceptu »ustavnega patriotizma«. Svojo tezo je utemeljil na misli, da se nacionalne države same ne morejo upreti dezintegrirajočim posledicam ekonomske globalizacije in kulturne amerikanizacije, kar vse izpodjeda evropske »način življenja« in erodira družbene konsenze / pogodbe, temveč se lahko Evropejci tem procesom uprejo le z močnejšo Evropsko unijo, če bi ta utrdila svoj socialno-demokratski profil. Za te drastične spremembe v ustroju EU pa bi potrebovali družbeni konsenz na ravni vseh držav članic, katerega predpogoj je oblikovanje evropskega demosa. Habermas je, ne nazadnje tudi z avtoriteto avtorja teorije javne sfere, menil, da se lahko evropske politične identitete razvijejo tudi brez etničnega, kulturnega substrata, če bo spodbujan razvoj evropske javne sfere. S tem poudarkom je vplival na takratne premisleke o evropski integraciji.

Omenjene ideje, premisleki, tudi kritike EU so bile v času pridruževanja članstvu EU vsekakor navzoče v slovenskem javnem prostoru. Sociologi in filozofi so reflektirali te tematike s proučevanjem razmerij med nacionalnimi / narodnimi in transnacionalnimi identitetami (Debeljak, 2004), v kontekstu vprašanj o avtonomnosti subjekta evro-slovenstva (Hribar, 2004), izstopale so kritične analize evropske civilizacije v odnosu do formiranja evropske politične zavesti in v razmerju do Drugega (Mastnak, 1998) in (vse)splošna skrb zaradi prevelikega poudarka na ekonomskih smotrih združevanja (Kovačič

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9   Gre za Ustavno konvencijo o prihodnosti Evrope, ki je bila ustanovljena po zasedanju v Laecknu leta 2001 na pobudo predsednikov oziroma premierov držav članic EU. Ta konvencija, ki jo je sestavljalo 105 predstavnikov vlad držav članic, Evropske komisije, Odbora regij in Evropskega gospodarsko-socialnega odbora, je iskala odgovore na šestdeset vprašanj o evropski integraciji, med njimi tudi na vprašanje: Kako utrditi demokratično legitimnost Unije? V obdobju med februarjem 2002 in julijem 2003 so njeni člani pripravili Osnutek pogodbe o ustavi za Evropo (Draft Treaty Establishing Constitution for Europe).

Peršin, 1999), pomembno mesto pa imela tudi vprašanja, ki zadevajo demokratični / legitimnostni deficit EU in vprašanja institucionalnega ustroja EU. Čeprav je tudi Slovenija v procesu pridruževanja EU sklonila glavo zaradi uspešnih zahtev italijanske države glede nakupa nepremičnin na ozemlju Slovenije, je bila rdeča nit »dohitevanje« Zahodne Evrope in upanje, da bo »Evropa reševala naš gospodarski položaj, Evropa nas bo naučila spoštovanja pravnega reda, Evropa nam bo podarila učinkovito upravo, Evropa nam bo odprla nova tržišča, Evropa nam bo podarila vrhunsko tehnološko znanje, predvsem pa – Evropa bo mislila in skrbela za nas,« je tedaj z odmerjeno dozo cinizma zapisal France Bučar (1999b, 20).

Veliko teoretikov je vstop Slovenije v evropske integracije pozdravilo kot »novo fazo« v afirmaciji mlade slovenske države (Glej Brnič & Mastnak, 1999), a v kontekstu pričujočega prispevka in ne nazadnje današnjih kompleksnih izzivov je pomembno tudi vprašanje, kako so se opredeljevali do vprašanja, ali in na katerih področjih lahko izkušnje iz nekdanjih večnacionalnih integracij koristijo Slovencem v evropski integraciji. Rudi Rizman je tedaj dejal, da so te izkušnje (lahko) dragocene, vendar bo šele čas pokazal, katere med njimi bodo pri tem ključne. Vendar je sociolog že tedaj napovedal, »*da bodo v ospredju tiste referenčne izkušnje, ki bodo lahko v pomoč pri (raz)reševanju vprašanj na kompleksni ravni nacionalno – transnacionalno, ki obsega, če nekoliko poenostavimo, predvsem politično (demokracija) in kulturno (identiteta) sfero*« (Rizman V: Ribičič, 2003, 39). Sicer pa so tedaj mnogi opozarjali, da povečevanje socialnih in dohodkovnih neenakosti, razvojna nesorazmerja med posameznimi regijami Evrope in ne nazadnje ignoriranje lastnih pravil pri sprejemanju držav v Evropsko monetarno unijo vodijo v razrast ksenofobičnih, nestrpnih dejanj in k obujanju nacionalizma ter se zato zavzeli za uveljavitev »social-demokratskega modela« ali »socialno tržnega modela« v razvoju EU. Izpostavljen je bil tudi pomen Evropske unije v afirmaciji »socialno tržnega gospodarstva«, ki je sposobno regulirati tako svetovne kot regionalne gospodarske aktivnosti na način, ki povezuje gospodarsko rast s socialno pravičnostjo. Od tu upanje, da se lahko prenovljena, kozmopolitska Evropska unija sčasoma utemelji na transnacionalni družbeni

pogodbi, ki bi bila nadgradnja in odraz nacionalnih družbenih pogodb, percipiranih kot ključne razvojne pridobitve (Calhoun, 2007).

Obsežno gradivo, pri čemer je treba izpostaviti še tematsko razvejane, vsebinsko bogate, predvsem pa pluralistično in inkluzivno zasnovane Pogovore o prihodnosti države, ki so v letih 2003–2005 potekali pri predsedniku države Janezu Drnovšku,[10] potrjuje, da so slovenski intelektualci in intelektualke ustrezno opredeljevali prednosti in slabosti slovenskega vključevanja tako z vidika nacionalnih interesov kot tudi z razumevanjem ustroja in smotrov EU, kamor sodi tudi upoštevanje, da »spričevalo« Evrope zajema tudi njene manj lepe plati, kot so kolonializem, rasizem, diskriminacija, kulturna dominacija, nacionalizem (Bučar, 1999a, 16–18). Treba pa je poudariti, gledano retrogradno, da je desetletje, ki je utemeljevalo evropski integracijski, tedaj tudi ustavodajni diskurz na prepletu normativnih potencialov v razvoju javne sfere in poskusu esencializiranja kulturalističnih sestavin Evrope zaznamoval »zgrešen trud« (Vidmar-Horvat, 2014, 96), kajti razmere in razmerja v post-krizni Evropi so razkrila krhke zasnove v oblikovanju evropskega »federalizma« na teh temeljih. Resda je Slovenija v tem »izgubljenem desetletju« uveljavila in utrdila vlogo vzorne članice nove integracije, vendar je opustila ne le konstruktivno, temveč vsakršno držo v smislu prispevanja k razvoju evropskega integracijskega diskurza.[11] Vsem novim članicam, tudi Sloveniji, je kmalu po vstopu postalo jasno, da je ta oblikovan in voden iz jedrnih držav EU, »karolinškega centra«, medtem ko je intelektualni misli novih članic, tudi slovenski, bila odrejena le pasivna vloga njegovega interpretiranja. Percepcija, da »*nobena izmed kandidatk ne zmore evropskega načina mišljenja in oblikovanja predlogov o Evropi kot celoti*« (González Enriquez, 2002), zmožne, celo dolžne pa so le »posnemati« Zahod (Krastev & Holmes, 2018) je bistveno zaznamovala razmerja v novi, združeni Evropi, čeprav naj bi ta po letu 1989, kot se je izrazil Janez Pavel II, zadihala z »obema pljučnima kriloma«. V naslednjem desetletju, zaznamovanem s finančno in gospodarsko krizo in njenimi posledicami tudi v obliki razraščanja suverenistične miselnosti, dokončnim razpadom t.i. permisivnega konsenza[12] in poglabljanjem demokratičnega / legitimnostnega

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10 Tematski sklopi so bili naslednji: Mednarodni položaj in vloga Slovenije, O vrednotah, O vlogi znanja in znanosti, Konkurenčnost Slovenije, Slovenija in Evropska unija, Razvoj demokracije in demokratičnih institucij, Krepitev konkurenčnosti Slovenije v Evropski uniji, Cilji Evropske unije v luči sprejemanja nove finančne perspektive, Izzivi klimatskih sprememb, Dialog države z verskimi skupnostmi. Pogovori so v video in pisni obliki arhivirani na tej povezavi: http://www.prihodnost-slovenije.si/up-rs/ps.nsf (zadnji pristop: 30. 11. 2020).

11 Res pa je, da je bilo kmalu po vstopu Slovenije v EU jasno, da prihodnost Evrope ni utemeljena (le) na razvoju Evropske unije, temveč je potrebno preusmeriti fokus na razmere v nacionalnih državah. »*Potrebno je trdo delo doma, potrebne so korenite spremembe v demokratičnem zorenju in odpravljanju vseh nepravilnosti, ki so se nakopičile v zadnjih letih. Potrebno so spremembe, ki bodo omogočile krepitev konkurenčnosti slovenskega gospodarstva in pravne države, vredne zaupanja ljudi in podjetij*« (Potočnik, 2014, 15).

12 To sintagmo navadno uporabljajo znanstveniki evropskih študij, da bi z njo poimenovali prvo, z vidika Bruslja »neproblematično« obdobje v razvoju Evropske unije, ko so evropske elite lahko računale na pasivno strinjanje bolj ali manj neopredeljenih državljanov z njihovim vodenjem Evropske unije.

deficita EU, so se, zlasti zaradi (raz)reševanja posledic krize z »nujnim avtoritarizmom« (Giannome, 2015), razkrila razvojna neskladja med različnimi geografskimi regijami Evrope in tudi različnimi socio-ekonomskimi paradigmami (Rus, 2009; Outhwaite, 2008). A po drugi strani spremenjena, diverzificirana post-krizna Evropa ponuja možnosti in priložnosti, da se posamezne vzhodno- in srednjeevropske članice EU v okviru evropskega pravnega okvira, politične kulture in evropske deklaracije o temeljnih pravicah ponovno »izumijo« z re-artikulacijo lastnih družbenozgodovinskih izkušenj, tradicij, znanja in s tem prispevajo k poživitvi skupnega evropskega doma. Ta ugotovitev velja tudi za Slovenijo. Opis novih razmerij in razmer v post-krizni EU, znotraj katerih lahko Slovenija prenovi / utrdi svoj profil in *raison d'être* na regionalni in vseevropski ravni, je tema naslednjega poglavja.

POLITIČNE IN SOCIO-KULTURNE KOORDINATE POST-KRIZNE EU

Z vidika razvoja in utemeljevanja evropskega integracijskega diskurza je ena izmed ključnih posledic finančne in gospodarske krize in posledično nacionalnih refleksov razkritje krhkosti transnacionalnim modelov, s katerimi so družbeni teoretiki opisovali Evropsko unijo kot *sui generis* entiteto. Povedno je, da se je v obdobju finančne krize nemški sociolog Ulrich Beck v svojem zadnjem delu, Nemški Evropi (2012), odpovedal konceptu t.i. postimperialne kozmopolitske Evrope (Beck, Grande & Cronin, 2007) in namesto njega uporabil svoj koncept »družbe tveganja«. Slednjega v omenjenem delu ni uporabil (le) za osmislitev evropskega odgovora na izzive in nevarnosti globalizacije, temveč tudi za analizo razmerij v Evropi, kjer je primat nad EU in reševanjem krize prevzela Nemčija. Poudaril je, da je kriza vzpostavila nove ločnice znotraj Evrope, med periferijo in centrom, v evroobmočju med državami posojilodajalkami in posojilojemalkami, poglobila je prepad med revnimi in bogatimi, spremenila so se tudi razmerja v dialogu in v iskanju kompromisnih rešitev. Uveljavila se je logika močnejšega, kar je po Becku izkoristila nemška kanclerka Angela Merkel. »*Brutalni neolibe-*

ralizem v razmerju do zunanjega sveta in konsenz s socialdemokratskim odtenkom doma – to se je izkazalo za uspešno formulo, s katero je Merklova širila svojo in nemško moč,« je opredelil njeno tedanje ravnanje (Beck, 2012, 52). Zaznaval je, da se lahko v takšnih razmerjih moči proces evropeizacije prelevi v nasprotujoči si obliki integracije in sodelovanja: lahko se uveljavi participacija na podlagi enakosti (recipročnosti) ali pa se vzpostavi hierarhična odvisnost (hegemonija). Izpostavljajoč protislovje med evropskimi institucijami, ki jih zaznamuje vertikalna integracija in ljudmi, zlasti mladimi, ki »živijo« Evropo, se je zavzel za novo evropsko družbeno pogodbo, ki ne bi bila oblikovana z izhodišča držav članic, temveč »evropske družbe posameznikov«, saj so se nevarnosti dezintegracije Evrope pojavile zaradi napačnih presoj predstavnikov političnih institucij EU, ekonomskih elit, vlad in pravnega sistema, ne pa zaradi posameznikov, ki znajo ceniti poroznost nacionalnih meja, multipliciteto jezikov, pravnih sistemov in načinov življenja. »*Takšna Evropa, ki bi jo zaznamovala solidarnost (mika me, da bi uporabil staromoden termin 'skupnost'), bi bila pravičnejša in kredibilnejša v očeh posameznikov*«, pri čemer mora »*mora družbena pogodba, ki bi jo podprli evropski državljani, zagnati socialnodemokratsko obdobje na transnacionalni ravni*« (Beck, 2012, 72).[13]

Tudi Jürgen Habermas je v svojih prispevkih, ki jih je napisal v času finančne in gospodarske krize, razmišljal o tem, kako v novih razmerah okrepiti solidarnost v Evropi. Leta 2013 je v odmevnem predavanju na univerzi Leuwen poudaril, da bi se »*morale Nemčija in več drugih držav sprijazniti s kratkoročno in srednjeročno neugodnimi posledicami drugačne porazdelitve, saj bi jim bilo to dolgoročno v prid*«.[14] Tudi Habermasa je sicer tedaj najbolj skrbela erozija demokratičnega življenja v Evropi, saj je »*odlašanje z demokracijo precej nevarna odločitev, kajti če se gospodarske omejitve, ki jih postavljajo trgi, povežejo s prožnostjo nestalne evropske tehnokracije, obstaja resna nevarnost, da se bo postopno združevanje, ki ga sicer načrtujejo za navadne ljudi, ustavilo, še preden bo dosežen formalni cilj uravnoteženje izvršilne in parlamentarne veje*« (Habermas, 2013). Na predavanju je predlagal oblikovanje »jedrne« politične unije, v kateri bi lahko vzpostavili »naddržavno demo-

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13 Po Becku bi morala takšna pogodba nastati v koaliciji med državami, ki se spoprijemajo z velikimi dolgovi (Grčija, Italija, Španija in Francija), in državami, ki so profitirale v času krize (zlasti Nemčija). Le s takšno koalicijo držav bi se po njegovem lahko udejanila solidarnost, vendar s pogojem, da bi države jamčile druga za drugo ob morebitnih izgubah. Navaja Habermasa: »*Morda pa je pogled navzgor, proti političnim elitam in medijem, pogled v povsem napačno smer. Morda lahko motivacija za spremembe v dobrobit ljudi, ki je trenutno primanjkuje, lahko pride le od spodaj, znotraj same civilne družbe*« (V: Beck, 2012, 82). V to civilno družbo pa po Becku spadajo vsi tisti, ki jih je Zygmunt Bauman poimenoval s kolateralno škodo: prekarni delavci, dobršen del srednjega razreda, upokojenci itd. Ti naj bi se združili v boju za novo politično pogodbo za Evropo. To je mogoče, saj je kriza povzročila »*asimetrične spremembe v razmerju med močjo in legitimnostjo. Veliko moč in minimalno legitimnost lahko najdemo na strani kapitala in političnih elit, minimalno moč in veliko legitimnost pa na strani protestnikov. Gibanja lahko izkoristijo to legitimnost za drugačno Evropo*« (Beck, 2012, 82).

14 Izpostavil je, da je solidarnost politično dejanje, ki pa vsebuje tudi etične obveze. Razmerja v Evropi je primerjal z družinskimi. Če daljni sorodnik zaprosi za uslugo, mu ustrežeš, če veš, da ti bo sorodnik pomagal, če se znajdeš v podobni zagati. V tem smislu solidarnost deluje na osnovi »predvidljive recipročnosti«. Takšno ravnanje pa je po Habermasu možno razširiti tudi na politično skupnost, ki jo povezujejo enaki cilji.

kracijo«, z odstranitvijo evropskega sveta s prestola pa bi bilo mogoče izvesti tudi prehod od medvladnega sodelovanja k odločanju skupnosti, kjer bi evropski parlament in svet enakovredno sodelovala, Evropska unija pa bi bila v očeh državljanov legitimnejša.[15] Povedno je, da sta omenjena evropska intelektualca, podobnih nazorov je bil tudi Etienne Balibar, vztrajala pri gradnji Evrope »od spodaj navzgor«, se sklicevala na »Evropo državljanov« in zagovarjala različne oblike solidarnosti, saj sta hotela »nevtralizirati« moč nacionalnega, ki je v času krize zlasti v perifernih državah, tudi zaradi odnosa podcenjevalnega odnosa centra do njih, znova vstopalo v ospredje političnega diskurza.

Nove ločnice v Evropski uniji so bili zagotovo najbolj izrazite javnem diskurzu. Res je sicer, kot je – malce optimistično - zapisal Beck, da kriza ni samo raztrgala Evrope, ampak je tudi zbližala Evropejce. »*Veliko ljudi je začelo zdaj študirati probleme grške ekonomije z večjo vnemo kot pa trg delovne sile na svojem dvorišču. Kako pogosto so nam dejali, da Evropi manjkajo vseevropski mediji – in zdaj? Nikoli prej niso ljudje toliko govorili o Evropi. Najti jo je mogoče na naslovnicah časopisov, na gospodarskih in finančnih straneh, v kulturnih rubrikah, v lokalnih novicah, na vasi in za družinsko mizo*« (Beck, 2012, 38). Toda kriza ni pospešila pristnega dialoga in demokratičnega diskurza v Evropi. Nasprotno, zdi se, da je v razpravah o krizi v transnacionalni javni sferi prevladovala »*vojna besed in spopad med ideološko določenimi 'okvirji'* [frames]«, v smislu »*specifičnih interpretacij družbenega in političnega okolja s partikularnega ideološkega vidika*«, je ob izteku krize zapisal Dennis Nguyen (2015). To je ponazoril z javnomnenjsko raziskavo ob »kapitulaciji« novo-levičarske vlade Aleksisa Ciprasa v odnosu do zahtev »trojke«. Ena stran je trdila, da aktualna grška vlada tvega obstanek v evroobmočju zaradi sebičnih

interesov, hkrati pa ni sposobna resnično implementirati pravih reform v državi, druga pa, da Grčijo ustrahujejo transnacionalne institucije, ki nimajo demokratičnega mandata in reprezentirajo le interese finančnega sektorja.[16] Tudi sociologi so opozarjali, je dinamika javne sfere lahko odgovorna za razpad političnega reda in pojavitev novih konfliktov in razkolov, ki delijo družbene skupine. Ekonomska in politična kriza je vplivala na to, kako državljani, mediji, javni intelektualci in politične elite zaznavajo legitimnost projekta evropske integracije in sprožila politizacijo znotraj EU in prek nacionalnih politik. »*Mediirane javne razprave vplivajo na 'prevajanje' evrokrize v: konflikte znotraj države; konflikte med državami članicami EU, med bloki držav (sever proti jugu, vzhod proti zahodu ali center proti periferiji) ali konflikte glede demokracije (elite proti državljanom)*« (Trenz, 2012, 7–8).

Zagotovo pa je kriza razdelila »karolinški« center Evropske unije, kjer imajo glavno besedo Nemčija in zadolžene periferne države Evropske unije. V tem smislu Paul Dobrescu in Mirel Palada (2012) pišeta o nastanku dveh evropskih javnih sfer: centra in periferije, ki ju analizirata pomočjo razčlemb Immanuela Wallersteina, enega izmed očetov teorije centra-periferije. Po njunem razmerje med njima zaznamuje tekmovalnost. Center hoče ohraniti svojo pozicijo (z ugodnostmi vred), periferija se hoče emancipirati in otresti odvisnosti od centra (slabši položaj). Zato je njuno razmerje pogosto interpretirano kot odnos med izkoriščevalci in izkoriščanimi. Kriza v Grčiji je le razgalila ta razmerja podrejenosti v Evropi. »*Če ne bi obstajala, bi morali grško krizo izumiti, da bi bolje razumeli odnos med Unijo in novim finančnim redom, ki se rojeva. Grška kriza pomeni 'nujno referenco' za razumevanje teh razmerij*« (Dobrescu & Palada, 2012, 14). Postavita hipotezo, da se vsaj dve

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15 Demokracije v Evropi pa se je Habermas lotil tudi v knjigi The Crisis of the European Union: a Response, vendar iz perspektive oblikovanja evropske transnacionalne demokracije, ne pa v obliki ustavnega modela federativne države. To je po njegovem mogoče, saj »*ko vidimo Evropsko unijo, ki je bila zasnovana z dobrimi razlogi dveh subjektov, ki sta jima bile dodeljene enake pravice, torej s strani državljanov (!) in ljudstev (!) Evrope – potem arhitektura nadnacionalne, toda vseeno demokratične politične skupnosti, postane razumljiva*« (Habermas, 2012, IX–X). V tej luči se zavzema za oblikovanje nove evropske politike s ciljem preoblikovanja mednarodne skupnosti držav v kozmopolitsko skupnost držav in državljanov sveta. Evropska unija pa bi lahko bila s konstitucionalizacijo mednarodnega prava v smeri kozmopolitske vlade pomembna stopnja pri oblikovanju politično konstituirane svetovne družbe. S tega vidika Habermas predstavi nov pogled na problem odsotnosti evropskega demosa, saj meni, da je teza o tem, kako ni evropskega ljudstva in je zato politična unija zgrajena iz peska, iz perspektive 19. stoletja. »*Takšni interpretaciji nasprotujem s superiornim stališčem: vse večja politična fragmentacija v svetu in v Evropi je v neskladju s sistemsko integracijo multikulturne svetovne družbe in blokira napredek pri civiliziranju odnosov znotraj družb in med državami z ustavnim pravom*« (Habermas, 2012, 7).

16 Po Nguyenu so bili varčevalni ukrepi najpomembnejši ideološki konflikt, saj so se v njih zrcalila stališča »*v bistvu neoliberalnega ekonomskega svetovnega nazora*« z rezi v javni porabi, privatizacija in varčevalni ukrepi za doseganje stabilnosti proračuna ter stališča nasprotnikov varčevalnih ukrepov, ki so trdili, da so škodljivi za družbeno kohezijo in gospodarsko rast. Celotna razprava ni bila omejena samo na makroekonomske programe, ampak je vključevala tudi močne moralne podtone, ki so zadevali vprašanja discipline, solidarnosti, odgovornosti/zaveze, pravičnosti in humanosti. Tudi razkol med severom in jugom se je v tem kontekstu sprevrgel v moraliteto o »dobrih«, »slabih«, »pohlepnih«, »lenih« in »korumpiranih« v krizi, konflikt med Grčijo in Nemčijo pa je bil v medijskem diskurzu poln stereotipov. Obenem je kriza evroobmočja spodbudila vprašanja o tem, kako organizirati socialno, ekonomsko in politično življenje v svetu, kjer meje izgubljajo svoj pomen, vse bolj pa se povečujejo kompleksnost in izzivi. Avtor je zaznal tri nasprotujoče si poglede in njihove nosilce: prvi so zagovorniki statusa quo, kar pomeni še vedno medvlada, ne pa resnično transnacionalna demokratična ureditev; drugi zagovarjajo pristno transnacionalno demokracijo, zavzemajo se za temeljite reforme EU in za njeno globljo integracijo; tretji, evroskeptiki, pa bi ustavili integracijo in razpustili unijo, saj vidijo v EU politično polomijo, če ne celo škodljiv, nedemokratičen režim, ki ga je treba strmoglaviti (Nguyen, 2015)

javni sferi pojavljata v Evropi, vsaka pa ima svoje značilnosti: ne eni strani je javna sfera v državah članicah, ki so se v veliki meri izognile krizi (nordijske države), in na drugi javna sfera v državah članicah, ki jih je kriza najbolj prizadela. Hkrati pa zaznavata trend vračanja pod nacionalno, kot v varno okrilje pred udarci krize, s čimer se je zaustavil proces evropeizacije nacionalnih javnih sfer. Ti procesi so zaustavili proces gradnje solidarnosti, ki je nujna za delujočo javno sfero. Poudarjata, da je vrednost Unije določena tudi s položajem periferije. Brez vizije za periferijo, brez razumevanja, da mora center podpirati razvoj in rast periferije, Unija ne bo trajala dolgo. Toda Center je utrujen in neodločen in le čaka na počasno vrnitev držav periferije v ustaljene tirnice, ki jih je zanje predvidel. »*Toda pri tem pozablja nekaj pomembnega: Unija s tem ustvarja napetosti, ki so nepovratne. Državljani periferije lahko izgubijo vnemo pri graditvi Unije*« (Dobrescu & Palada, 2012, 25–26).

Podrobnejši opis razlogov za razraščanje suverenističnega, na »postmodernih« podobah naroda zasnovanega političnega diskurza po izteku globalne finančne krize in krizi evro-območja, ki ga je bilo v obliki zahteve »reclaim the nation« (Buden, 2014) sicer zaznati na obeh polih političnega spektra,[17] presega obseg pričujoče razprave. Zagotovo pa lahko pritrdimo tezi oxfordskega profesorja Jana Zielonke, da je za pojav iliberalne »kontrarevolucije«, kakor imenuje odklone od liberalne demokracije, odgovoren tudi politični *establishment* Evropske unije, ki je konec sedemdesetih opustil »social-demokratsko« paradigmo v razvoju EU (Zielonka, 2018), kot tudi tistim raziskovalcem, ki opozarjajo, da so k vzponu populizma v srednjeevropskih državah prispevali tako šibkost institucij kot tudi »zunanji šoki«, povezani s recidivi ekonomske krize in tragedijo migrantov, vse to nezadovoljstvo ljudi pa populistični politiki »kanalizirajo« v svoj prid (Lovec, 2019). Po mnenju Bârgăoanu, Buturoiu in Durach (2019) sta begunska kriza in tudi brexit v Evropo vnesla novo ločnico, ki temelji na delitvah, ki jih je zanetila že finančna kriza, pri čemer pa se je ta v Vzhodni Evropi dramatično potencirala s poudarjanjem ločnice med liberalnimi in iliberalnimi sestavinami v odnosu do Zahodne Evrope, za povrh pa se je ta preobrazila – zaradi specifične geostra-

teške lege Vzhodne Evrope – še v geopolitično krizo EU. Ti procesi so po mnenju avtoric utrdili ločnico med Vzhodno in Zahodno Evropo, ki pa po letu 1989 nikoli ni bila zares odpravljena, saj obe »polovici« zaznamujeta različni socio-ekonomski okolji, kar neizogibno vodi tudi k drugačnim pričakovanjem v odnosu do evropskih integracij. Na osnovi analize podatkov Eurostata, Svetovne banke in Združenih narodov avtorice dokazujejo, da je vzhodno- in srednjeevropskim državam članstvo v EU v dobršni meri omogočilo nadoknaditi zamujeno v rasti BDP, vendar močno zaostajajo na področju zagotavljanja socialnih pravic, ki zadevajo minimalno plačo, izdatke za socialno varnost, globoka neravnovesja med obema deloma Evrope pa se kažejo tudi v raziskavah, ki »merijo« zadovoljstvo ljudi s svojimi življenji, zlasti pa v porastu revščine, dohodkovni neenakosti, višjemu odstotku brezposelnih in višji smrtnosti. Na osnovi zbranih podatkov dokazujejo, da evropske politike konvergenčnosti in tuje investicije v Vzhodno Evropi niso imele zares multiplikativnih učinkov, ki bi bili zaznavni v razvoju »avtonomnih inovacij«. Iz te perspektive, ki ne vključuje le ekonomske rasti, temveč tudi kazalce, ki merijo razvoj in napredovanje družb, avtorice ugotavljajo, da se socio-ekonomske razlike med Vzhodno in Zahodno Evropo niso bistveno zmanjšale, še manj prinesle blagostanje vsem. Prav te razlike so gonilo za razvoj populizmov. »*Zdajšnja politična ločnica v Evropi (liberalno proti iliberalni) ali civilizacijska ločnica (kulturno nazadnjaštvo Vzhoda in moralna superiornost Zahoda), se v resnici ogne temeljnem vzroku*« (Bârgăoanu, Buturoiu & Durach, 2019, 116).

V kontekstu pričujoče razprave je treba opozoriti, navezujoč se na sklepno misel predprejšnjega odstavka, da eden izmed pomembnih, če ne celo bistvenih razlogov za vzpon populistične miselnosti v srednjeevropskih državah ni v tem, da so nove države članice izgubile vneme pri graditvi Evrope, temveč v ta proces kot enakopravne partnerice v snovanju skupnega evropskega doma niso bile nikoli zares vključene. Krastev in Holmes (2018) namreč menita, da razloge za iliberalno revolucijo v vzhodno- in srednjeevropskih državah ni potrebno iskati v ekonomskih ali ideoloških dejavnikih, temveč so ti posledica specifičnih reformnih procesov, ki so sledili

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17 Španski indignadi, grški aganaktsismenoi, islandski vstajniki in pisci nove ustave so se pravzaprav napajali iz republikanskega izročila v najčistejši obliki, vendar se niso zavzemali za revolucijo, ampak za reforme političnega sistema. Skrb za skupno dobro in egalitarnost, kritika reprezentativne demokracije, zahteve za participatorno in deliberativno demokracijo, razširitev javne sfere z novimi oblikami in ne nazadnje poudarjanje primata politike nad ekonomijo so dediščina republikanskega izročila, ki pa je v kriznih razmerah, v procesih evropeizacije ter globalizacije dobila lastnosti politike za povrnitev suverenosti nacije. Manuel Castells (2012) je ta proces opisal v svoji analizi delovanja španskih indignadov, gibanja, ki je prek spleta, srečevanj na protestih in na ad hoc ustanovljenih skupščinah, na katerih so odločali po posebnih pravilih posvetovalne demokracije, leta 2011 povezovalo številna španska mesta pod sloganom Democracia Real Ya! (Prava demokracija zdaj!). O naravi upora grških aganaktsismenoi, ki so imeli podobne zahteve kot španski indignadi, je pisal grško-britanski filozof Costas Douzinas (2013). Pomembno je izpostaviti, da so vsa ta gibanja oblikovala svoje »javne sfere«, pri čemer pa so svoje zahteve – povedano v Habermasovi terminologiji – naslavljale iz »sveta življenja«. Zasnovana so bila na misli, ki jo Castells povzema takole: »*Če bomo mislili kritično o našem osebnem in družbenem življenju, se morajo na neki točki zatresti tudi institucije*« (Castells, 2012, 245).

padcu Berlinskega zidu. Pišeta, da po tem dogodku Evropa ni bila več razdeljena med komuniste in demokrate, temveč na posnemovalce in posnemovane. »*Medtem ko se posnemovalci zgledujejo po svojih vzornikih, slednji nanje gledajo zviška. Ni torej povsem nenavadno, zakaj je 'posnemanje Zahoda', za katero so se odločili Vzhodni Evropejci pred tridesetimi leti, na koncu rezultiralo v političnem refleksu*« (Krastev & Holmes, 2018, 118). Po njunem so Vzhodnoevropejci v želji, da bi bile njihove države čim prej »normalne« sledili preprosti formuli: posnemati Zahod. To je vključevalo nekritično sprejemanje zahodnih političnih in ekonomskih receptov in zahodnih vrednot. Posnemanje je bilo dojeto kot najhitrejša pot do svobode in blagostanja, pišeta avtorja in opozarjata, da je takšno ravnanje ustvarilo »*občutja nezadostnosti, podrejenosti, odvisnosti, izgube identitete. Še več, jalov boj za oblikovanje resnično kredibilne kopije idealiziranega modela vključuje tudi nenehno naprezanje v samokritičnosti, če ne celo samoprezir*« (Krastev & Holmes, 2018, 118). Njuna ključna misel je, da so si ljudje v Vzhodni Evropi po koncu sovjetskega režima upravičeno želeli »normalnega življenja«, a so posnemali le zahodne vzorce, neupoštevajoč, da so ti – zlasti na področju človekovih pravic – že evolvirali. Po njunem v Vzhodni Evropi odprta družba ne pomeni več obljube svobode, temveč ljudje povezujejo svobodo z nevarnostmi: invazijo imigrantov, depopulacijo in izgubo nacionalne suverenosti. Zahod je po mnenju Vzhodnoevropejcev – zlasti v odnosu do migrantov – izgubil glavo, medtem ko se Vzhodna Evropa percipira kot »*zadnja utrdba avtentičnih evropskih vrednot*« (Krastev & Holmes, 2018, 122).

Sociološko gledano je pravzaprav pozitivno, da se Vzhodna Evropa na nek način »osamosvaja« izpod – kot trdijo teoretiki - kolonialističnega diskurza »jedrne Evrope«. Nedvomno pa drži, da ti procesi – kot je razvidno tudi iz omenjenih prispevkov – ljudem ne zagotavljajo tistega življenja, še manj svoboščin, h katerim so stremeli pred vstopom v Evropsko unijo. Še več, zaradi diktata »posnemanja« se te države v marsičem spoprijemajo tudi s pomanjkanjem razvojnih idej in avtonomne produkcije, kar se je izkazalo za ustrezno okolje za vnovično obujanje napetosti iz polpretekle zgodovine. A zgodovinski procesi so ciklični. Prej ko slej se bo spet ponudila priložnost, da se te družbe utemeljijo na drugačnih temeljih. Podobna so tudi razvojna pričakovanja glede Zahodnega Balkana, kjer je večina nacionalnih družb ujetnica drugačnih, a prav tako hibridnih režimov, ki zlorabljajo demokratične postopke, naslanjajoč se na revizionistične vzorce v odnosu do polpretekle zgodovine, za krepitev avtoritarne vladavine (Bieber, 2020). Na Zahodnem Balkanu so procesi »civiliziranja« držav

in družb na poti v evropske integracije še toliko bolj mučni, saj se upanje, ki ga prebivalstvo vlaga v boljšo, evropsko prihodnost prepleta s frustracijami in ponižanji zaradi odlaganja članstva v EU (Štiks & Horvat, 2015). Čeprav proces pridruževanja temelji na izvedbi reform, ki zadevajo sprejem evropske pravne zakonodaje (*acquis communautaire*) je v ozadju teh procesov tudi vrednostno in vrednotno spreminjanje družb, v dobršni meri utemeljeno na kulturalistični paradigmi, medtem ko so socialni principi integracije, za katere udejanjanje si je med letoma 1985 in 1995 v vlogi predsednika Evropske komisije še prizadeval Jacques Delors, zapisani pa so tudi v Maastrichtski pogodbi, postale le obvezen retorični okras, njihova mobilizacijska moč v smislu povezovanja pa je zbledela. »*Evropska družbena pogodba je bila spremenjena v kulturno. Ker je bila pogodba osnovana na kulturni ideji o skupni preteklosti, ne pa na družbeni utopiji o skupni prihodnosti, se je tudi evropska integracija iz prihodnostne preobrazila v komemorativno pripoved.*« (Vidmar Horvat, 2018, 11). Ti procesi – poudarja Vidmar-Horvatova z navedbo misli Zygmunta Baumana – so spodbudili vračanje k nostalgijam, evropska zgradba pa je iz fantazije o lokomotivi globalnega razvoja zdrsnila v ksenofobično, etnizirano retropijo.

Vsekakor nove razmere in razmerja v post-krizni Evropi terjajo od vsake države tudi na regionalni ravni kaliberacijo tistih dediščin, ki jih povezujemo s (evropskimi in nacionalnimi / narodnostnimi) sestavinami identifikacijskih točk. Vidno je, da se zlasti v zahodnih, »jedrnih državah« tem vprašanjem posvečajo skozi perspektivo »diverzificirane« oz. »segmentirane Evrope«, pri čemer največ pozornosti namenjajo vprašanju, kako v razmerah oblikovanja Evrope »več hitrosti«, uveljavljanjem izvzetij (»opt-outs«), mehanizmi grupiranja v obliki »okrepljenega sodelovanja«, a tudi zaradi prepričevanja novih »exitov« nadaljevati z evropsko integracijo oziroma jo celo okrepiti.[18] Zdi se, da je diverzifikacija Evrope neizbežna, vendar ta proces ne zajema le pravno-formalnih aspektov evropske integracije, temveč vključuje tudi preoblikovanje partikularističnih kulturnih, socialnih, a tudi državljanskih dediščin skozi specifične evropske, nacionalne in regionalne perspektive. Vsekakor lahko v tem procesih tudi srednjeevropski in vzhodnoevropski intelektualec najde »*motiv, da se obrne od lastnega samokoloniziranja in se 'pogumno' sooči z alternativami, ki so del njegove lastne intelektualne, duhovne, kulturne in politične dediščine*« je v sicer nekoliko drugačnem kontekstu opozorila Vidmar Horvatova (2018, 83). V teh procesih lahko – ravno zaradi svoje samosvojega razvoja – pomembno prispeva tudi Slovenija, zlasti zaradi svoje specifične družbeno-zgodovinske re-artikulacije identitetnih in diskuzivnih

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18 To iskanje vključuje tudi oblikovanje ustreznih pravnih okvirov, v katerih bi se lahko integracija nadaljevala. Jasno je, kar poudarjajo avtorji t.i. »ljubljanske pobude«, da je moč večino zagat EU, zlasti tiste, ki zadevajo vprašanja demokratičnega / legitimnostnega deficita, odpraviti s preoblikovanjem Evropske unije v pristno federacijo (Avbelj, 2017), vendar pa – ta čas - zanjo v državah članicah ni politične volje.

naborov, ki zaznamuje regije, v katere sega. To je tema naslednjega poglavja.

»NORMATIVNA MOČ« SLOVENIJE KOT MAJHNE DRŽAVE: NOV PREMISLEK

V marsičem se lahko v zgornjem grobem, zelo kritičnem orisu težav, ki tarejo vzhodno- in srednjeevropske države ter države Zahodnega Balkana, prepozna tudi Slovenija, vendar se je mnogim pastem tranzicije – zlasti zaradi postopnega, gradualističnega razvoja kot tudi zaradi tradicije univerzalističnega mišljenja kot dediščine civilnodružbenih gibanj, ki so vzniknila v osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja – izognila. Snovalci slovenske tranzicije so doumeli, da bi se, če bi vzeli »ameriške« ali »zahodnoevropske sanje« preveč zares in ne bi upoštevali denimo opozoril ameriškega ekonomista Paula Krugmana »*Ne poslušajte nas, kaj vam svetujemo, ampak raje glejte, kako delamo*« (V: Nederveen Pieterse, 2003, 71), ujeli v past. Recidivi gradualistične tranzicije, ki se kažejo tudi v nizki stopnji dohodkovne neenakosti in pomembni vlogi žensk v družbi so verjetno – kot je sklepati na osnovi v prejšnjem poglavju omenjenih dognanj –tista varovala, ki so v času krize obvarovala Slovenijo pred uveljavitvijo »frankenstate--a«, kakor ameriška sociologinja Kim Scheppele imenuje vladavino madžarskega premiera Viktorja Orbana, čeprav se je tudi Slovenija po dogajanju v krizi, ki je bilo v Sloveniji sicer podobno dogajanjem na južnem obrobju EU, »*politično z odnosom do begunske krize in vsesplošno preganjavico približala vzhodni periferiji EU*« (Mencinger, 2017, 97).

Toda razlike med Slovenijo in današnjo podobo članic Višegrajske skupine (V4) so utemeljene v ideološki podstati. Medtem ko so se po padcu Berlinskega zidu Vzhodnoevropske države, čeprav z različno intenzivnostjo, v strahu pred »ruskim medvedom« zatekle pod dežnik ZDA, zlasti seveda zavezništva zveze NATO, je Slovenija – sicer zaradi »neprijetnega zastoja« ob vstopanju v NATO[19] – zavezništvo z Rusijo v tem času ga okrepila in v naslednjih letih izboljševala. Pragmatično dobre odnose so vse slovenske vlade negovale tudi z ZDA, čeprav je vidno, da so Slovenci bolj naklonjeni zmernejši politiki Bele hiše, ki zagovarja multilateralizem v razreševanju globalnih konfliktov. To je bilo vidno tudi iz množičnih protestov v slovenskih mestih proti vojaškemu posegu »koalicije voljnih« v Iraku leta 2003. Po mnenju zgodovinarja Petra Vodopivca (2003, 100) so v tem konfliktu »*avtentične interese Evropske unije zastopale države, ki so nasprotovale ameriški intervenciji v Iraku, in ne tiste, ki so jo podpirale. Sicer pa bi bilo treba priznati, da je tudi Slovenija vilensko izjavo podpisala ne iz prepričanja, temveč pod pritiskom*«.[20] S Srednjo Evropo nas danes zagotovo povezujejo zlasti kulturne vezi, ki zadevajo so-bivanje v nekdanji Avstro-ogrski monarhiji. Te so bile izpostavljene zlasti v obdobju po osamosvojitvi Slovenije, vendar vedno s poudarkom, da Srednja Evropa tvori le duhovno-zgodovinski in kulturni del slovenske identitete in nič več. To je poudarjeno v misli Boga Grafenauerja, da »*mora biti naša resnična in utemeljena vizija samo Evropa – 'Evropa narodov' – Evropa humanizma in svobode*« (Grafenauer, 1991, 25). Sicer pa je bila možnost, da bi se Slovenija konkretneje tudi v mednarodnem prostoru profilirala kot srednjeevropska država tudi s članstvom v V4, zapravljena v devetdesetih letih. V tistem obdobju, ko se je skušala afirmirati kot zahodnoevropska država, po zgledu Avstrije, je obrnila hrbet ne le Zahodnemu Balkanu, temveč se distancirala od vseh držav s socialistično preteklostjo. Šele od konca devetdesetih se je v svojih dokumentih, ki zadevajo zunanjo politiko, utemeljila kot srednjeevropska (in tudi mediteranska) država, katere prioriteta je prispevati k stabilizaciji Jugovzhodne Evrope Do tedaj pa so se razmerja v srednjeevropski regiji že toliko konsolidirala, da v percepciji članic V4 mednje Slovenija ne sodi. No, po drugi strani pa tudi slovenski politologi menijo, da bi bilo iz slovenske perspektive bolje, da bi država stremela k razširitvi koncepta Srednje Evrope tako, da bi ta zajel članice nekdanjega »habsburškega zgodovinskega in kulturnega kroga«. Takšna opredelitev, ki temelji na opustitvi geografskega kriterija in se osredinja na kulturne kriterije, bi Sloveniji omogočila »samo-ovrednotenje njene pozicije« v regiji brez kakršnikoli konotacij na ideološko navlako (Brglez, Arbeiter & Udovič, 2015, 29 –30).

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19 Andrej Benedejčič (2016) pojasnjuje, da je bila pomembna prelomnica v izboljšanju odnosov z Rusijo izjava Janeza Drnovška v letu 2001, da se bo Slovenija, če vnovič ne bo povabljena v zvezo Nato, fokusirala na evropski koncept obrambe kot alternativo in okrepila sodelovanje z Rusijo. Avtor piše, da je že istega leta sledilo povabilo v Moskve, kmalu zatem pa tudi srečanje med ameriškim predsednikom Georgeem W. Bushem in ruskim predsednikom Vladimirjem Putinom v Sloveniji. S tem, zagotovo najpomembnejšim mednarodnim dogodkom v sodobni slovenski zgodovini, je Rusija dvignila ugled Slovenije v mednarodnem prostoru, sodelovanje pa se je nadaljevalo tudi z ustanovitvijo Foruma slovanskih kultur v Ljubljani, nekakšne mreže za slovanske kulture in države, v katerega je ta čas vključenih 13 članic.

20 Množične demonstracije, verjetno največje v evropski zgodovini, sta tedaj filozofa Jürgen Habermas in Jacques Derrida pozdravila kot rojstvo evropske javne sfere … Seveda pa so odnosi med ZDA in Evropo kompleksni, saj je bila »Amerika« vedno percipirana kot antipod evropske identitete (Horvat, 2010, 129–139). Zato velja opozoriti na tezo ameriškega zgodovinarja Roberta Kagana, da sta Evropa in Amerika »le zamenjali svoji politični kulturi«. Evropskim politikam, utemeljenim na pacifizmu in zavzemanju za multilateralen pristop je namreč zabrusil v obraz: »*Resnično lep projekt! Z enim pridržkom: to, kar dejansko omogoča evropski pacifizem in moralno zavest, je sama ameriška moč… Ko so bile šibke ZDA, so sledile strategiji šibkega; zdaj, ko se ZDA močne, se obnašajo, kot se močne nacije morajo. Tudi ko so bile močne evropske velesile so verjele v moč in vojaško slavo. Zdaj vidijo svet skozi oči šibkega in tako tudi ravnajo*« (Kagan, 2002, 3).

Čeprav se omenjene spremembe v zunanjepolitičnih usmeritvah Slovenije odražajo tudi v ekonomskemu sodelovanju, je zanimivo, da omenjeni avtorji v analizah zunanjepolitičnih odnosov Slovenije do sosednjih držav, regionalnih zvez in tudi v razmerju do velesil kot »vezi« navajajo vzvode, ki zadevajo t.i. »mehke politike«. Brglez, Arbeiter in Udovič (2015) svojo raziskavo o srednjeevropskosti Slovenije utemeljijo na »simboliki v diplomaciji«, medtem ko je Benedejčič svoja razmišljanja o odnosih med Slovenijo in Rusijo oprl na teorijo družbenega konstruktivizma. Tudi v analizah zunanjepolitičnih odnosov Slovenije do držav Zahodnega Balkana je vidno, da politologi pogosto izpostavljajo pomen kulturne diplomacije (Požgan & Bojinović Fenko, 2012), medtem ko je v odnosu do ZDA izpostavljeno zlasti vprašanje evropskih vrednost in drugačnega »načina življenja«. Vidno pa je, da slovenska politika že od devetdesetih let sledi izvornim načelom Evropske unije v oblikovanju skupnega evropskega doma, ki »bo temeljil na demokratičnih vrednotah evropske duhovne civilizacije in politične tradicije, na enakopravnosti, pluralnosti, spoštovanju človekovega dostojanstva in pravic, priznavanju razlik in toleranci,« je tedaj poudaril predsednik Milan Kučan (1996, 12). »Mehka moč«, ki zadeva komunikacijo z vsemi deležniki, zlasti kot prepričevanje partneric v udejanjanju specifičnih ciljev na zunanjepolitičnem področju (Ny, 2004) je pogost vzvod, ki se ga poslužujejo manjše države (Petrič, 1996). Takšno ravnanje v dobršni meri opredeljuje slovensko zunanjo politiko.

Literatura o vlogi majhnih držav je kompleksna in obsežna, toda v osnovi temelji na vprašanju, kako in v kolikšni meri lahko majhne države z omejenimi zmogljivostmi (BDP, vojaška moč, populacija) uveljavljajo svoj vpliv v mednarodni skupnosti, pri čemer so študije konkretnih primerov utemeljene na analiziranju konkretnih uspehov majhnih držav na tem področju. »Če so Liliputanci zvezali Guliverja in ga celo spodbudili, da se je bojeval za njih, jih je treba proučevati enako pozorno kot tudi velikana,« je slikovito zapisal Keohane (1969, 310). Tom Long (2016) na osnovi analize literature o majhnih državah izpostavlja tri vrste moči, s katerimi majhne države lahko okrepijo svojo moč v mednarodnem prostoru. Prva je »derivatna moč«, kjer se v udejanjanju svojih ciljev zanašajo na podporo / moč ene izmed svetovnih velesil; druga, »kolektivna moč«, zadeva oblikovanje največkrat institucionaliziranih zavezništev z drugimi, primerljivimi državami; »specifična moč« je utemeljena na uporabi specifičnih zmogljivosti določene države, projicirane v zunanjo politiko oz. diplomacijo (Long, 2016, 1). Med slednje sodi tudi »normativna moč«, kateri bomo v kontekstu Slovenije v nadaljevanju namenili več pozornosti.[21]

Normativna moč v diskurzu mednarodnih odnosov izhaja iz teorije družbenega konstruktivizma, pri čemer naj bi norme, diskurzi in ideje določene države oblikovali nove vrednotne koordinate v mednarodnem prostoru. Strokovna literatura kot primer navaja zlasti skandinavske države, ki uveljavljajo svojo normativno moč s promocijo norm, ki zadevajo razreševanje konfliktov, mediacijo, tudi s pobudami na področju okoljevarstva, podobno vlogo pa so zlasti v obdobju po 2. svetovni vojni imele tudi nekatere latinskoameriške države na področju širitve idej o socialnih, ekonomskih in občečloveških pravicah na njihovi celini. Za ta pristop je značilno, da se majhne države ne fokusirajo na eno samo državo, temveč skušajo spremeniti mednarodno okolje tako, da ustreza njihovim interesom (Long, 2016, 8). Tudi v Evropski uniji so se denimo manjše države odpovedale delu svoje suverenosti in jo prenesle na evropske institucije zato, da bi bilo v njihovi regiji zagotovljeno blagostanje, poudarja Long z navedbo Ingebritsena (Long, 2016, 6).

Tudi v primeru Slovenije, zlasti v odnosu do Zahodnega Balkana, nekateri teoretiki razmišljajo v sklopu udejanjanja njene »normativne moči«. Ta pričakovanja so (bila), kar je podrobneje analiziral Rok Zupančič (2011), utemeljena zlasti na domnevnih primerjalnih prednostih, kot so skupna zgodovina, kultura, »razumevanje« regije«, geografska bližina, zlasti pa na percepciji Slovenije kot »zgledni« državi, »bolj evropski« kot njeno balkansko zaledje, za povrh pa naj bi Slovenija kot »vzorni učenec« EU zahodno-balkanskim državam pomagala na poti iz njihove mučne preteklosti (Zupančič, 2011, 56–57). Zupančič izpostavi zlasti uspešna prizadevanja slovenske diplomacije v internacionalizaciji ključnih norm v regiji, ki zadevajo pravno državo in človekove pravice, a opozori denimo tudi na erozijo normativne moči Slovenije zaradi nedoslednega pristopa v razreševanju slovensko-hrvaškega obmejnega spora, saj se je v evropski skupnosti ustvaril vtis, da je Slovenija »izsiljevala« Hrvaško s članstvom v EU. Podrobneje razdela tudi možnosti v afirmaciji Slovenije kot »mosta« med Evropsko unijo in Zahodnim Balkanom in pride do sklepa, da je Slovenija sicer dala pomembne pobude v miritvi napetosti v regiji, vendar ji je Evropska unija poslala »jasno sporočilo, da Slovenije ne vidi kot neodvisnega mostu« med EU in Zahodnim Balkanom, med vrsticami pa še, da je bolj kot »soliranje« zaželena koordinacija njenih aktivnosti z EU in vplivnimi državami članicami. Ključna ugotovitev je, da mora majhna država biti konsistentna v svojih zunanjepolitičnih usmeritvah, koordinirati svoje delovanje z drugimi akterji v mednarodnem prostoru, predvsem pa mora biti njena zunanjepolitična usmeritev izraz dolgoročne strategije, v katero mora

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21 V Sloveniji se seveda pojavljajo »vagonske« pobude, ki zadevajo »derivatno moč«, najbolj nazorno s »priključitvijo« na nemško--francoski vlak, zaznati pa je tudi premisleke o okrepitvi »kolektivne moči« s tesnejšim povezovanjem v Višegrajsko skupino.

biti vpeto delo političnih institucij, raziskovalnih inštitutov, univerz, »think tankov« in tudi ekonomskega sektorja (Zupančič, 2011, 70–75).

Jasno torej je, da normativna moč« presega običajno razumevanje, da nekdo 'prispeva k dobremu'. »*Država, ki želi projicirati svojo normativno moč v mednarodnem prostoru, mora posedovati tudi moralno avtoriteto, politični kapital in zmožnost oblikovanja norm*« (Luša & Mijić, 2012, 53), pri čemer je po njunem idealno, če so norme prenesene iz domačega konteksta na mednarodno raven, kjer so uspešno institucionalizirane in sprejete s strani drugih članic. Pravzaprav vsi primeri kažejo, da so uspešne zunanjepolitične doktrine pravzaprav odraz družbene pogodbe (Wendt, 1995). Globalni angažma Norveške na področju mirnega reševanja konfliktov v obdobju po hladni vojni je izraz norveškega stremljenja k uveljavljanju tako vrednot kot interesov v mednarodnih odnosih, pri čemer je to delovanje podprto jasno razvojno vizijo, v katere so vključene močne raziskovalne in izvršne institucije države (Stokke, 2010). Podobno velja tudi za Švedsko, ki se je s podobnimi iniciativami na regionalni ravni uveljavila kot nosilka normativne moči v EU (Luša & Mijić, 2012, 56–57), malce drugače ravna Finska, ki je svoj zunanjepolitični profil izoblikovala tudi na eksperimentiranju s socialnimi inovacijami (glej npr. Gaber & Tašner, 2019). Na osnovi teh raziskav lahko sklenemo, da so možnosti majhnih držav, kar zadeva njihovo uveljavljanje z normativno močjo v zunanjepolitičnem prostoru določene z vsebinami nacionalnega diskurza. Prepričljiva zunanja politika je premišljeno zasnovani odraz prepleta teh vsebin.

Kaj je značilno za slovenski nacionalni diskurz? Iz sociološke perspektive izstopata, poleg že omenjenih značilnosti, zlasti specifičen razvoj in ustroj slovenske identitete. Slovenija je v sociologiji naroda umeščena med t.i. »vzhodne« narode, ki so se prvenstveno formirali na kulturi, vendar se tudi v študijah naroda premalo izpostavlja, da je večina srednjeevropskih in zahodnobalkanskih narodov proces formiranja nacije v 19. stoletju lahko utemeljila tudi na spominu na (izgubljeno) državotvornost v preteklih stoletjih, medtem ko sta v slovenskem primeru spomin na Karantanijo in »ustoličevanje deželnih vojvod« šibkejši, bolj oddaljeni in zato manj otipljivi državotvorni referenci. Druga specifika, pomembnejša, je ta, da slovenska kulturna identiteta ni bila nikoli povsem a priori »esencializirana«, temveč je svojo »esenco« gradila v interakciji z drugimi narodi in kulturami. To tezo najbolj nazorno podkrepi zgodovinska »povečava« formiranja identitetnih vzorcev slovenstva v zadnjih 150 letih. Značilno je, da je slovenska nacionalna zavest zorela med izobraženci, ki so se na prelomu iz 18. v 19. stoletje

šolali na Dunaju, v Pragi, tudi v Gradcu in v Bratislavi. Ti ljudje so bili tudi nepogrešljiv posrednik med takrat še zelo tradicionalno naravnanim slovenskim prebivalstvom in modernizacijskimi tokovi. Oblikovanje moderne slovenske identitete je bilo potemtakem »*intenziven interkulturni in interetnični proces, ki je potekal počasi in vzporedno z razširjanjem moderne italijanske, nemške in madžarske nacionalne zavesti pri italijanskem, nemškem in madžarskem prebivalstvu*«, ki je živelo v monarhiji ali na ozemlju, kjer je prebivalo tudi slovensko prebivalstvo (Vodopivec, 1996, 68). Kasneje – zlasti ob razpadanju Avstro-ogrske - se je znova trdneje »vpisal« v slovensko identiteto tudi strah pred nemškim imperializmom in italijanskim iredentizmom, kar je vključevalo tudi predsodke in stereotipe o Slovencih kot necivilziranih barbarih tako na zahodu kot tudi na severu slovenskega narodnega ozemlja (Malle, 1996; Pirjevec, 1996). Poleg tega predstava o slovenstvu nikoli ni bila centralizirana, temveč je bila oblikovana v nenehni interakciji z regionalnimi okolji (Kmecl, 1996) Tudi danes, v obdobju po ustanovitvi države, so recidivi različnih pojmovanj slovenstva prisotni v posameznih regionalnih okoljih.

Če strnemo s klasikom etnonacionalističnih študij, Ernstom Renanom; v nezmožnosti udejanjanja (politične) »volje naroda« je oblikovanje slovenske identitete v zadnjih 150 letih zaznamoval »vsakodnevni plebiscit« kot nenehno potrjevanje (kulturne) pripadnosti. V tem smislu se še posebej v slovenskem primeru potrjuje misel, da narod ni dana družbena kategorija, ki je bila izumljena 'nekje' in 'nekoč' v zgodovini, temveč dinamična, nenehno spreminjajoča se sila, katere ključni cilj je obvarovati tisto, kar je v določenem zgodovinskem trenutku razumljeno kot 'vsebina' naroda. Na formiranje slovenske identitete torej niso vplivali le premisleki o najbolj optimalnih pogojih za ohranjanje slovenstva v večnacionalnih skupnostih, temveč je to oblikovanje najboljših pogojev vsebovalo tudi univerzalistične, s humanističnimi aspekti podprte zahteve za transnacionalno demokracijo, spoštovanje človekovih pravic, zagotavljanje miru in družbenega blagostanja.[22] Slednje torej ne zadeva normativnih in etičnih zavez, temveč je zaradi specifičnega formiranja njene identitete vpeto v način obstajanja slovenstva. Obenem pa slovenska nacionalna identiteta, ravno zato, ker ni bila nikoli esencializirana in centralizirana, vsebuje v svoji zasnovi tudi partikularne vzorce formiranja identitet njenih sosed in regij, kamor sodijo tudi »identitetne« podstati večnacionalnih skupnosti, vključno z evropsko. Še več. Ker je bila slovenska identiteta oblikovana v specifični interakciji z identitetami drugih / Drugega vsebuje tudi sledi njihovih zgodovinskih, identitetnih in ideoloških diskurzov.

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22 Podobno velja danes tudi za Katalonce, ki v nasprotju s španskimi centralnimi oblastmi ne pristajajo na legalistično branje španske ustave, temveč pravico prebivalcev te španske regije do samoodločbe utemeljujejo na progresivnih demokratičnih postulatih in sporazumih, tudi evropskih, ki zadevajo temeljne človekove pravice.

NAMESTO ZAKLJUČKA

Refleksija teh diskurzov in identitetnih premen na sinhroni in diahroni ravni tvorijo korpus slovenske izvirne in izvorne misli. Zato nas mika, da bi s parafrazo – uvodoma predstavljenega – Balibarjevega koncepta »izginjajočega posrednika« predlagali, da bi tudi v primeru Slovenije raziskali njene zgodovinske in socio-kulturne »ranljivosti in nedoločenosti«,[23] reflektirane v njenem družbenem, znanstvenem in leposlovnem korpusu, ki vsebujejo »prevode« različnih diskurzov, v katere je (bilo) slovenstvo vpeto, na osnovi teh premislekov pa sugerirali potenciale v afirmiranju normativne moči Slovenije. A pravzaprav je vidno, zlasti iz analiz političnih znanstvenikov, da je slovenska zunanja politika v dobršni meri že odraz teh silnic. Vprašanje pa je, v kolikšni meri je mogoče ta specifična znanja in izkušnje, ki obsegajo tudi modrost, kar vse je akumulirano na univerzah, raziskovalnih inštitutih, v javni sferi, tudi v vsakodnevnem »svetu življenja«, povezati, jih na epistemološki ravni nadgraditi, jih institucionalizirati na vertikalni in horizontalni rav-ni, z njihovim vpenjanjem v mednarodno okolje pa utrditi (zunanje)politični profil Slovenije.

Uvodoma smo izpostavili še, da »posredništvo« ne vključuje le »prevajanja« in interpretiranja kulturnih, političnih, socialnih ter družbenih diskurzov v širšem regionalnem prostoru, temveč vključuje tudi premisleke za udejanjanje zglednih rešitev za pereče probleme, ki se, v marsičem zaradi neustreznih politik »jedrne« Evrope v odnosu do novih članic, perpetuirajo tudi v slovenskem političnem in družbenem prostoru. Sociologi upravičeno opozarjajo na potrebo po »dekolonizaciji« vzhodne Evrope in obnovitev njihovih zgodovin, kar v slovenskem primeru pomeni nasloviti zlasti razvojne dileme ob vstopanju v evroatlantske integracije, kar v vsakem primeru terja kaliberacijo slovenske izvorne misli.

Iskanje odgovorov na ta vprašanja presega obseg pričujočega prispevka. A zaključimo s poudarkom, da je predpogoj za udejanjanje »normativne moči« manjših držav v mednarodnem prostoru - kot je vidno iz analiz omenjenih uspešnih primerov – razumevanje, da to prvenstveno ni (zunanje)politično, temveč družbenorazvojno vprašanje.

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23 Kot rečeno, v naši uporabi »izginjajočega posrednika« gre za konceptualno podobo, ki sicer niti ni povsem v sozvočju z Balibarjevim konceptom. Zapiše namreč: »Evropa to lahko postane, ker nobena predobstoječa skupnost, ki temelji na tradicionalni pripadnosti in koreninah ne more opraviti te naloge, temveč samo skupnosti, ki temeljijo na institucionaliziranih vezeh s pogledom zasidranim v smer resničnega spoznanja…«. In še, dodaja, tudi »[…] *zaradi vloge, ki jo je odigrala v zgodovini, ne obstaja absolutna meja med zgodovinskim in kulturnim ozemljem ter njeno okolico. Absolutne meje ni zato, ker je Evropa sama takšna 'meja'* [Borderland]. *Točneje, gre zgolj za postavitev heterogenih mejnih razmerij z drugimi zgodovinami in kulturami na svetu (vsaj mnogimi izmed njih), ki so reproducirane znotraj svoje zgodovine in kulture* […]« (Balibar, 2003).

SLOVENIA IN EURO-ATLANTIC INTEGRATIONS: A VANISHING MEDIATOR?

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SUMMARY

Based on the conceptual images of the "vanishing mediator" (F. Jameson and E. Balibar) and proceeding from the definition of its passive and active principles, the paper examines the previous, current, and potential roles of Slovenia in Euro-Atlantic integrations. Developing these starting points, the author first analyses the specifics of Slovenian adoption/adaptation of the European integration discourse prior to Slovenia's accession to the European Union, analysing in a second step the imbalances in development in post-crisis Europe, both with the purpose of comparatively determining Slovenia's position and potential as a "small state" at regional, European, and international levels. In this, the author focuses mainly on the issue of the "normative power" of Slovenia in the international arena, exploring, however, the foreign policy potential of the state through the perspective of the formation of identity and discourse patterns of Slovenianhood. The premise is that with Slovenia's accession to the European Union (and NATO) the "original" Slovenian idea of multinational integration – presented in this paper largely through an analysis of treatises about the advantages and disadvantages of the memberships, published in the years preceding the accession – was "passivized"; however, unlike the eastern and central European countries, which underwent a shock therapy during the period of transition, Slovenia preserved its own view of the objectives and goals of European integration. In the context of the development of European integration discourse, presenting the experience of eastern European countries with European integration, and the relations in post-crisis Europe, the paper thus analyses what marks the "distinctiveness" of the Slovenian experience, comparatively. The latter is defined based on socio-constructivist theories, theories of ethno-nationalism, and political science studies of small states. Relying on these findings, the paper substantiates the specific identity and discursive patterns of Slovenianhood and explores the possibilities of their "translation" into a foreign policy strategy – emphasising, nevertheless, that the success of foreign policies based on the "normative power" of small states depends on the understanding that these basically address a socio-developmental issue and not only a foreign policy issue.

Keywords: Slovenia, post-crisis European Union, European integration, foreign policy, Slovenian »exceptionalism«

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