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Editorial policy: Družboslovne razprave is a peer reviewed journal which publishes papers and book reviews. Contributions are invited in fields of sociology, media studies, political science, cultural studies and other studies which are close to these fields. The published contributions should display high level of research originality and address the themes which seem relevant to the scientific communities in which the journal is grounded. Both in theoretical and methodological respects the journal stands for pluralism.

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UVOD

INTRODUCTION

Drage bralke, dragi bralci!

Jesensko in zapovrstjo že 103. številko *Družboslovnih razprav* tokrat otvarjamo rahlo drugače, kot smo napovedali v uvodniku aprilske številke. Splet nepričakovanih okoliščin je namreč nekoliko upočasnil produkcijo tematske številke s področja prostorske sociologije, tako da je pred vami nova netematska zbirka petih samostojnih znanstvenih prispevkov. Takšne rokohitrske spremembe načrtov niso samoumevne, saj uredništvo nima vedno »rezerv«, iz katerih bi lahko sestavili celotno številko. Tokrat smo z ekipo na srečo razmeroma zlahka našli rešitev za nastale zaplete, saj imamo zadnje leto na »lagerju« kar redno zalogo znanstvenih prispevkov. To po eni strani odraža previdno in redno uredniško delo, po drugi strani pa priča o prepoznavnosti revije, kar nas še posebej veseli.

Pri izboru v tukajšnjo številko uvrščenih prispevkov pa se je obenem pripetilo še prav prijetno naključje: kar dva, posledično tudi otvoritvena prispevka namreč vsebinsko že napovedujeta teme in dileme letošnjega sociološkega srečanja, na katerem bodo udeleženci in udeleženke med 19. in 21. oktobrom preizpraševale_i vprašanja in dileme dolgožive družbe in medgeneracijske solidarnosti. Poglejmo torej, kaj v branje ponuja septembrska izdaja *Družboslovnih razprav*.

Zdenka Šadl v prispevku z naslovom »Neformalna družinska oskrba starejših: novo področje diskriminacije pri zaposlovanju in na trgu dela« na izviren in luciden način opozarja na večplastno diskriminacijo na področju oskrbe starejših. Ta poteka predvsem v odnosu do zaposlenih, ki poleg formalnega dela skrbijo še za starejše družinske člane, potrebne oskrbe. Članek posledično izpostavlja ključne vire diskriminacije pri zaposlovanju in na trgu dela do zaposlenih z oskrbovalnimi obveznostmi, ki izvirajo iz številnih stereotipnih predstav o zaposlenih oskrbovalcih. Z njimi se srečujejo tako moški kot ženske, izhajajo pa iz obstoječih norm na delovnih mestih, organizacijske kulture, pomanjkljive politike do usklajevanja dela in oskrbe ter nezadostnih zakonodajnih rešitev. Koncizen pregled stanja na ravni odmevne in aktualne literature, zakonodajnih okvirov kot tudi dejanskih praks ponuja temeljito seznanjenost z omenjenim področjem, ki po avtoričinem mnenju postaja novo polje diskriminacije na trgu dela.

Drugi pogled na problematiko starejših ponudi prispevek Otta Gerdine z naslovom »Marginalizacija problemov starih ljudi kot odsev novičarskih vrednot: primer časopisa *Delo*«, ki skozi empirično kvantitativno raziskavo analizira pojavnost in razširjenost tematik o starostnikih v slovenskem časopisu *Delo* med letoma 2004 in 2018. Avtor ugotavlja, da problemi starejših v izbranem časopisu ostajajo na margini; na tej osnovi med drugim zaključi, da tematike s področja staranja ne dosegajo visoke novinarske vrednosti.

Naslednja dva prispevka sta za razliko od prvih dveh, ki sta v angleščini, v slovenskem jeziku in oba pokrivata polje edukacijskih študij. Katja Jeznik in Petra Gregorčič Mrvar v članku z naslovom »Šolska svetovalna služba v primežu prikritega kurikuluma« obravnavata rezultate kvalitativne študije med šolskimi svetovalnimi delavci s ciljem identificirati njihovo razumevanje, prepoznavanje in odzivanje na koncept prikritega kurikuluma. Avtorici utemeljujeta in opozarjata, da strokovni delavci pogosto slabo poznajo oziroma neustrezno razumejo ta koncept, ki pa je izjemnega razlagalnega pomena, saj razpira široko polje, s tem ko poveže strokovno znanje, razmerja moči in družbeni kontekst, v katerem delujemo.

Vsebinsko most s temami v predhodnih prispevkih vzpostavlja četrti prispevek Nike Ferbežar in Marka Gavrilovskega Tretjaka z naslovom »Med sovraštvom in tišino: izkušnje LGBT+ oseb v primarnem, sekundarnem in terciarnem obdobju izobraževanja«, ki med drugim razkrivata množičen vpliv predsodkov in negativnih izkušenj s sovraštvom in nevidnostjo LGBT+ oseb na različnih stopnjah izobraževanja. Prek osebnih intervjujev avtorja tako opozorita na ključne dejavnike tveganja, še posebej pa na pomanjkljive sistemske ukrepe in prevladujočo odsotnost varovalnih dejavnikov, ki je običajno odvisna od medvrstniške podpore in osebne zavzetosti učiteljev oz. zaposlenih.

Številko zaključujemo z aktualno tematiko s področja okoljskih vprašanj. Dora Matejak v prispevku v angleščini z naslovom »Oblikovanje trajnostne potrošnje hrane v EU: kritična analiza individualizacije odgovornosti« kritično analizira krovno strategijo evropskih politik trajnostne potrošnje hrane. Ugotavlja, da ta pretirano individualizira odgovornosti potrošnikov, s čimer posledično namesto reševanja okoljskih vprašanj poglablja ali celo vnaša nove oblike družbene neenakosti.

Kot običajno celotnemu svežnju prispevkov sledi sklop recenzij znanstvenih monografij, ki ga v nadaljevanju v ločenem pozdravnem uvodniku predstavlja naš novi urednik recenzij Rok Smrdelj.

V imenu celotne uredniške ekipe vam želimo prijetno branje!

Tanja Oblak Črnič in Natalija Majsova,
sourednici *Družboslovnih razprav*

Dear readers!

This autumn's 103rd issue of *Social Science Forum* proceeds in a slightly differently way than described in the April issue. A series of unexpected circumstances has slowed down production of the theme-based issue concerned with the field of sociology of space. Instead, this issue brings a collection of five independent scientific papers. Such hastily changed plans are not natural because the editorial team does not always have "reserve" available from which to assemble a complete issue. Fortunately, the solution the team found to these procedural "challenges" was relatively easy as scientific papers have been submitted in larger numbers over the last year. This at once reflects the careful and regular editorial work and also the journal's growing visibility, which we find particularly pleasing.

At the same time, the papers selected for this issue may also be seen as a pleasant coincidence: two of them – namely, the opening ones – already foreshadow the themes and dilemmas of this year's annual meeting of Slovene Sociological Association where between 19 and 21 October participants will be questioning matters pertaining to a long-living society and intergenerational solidarity. So, let's have a look at what the September edition of Social Science Forum has to offer.

Zdenka Šadl's article "Informal Care for the Elderly: A New Frontier of Discrimination in Employment and the Labour Market" considers in an original and illuminating way the multifaceted discrimination in the field of care for the elderly found in employment and the labour market. The article describes the key sources of discrimination against employees who hold caring responsibilities, which stem from stereotypical perceptions of carers who are employed, flexible working arrangements, weak policies regarding work coordination, and insufficient legislative solutions. A concise overview of the situation on the levels of relevant and current literature, legislative frameworks and actual practices provides thorough knowledge of this area which, in the author's opinion, is becoming a new field of discrimination in the labour market.

Another perspective on problems faced by the elderly is provided by Otto Gerdina's paper "Marginalisation of Older People's Problems as a Reflection of News Values: The Case of the Newspaper *Delo*", which analyses the incidence and prevalence of topics about the elderly in the Slovenian newspaper *Delo* between 2004 and 2018 through an empirical quantitative study. The author finds that the problems of the elderly remain marginalised in the newspaper and, among others, concludes that topics related to ageing do not meet high journalistic values.

Following the first two papers in English, the next duo are in Slovenian and both concern educational studies. Katja Jeznik and Petra Gregorčič Mrvar in "School Counselling Service in the Grip of a Hidden Curriculum" discuss the results of a qualitative study among school counsellors with the aim of identifying their understanding, recognition and response to the hidden curriculum concept. The authors point out while this concept is often poorly known or inadequately understood by practitioners, it holds great explanatory value since it opens up a wide field by linking expertise, power relations and the social context in which we are living.

The fourth paper by Nika Ferbežar and Marko Gavrilovski Tretjak is entitled "Between Hate and Silence: The Experiences of LGBT+ People in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Education". The article builds a bridge with the themes covered in the earlier papers, inter alia revealing the massive impact of prejudice and negative experiences of hate and invisibility of LGBT+ people on different levels of education. Through personal interviews, the authors highlight the key risk factors, notably the lack of systemic measures and prevailing absence of protective factors, which typically depend on peer support and the personal commitment of teachers or staff.

We conclude this issue with a topic in the field of environmental protection. Dora Matejak critically analyses the overarching strategy of European policies on sustainable food consumption in an article in English entitled "Towards Sustainable Food Consumption in the EU: Critical Analysis of Individual Responsibility". She argues that the strategy over-individualises consumers' responsibilities, thereby deepening or even introducing new forms of social inequalities instead of addressing environmental issues.

As usual, the set of contributions is complemented with several reviews of scientific monographs, as presented below in a separate welcome editorial prepared by our new reviews editor Rok Smrdelj.

On behalf of the entire editorial team, we wish you pleasant reading!

Tanja Oblak Črnič and Natalija Majsova,
co-editors of *Social Science Forum*

Recenzija kot »dialog z različnimi občinstvi«

Spoštovane bralke, spoštovani bralci!

O pomenu pisanja recenzij družboslovnih in humanističnih monografij v neoliberalnih pogojih nastajanja akademske vednosti, ki jo poganja imperativ kvantitativne akumulacije znanstvenih točk in citatov, je v eni izmed predhodnih številk DR/SSF razmišljal že moj predhodnik Klemen Ploštajner. Takole je povzel trenutni status recenzentskega dela: »Da je postopek recenziranja knjig vse bolj odrinjen na stranski tir, akt njihovega pisanja vse bolj razvrednoten, delo na njih pa prekarizirano, je zgolj odraz razgradnje akademske skupnosti v razmerah prisilne hiperprodukcije znanstvenih objav« (str. 11). Kolega Ploštajner ni ostal le na ravni kritične osvetlitve žal nezavidljivega položaja recenzentskega dela kot oblike akademske prakse, ampak je tudi izpostavil, da so recenzije knjig »pomembno orodje ohranjanja dialoške narave produkcije vednosti« (ibid.). Če povzamem s svojimi besedami: dialog je ključna prvina nastajanja akademske vednosti, recenzija knjig pa je kot »orodje dialoga z različnimi občinstvi« verjetno ena izmed najbolj dialoških form med akademskimi žanri (ibid.). V prvi vrsti je orodje dialoga med recenzentom/ko in avtorjem/ico/i recenziranega dela, v drugi pa med recenzentom/ko in širšo akademsko skupnostjo. A tisto, kar razlikuje recenzijo knjige od večine žanrov akademskega pisanja, je njena zmožnost, da lahko zaradi zelo kratke forme in komunikativnega sloga vzpostavlja dialog tudi z neakademskim občinstvom. Prek kritične in poglobljene refleksije najnovejše knjižne produkcije namreč daje vpogled v najnovejša spoznanja tudi tistim bralcem/kam, ki niso nujno neposredno del akademske sfere.

Nekako tako bi ubesedil prve asociacije ob branju Ploštajnerjevega uvodnika in ob premišljevanju o uredniški viziji, ki ji nameravam slediti pri urejanju knjižnih recenzij. Tudi v prihodnje bodo recenzije v *Družboslovnih razpravah* pokrivale širok spekter znanstvenih disciplin, avtorjev, založb in nacionalnih kontekstov z namenom vzpostavljanja bogatega intelektualnega dialoga, ki bo temeljil na vključenosti različnih glasov. Recenzentsko dejavnost morajo pri tem enako zastopati tako mlajši kot tudi že uveljavljeni/e raziskovalci/ke in profesorji/ice. Pisanje recenzij je za mlajše kolege/ice lahko ena prvih priložnosti za vzpostavitev lastnega glasu v akademski skupnosti. Enako pomembni so tudi glasovi že uveljavljenih sodelavcev/k, ki lahko zaradi dolgoletnega delovanja na določenem področju rigorozno presojajo aktualno knjižno produkcijo.

Pluralizem glasov pa je treba zagotavljati tudi na ravni izbire knjig za recenzentsko obravnavo. Čeprav so recenzentski presoji najpogosteje podvržene knjige slovenskih založb, pa so zaželene tudi razprave o delih, ki izidejo v tujini, še posebej če so jih napisali/e slovenski/e avtorji/ice. Prav tako so k pisanju recenzij vabljeni/e tudi tuji/e avtorji/ice. Z vključitvijo glasov zunaj nacionalnih okvirov bodo razširjene meje znanstvenega dialoga, obenem pa bo zagotovljeno, da relativna majhnost slovenske akademske skupnosti, za katero so značilni tesni kolegialni odnosi, ne bo pomenila ovire pri konstruktivnem in nepristranskem ocenjevanju znanstvenega dela.

Predstavljene uredniške smernice so bile deloma že upoštevane pri pripravi bloka recenzij knjig v tej številki reviji DR, ki prinaša obravnavo dveh zbornikov in dveh znanstvenih monografij. Nina Cvar recenzira zbornik *Artificial Intelligence, Social Harms and Human Rights*, ki je pomemben prispevek k razumevanju fenomena umetne inteligence z vidika prava in človekovih pravic. Lucija Klun kritično pretresa zbornik *Migrant Children's Integration and Education in Europe: Approaches, Methodologies and Policies*, ki ponuja analizo naslovne problematike v različnih nacionalnih kontekstih. Nina Perger pod drobnogled vzame monografijo Vlada Kotnika z naslovom *Trans(spol)nost: Arheologija trans/vednosti*, ki jo sestavljajo štirje sklopi na temo trans vednosti, trans zgodovin, trans teorij in trans medijev. Primož Krašovec pa se posveča monografiji *Za Marxa*, enemu najpomembnejših zgodnjih del Louisa Althusserja. Tudi v prihodnje bodo recenzentski bloki obsegali najmanj štiri besedila.

Naj na koncu tega uvodnika prav vse lepo povabim k branju tega bloka kot tudi k soustvarjanju produktivnega dialoga, v katerega se lahko vključujete kot pisci/ke recenziranih knjig, kot njihovi bralci/ke ali pa preprosto kot spremljevalci/ke družboslovno-humanistične knjižne produkcije. Če naletite na pomembna tuja ali domača dela, za katera menite, da si zaslužijo pozornost, nas lahko nanje opozorite, tudi če jih ne nameravate recenzirati. Dobrodošle so tudi recenzije recenzij, ki lahko spodbujajo nadaljnje razprave o določenem delu. Vabljeni, da s svojimi predlogi, komentarji, uvidi in priporočili prispevate k uresničevanju predstavljene uredniške vizije – s tem boste prispevali k sooblikovanju takšne akademske skupnosti, ki kljub neizogibnim pritiskom po hiperprodukciji znanstvenih besedil ohranja pomembne dialoške prakse, ki so nujne za vitalen razvoj družboslovno-humanistične misli.

Rok Smrdelj,
urednik recenzij knjig, *Družboslovne razprave*

Literatura

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A book review as a "dialogue with different audiences"

Dear readers,

In a previous issue of DR/SSF, my predecessor Klemen Ploštajner reflected on the importance of writing book reviews in the social sciences and humanities in the neoliberal circumstances of academic knowledge production driven by the constant need to accumulate scientific points and citations. He described the current status of book reviews as follows: "The fact that the process of reviewing books is increasingly marginalised, the act of writing them devalued, and the work on them precariously positioned, merely reflects the degradation of the academic community in the conditions of forced hyperproduction of scientific publications." (p. 11). However, my colleague Ploštajner not only remained on the level of critically highlighting the unfortunately unfavourable position of book reviews as a form of academic practice, yet also emphasised that book reviews are "an important tool for preserving the dialogical nature of knowledge production" (ibid.). To sum it up in my own words: Dialogue is a key element in the production of academic knowledge, and the book review, as a "tool for dialogue with different audiences", is likely one of the most dialogic forms among academic genres (ibid.). Primarily, a book review serves as a tool of dialogue between the reviewer and the author(s) of the reviewed work and, secondarily, between the reviewer and the broader academic community. Yet, what distinguishes book reviews from most academic writing genres is their ability to engage in dialogue with non-academic audiences because of their concise form and communicative style. By providing critical and in-depth reflection on the latest books to emerge, such reviews also offer insights into the most recent findings to readers who do not necessarily come from the academic sphere.

This is how I would formulate my initial associations after reading Ploštajner's editorial and pondering the editorial vision that I intend to adhere to while editing book reviews. However, in the SSF journal book reviews will continue to encompass a broad spectrum of scientific disciplines, authors, publishers, and national contexts, all with the aim of fostering a rich intellectual dialogue based on the inclusion of diverse voices. The activity of reviewing should be equally represented by both younger and established researchers and professors. For younger colleagues, writing reviews can provide one of the first opportunities to establish their own voice within the academic community. Equally important are the voices of already established colleagues who, because of their longstanding commitment to a particular field, can rigorously evaluate the current book production.

Ensuring a plurality of voices must also be a factor in the selection of books for review. While most reviews are of books published by Slovenian publishers, works published abroad are also welcome, especially if written by Slovenian authors. In addition, authors who are not from Slovenia are also invited to contribute reviews. Including voices from beyond national borders broadens the horizon of scholarly dialogue while assuring that the relative smallness of the Slovenian academic community, characterised by close collegial relationships, is not an obstacle to constructive and unbiased evaluation of scholarly work.

The editorial guidelines presented have already been partly taken into account while preparing the book review section in this issue of SSF, which covers reviews of two edited volumes and two monographs. Nina Cvar reviews the edited volume *Artificial Intelligence, Social Harms and Human Rights*, which provides a significant contribution to understanding the phenomenon of artificial intelligence from the perspectives of law and human rights. Lucija Klun critically examines the edited volume *Migrant Children's Integration and Education in Europe: Approaches, Methodologies and Policies*, offering analysis of the title topic in various national contexts. Nina Perger scrutinises the monograph *Trans(spol)nost: Arheologija trans/vednosti* by Vlado Kotnik, containing four sections covering topics related to trans knowledge, trans histories, trans theories, and trans media. Finally, Primož Krašovec delves into the work *Za Marxa*, one of Louis Althusser's most important early works. In the future, the book review section will continue to include at least four texts.

As I conclude this editorial, I would like to invite you all to engage in a productive dialogue in which you can participate either as authors of the books reviewed, as readers of the books reviewed, or simply as followers of social science and humanities book production. If you come across noteworthy books and edited volumes that you believe deserve attention, you may bring them to our notice, even if you have no intention of reviewing them. Reviews of reviews are also welcome since they can stimulate further discussions about a given book. You are encouraged to contribute to the realisation of the editorial vision presented here through your suggestions, comments, insights and recommendations. By so doing, you will be helping to shape an academic community that, despite the inevitable pressures of the hyperproduction of scientific texts, still maintains significant dialogic practices crucial for the vital development of social sciences and humanities thinking.

Rok Smrdelj,
Book Review Editor, *Social Science Forum*

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ČLANKI

ARTICLES

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Zdenka Šadl

INFORMAL CARE FOR THE ELDERLY: A NEW FRONTIER OF DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT AND THE LABOUR MARKET

ABSTRACT

The article deals with the discrimination of workers who are responsible for caring for elderly family members. Some basic questions emanating from carers' discrimination in the light of workplace norms, organisational culture, policies for coordinating care and work, the gendered nature of informal eldercare, and anti-discrimination legislation are posed. A review of the literature shows that both female and male carers are exposed to discrimination and that the fundamental sources of discriminatory behaviour include stereotypes of working carers, their taking or requesting of flexible working arrangements and leave to care for a family member, a lack of, or inadequate, work–care reconciliation policies, and deficiencies in the law.

KEY WORDS: informal family care, working carers, eldercare, discrimination, work–care conflict

Neformalna družinska oskrba starejših: novo področje diskriminacije pri zaposlovanju in na trgu dela

IZVLEČEK

Članek se ukvarja z diskriminacijo zaposlenih z oskrbovalnimi obveznostmi do starejših družinskih članov. Zastavlja nekatera temeljna vprašanja diskriminacije oskrbovalcev v povezavi z normami delovnega mesta, organizacijsko kulturo, politikami usklajevanja oskrbe in dela, spolno označenostjo družinske neformalne *oskrbe starejših in protidiskriminacijsko zakonodajo. Pregled literature kaže, da so diskriminaciji izpostavljene tako ženske kot moški in da so med temeljnimi viri diskriminatornega ravnanja stereotipi o zaposlenih oskrbovalcih, uporaba in prošnja po prožnih ureditvah dela in dopustu za namen oskrbovanja družinskega člana, pomanjkanje ali neustrezne politike usklajevanja dela in oskrbe ter nezadostni zakoni.*

KLJUČNE BESEDE: družinska neformalna oskrba, zaposleni oskrbovalci, oskrbovalci starejših, diskriminacija, konflikt oskrba–delo

1 Introduction

Carers' discrimination or family responsibility discrimination (hereinafter FRD) is a form of employment discrimination that has been recognised only in recent decades. A relatively new term FRD was coined by the Center for WorkLife Law to cover both, the numerous kinds of discrimination on the basis of family responsibilities and a growing number of suits against employers for discriminating against informal family carers (hereinafter IFCs) (Calvert 2016).[1] The discrimination of working carers (and parents) in the labour market is a global social problem (see, for example, Von Bergen et al. 2008; Calvert 2016; Calvert and Lee 2021; Dai et al. 2018; Dickson 2008; Henle et al. 2020; Masselot 2018; Mullins 2014; Mullins et al. 2021; O'Connor et al. 2015; O'Connor and Kmec 2020; Rivlin 2014). Growing dramatically (Hirsh et al. 2020), it is becoming more of an important question than it has ever been before (Mullins et al. 2021). The COVID-19 crisis further contributed to the exacerbation of the question of carers' discrimination. There has been a substantial growth in the discrimination of parents and carers during the pandemic with many working carers losing their jobs (Harwood 2022). The focus here is on the discrimination of informal family caregivers for the elderly.

The carers' discrimination issue is particularly important in light of the rapidly ageing population in many countries, where more (older) people are living longer and require additional informal care and support. Discrimination of informal family caregivers for the elderly has also become an increasingly burning and unignorable issue due to the challenges brought about by the trend of a decreasing number of people economically active in employment, the changing demographics of the workforce, as well as a higher incidence of frailty among

1. When discussing family or care-based discrimination some authors (for example, Smith 2012) also use the term family status discrimination, which is akin to FRD in the American social context.

older people on one side and the shrinking of care services and fiscal constraints on the other. Together, this causes an increased need for informal eldercare (EC & SPC 2021; Eurocarers 2020). The increasing share of older people and decreasing fertility rate indicate that family care for the elderly is becoming a more widespread practice among the working population than childcare (Henle et al. 2020); today, eldercare is a mainstream issue for the majority of families in most countries worldwide, the family's new childcare, one might say. Furthermore, recent decades have seen the process of delayed motherhood, which increases the likelihood that women will have to face dual care tasks more often, including both, care for small children and their dependent parents (Waddington 2011).

With the aforementioned demographic and other trends, in the future, the shift in the focus from the care for the younger generation to the care for the elderly will become even more important. A growing number of employed individuals are taking on and will, in the future, take on the care of disabled or elderly parents (NACAARP 2015; NACAARP 2020; Bainbridge and Townsend 2020; Eurofound 2015; Williams et al. 2012). Potentially, this will add to the conflict between care and paid work, increase the need for flexible working along with the need to see how these can be linked to discrimination (Calvert and Lee 2021). It is important to recognise that reconciling eldercare with paid work is particularly complex due to often greater unpredictability of elderly care compared with childrearing, which adds to the tension between work and the eldercare role. Carers who combine work and eldercare and those who juggle work with caring for both adults and children will be considered here as the group of IFCs with distinctive needs.

A critical examination of the carers' discrimination issue is of pressing importance as IFCs are becoming more integral to the sustainability of the long-term care system, relieving pressure on public expenditure and services. In view of the economic value of informal eldercare and of care being the foundation of society, it is important to know more about carers' exposure to discrimination and its detrimental effects on their social and economic circumstances. Lacking research in the field,[2] Slovenia needs to fill this gap and look into the IFCs' potential experiences with discrimination in the labour market.

Discrimination is not only detrimental for those who care for the elderly, but also for wider society, whose care needs can only be met by healthy and financially

2. In Slovenia the discrimination of informal elder caregivers in the labour market is under-researched. The primary focus of research studies is either on the unfavourable treatment of pregnant women and parents of young children or on workers with family responsibilities in general, regardless of the type of informal family care they perform (for example, Kanjuo et al. 2016; Novak in Nastav 2011).

secured carers. This is why society cannot ignore the difficult situation faced by many carers balancing care and paid work on one hand and dealing with the negative effects of discrimination on the other. The state, policy makers and legal bodies together with employers, should ensure that elder caregivers are not penalised financially or in any other way, while providing this much needed, essential, yet mostly invisible unpaid care work in the community.

This article aims to contribute to the existing literature by bringing together the research areas of work-care reconciliation and carers' discrimination and by highlighting our understandings of the different factors that influence discrimination against IFCs in the labour market. The main purpose of this article is to provide a critical analysis of policies, workplace culture and legislation that can act as facilitators or barriers to establishing work-life balance, and also as factors that may contribute to or attenuate carers' discrimination. Another element to take into account is the gender dimension of informal care. Women carry the largest burden of informal caring responsibilities in society and often take the role of primary carers for family members, while juggling careers. Due to the fact that women are disproportionately burdened by care responsibilities and as a result suffer the most discrimination in paid work, the literature pays more attention to the disadvantages and discrimination faced by female rather than male carers (Rivlin 2014; Dai et al. 2018). This brings us to the second goal of this article – to examine if and how discriminatory treatment can be encountered in the workplace by men caring for elderly family members. The article provides an overview of scientific literature and relevant reports, and identifies, on the basis of literature review, the nature and characteristics of carers' discrimination and the adequacy of legislative responses to it. The key research questions are: What is the role of public and organisational work-life policies, workplace culture and legislation in supporting or protecting working carers or making them vulnerable to discrimination? What types of carers' discrimination do men and women taking care of their older family members face in the workplace?

The article consists of the introductory section followed by the conceptualisation and consequences of discrimination due to family or care responsibilities, and the outline of its typical sources, manifestations and consequences. The central section deals first with gendered discrimination due to caring responsibilities, the important differences between informal eldercare and childcare, and continues by focusing on the position of informal elder caregivers in the context of organisational and public policies and laws. Individual sections of the article are based on the findings of studies carried out in different countries across the world which point to global dimensions of carers' discrimination. The article is not conceived as a comprehensive description of individual factors of discrimination and a comparison between countries, but as an outline of the overlooked or under-researched discrimination of informal elder caregivers in the labour market compared to parenting-based discrimination.

2 Conceptualisation and consequences emanating from discrimination of carers in the workplace

In the legal context discrimination defines unjust unequal treatment (differentiation, marginalisation, exclusion) of a person/group compared to another person/group in the same or similar situation due to personal circumstances, while sociologically, the starting point of discriminatory views and practices is the deviation from the normative model (e.g., of a human being, worker, family, sexuality etc.). The starting point for discriminatory treatment of IFCs is the norm of the ideal worker, which construct the worker as a subject that is completely and continuously committed to paid work, while shifting their family/care responsibilities to someone in their home.

FRD or carers' discrimination refers to the unfavourable treatment of workers (or job seekers) due to pregnancy, childcare, care for a sick or disabled partner or elderly parents and relatives, or any combination of these (Martucci and Sinatra 2008; Miller et al. 2008; Williams and Bornstein 2008; Williams et al. 2012; Trzebiatowski and Triana 2020) compared to non-carers, despite their equal qualifications and knowledge. Discrimination also involves harassment in terms of undesired behaviour and actions, occurring due to care responsibilities or *perceived* family status, which violate a person's dignity and make them feel humiliated.

Discrimination stems from two basic sources: stereotypes and the context of care-work reconciliation. Discriminatory practices coming from stereotypes or discrimination based on status (Hirsh et al. 2020) are shown in the form of employment rejection, exclusion from work tasks, poor performance evaluation, the hindering of promotion, and dismissal. Informal elder caregivers (and parents) are less likely to obtain employment than job seekers without care responsibilities, which shows that employers are less likely to be in favour of employing and retaining informal carers (Henle et al. 2020: 59–60). Superiors act on the basis of the assumption that the (potential) worker *will be incapable* of performing certain tasks, unreliable and less devoted and productive (Von Bergen 2008). According to Williams and Bornstein (2008: 1320), the starting point of stereotypes and discrimination is the "workplace/workforce" mismatch. Workers are expected to act according to the norms of an "ideal worker" which are the criterion of their commitment, competence and performance and, at the same time, as a guiding principle for stigmatising those who do not develop the identity of an ideal worker (work part-time, use of flexible working and various leaves). The main culprit of flexibility stigma is the ideal worker culture (Chung 2020). Workers who balance care and work are exposed to the risk of discrimination as they are construed as inauthentic workers (Smith 2012).

Conventional workplace norms entrenched in modern workplaces (Chung 2020) influence the opportunities to earn money, get promoted and trained and the (re)production of inequality between women and men and between workers with care responsibilities, as well as those without them. When the norms of the ideal worker do not match the priorities and identities of workers who combine care and work responsibilities, this brings loss to those who find it difficult to fulfil the adopted paradigms of the labour market, due to the burdens of informal care (Smith 2012). The problematic nature of the norms of the ideal worker has also been clearly exposed by the judicial practice which challenges the "workplace/ workforce" mismatch as discriminatory, revengeful and filled with stereotypes (Williams and Bornstein 2008).

Carers providing both childcare and eldercare are more likely to face FRD than carers who only provide one type of care (O'Connor et al. 2015). For example, primary elder and childcarers applying for a job are less likely be hired and will receive a lower starting salary compared to childcarers applying for the same job. Employers or hiring managers may expect sandwiched caregiving to be too demanding not to influence paid work, causing disruptions, absence and lower productivity. This is why sandwiched carers tend to be perceived as those who violate the norm of the ideal worker, mainly due to their multiple care demands, which results in their being rejected from employment (Henle et al. 2020).

The second source of discrimination is based on the reconciliation of paid work and care. The so called accommodation-based discrimination (Hirsh et al. 2020) is related to a worker's flexible working requests and is expressed in the form of the non-provision of accommodation and a negative attitude to those who request it. Employers perceive flexible working requests as a business risk, with ideas about ideal workers also influencing the interpretation of requests (Hirsh et al. 2020). Those who request for and use flexible working tend to be targets of harassment, disciplining and dismissal, with employers pressing the workers to *de facto* renounce the rights exercised in the organisation and those they are eligible to, based on legislation. Even if reconciliation policies are well-designed, the question of their distribution or "organisational justice" remains open (Mullins et al. 2021).

Workers who use flexible working experience flexibility stigma which is related to discrimination (Chung 2020). Flexibility stigma comes from the perceived use of flexible working as the workers' personal weaknesses, which deviate from the ideal worker image (for example in the withdrawal from traditional working hours). Underlying the basis of stigmatisation is the assumption that the users of flexible working are less committed and productive compared to other workers. Studies show the falsehood of stereotypes about working carers of the elderly (Cheng et al. 2020).

Supervisors with a negative attitude towards workers who use flexible working influence the creation of an unsupportive work environment. When employees feel unable to discuss what is occurring and 'hide' this part of their lives, it can increase the strain they experience (Matheson et al. 2020). Workers that disclose themselves and wish to use flexible working hesitate if their supervisors or colleagues are not in favour of flexible accommodations (Clancy et al. 2020). Fear of the negative consequences this may have for their career is one of the most important reasons as to why workers do not accept flexible working. Due to the stigma and fear of being discriminated against, working informal elder caregivers who propose flexible working are even willing to leave their jobs (Chung 2020).

The flexibility stigma has a series of negative consequences – lower degree of commitment to the organisation, lower job satisfaction, increased work-family conflict, lower benefit use and higher turnover intentions; with the consequences also being felt by other workers (Dickson et al. 2008): those who reported to be aware of the flexibility stigma in their departments are less motivated to retain their jobs and less satisfied with their work than those who did not report about stigma in their department. Mullins et al. (2021) also find that discrimination lessens job satisfaction and even leads to the intention of leaving certain employment sectors.

Discrimination also occurs with the introduction of organisational changes which have a limiting effect on the worker's job role, for example when supervisors assign less work responsibilities based on the stereotype that they are incompetent or due to a "benevolent" belief that they need a break, so it is best that tasks are given to others. The study by Mullins et al. (2021) showed that family responsibilities hamper career promotion, which can actually present a form of FRD.

Organisations may also cause discrimination by adopting policies in which promotion depends on relocation because of work, untimely publication of working schedules or planning night shifts and weekend work (Henle et al. 2020: 60). All those who, due to caring responsibilities, cannot or do not wish to adjust to (new) policies and some aspects of organisational context are put at a disadvantage. Such policies disproportionately affect women as primary family caregivers. Unfavourable treatment of women related to their caring responsibilities can mean indirect gendered discrimination.

Whether it is in one form or another, carers' discrimination is disempowering and affects carers' opportunities and their financial well-being. Stereotyped ideas and employers' discriminatory state-of-mind often translates into adverse employment decisions and negative evaluations, resulting in the rebuffed opportunities and the denial of workers's rights due to their carer status. Discrimination against carers thus promotes inequality and exclusion and perpetuates the harmful and noninclusive norms of an ideal worker. As shown in the study by Henle et al. (2020), job applicants with care responsibilities towards older relatives (and children) were less likely to be hired than non-carers, and carers' recommended starting salaries were lower compared to those of applicants without caregiving responsibilities. Also, elder caregivers and childcarers are perceived as less competent, committed and available than non-carers; regarding availability for work elder caregivers were evaluated the most negatively followed by childcarers, and non-carers were evaluated the most positively (Henle et al. 2020: 76). Discrimination can also occur at the termination of employment, for instance, when performance deficiencies are fabricated to justify the dismissal of carers, or when carers can no longer bear to stay, and leave the job (or exit the workforce altogether) due to being subjected to unfair treatment in their employment or problems and conflicts with their employers. Working carers often have to accept changes at work (part time work is much more frequent among carers than non-carers) or leave the labour market altogether, which can make them financially vulnerable (Malm 2022; Smith 2012; Williams et al. 2012). It is important to recognise that findings show that keeping one's job increases the happiness, financial security and social inclusion of working carers (Phillips et al. 2020).

The abovementioned characteristics of discrimination (refusal to hire applicants, lower salaries, lower evaluation scores, layoffs) – to which non-carers are not exposed – can be emotionally taxing and distressing not only for carers but also for their families. Due to the financial insecurity they cause, the hiring discrimination and wrongful termination also clearly and particularly reflect in the economic/financial and psychological wellbeing of their family members. This is why the prohibition of this type of discrimination safeguards not only job seekers and employees, but also their families and family members. Furthermore, discrimination of IFCs is problematic for wider society, as employers' reluctance to employ them can mean the loss of a competent and experienced workforce. The discussion on the discrimination of IFCs should not only be limited to the private dynamics of the workplace, but also must demand the state play a more prominent role in ensuring carers and their families receive support. Carers' discrimination is worthy of public policy (and legislation) attention in the quest to improve carers employment opportunities and to decrease the discrimination and injustice experienced by them.

It is also important to follow the aim of gender equality, both for the improvement of the position of women who still predominate in informal eldercare, as well as from the aspect of protecting male carers from gendered harassment and discrimination when using carers' leave, or requesting flexible working arrangements.

3 Gendered carers' discrimination

Women carry out the larger part of care for the elderly and other dependent family members in Europe (Eurocarers 2018) and the USA (Henle et al. 2020; U.S. EEOC 2007). In the EU member states, the disproportionate distribution of informal care responsibilities to the detriment of women is a persisting pattern, despite the diverse formal systems of long term care in individual countries (EIGE 2019). The percentage of employed women caring for older people and/or people with disabilities is higher compared to men (13% - F, 9 % - M; EIGE 2019). Slovenia, where long-term care for elderly parents is underdeveloped, belongs to the group of countries with the widest gender gap in the level of participation in long-term informal care. Due to having more informal long-term care duties, work-life balance is under greater pressure for women than men, which intensifies gender inequalities in employment (EIGE 2019; EIGE 2022).

Findings that show victims of unfavourable treatment by employers are mainly women (Hirsh et al. 2020; Mullins et al. 2021) are not unexpected considering that as many as 44 % of Europeans still think that the most important role of women is to take care of the home and family and 43 % that the most important role of men is to earn money (De Michelli and Capesciotti 2020: 4). Henle et al. (2020) find that hiring managers estimate the competence, commitment and availability for work of women who informally care for the elderly as less favourable than in male informal family carers.

Women are more likely to use flexible working during their career (Chung 2020; Hirsh et al. 2020) and the possibilities offered by the leave policies have more prominent effects on employment (higher rates of absence from work) and, in turn, also discrimination, for women than men. Women who care for their husbands or elderly parents are reluctant to notify their employers about the scope of care because of fear of discrimination (Barrett et al. 2014). They recognise the stigma related to the disclosure of eldercare and fear the negative effects the disclosure might have on their careers (Kim et al. 2011). Despite representing the majority of working carers, women are at a disadvantage compared to men with regard to employer support (Austin and Heyes 2020).

With their increased participation in family care for the elderly, especially life partners (Ireson et al. 2018), men also face discrimination. They face the mirror stereotype with regard to family care and accommodation-based discrimination. Flexible working requests by men are often rejected, while they can be regularly approved for their female colleagues. Managers of both genders support flexible working more in women than in men and tend to use double standards with regard to leave (Yeandle et al. 2003). Men are more vulnerable to stigma regarding care work, which leads to the concealment of their caring responsibilities from employers and colleagues (Ireson et al. 2018); they can also face more unfavourable consequences relating to their work, when they take leave (Calvert and Lee 2021; U.S. EEOC 2007). Men face obstacles when they engage in family care more actively, in particular in male-dominated industries, where gendered ideas of family care still prevail (Ireson et al. 2018). However, as pointed out by Henle et al. (2020), male-dominated jobs may be worse overall for carers; they experience more bias in male-dominated professions than in feminised professions. This shows that male-dominated workplaces may be unfriendly to employees who are balancing work and family (Henle et al. 2020: 78).

Men who care for their elderly relatives may be put at a disadvantage compared to fathers. While fatherhood is a sign of manliness and remains compatible with the ideal worker norm in the eyes of employers (Hirsh et al. 2020), eldercare represents a deviation from this norm. There is a trend of an increase in the number of cases filed in court due to employment discrimination experienced by men as informal elder caregivers (Calvert 2016).

Considering the findings (that risk of care responsibility discrimination is also experienced by men) leaning exclusively on gender to prove discrimination and using affirmative measures to install accommodations for women only can lead to a disregard of the discrimination experienced by men. This, in turn, portends the reproduction of stereotypes about family care as a female responsibility. The EU legal system needs to explicitly address care responsibility discrimination and extend legal protection against discrimination to include all working carers (Caracciolo Di Torella 2016).

4 The work-life balance challenges faced by working parents and carers

With the aging of the population and the ever reducing means of social protection (long-term care, health care, pensions) – when the burden of long-term eldercare is increasingly put on families' shoulders –, there is also an increase in the needs for flexible working, due to eldercare responsibilities. This, likewise, opens the door to discrimination against the informal elder caregivers (Calvert and Lee 2021). Stereotypes and a limited legal protection of working carers of the elderly can lead to the loss of work or discrimination in employment, and career progression or promotion (Clancy et al. 2020). Working carers of the elderly perceive smaller employment security, and many of them experience discrimination (U.S. EEOC 2007; Hirsh et al. 2020: 763). There is a new trend of an increasing number of elder caregivers' discrimination lawsuits, which have increased more than in other forms of family care (Calvert 2010; Calvert 2016; Williams et al. 2012). Lawsuits filed during the COVID-19 epidemic reveal that employers do not believe that workers can successfully perform flexible work and care responsibilities (Harwood 2022).

The challenges of eldercare are different from those of childcare. Compared to childcare, eldercare may be filled with crises situations, because informal elder caregivers face frequent, cyclical or irregular difficulties with the care recipients (Koerin et al 2008). The differences in care responsibilities offered to (healthy) children and adults/the elderly and the way they spill over into paid work can influence the level of care-work conflict, an individual's ability to reconcile care and work and their potential exposure to discrimination.

Increasing comorbidity in the elderly does not only indicate that an increasing number of adults are taking on the role of informal elder caregivers, but also that they take care of persons who have complex health or support needs. An increasing number of carers report about their care-recipients needing care due to longstanding health issues. It is this group that frequently perceives they are discriminated against compared to those who do not take on the care of people with complex health or support needs. Those who offer a more intensive care also report more often about discrimination (NACAARP 2020).

Complex eldercare requires frequent interruption of the work pattern (accompaniment to the doctor or therapy; telephone calls during work time; unexpected crises and hospitalisation) and longer absences from work (Stewart 2013). This, in turn, creates a higher degree of work-care conflict and a more difficult maintenance of work-care balance, in particular, when the IFCs live far away from the elderly care users. The responsibilities of informal elder caregivers compared to typical childcare interfere with working responsibilities in a more disturbing way in the form of absenteeism and presenteeism, and have detrimental effects for work and career. Late arrival at work, leaving early from work, taking days off, shorter working hours or use of leave open the door to the discrimination of elder caregivers (Clancy et al. 2020; Williams et al. 2012). Managers criticise and discipline working carers for taking leave or the use of flexible working, while they do not treat non-carers in the same way; or, require the former but not the latter to make up for the missing hours (Williams et al. 2012).

Informal elder caregivers are estimated by the hiring managers as the least available for work, followed by parents, while non-carers receive the highest evaluation; primary child carers and informal elder caregivers experience the highest level of discrimination when decisions are made on employment and salaries, compared to non-carers. Also, those taking care of both children and parents are more exposed to discrimination than parents who (only) take care of their children. Some types of family care can trigger more discrimination than others (Henle et al. 2020).

Differences between parents and informal elder caregivers also occur in terms of the availability of official work-care reconciliation policies and superiors' (and colleagues) standpoints on the right to access flexible working (Bainbridge and Townsend 2020). The lower availability of formal support and a negative attitude to informal elder caregivers have implications for this group of carers.

5 Work-care reconciliation policy, legislation and practice: a critical analysis

Despite the fact that the number of working informal elder caregivers is growing, organisations often lag behind in providing accommodated measures for specific needs of this group of carers. Most policies and programmes for work-family reconciliation remain focused on childcare (Bainbridge and Broady 2017; Bernard and Phillips 2007; Henle et al. 2020 Kim et al. 2011; Koerin et al. 2008; Spann et al. 2020; Williams et al. 2012). While the vast majority of employers consider work-life balance a priority question, a substantially smaller share views the support of informal elder caregivers as medium to high priority in their employment positions (Ireson et al. 2018). Less than one half of working carers declared their employer as "carer friendly" (Austin and Heyes 2020: 17).

Although organisations are becoming more responsive to the needs of informal elder caregivers, much more needs to be done in the field (Cullen and Gareis 2011; Ireson et al. 2018; NACAARP 2020). In Slovenia there is a lack of measures for informal elder caregivers at the organisational level on the one hand and, on the other, there are tendencies in support of a more explicit addressing of their specific needs (see, for example, Humer 2011a; Humer 2011b). The Family-Friendly Company Certificate, involving family-work reconciliation measures (and measures against gendered or family status discrimination), brings advantages mainly to parents of young children, with few measures in place for informal elder caregivers (Ekvilib inštitut 2015).

The underdeveloped carer-friendly and non-discriminatory policies can be linked to exposure to discrimination: the needs of informal elder caregivers are left to the good will of employers. A NACAARP Report (2015) states that only a small number of carers report being dismissed from employment due to care work, but most generally support the proposal of introducing an additional policy on the prohibition of discrimination due to informal care.

Formal reconciliation policies guarantee a greater degree of power to take action in the case of violations; furthermore, they are linked to the reduction of lawsuits, which indicates they can reduce the work-family conflict, while eliminating grounds for the further reporting of discrimination (Adams et al. 2014). The availability of policies as such does not guarantee their actual utilisation; employers do not publish or promote benefits and do not encourage workers to use the existing measures (Calvano 2015). Workers are still reluctant to disclose their carer's identity or discuss eldercare with their superiors (Cullen and Gareis 2011; Spann et al. 2020). They are afraid of negative responses from their managers and colleagues if they exercise the right to use flexible working (NACAARP 2015). Due to the pressure from colleagues they do not exercise the existing procedures and their rights, and the use of flexible working exposes them to possible stigmatisation.

Therefore, formal policies in an organisation are not necessarily a safety net against discrimination of informal elder caregivers (Hirsh et al. 2020). The safety factors that reduce the risk of discrimination include informal arrangements and understanding supervisors and colleagues (Stiell et al. in Cullen and Gareis 2011: 17). Supportive supervisors and positively perceived support of the family have a more significant influence on the perceived family responsibilities discrimination than any benefits arising from reconciliation policies in the organisation (Dickson in Mullins 2021). A supportive work environment also encourages the use of existing policies (Bernard and Phillips 2007: 150). The support and understanding of colleagues and line managers proves to be one of the most important conditions for a successful reconciliation of work and care (Jungblut in Yeandle 2017: 4; Yeandle et al. 2003). However, eldercare as opposed to childcare often receives less understanding in the workplace. Managers tend to respond more favourably to flexible working for childcare than eldercare (Yeandle et al. 2003: 12). Employers' and recruiters' judgments can be influenced by internalised ageist beliefs against the elderly and stereotypes of older people. We could speak about the phenomenon of discrimination by association – employers treat carers badly because of the age of the person they care for. In addition, eldercare may not be disclosed to managers or supervisors due to the relative disrespect of the elderly in contemporary Western societies, where children have taken on an iconic status, which is why, opposingly, child care is often shared and openly discussed with others in the work environment.

The scope of employers' discriminatory treatment of informal elder caregivers also depends on public policies that put pressure on employers to develop carer-friendly policies and act to prevent discrimination. At the EU level, care-work balancing is not addressed in a way that promotes co-ordinated and practical endeavours from the member states; these currently lay more emphasis on childcare (Cullen and Gareis 2011). State policies, designed to facilitate the position of informal elder caregivers, vary significantly among EU states (Cullen and Gareis 2011; Rodrigues et al. 2012); eldercare and the condition of working informal carers is best arranged in Scandinavian countries (Eurofound 2015). In Slovenia, reconciliation policies mainly focus on childcare and much less on caring for other family members (Eurofound 2015: 72; Žakelj and Švab 2009); the rights of relatives in the field of eldercare are limited (Hrženjak 2016). A study by Filipovič Hrast et al. (2020) shows that, in Slovenia, many carers report of flexible and understanding employers; however, this flexibility in reconciliation is not part of a specific strategy which would be supported by the government. In the US, legal provisions related to the rights of informal eldercarers, at the level of federal laws, do not cover this group in more detail and are much less comprehensive as in the case of Western European leave policies (some countries offer additional protection to informal eldercarers; Calvert and Lee 2021). The United States lags far behind Europe in terms of legislation to reconcile work and family and is more focused on anti-discrimination law to root out bias IFCs. Being unable to pass the relevant legislation for balancing work and family led the United States to focus on anti-discrimination law to protect mothers and other family carers.

New EU-level legislation has brought new development into work-family reconciliation and a more efficient protection against the carers' discrimination. The EU Directive on work-life balance for parents and carers (2019/1158) (hereinafter the Directive) brings the opportunity of flexible working for the purpose of eldercare (Article 9) and introduces a new right to carers' leave (Article 6) responding to the needs of an ageing society. A less known novelty is that it prohibits discrimination in the exercising of or striving to exercise the right to apply for flexible working and leave (Article 11). It also introduces, for the first time, protection against dismissal in this relation (Article 12). The protection it provides to elder caregivers also supports gender equality as women continue to be engaged in such caring more often than men (Bell and Waddington 2021).

A part of the Directive is also transferred into its legal order by Slovenia which, previously, did not have such an arrangement in place in eldercare (contrary to the rights related to pregnancy and parenthood). At the legislative level, Slovenia only provided sick leave and part-time work for childcare or care for the spouse/partner, but not for aged parents. However, family law states that caring for parents, when they grow old or fall ill is the obligation of adult children; this could be the basis for more eldercare-friendly workplace policies. The Directive's provisions bring the recognition of the existence of eldercare and the needs of working informal carers. Although new benefits can be understood as victory for elder caregivers, they do not tell the whole story. The downsides are the following: a limited duration of carers' leave (only 5 working days per year) that is not compensated with a payment or benefit (this can diminish the efficiency of the leave); limited access to rights (only including the introduction of a carer's right to file a flexible working request, while the final decision is left to the employer); and the limited definition of the term "carer" (Article 3) referring to care recipients who live in the same household as the working carer, thus excluding a variety of care relationships. Rights remain mainly focused on parents of young children, thus keeping priority over informal elder caregivers. As argued by Caracciolo Di Torella (2020), the general right to non-discrimination due to caring responsibilities is, thus, not guaranteed. To get to the core of the problem faced by informal elder caregivers and to enhance the implementation of the Directive's goals, Di Torella points out that working carers need to be protected not only against discrimination and dismissal for using leave and their rights, but also, more broadly, against care responsibilities discrimination in general.

Besides rights related to leave, shorter working time and flexible working arrangements, carers can also benefit from the legislation on non-discrimination. The carer status is not covered by EU legislation as grounds for discrimination. The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, laying down the grounds for discrimination, does not explicitly address carers' discrimination, which would make the basis for taking action. The lack of specific grounds for discrimination is one of the major obstacles for the protection of carers (Caracciolo Di Torella 2016; Caracciolo Di Torella and Masselot 2020). However, anti-discrimination legislation has seen an important development following the ground breaking judgement by the European Court in 2008, in the *Coleman case*[3]. While

3. Judgement in the case C-303/06, S. Coleman vs Attridge Law, Steve Law, 17 July 2008, EU:C:2008:415

not directly addressing carers' discrimination, the judgement showed that the unfavourable treatment of the plaintiff, the mother of a disabled child, meant unlawful discrimination, within the existing European legislation on persons with disabilities (in relation to employment). The judgement's merit is that working informal carers cannot be treated unfavourably on the grounds of their relation to, or care for, another individual with protected characteristics (disability). The term *associative discrimination* was adopted by European and national courts. In the UK, the 2010 Act on Equality adopted, as a response to the aforementioned judgement of the European Court of Justice, legislation which protected carers of persons with disabilities against discrimination through association (DTA) in the labour market. However, it did not specifically define carers as the group with „the protected characteristics", according to the law (Yeandle et al. 2017). In Slovenia, the legislation provides protection against discrimination due to any personal characteristics, both through recognising the worker's family situation or status as well as the prohibition of the DTA (Article 5 ZVarD), as provided by EU law. While in Slovenia there is no existing judicial practice that would refer to discrimination through association, in 2021, the Advocate for the Principle of Equality considered the case of a working mother of a child with a disability, in which discrimination through association was likely to be present. In the US, federal laws on equality and non-discrimination do not prohibit carers' discrimination as such, but there are circumstances in which discrimination can mean unlawful discordant treatment; they also prohibit discrimination against a worker's association with, or their taking care of, a person with a disability (child, spouse or parent) (U.S. EEOC 2007), although, employers are not required by law to provide reasonable accommodation. Nonetheless, when fighting against the discrimination of carers there are several policy initiatives ranging from the protection of carer status at the federal level (similar to gender- or race-based discrimination) and the implementation of reasonable accommodation for carers of disabled persons, to the introduction of the policy of paid leave (Harwood 2022: 97).

Discrimination through association directly refers to discrimination against carers of persons with disabilities and could potentially also provide protection to carers of the elderly. However, discrimination through association is not necessarily extended to indirect discrimination or to other groups of carers, which means its powers are limited when it comes to improving the situation of working carers (Caracciolo Di Torella 2016).

6 Conclusion

A growing share of working informal elder caregivers and the increasing care-work conflict, due to the way care responsibilities are spilling into work responsibilities, are raising the question about the employment discrimination of this group of carers. In revealing and understanding discrimination, and developing strategies of prevention and protection against it, a wider context needs to be considered to include factors influencing the unequal treatment of carers, such as: stereotypical ideas about gender roles and ideal worker norm; weak public policies of work-care balance; deficient organisational policies of work-care reconciliation for carers; unsupportive organisational culture; and vague antidiscrimination laws for carers, which are not specific enough. Research shows that discrimination of informal elder caregivers is present in many societies and parts of the world. Its scope and manifestations, along with (formal and informal) potential for work-care reconciliation, depend on the combined and cumulative effects of cultural, organisational, policy and legal factors within individual countries. As pointed out by Henle et al. (2020) it also depends on the caring (eldercare, caring for multiple generations), the job context, and workers' experiences, which may also vary due to different values (individualism versus collectivism). Although women's share in care is greater and certain drawbacks in employment, promotion and job retention are more likely for women than for men, men often have similar or even worse experiences of discrimination.

Especially within the EU, an important role has been played by carer-friendly policies introduced to explicitly address the participation of carers (who are mainly women) with their specific needs, and particularly the elder caregivers, in the labour market, and their non-discrimination. Specific progress has been noticed recently, with a series of organisations introducing measures to provide a more egalitarian arrangement of employment prospects of informal elder caregivers. The elimination of gender stereotypes for informal carers and the stigma of flexibility are needed in parallel with the establishment of adequate policies. It is stereotypes and stigmatisation that are among the most tenacious causes of discrimination and the prevention of (officially recognised) equal opportunities for women and men, and carers and non-carers, to be exercised in the labour market. It is important to guarantee the use of flexible working arrangements and care leave without fear of a negative response in the workplace from anybody, regardless of their gender and the type of family informal care that they do. With organisational culture being crucially important here, the existence of the flexibility stigma and its extent needs to be looked into to help us understand, how to tackle and how to overcome it. At the state level, the following actions are necessary: exercise of the relevant policies of eldercare and the instillation of adequate legislation or (within the EU) to transfer the Directive on work-life reconciliation to national legislations (to provide the informal elder caregivers the right to flexible working and paid care leave and their non-discrimination). Last but not least, countries, such as Slovenia, which lag behind in the field, need to put in place a comprehensive regime of care for the elderly, sick or disabled relatives or a systemic arrangement of long-term (formal and consequently informal) eldercare.

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MARGINALISATION OF OLDER PEOPLE'S PROBLEMS AS A REFLECTION OF NEWS VALUES: THE CASE OF THE NEWSPAPER DELO

ABSTRACT

This study evaluates whether older people's problems are recognised as newsworthy by studying the level of attention they are given in a Slovenian daily newspaper. The data source was Slovenian newspaper articles on old age published in Delo *between 2004 and 2018. Quantitative content analysis was used to evaluate the prevalence of older people's problems. The study found that 124 (or 10%) of all the articles sampled (N = 1243) on old age in the newspaper reported on older people's problems in Slovenia. The finding is discussed in relation to the news values theory and sociological scholarship on ageing. According to the results, older people's problems are less likely to be recognised as news by journalists and editors because they do not align fully with news values.*

KEY WORDS: media representation, social problems, old age, marginalisation, news values theory

Marginalizacija problemov starih ljudi kot odsev novičarskih vrednot: primer časopisa *Delo*

IZVLEČEK

Članek ugotavlja, ali so problemi starih ljudi prepoznani kot vredni novinarskega zanimanja, in sicer s proučevanjem stopnje pozornosti, ki so je deležni v slovenskem dnevnem časopisu. Vir podatkov je slovenska raziskava časopisnih prispevkov o starosti, objavljenih v Delu *v obdobju 2004–2018. Za oceno* *razširjenosti družbenih problemov, s katerimi se soočajo stari ljudje, je bila uporabljena kvantitativna analiza vsebine. Raziskava je pokazala, da je 124 ali 10 odstotkov vseh pregledanih časopisnih prispevkov (N = 1243) o starosti poročalo o problemih starih ljudi v Sloveniji. Ugotovitev je obravnavana v povezavi s teorijo novičarskih vrednot in s sociološkimi spoznanji o staranju. Avtor prispevka ugotavlja da novinarji in uredniki probleme starih ljudi manj verjetno prepoznajo kot novico, ker se v celoti ne skladajo z novičarskimi vrednotami.*

KLJUČNE BESEDE: medijske reprezentacije, družbeni problemi, starost, marginalizacija, teorija novičarskih vrednot

1 Introduction[1]

Representatives of the Frankfurt School have identified the media as an important factor in the reproduction of modern societies, seeing them not only as a source of information and leisure activities, but also as agents of socialisation and mediators of political reality (Kellner 2004).

The media shape everyday relationships between individuals and society (Livingstone 2009: xi). They play an important role in society by constructing the world in a way that establishes social cohesion on the basis of shared experience and culturally conditioned behaviour (Kreačič 2004). Through the production and reproduction of certain content the media influence one's perception of the world (Fairclough 1995), values and attitudes (Laban and Poler Kovačič 2007). Although we have built up an accurate image of the world around us, only part of it is based on personal experience. Much of what we "know" about the world is based on agreeing with other people that a certain thing is "true". However, agreement about reality is strongly influenced by the images produced and reproduced about "reality" by the media[2] (Gorham 1999).

Media representations are a unique way of categorising and systematising reality, which pursue the goal of bringing order to the narrative of an article and thus making it meaningful. Often, this need for order and clarity (journalists are trained to write in a way that presents the content as clearly as possible) leads to oversimplification and narrowing of the narrative field, which usually reflects

1. This study builds in part on the author's PhD thesis "Representations of old age in Slovene daily newspapers" that was conducted under the framework of tasks (co-)financed from the state budget under contracts concluded between the ARRS and the author.
2. The media are considered as key institution in constructing the society's attitude toward marginalised social groups (Jalušič 2001). However, they are not the only institution offering a source of information about "reality". Family, educational institutions and other people with whom a person has contact, are important sources of information as well.

cultural and historical social practices. Media influence everyday interactions, including attitudes towards older people[3], and shape perceptions of one's own old age. As Loos and Ivan (2018: 164) note, media representations reflect the logics by which images of old age, ageing and older people are produced and reproduced. In the production and reproduction of images of old age and ageing, journalists act as gatekeepers. News stories express opinions, beliefs and ideologies that are shaped, selected or reinforced by the political orientation of the newspaper and by both the editor's and the journalist's mental and cultural resources (Chen 2015).

The more attention the media give to an issue, the more important it will seem to people, but the reverse is also true: what the media do not talk about will seem less important to people. The latter can also be said for media representations of old age and ageing, since, as Milner et al. (2012) note, the mass media provide a critical platform for communicating the meanings and experiences of ageing across generations and play a key role in shaping the public agenda on old-age-related issues (Milner et al. 2012; Bergström and Edström 2022).

The present study of older people's problems as represented in the media is part of a wider research interest in newspaper reporting on social issues associated with marginalised people that has roots in Birmingham's cultural studies from the 1970s (Imran 2022). In Slovenia, there has been an increasing interest in exploring media representations of socially marginalized groups, such as migrants (e.g., Kralj 2008; Pajnik, 2007; Vezovnik 2018; Smrdelj 2021) and homosexuals (e.g., Kuhar 2003; Smrdelj et al. 2021). However, studies focusing on media portrayals of older adults in Slovenia remain limited (Gerdina 2022).

International research has demonstrated that older people are underrepresented in the media compared to their actual proportion within the population (e.g., Danowski and Robinson 2012; Edström 2018; Kessler et al. 2004). Makita et al. (2021) linked the underrepresentation of older people in the media to the fact that social groups that are less valued in society are absent or negatively represented in the media. Some authors further suggest that the absence of older people in the media can be seen as an indicator of their marginalisation (Nosowska et al. 2014; Vasil and Wass 1993). The latter is also in line with the hypothesis that the status of certain social groups in society can be evaluated through their presence or absence in the media (Harwood 2020; Ylänne 2020). The objective of this study was to evaluate whether older people's problems are recognised as newsworthy by studying the level of attention they receive in the

3. Unless otherwise stated, the term "older people" refers to people aged 65 and over, which is considered the retirement age in Slovenia and most of Europe.

Slovene daily newspaper, *Delo*. We set the following research questions:

1) What share of newspaper articles on old age, ageing and older people tackles older people's problems in the daily newspaper, *Delo*?
2) Does the relative attention given to older people's problems by the daily newspaper, *Delo*, compare to indirect indicators of the prevalence of older people's problems, such as the at-risk-of-poverty rate or the proportion of older people at risk of social exclusion in Slovenia?

The findings are then interrogated against the backdrop that the news value theory and sociology of ageing have to offer.

2 News values as determinants of newsworthiness

News values are intrinsic properties of (potential) news that contribute to making an event or topic newsworthy (Kepplinger 2008). These values emerged during the professionalization of journalism as a means to assist journalists and editors in determining the structure and prioritization of reporting (Bednarek and Caple 2014; Luthar 2004). News values are obtained through the socialisation of journalists (Joye, Heinrich and Wohlert 2016), which "involves their reliance on specific rules and formulas that help them to obtain not only accurate but also successful stories, and help them to identify which events or people can make news" (Gibb and Holroyd 1996: 152). The world views and mental representations of journalists therefore co-shape the production of news – most obviously in the judgement of which topics are worthy of publication.

One of the most influential theories for explaining the news selection process in communication sciences has been described by Galtung and Ruge in 1965 (Harcup and O'Neill 2001). To explain why certain events or stories receive more attention in the news media than others, Galtung and Ruge (1965) studied the structure of foreign news in Norwegian newspapers and composed a list of 12 news values that influence whether an event is more likely to be recognised as newsworthy (Harcup and O'Neill 2001). The first eight news values were based on the universal principles of human behaviour, and the last four were said to be culturally dependent and aimed at describing the press of Western nations (Galtung and Ruge 1965).

Since Galtung and Ruge's (1965) seminal study was published, many authors have empirically confirmed the source list of the 12 values (e.g. Joye 2010; Golan 2008), while others have revised and modified the original taxonomy (e.g. Gans 1979; Bell 1991), but most of them came up with very similar lists (see, for example, Harcup and O'Neill 2001). The *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication* points out that despite the proliferation of different lists of news values, most "overlap with each other in terms of the aspects of newsworthiness they deal with and only differ in their labelling/naming practices" (Caple 2018: 10). While these studies point to the fact that no list of news values can ever be complete (Harcup and O'Neill 2017), they also strengthen the notion that news values are an inherent part of the news selection process in different countries, heterogenous settings and various media outlets (and presentations). Or, as Imran (2022: 56) puts it, "The significance of Galtung and Ruge's work remains momentous as their taxonomy continues to be reviewed, cited, scrutinized and criticized".

To provide an explanation for the level of attention that older people's problems receive in the Slovene daily newspaper *Delo,* the news values theory and sociological scholarship on old age and ageing will be consulted. Given the centrality of Galtung and Ruge's (1965) theory in communication research and the fact that it is still used in the 21st century, we used the original set of news values as described by Galtung and Ruge (1965: 65–71) as our explanatory framework. The 12 news values are described as follows:

1) Frequency
   An event is more likely to be covered in the media if it occurs with the same frequency as the media than phenomena that last longer (e.g. social trends).
2) Threshold
   To be considered at all, an event must reach a certain intensity. Among the events considered, those that are more likely to be newsworthy are those that are more likely to be influential or intense.
3) Unambiguity
   The less ambiguous an event is or the fewer ways it can be interpreted, the more likely it is to become news. The more clearly the meaning of an event is understood, the more likely it is to be selected as news.
4) Meaningfulness
   Events that are culturally closer to people (e.g. from countries with similar cultures) will have a higher chance of being selected for the news because they are more in line with the frame of reference of the news selector.
5) Consonance
   The person who chooses the event that will become news may anticipate or even wish for something to happen, creating a mental pre-image of the event that increases the likelihood of it becoming news when it happens.
6) Unexpectedness
   Among the events that are culturally familiar, those that are most unexpected and rare are likely to be selected as news. The reverse is also true. If certain problems are expected, they are less likely to be selected as news.

7) Continuity
   Once an event hits the headlines, it remains in the media spotlight for some time – even when its profile has diminished – because it has become familiar and easier to interpret. Continuous coverage of the event also serves to justify the attention it has already received.
8) Compositional balance
   It may be that an event is more likely to be recognised as news if it fits the overall composition or balance of the newspaper, rather than because of its own characteristics. For example, it may be that more complex stories will be balanced by more trivial ones or that a negative event may lead to the reporting of a positive event that would not in itself make news.
9) Elite nations
   The actions of elite nations are seen as more influential than those of other nations, and the definition of elite depends on the cultural, political and economic context.
10) Elite people
   The actions of elite and often famous people may be more important than others in the eyes of those who choose the news, and they may also expect readers to identify with them more readily.
11) Personification
   In the news, rather than being the result of social forces, events are presented as the actions of people (preferably with names and surnames). This personification refers to cultural idealism, where humankind is the master of their own destiny and events are perceived as the result of acts of free will.
12) Negativity
   Negative news is more likely to be seen as clear and coherent, more likely to be unexpected and more likely to unfold in a short time span.

Lists such as the one compiled by Galtung and Ruge (1965) facilitate the identification of the formal elements of news production but say little about other potential influences such as the impact of deadlines (Schultz 2007), commercial pressures (Caple and Bednardek 2015) and the economic, political and social context in which the media operate (Fowler 1991). However, they can be a valuable tool for studying wider sociocultural factors that are most often taken for granted, since news values tend to align with and reflect the sociocultural values prevalent in society (Makki 2019). Take the criterion of unexpectedness as an example. An event can only be unexpected in relation to the expected "normal" or "natural" course of life. Hall even suggests that "the vast majority of news stories report small, unexpected events in the expected continuity of social life and institutions" (Hall 1972: 234). This implied expected continuity reinforces a sense of the naturalness and normality of the world in which we live and helps maintain the status quo: "What is known is not a set of neutral facts. It is a set of commonsense constructions and ideological interpretations of the world that binds society together at the level of everyday beliefs" (Hall 1972: 235). For example, if a journalist reports on a 70-year-old businessman and is surprised that he can still work at such an advanced age, the journalist is, on the one hand, implicitly communicating that septuagenarians are mostly incapable of working and, on the other hand, unwarily reinforcing the social convention of retirement based on chronological age (rather than, say, an individual's psychophysical abilities). In other words, journalists operate within the culture in which they live, which means that, in most cases, they rely on beliefs about old age and ageing that are shared by members of that culture to create content, even if they are not aware of it. There is no reason to believe that journalists are less prone to overlooking individual differences, making generalisations about old age and stereotyping older people than anyone else. Slovenian daily newspapers, for instance, reinforce the widely held idea that old age is a qualitatively different and distinct life stage, characterised by specific and intensive risks, treat older people as a homogeneous group separate from the rest of society, and subject them to age-based rather than individual judgements (Gerdina 2022). Therefore, an analysis of both the formal elements of news production and the sociocultural imaginaries of old age is required to explain the prevalence of older people's problems in the media.

3 Materials and methods

3.1 Selection of material for analysis

The data source for the analysis was newspaper articles on old age, ageing and older people published in *Delo*, the daily newspaper in Slovenia, in the period 2004–2018. *Delo* was chosen because of its high circulation and central role in shaping the media landscape in Slovenia (European Press Roundup 2023). We focused on the daily newspaper with news content because, unlike other media genres, news media are more likely to be perceived as a source of "real" information (Kovács et al. 2020). Furthermore, information that people perceive as "real" can be assumed to have a greater impact on their perception of the world, their actions and their relationships with other individuals and groups. Although newspaper circulation is declining sharply, news media are still relevant to study because their information is subsequently distributed through electronic and other communication channels or other media (Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart 2009; Bright 2016).

3.2 Justification of the time period

The chosen 15-year period for the analysis encompasses the years from Slovenia's accession to the EU in 2004 to 2018. Slovenia's accession to the EU was chosen as the starting point for the analysis, as the EU encourages Member States to open up and address demographic issues, which, in addition to migration and natality, include ageing and old age. The latter is supported by Mali and Hrovatič (2015), who note that the care of older people and old age in Slovenia has received special attention since the 2000s, when several social policy documents were adopted that plan and define the care of the older people. The increased attention to old age and ageing at the beginning of the 21st century is also reflected in the creation of the Anton Trstenjak Institute for Gerontology and Intergenerational Coexistence in 2004, co-founded by the Government of the Republic of Slovenia.

Due to the large number of newspaper issues during this period, the research was limited to five points in time within the selected interval. The election years 2004, 2008, 2011, 2014 and 2018 were chosen because old age and old-age-related issues can be expected to be higher on the political, and thus media, agenda due to the desire of political parties to win older people's votes (Stojanović, Prelević and Jovanović 2013).

3.3 Data collection

The articles for the analysis were retrieved using an internal electronic search of ČZP *Delo*'s newspaper files. Two separate searches were carried out on the electronic database, looking for the presence of the keyword roots *star* (old) and *pokoj* (retire) anywhere in the texts that were part of the daily Monday to Saturday editions, excluding supplements, during the selected period. The advantage of this approach compared to selecting texts based only on keywords in headlines or descriptive indexes is that it also manages to locate articles that are infrequently present (Riff et al. 2014). The focus on daily editions was made because, in addition to the large number of articles that directly affect the social imaginary of old age, they also contain a large amount of news, and these are "understood as the most important media genre for agenda-setting" (Edström 2018: 84).

The sample (N = 1243) only included texts of journalistic articles with content of more than 50% on age, ageing or older people and excluded texts in the following categories: humour and anecdotes, black chronicles (e.g., crime reporting), artwork reviews, letters from readers, paid promotions, obituaries and non-textual material. The material was selected by the author with the help of a qualified working group. Table 1 lists the number of texts that met the inclusion criterion and formed the final[4] sample for the content analysis. The data are unique because the material was originally created without the researcher's influence and, in this sense, can be understood as independent (Bowen 2009).

Table 1: Number of included texts on old age and older people 2004–2018.

Number of contributions by year						
Magazine/Year	2004	2008	2011	2014	2018	**Total**
Delo	192	260	285	200	306	**1243**

4 Analysis procedure and results

In order to answer our research questions, we read the collected material (N = 1243) and, by means of quantitative content analysis, determined for each article whether it identified the main topic as a social problem. Quantitative content analysis was chosen because it provides insight into the social reality that can be inferred from the text (Neuendorf 2002). A social problem in this paper, following Jamrozik and Nocella (1998), is understood as a problem that the author of the paper identifies as something that:

a) is undesirable, negative or threatening to important social values and interests or is perceived as threatening to society;
b) concerns something of social origin (e.g. a social circumstance, process, arrangement or attitude); and
c) is socially manageable and amenable to social control.

We further categorised the contributions that addressed social issues as follows:

a) contributions that address older people's problems (e.g. poverty, social exclusion, poor access to services, mobility problems, inadequate housing, unregulated long-term care, etc.).
b) contributions that address a social problem for which older people or an ageing population are considered responsible (e.g. unbalanced public finances, intergenerational conflict, labour shortages due to an ageing population, strain on the health system, etc.).

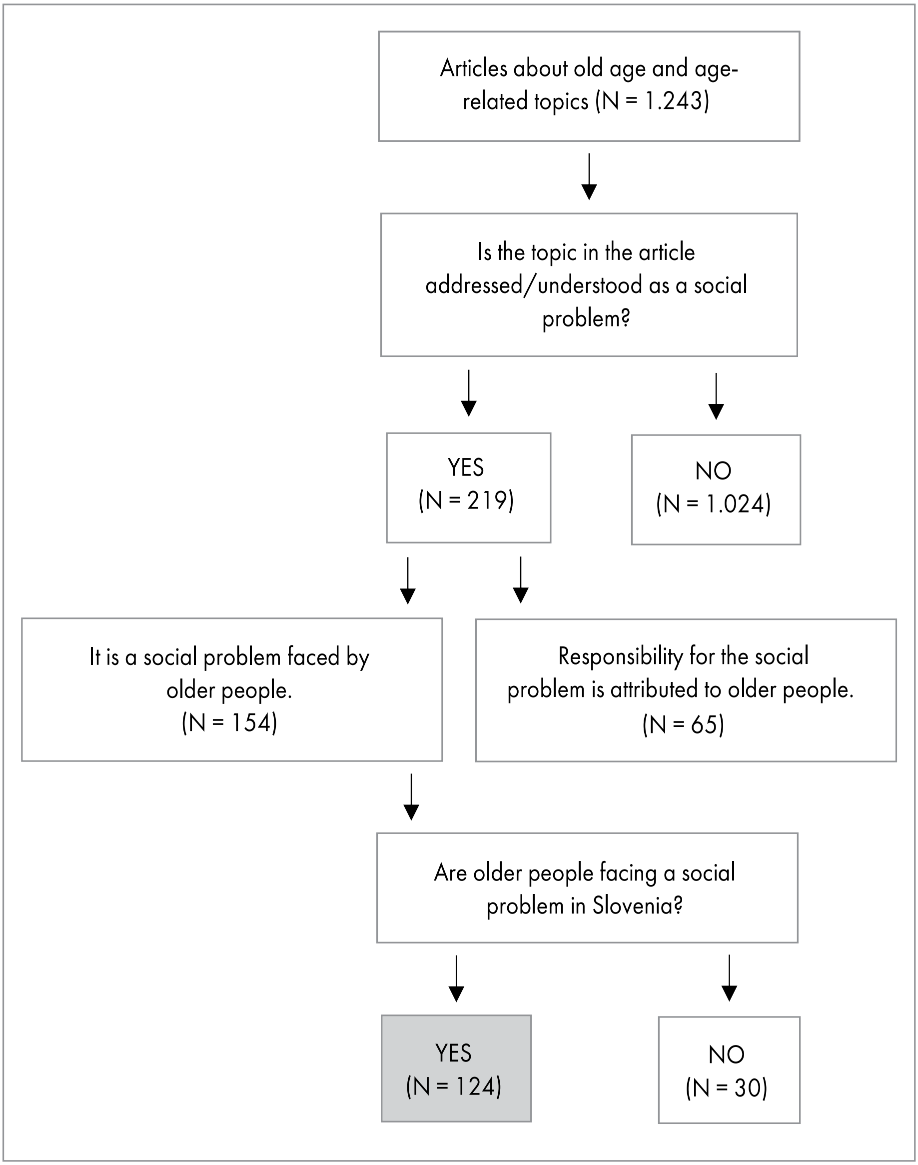
Only the contributions that addressed older people's problems in Slovenia were considered for analysis.

According to the news values theory, the more that older people's problems align with news values, the higher the share of articles about older people's

4. The database is available from the author.

problems is expected within newspaper reporting on old age, ageing and older people and vice versa. We found that 124 or 10% of all the sampled articles (N = 1243) on old age in the newspaper reported on older people's problems in Slovenia (see Figure 1).

Image 1: Identification of older people's problems.



Indirect indicators, such as the at-risk-of-poverty rate or the proportion of older people at risk of social exclusion, were higher during the period under review, which indicates a relatively low level of newspaper attention to older people's problems. For example, the proportion of people aged 65 and over living at risk of poverty was higher than the proportion of representations of older people's problems in the newspaper during the selected period of analysis. The proportion of people 65 years old or older in the population at risk of poverty was lowest in 2018, when it stood at 13.5% (SURS 2021). Over the selected period, more than 16% of people aged 65 and over were at risk of social exclusion, with the lowest proportion, also recorded in 2018 (ibid.). However, despite the fact that older people's problems are more widespread among the general Slovenian population than in the newspaper representations we cannot yet speak of the underrepresentation of these problems, as the amount of coverage does not necessarily coincide with the actual severity of the problems, as pointed out by the literature on agenda-setting (Kim et al. 2010). Instead, the low prevalence of older people's problems in the Slovene daily newspaper, *Delo*, may signal that older people's problems are marginalised because they do not reach the criterion of newsworthiness as set out by the news values theory.

5 Discussion

Our study found that older people's problems are marginalised in the Slovene daily newspaper, *Delo*. This is in line with Imran's (2022: 69) observation that journalists tend not to view older people as newsworthy. This can be explained by combining insights from the news value theory and scholarship on the sociology of ageing. The media shape the public agenda in the sense that they direct our attention to certain topics and areas and thus help shape our ideas and opinions on various issues (Weaver 2007). As we pointed out in the introduction, the attention the media give to certain events is the result of selective filtering – a process that determines what becomes news and what does not. Galtung and Ruge (1965) identified 12 factors that influence the likelihood that an event will be recognised as newsworthy by the journalists and editors, and subsequent researchers have applied their taxonomy and provided it with additional empirical support (Joye 2010; Golan 2008). Galtung and Ruge (1965) also claimed that the more factors a news story carries, the more newsworthy it seems and that a particular story can make up for lacking some factors by being particularly strong on others (Galtung and Ruge 1965). Part of the reason for the low level of coverage of older people's problems may be that these problems often fail to meet the criteria of almost half of the factors identified: frequency, unambiguity, meaningfulness, unexpectedness and elite people.

5.1 Frequency

Since the media (especially the daily media, which include newspapers) are more likely to report on a one-off event than on a long-term social trend, long-term problems and issues are less likely to be selected for news coverage. The frequency criterion eliminates many older people's problems, as these are distinctly the result of lifelong deprivations rather than one-off life events. It is social systems of resource allocation, institutions and human agency that crucially shape life course outcomes (Elman and O'Rand 2004; O'Rand 2003). For example, research has shown that health risks in later life are associated with family characteristics and intergenerational resource flows (O'Rand 2006). Specifically, childhood deprivation (O'Rand and Hamil-Luker 2005) is a risk factor for the development of health problems in adult life, and these further affect an individual's ability and opportunities in the labour market, with implications for both social status in old age and the speed with which age-related psychophysical processes unfold. The process by which disadvantages in one life stage and domain lead to disadvantages in later life and in other domains could be illustrated by many other examples. However, what has been said is sufficient to show that many problems in old age are not sudden (e.g. as in the case of personal bankruptcy) and that problems (e.g. health) drag on over a long period of time. This, in turn, means that such problems are less likely to receive attention in daily newspapers according to the news value theory.

5.2 Unambiguity

If clearly understandable events with unique interpretations are more likely to make the news, older people's problems, which are often multifaceted and complex, are less likely to make the news, according to this theory. In old age, problems in one area are more strongly intertwined with problems in other areas than in other periods of life. Take, for example, the problem of social exclusion in old age, which we have already shown to be widespread in Slovenia during the period under review. As Scharf and Keating (2012) note, the likelihood that people will experience multiple forms of exclusion increases above averagely with age. Research shows convincingly that the domains and dimensions of exclusion intersect (for a review, see Walsh et al. 2017). Exclusion from cultural activities can be related to exclusion from local services, from civic participation through access to information and social relations, from social relations through material resources, from access to basic services and from the neighbourhood (Van Regenmortel et al. 2016).

5.3 Meaningfulness

It should be pointed out that Galtung and Ruge (1965) only looked at news about foreign international high-profile events to determine which events become newsworthy. They found that events from countries with similar cultures were more likely to be selected for publication because they were more consistent with the frame of reference of the news selector. By analogy, if we apply the latter criterion to domestic reporting on different age groups, we can assume that content that is closer to the frame of reference or more in line with the culture and values of journalists or editors will have a higher chance of making the news. As older people are being othered in our society (see de Beauvoir 1996; Butler 2002), from the writer's point of view, they may be so far removed from their frame of reference that they already resemble the alien cultures mentioned by Galtung and Ruge (1965). Othering in old age is partly the fault of gerontology itself, which highlights and studies older people in contrast to the rest of humanity (Rozanova et al. 2006). Typical examples are Rose's (1962) theory of the subculture, which predicted that older people would separate from society, form their own community, develop a collective consciousness and form their own subculture, and Tornstam's (2017) theory of gerotranscendence, which argues that we should see old age as a period of life that is qualitatively different from life in middle age. Thus, if journalists and editors do not recognise themselves in older people and find the (sub)culture of older people alien, they are less likely to find older people's problems newsworthy.

5.4 Unexpectedness

In a society dominated by negative old-age stereotypes, many older people's problems can be accepted as normal and therefore uninteresting for media coverage. If poverty or health problems in old age are not considered unusual or rare or are taken for granted, then journalists can hardly be expected to write about them, let alone investigate their social causes. For example, if inaccurate old-age stereotypes lead journalists to perceive pain and suffering as a natural state of old age, they may be oblivious to the fact that many health problems faced by older people remain overlooked due to ageism in healthcare (Voss et al. 2018). For example, they are less likely to notice that older people are more likely than other age groups to be over- or under-medicated for pain, to be tested less frequently for sexually transmitted diseases or substance abuse or to be on organ transplant lists (Swift and Steen 2020).

5.5 Elite people

The elite position on the age ladder is occupied by middle-aged people, while young and older people are marginalised (Swift et al. 2018; Van Dyk 2016). This means that most older people, especially the fraction of older people who face a range of problems, are seen as less worthy of media attention than middle-aged people, as they are more likely to have negligible social power, low status and relatively little disposable wealth, respect and influence (Garstka et al. 2004). The exceptions are wealthy people who manage to live so well into old age, fulfilling the ideals of productivity, efficiency and independence that, despite their chronological age, old-age social status is not ascribed to them. Kovács et al. (2020) found that traditional stereotypes of influential older people still dominate Hungarian television news, and they are likely to appear together with topics related to power, control and knowledge (e.g. politics, migration, education, as well as their field of expertise). Their appearance is youthful, dominated by people of higher socioeconomic status (wearing more elegant clothes) and those in positions of responsibility and active production. Old age is accentuated in the case of the poor, the frail, the sick and the lonely older people, who are not members of the elite and are excluded from an increasing number of important social roles. Their problems are not attractive enough to make the news.

5.6 Methodological limitations and implications for future research

From a sociological point of view, the study of newspaper representations of older people's problems is of particular interest because it provides a powerful insight into the moral compass of society and its attitude towards old age and older people. However, these results should not be seen in isolation as evidence of the general public's attitude towards older people. They should be seen as supporting other research with a more direct illustration of attitudes towards older people that they face over time (e.g. public opinion surveys, interviews, etc.) (Koskinen et al. 2014). While beyond the scope of the present article, a qualitative content analysis of the identified material would in future allow for a more detailed account of what and whose particular problems in old age make the news and how the composition of such problems changes over time.

Furthermore, in this paper, we were interested in problems that are perceived as social problems by the journalists. Problems that were seen by the journalists as personal problems (linked to an individual's characteristics and behaviour) were excluded from the analysis, as a particular situation, event or incident must be identified as part of a social problem if it is to prompt demands for policymakers to do something (Parsons 1995). While the sociological rationale for this exclusion is additionally theoretically grounded in Mills's work that emphasises that personal problems are socially less significant as they are seen as depoliticised and disconnected from wider social structures (Mills 2000), repeated reporting on these problems could lead to personal problems becoming social problems in the future. We nevertheless excluded personal problems from the analysis, as, based on theories of agenda-setting (e.g. Parsons 1995), they were not expected to have a high impact on the political agenda in the period under observation during this study.

Moreover, this study was concerned with published texts, which were the end product of a complex selection process influenced at least by social norms and cultural values, interest and political group pressures, professional routines (Tewksburry and Scheufele, 2009), as well as organization structure of the media institutions, availability of financial sources, editorial policies etc. (Poler Kovačič 2015). Future research will need to explore these influences in more detail, if it is to establish, the influence of various factors involved in the selection of news. Future studies could also conduct interviews with information sources, journalists, editors, newspaper owners and explore how their attitudes towards and beliefs about old age and older people's problems influence the news selection process.

In addition, this paper examined what was said at the level of text in a Slovene daily newspaper, *Delo*, excluding supplements. This gave us a deeper insight into the construction of older people's problems that dominate the news. Although news is the most important genre for setting the agenda (Edström 2018), constructions of age in interpretive genres are also important for the formation of social imaginaries of age and age identities. Future research could build on the results of this study by analysing representations of older people's problems in topical supplements and other media forms such as magazines, online social media or television.

Finally, although this article serves not only as a snapshot of the situation, but also as an archaeological report for future research on representations of older people's problems in a specific culture and at a specific historical time, its findings apply only to Slovenia. However, they will also resonate in other ageing societies whose researchers will be able to use them for comparison.

6 Conclusion

This study found that the problems of older people receive a relatively low level of newspaper coverage in the Slovene daily newspaper, *Delo*. The news values theory and insights from the sociology of ageing provided a useful lens through which to view and explore the marginalisation of older people's problems in the daily newspaper. This article showed that the marginalisation of older people's problems can (at least in part) be attributed to the fact that older people's problems are often long-term, obscure, unfamiliar and expected and rarely relate to elite people, preventing them from being recognised as news by the newspaper journalists and editors.

The marginalisation of a particular social group in the media means that this group of people is less important in society (Nosowska et al. 2014). If you have no voice and are not part of the media agenda, you become more or less invisible in society (Bergström and Edström 2022). Relative inattention to older people's problems in *Delo* increases the likelihood that these problems will not be recognised as important in society. If older people's problems are not recognised as important, they also have little chance of being placed on the political agenda, where systemic solutions for them can be provided.

It is the media that provide access to social problems and have the power to construct individual problems as social problems (Kellner 2004). The marginalisation of older people's problems in the Slovene daily newspaper, *Delo*, means that older people are largely deprived of the strategies and messages that could help them understand and solve the problems they face. To avoid this outcome, this study recommends that the journalists and editors, reflect on whether older people's problems seem less newsworthy because they lack news values or are dependent on the fact that the journalists are not themselves old and therefore do not identify with issues that are characteristic of old age and ageing.

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ŠOLSKA SVETOVALNA SLUŽBA V PRIMEŽU PRIKRITEGA KURIKULUMA

IZVLEČEK

Prikriti kurikulum predstavlja različne razsežnosti pedagoškega delovanja. Nanaša se na (strokovno) znanje, razmerja moči in družbeno-kulturni kontekst, v katerem delujemo. V članku predstavljamo razumevanje prikritega kurikuluma s perspektive šolskih svetovalnih delavcev.[1] *Predstavljene so ugotovitve kvalitativne analize intervjujev s 37 šolskimi svetovalnimi delavci. Analizirano je, kaj šolski svetovalni delavci razumejo pod izrazom prikriti kurikulum, kako ga prepoznajo in kako se nanj odzivajo. Rezultati kažejo, da šolski svetovalni delavci poznajo osnovne opredelitve prikritega kurikuluma, bolj poglobljena analiza njihovih odgovorov pa je pokazala, da je to razumevanje pogosto nepopolno in neustrezno. V prihodnje bo treba več pozornosti nameniti prepoznavanju in prisotnosti prikritega kurikuluma, tako v šolah na splošno kot tudi pri delu šolske svetovalne službe.*

KLJUČNE BESEDE: šolska svetovalna služba, prikriti kurikulum, učitelji, vzgojno-disciplinske prakse, subjektivne in implicitne teorije

School Counselling Service in the Grip of a Hidden Curriculum

ABSTRACT

The hidden curriculum refers to various dimensions of pedagogical activity that concern (professional) knowledge, power relations and the socio-cultural context in which educators operate. The article presents ways in which school counsellors

1. V besedilu smo zaradi poenostavitve uporabljali izraze v slovnični obliki moškega spola, ki so uporabljeni kot nevtralni in veljajo enakovredno za vse.

understand the hidden curriculum. The findings of qualitative analysis of interviews with 37 school counsellors are presented. Focus is given to how school counsellors understand the term hidden curriculum, recognise and respond to it. While the results revealed that school counsellors know the basic definitions of the hidden curriculum, deeper analysis of their answers showed this understanding is often incomplete and inadequate. In the future, greater attention should be paid to the extent to which the hidden curriculum is recognised and present in both schools generally and the work of the school counselling service.

KEY WORDS: school counselling service, hidden curriculum, teachers, routine, educational and disciplinary practices, subjective and implicit theories

1 Uvod[2]

Šolska svetovalna služba pomembno prispeva k etosu posamezne vzgojno-izobraževalne ustanove. Njene glavne naloge so definirane v *Programskih smernicah za delo svetovalne službe* (Programske smernice … 2008a, 2008b), ki posameznemu svetovalnemu delavcu prepuščajo, da si znotraj osnovnih področij dela in temeljnih nalog v skladu s svojo strokovno usposobljenostjo sam izbere prioritetne naloge, ki jih prilagaja potrebam vzgojno-izobraževalne ustanove in njenih udeležencev. Tako svetovalna služba prek svoje strokovne avtonomije v veliki meri sooblikuje vrednotno naravnanost posamezne vzgojno--izobraževalne ustanove, tako na ravni načrtovanih in zapisanih usmeritev ter uradnega kurikuluma kot tudi na ravni vsega tistega, kar ni zapisano in opredeljeno. S slednjim pomembno definira vsakdan vzgojno-izobraževalnih ustanov ter vpliva na norme in vrednote, ki se jih naučimo v šoli, pa se o njih ne govori niti niso neposredno načrtovane. Gre za fenomen, ki ga pedagoška teorija v najširšem smislu imenuje prikriti kurikulum.[3] S proučevanjem tega pojava se je v preteklosti ukvarjalo več avtorjev v tujini (Apple 1990; Gable 2021; Giroux 1978; Jackson 1968; Kentli 2009; Lynch 1989; Öztok 2019; Vallence 1973), pa tudi v Sloveniji (Bida 2012; Jug Došler 2021; Golobič Bergar 2012; Kroflič 2005; Lepičnik - Vodopivec in dr. 2019). V Sloveniji je to področje empirično šibko raziskano, še posebej na področju svetovalnega dela. V prispevku *Prikriti kurikulum s perspektive šolskih svetovalnih delavk v Sloveniji* (izvirnik *The hidden*

2. Članek je rezultat raziskovalnega programa št. P5-0174 Pedagoško-andragoško raziskovanje – Učenje in izobraževanje za kakovostno življenje v skupnosti, ki ga financira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.
3. Prikriti kurikulum je tesno povezan s pojmom ničelni kurikulum, ki se nanaša na to, česar šole ne učijo. Tega v tem besedilu ne tematiziramo.

curriculum from the perspective of school counsellors in Slovenia) (Jeznik in Gregorčič Mrvar 2022) so bili predstavljeni splošni vidiki prikritega kurikuluma, v tem prispevku pa se osredotočamo na vidike, ki so aktualni predvsem na ravni specifičnosti šolskega sistema v Sloveniji. Predstavili bomo analizo 37 intervjujev s šolskimi svetovalnimi delavci, pri čemer nas bo zanimalo, kako šolski svetovalni delavci opredelijo prikriti kurikulum in ali so te opredelitve skladne s teoretskimi opredelitvami, ki jih bomo predstavili v članku. Ker šolski svetovalni delavci ves čas sodelujejo tudi z drugimi pedagoškimi delavci (Gregorčič Mrvar in dr. 2020), bomo analizirali, ali in kako šolski svetovalni delavci fenomen prikritega kurikuluma prepoznavajo pri drugih, pa tudi pri svojem delu. Analizirali bomo tudi, kako se nanj odzivajo.

2 Opredelitev prikritega kurikuluma

Proučevanje prikritega kurikuluma dobi večji zanos v drugi polovici 20. stoletja (Apple 1990; Giroux 1978; Jackson 1968; Lynch 1989; Vallance 1973). Sodobne študije ga proučujejo na različnih ravneh izobraževanja, npr. na ravni visokošolskega izobraževanja (Gable 2021) in tudi v okviru izobraževanja odraslih (Jug Došler 2021) ter v različnih vzgojno-izobraževalnih oblikah, npr. v kontekstu izobraževanja na daljavo (Öztok 2019). V nadaljevanju bomo – podobno kot nekateri drugi avtorji (Skelton 1997; Hozjan 2019) – prikriti kurikulum opredelili skozi štiri pristope: funkcionalizem, kriticizem, liberalizem in postmodernizem.

Pri funkcionalističnem razumevanju prikritega kurikuluma (Skelton 1997; Hozjan 2019) je v ospredju vprašanje, kakšno vlogo imajo šole pri ohranjanju družbenega reda in stabilnosti. Med avtorje, pri katerih je zaznati takšno proučevanje prikritega kurikulama, spada tudi Jackson (1968). Opredelil ga je kot to, kar učitelji učence učijo, ne da bi se tega zavedali. Gre za interakcije, kulturo šole in razreda, za vrednote, prepričanja in norme, ki se jih učenci naučijo v šoli (ibid.: 17).

Liberalna perspektiva razumevanja prikritega kurikuluma se, v nasprotju s funkcionalistično, osredotoča na sprejete predpostavke in prakse šolskega življenja, ki jih ustvarijo različni šolski akterji, tako pedagoški delavci kot tudi sami učenci. Gre za to, kar je na splošno sprejeto kot nekaj normalnega in se ne postavlja pod vprašaj in premišljuje glede na učinke ter je zato prikrito (Skelton 1997: 179). Gre za rutine, šolska pravila in pravila discipline, razmerja med učenci in učitelji ter iz tega izpeljane vzgojno-disciplinske prakse (Hozjan 2019: 33). V nasprotju s funkcionalistično perspektivo, ki se nanaša na makroprakse odnosov v šoli, je v ospredju mikroraven odnosov.

Kot tretjo Skelton (1997: 181) izpostavi kritično perspektivo proučevanja prikritega kurikuluma, ki se osredotoča na vprašanje, kako šolanje reproducira družbene neenakosti, ki jih lahko zaznamo skozi vsebine (ne)zapisanega kurikuluma, predvsem v smislu reproduciranja določenih predpostavk, navadno povezanih s tematiko spolov in rasami, ki utrjujejo družbene nepravičnosti. Apple je na primer eden izmed avtorjev, ki v svojih knjigah *Šola in oblast* (1982) ter *Ideologija in kurikulum* (1990) opozori na moč kulturne reprodukcije, ki se dogaja skozi vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem.

Skelton (1997) izpostavi tudi nekatere kritike predstavljenih perspektiv proučevanja prikritega kurikuluma. Pri funkcionalistični je v ospredju preveč poenostavljeno razumevanje razmerja med šolo in družbo ter predpostavka o pasivnih učencih, ki nimajo možnosti upora proti takšni družbeni reprodukciji. Glavna kritika liberalistične perspektive je povezana s tem, da z osredotočenostjo na mikroprakse znotraj šole hitro spregledamo reprodukcijo razmerij širše družbe, ki pa se dejansko odvija tudi prek vzgojno-izobraževalnih ustanov. Težava znotraj kritične perspektive je, kot zapiše avtor, predvsem stopnja natančnosti analize vsebin, ki reproducirajo in utrjujejo družbene neenakosti skozi šolski sistem.

Izpostavljene slabosti lahko po oceni Skeltona (ibid.) presežemo skozi postmoderno perspektivo. Nekateri avtorji (ibid.; Jug Došler 2021) v tem kontekstu izhajajo iz Foucaulta, čeprav se sam ni eksplicitno ukvarjal s pojavom prikritega kurikuluma. Pluralnost in razdrobljenost sodobne družbe, ki jo je izpostavljal, postavlja pod vprašaj opisane koncepte prikritega kurikuluma. Foucault je družbene procese in vpetost posameznika v njih celostno analiziral v delu *Nadzorovanje in kaznovanje: nastanek zapora* (Foucault 2004). Primerjal je moč države, ki s subtilnimi oblikami disciplinske moči oblikuje sposobnosti ljudi, vedenje, stališča in znanje o sebi, in sicer do te mere, da se to znanje obravnava kot »resnično«. Vse to pa določa tudi naše strokovno znanje ter vpliva na oblikovanje posameznikovih implicitnih prepričanj in tihega znanja, ki so pomemben vidik odražanja prikritega kurikuluma (Jug Došler 2021; Kroflič 2005).

Prikriti kurikulum lahko torej analiziramo skozi različne razsežnosti, ki se nanašajo na razmerja moči in družbeno-kulturni kontekst, v katerem delujemo (pravila, rutine in vzgojno-disciplinske prakse, struktura materialnega okolja), pa tudi skozi naše (strokovno) znanje, ki vpliva na oblikovanje posameznikovih subjektivnih teorij, implicitnih prepričanj in tihega znanja. V nadaljevanju bomo najprej povzeli pregled objav na temo prikritega kurikuluma v Sloveniji, nato pa se bomo osredotočili na to, kako njegovo razsežnost razumeti na ravni teoretske zasnove dela šolske svetovalne službe.

3 Pregled objav v Sloveniji

Osnovni pregled objav, dostopnih prek podatkovne baze COBISS,[4] pokaže, da so bila v Sloveniji v zadnjih dveh desetletjih, praviloma posamično, proučevana le nekatera področja, ki se v teoretskem smislu nanašajo na prikriti kurikulum. Zadnje obsežnejše delo, *Implicit pedagogy for optimized learning in contemporary education* (Lepičnik - Vodopivec in dr. 2019), je bilo v sodelovanju z nekaterimi znanstveniki iz Slovenije in Hrvaške izdano pred nekaj leti.

S prostorom in materialnim vidikom prikritega kurikuluma sta se v preteklosti na teoretski ravni ukvarjala predvsem Bida (2012) in K. Golobič Bergar (2012), v zadnjem obdobju pa tudi J. Lepičnik - Vodopivec (2019). V središču njenega raziskovalnega zanimanja je bil prostor kot del prikritega kurikuluma v vrtcu. Kroflič (2005) je svoj raziskovalni interes usmeril v proučevanje subjektivnih teorij pri vzgojiteljicah, podobno raziskovalno izhodišče pa najdemo tudi v člankih A. Jug Došler (2017, 2021). Ukvarjala se je z raziskovanjem prikritega kurikuluma v zdravstveno-vzgojnem delu (Jug Došler 2017), nekaj let kasneje pa na ravni izobraževanja odraslih (Jug Došler 2021). M. Batistič Zorec in A. Jug Došler (2016) ter M. Hmelak in J. Lepičnik - Vodopivec (2017) so se v posameznih člankih ukvarjale z dnevno rutino kot vidikom prikritega kurikuluma, kar je bilo eno ključnih izhodišč proučevanja prikritega kurikuluma pred sprejetjem *Kurikuluma za vrtce* leta 1999 in po njem. S temi vidiki sta se ukvarjali predvsem E. Bahovec (2003) in M. Batistič Zorec (2003). V. Vendramin (2006) ter R. Šribar in V. Vendramin (2011) izpostavita povezavo med spolom in prikritim kurikulum.

Sklenemo lahko, da so se avtorji v Sloveniji s fenomenom prikritega kurikuluma ukvarjali predvsem na ravni predšolske vzgoje (Bahovec 2003; Batistič Zorec 2003; Kroflič 2005), manko raziskovalnega zanimanja pa gre zaznati na drugih izobraževalnih ravneh. L. Jančec in J. Lepičnik - Vodopivec (2019) sta na primer nedavno primerjalno proučevali izbrane dejavnike prikritega kurikuluma (empatija, določene osebnostne lastnosti) pri vzgojiteljicah in učiteljicah na Hrvaškem in v Sloveniji, drugih raziskav na to temo, z izjemo diplomskih in magistrskih del, pa v našem okolju praktično ni bilo. Prav tako nismo zasledili teoretskih razprav in empiričnih raziskav, v katerih bi bil prikriti kurikulum raziskovan z vidika šolskega svetovalnega dela. V nadaljevanju bomo najprej prikazali, zakaj je to tematiko pomembno raziskovati tudi v okviru šolskega svetovalnega dela.

4. V pregled smo vključili doktorske naloge, knjige in znanstvene članke, ne pa tudi diplomskih in magistrskih del.

4 Prikriti kurikulum in šolska svetovalna služba

Formalni okvir delovanja šolske svetovalne službe v Sloveniji je postavljen v *Zakonu o organizaciji in financiranju vzgoje in izobraževanja* (2022), kjer je v 67. členu opredeljeno, da v javni vzgojno-izobraževalni ustanovi deluje svetovalna služba, ki svetuje otrokom in mladostnikom, strokovnim delavcem in staršem. S strokovnimi delavci in vodstvom vzgojno-izobraževalnih ustanov sodeluje pri načrtovanju, spremljanju in evalvaciji razvoja ustanov in opravljanju vzgojno-izobraževalnega dela (ibid.). Temeljni konceptualni dokument predstavljajo programske smernice za delo svetovalne službe (Programske smernice ... 2008a, 2008b), ki opredeljujejo, da se svetovalna služba na podlagi svojega strokovnega znanja in na strokovno avtonomni način vključuje v kompleksno reševanje pedagoških, psiholoških in socialnih vprašanj v vzgojno-izobraževalnih ustanovah.

Pri delu mora svetovalni delavec torej upoštevati dejstvo, da je uslužbenec vzgojno-izobraževalne ustanove, ki ima svoje cilje, naloge, svoj red ter postavlja svoje vrednote, pravila in norme, ki izhajajo tudi iz Programskih smernic (Gregorčič Mrvar in Resman 2018: 197). Do njih se lahko opredeli, v vsakem primeru pa so to merila in smernice za njegovo odločanje, delovanje oziroma ravnanje in sodelovanje z drugimi. Ne more in ne sme jih ignorirati. Ne glede na to pa lahko za slovensko šolsko svetovalno delo ugotovimo, da se uspešno izmika preveliki institucionalizaciji (ibid.; Resman 1999: 208). Šolsko svetovalno delo in svetovalni delavci niso tako regulirani kot učitelji; nimajo svojega urnika, predmetnika in učnega načrta, tako kot ga ima učitelj (ibid.). Programske smernice (2008a, 2008b: 10–11) določajo, da je svetovalna služba v šoli v strokovnem pogledu avtonomna. Vselej, ne glede na mišljenje ali pričakovanja drugih, je dolžna posredovati korektna strokovna mnenja. Ko gre za strokovna vprašanja, o načinih svojega dela odloča sama. Pravico in dolžnost ima odkloniti vse naloge, ki so v nasprotju s strokovnimi načeli dela ali poklicnim etičnim kodeksom (ibid.). Programske smernice posameznemu svetovalnemu delavcu prepuščajo, da si znotraj osnovnih področij dela in temeljnih nalog v skladu s svojo strokovno usposobljenostjo sam izbere prioritetne naloge in skladno s tem oblikuje svoj letni delovni načrt (ibid.).

»Splošnost« in »odprtost« uradnih smernic za delo svetovalne službe ne pomenita, da lahko svetovalni delavec dejavnosti v svetovalni službi ter življenje in delo v šoli prepusti nenačrtovanemu ali spontanemu toku dogodkov, ampak pomenita zahtevo, da operativno strokovno načrtuje svoje delo in v sodelovanju z drugimi stalno reflektira, kako vzpostavlja in vzdržuje ustrezne razmere za varno in hkrati spodbudno vzgojno-izobraževalno okolje (prim. Programske smernice ... 2008a, 2008b).

Formalna izhodišča na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja, strokovne smernice in etični kodeks (Etični kodeks ... 1998) predstavljajo okvir načrtovanja, izvajanja ter evalvacije dela in ravnanja svetovalnega delavca. Opredeljujejo cilje in načela, ne predpisujejo pa v podrobnosti tega, kaj mora strokovnjak v posameznih situacijah narediti (Gregorčič Mrvar in Resman 2018: 199; Resman 1999: 212). Ne gre za absolutne, enoznačne in nespremenljive napotke, ki bi jim bilo treba slepo slediti, so pa osnova, ki omogoča strokovno presojo in ravnanje, ter preprečujejo enostransko, zdravorazumsko in intuitivno ravnanje ter presojo svetovalca. Odločitev, delo in ravnanje svetovalnega delavca naj bi bilo posledica strokovne, moralne in formalno-pravne odločitve, pogojene z značilnostmi konkretnega primera.

Strokovno odločanje in ravnanje pa ima vselej tudi osebno implikacijo. Sprejeta strokovna odločitev in ravnanje sta rezultat premišljanja o strokovno-etičnem ravnanju in osebno-moralnem ocenjevanju situacije oz. ukrepa. Hare (v Cottone 2001: 43) poudarja, da pri vsakodnevnem odločanju, ravnanju in razreševanju dilem pomembno vlogo igra intuitivna raven. Obenem izpostavlja, da sama intuitivnost ni dovolj, da mora biti ta podvržena kritičnemu razmišljanju. Če kot strokovnjak ravnaš samo po intuiciji, pri kateri ni posebnega razmišljanja in primerjanja s strokovnimi kriteriji, se lahko hitro zgodi, da je tvoja odločitev nestrokovna, neetična. V okviru tega se tako znajdejo tiste dejavnosti in ravnanja svetovalnega delavca, ki niso reflektirani ter neposredno načrtovani in predvideni. Običajno je teh dejanj več v manj strukturiranih dejavnostih svetovalne službe (prim. Kroflič 2005: 11). Na delovanje in ravnanje svetovalnega delavca torej vplivajo njegove vrednote, prepričanja, subjektivne teorije, tudi predsodki. V vseh teh kategorijah se odražajo njegove osebne ideologije, vezane na podobo o otrocih, politično/religiozno prepričanje, nazor o delovanju sveta, družbe, človeka in predstave, ki so kulturno pogojene (ibid.). Če te kategorije niso podvržene stalni refleksiji v okviru strokovnih smernic ter vzgojno-izobraževalnih ciljev in načel, lahko del dejavnosti in ravnanj svetovalnega delavca zasedejo nereflektirane ideje, ki pa jih uvrščamo v koncept prikritega kurikuluma.

To je le en vidik prikritega kurikuluma, ki se v šolskem prostoru sicer pojavlja v več razsežnostih, torej na različnih ravneh in v različnih oblikah; tudi to smo med svetovalnimi delavci podrobneje preučevali, kar predstavljamo v nadaljevanju prispevka.

5 Raziskovalna vprašanja in metodološki pristop

Vidiki prikritega kurikuluma s perspektive šolske svetovalne službe so tako pri nas kot v tujini izjemno šibko teoretsko in empirično raziskani (npr. Robinson in Kyle 1982), zato smo se odločili, da v empiričnem delu pozornost namenimo naslednjim raziskovalnim vprašanjem:

- Kaj šolski svetovalni delavci razumejo pod pojmom prikriti kurikulum in kako ga opredeljujejo?
- Katere konkretne primere iz svoje pedagoške prakse prepoznajo kot primere prikritega kurikuluma?
- Kako se odzovejo oz. so se v preteklosti že odzvali na prikriti kurikulum pri svojem delu oz. delu svojih kolegov?

Ker je prikriti kurikulum kompleksen pedagoški fenomen, se zdi njegovo pojavnost med pedagoškimi delavci bolj smiselno raziskovati s kvalitativnimi metodološkimi pristopi. To je v analizi že opravljenih raziskav na temo prikritega kurikuluma ugotovila tudi Jug Došler (2021). Raziskave prikritega kurikuluma so bile praviloma izvedene na manjših vzorcih, ugotovitve pa neposredno povezane s specifiko vzgojno-izobraževalnih ustanov. Za zbiranje podatkov so bili uporabljeni intervjuji, ankete, etnografski zapisi in analiza dokumentacije (prav tam). Ena večjih pomanjkljivosti tako zbranih podatkov je, da jih ne moremo posploševati. Hkrati pa tak pristop k raziskovanju omogoča poglobljen vpogled v razumevanje določenega pojava.

V študijskih letih 2019/20, 2020/21 in 2021/22 smo študente prvega letnika druge stopnje bolonjskega študijskega programa pedagogike na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani pri predmetu Načrtovanje vzgojnega koncepta javne šole povabili, da v sklopu obvezne, 80 ur trajajoče pedagoške prakse opravijo kratek intervju na temo prikritega kurikuluma z mentorji, zaposlenimi v šolski svetovalni službi. Tam so lahko zaposleni različni profili: pedagogi, psihologi, socialni pedagogi, inkluzivni pedagogi idr.

Večina študentov je prakso opravljala v osnovni šoli, nekaj pa tudi v vrtcu in v srednji šoli. Ker nas niso zanimale razlike med svetovalnimi delavci glede na izobrazbeni profil niti glede na stopnjo izobraževanja, kjer so zaposleni, teh podatkov študentje niso posebej zbirali.

V vseh treh študijskih letih je bil del pedagoških ur pri omenjenem predmetu namenjen tako teoretski seznanitvi z različnimi koncepti, ki so jih študenti opazovali v okviru prakse, kot tudi konkretni seznanitvi s tem, kako naj bo izveden intervju s svetovalnimi delavci. Z metodologijo zbiranja in obdelave podatkov pa so študenti seznanjeni tudi v okviru metodološkega predmeta, ki ga imajo v predmetniku študijskega programa. Študenti so bili opozorjeni, da morajo pred izvedbo intervjuja pridobiti soglasje intervjuvanih za sodelovanje in analizo zbranih podatkov v znanstvene namene, npr. za pisanje znanstvenih prispevkov. V primeru, da oseba s tem ni soglašala, študent intervjuja ni opravil. Opravljene intervjuje so študenti posneli in pripravili prepise, ki so bili oddani ob seminarski nalogi v okviru omenjenega predmeta. Analizirano gradivo je arhivirano pri avtoricah prispevka.

V študijskem letu 2019/20 je intervju opravilo dvanajst študentov, 2020/21 trinajst in še dvanajst v študijskem letu 2021/22.

Odgovore smo analizirali z uporabo tehnik kategorizacije odprtih odgovorov (Vogrinc 2008). V prvi fazi analize smo prebrali odgovore ter jim določili začetne kode in kategorije. Šlo je za kombinacijo deduktivnega in induktivnega pristopa h kategorizaciji. Obsežnejše odgovore smo razdelili v več kategorij. Druga faza analize je bila namenjena vzajemnemu dogovarjanju o končnem seznamu kod in kategorij. V tej fazi sta se avtorici prispevka sestali trikrat in uskladili analizo. V tretji fazi analize smo se osredotočili na štetje izjav, ki smo jih uvrstili v posamezno kategorijo. Zaradi manjšega števila izjav je štetje potekalo ročno. Ob predstavitvi rezultatov smo se posebej osredotočili na vsebinsko veljavnost izjav znotraj posamezne kategorije.

6 Rezultati

6.1 Razumevanje in opredelitev prikritega kurikuluma

Najprej so šolski svetovalni delavci razložili, kaj razumejo pod pojmom prikriti kurikulum. Vprašanje se je glasilo: Prosim, razložite, kaj razumete pod pojmom prikriti kurikulum. Kako bi ga opredelili?

Skoraj vse intervjuvane osebe so podale opredelitev prikritega kurikuluma. Le ena je odgovorila: *Pojma nimam. Sploh ne vem* (I8-21/22[5]). Največ, dvaindvajset svetovalnih delavcev (59 %) je odgovorilo, da je prikriti kurikulum nezapisani kurikulum. Izjave, ki smo jih uvrstili v to kategorijo, so bile praviloma kratke in enoznačne: *Če jaz prav razumem, tiste stvari, ki niso nekje uradno zapisane* (I2-21/22).

Šestnajst izjav (43 %) smo uvrstili v kategorijo subjektivne teorije, implicitna prepričanja in tiho znanje. Sekundarna analiza izjav je pokazala, da so svetovalni delavci govorili o prepričanjih učiteljev in strokovnih sodelavcev: *Prikriti kurikulum razumem kot vrednote, prepričanja učitelja, ki jih na nezaveden način vnaša v svoje poučevanje* (I6-21/22). Med izjavami so bile tudi tri (8 %), v katerih so svetovalni delavci izpostavili prepričanja, ki jih med šolanjem pridobijo učenci:

5. Šifra je sestavljena iz naslednjih podatkov: številka intervjuja in leto izvedbe intervjuja.

Je tiho znanje, ki si ga učenci pridobijo z opazovanjem vsakdanjega življenja na šoli (I4-20/21).

Devet izjav (24 %) je bilo vsebinsko bolj kompleksnih in predstavljajo neke vrste premik k bolj vzgojno naravnanim ciljem. To kategorijo smo poimenovali prikriti kurikulum kot vzgojno-disciplinska praksa, prikažemo pa jo lahko z naslednjo izjavo: Torej odnos med vsemi udeleženci v šolskem procesu. */.../ To bolj izhaja iz človeka kot takega in meni se zdi, da je odnos med učitelji in učenci, odnos med učitelji in starši zelo pomemben del prikritega kurikuluma* (I9-21/22).

V šestih izjavah (16 %) je bil prikriti kurikulum povezan z dnevno rutino: *So na primer neuradna pravila in rutina, ki se jih naučijo v šoli* (I7-21/22).

V dveh primerih (5 %) je bil odraz prikritega kurikuluma izpostavljen skozi materialno okolje. V enem odgovoru se je razmislek nanašal prav na pomen prostorske umeščenosti šolske svetovalne službe v prostorih šole:

> *Pred leti smo imeli na šoli v bližini avle prostor, kjer je bila vsak dan med glavnim odmorom in po pouku ena izmed svetovalnih delavk, zaradi nekega problema. Ampak smo čez čas ugotovile, da otroci pridejo raje na upravo, saj je tam še zobozdravnik, kabinet učiteljev za športno vzgojo, svetovalna služba, tajništvo in ostali delavci uprave. Tako ostali sošolci dejansko ne vedo, kam točno grejo, in se učenci počutijo bolj varno* (I7-19/20).

Trije odgovori (8 %) so bili tako nedorečeni – npr. *Pravzaprav je prikriti kurikulum prisoten vedno pri delu učitelja* (I12-20/21) –, da smo jih uvrstili v kategorijo drugo, trije (8 %) pa so nakazali nerazumevanje prikritega kurikuluma. Za ilustracijo dodajamo primer odgovora: *Da bi pa jaz vedela, da bi kdo imel prikrit kurikulum, da bi nekaj sistematično delal, pa ne vem, če sem že kje slišala* (I5-20/21).

6.2 Opisi primerov prikritega kurikuluma

Z drugim vprašanjem smo šolske svetovalne delavce prosili za opise konkretnih primerov prikritega kurikuluma, ki jih prepoznavajo v svoji praksi. Vprašanje se je glasilo: Ali lahko svojo razlago podkrepite s konkretnim primerom iz vaše pedagoške prakse?

Več izjav, trinajst (37 %), je odražalo določeno mero nerazumevanja prikritega kurikuluma; eden je npr. kot primer podal naslavljanje tabu tem znotraj šolskega prostora:

> *Na primer, da bi en učitelj vedel, da je v razredu nekdo, ki je istospolno usmerjen, pa bi potem bila kakšna tema, pa ne bi upal o temu govoriti, ker ne bi vedel, kako naj se v razredu ali do dotičnega dijaka opredeli v zvezi s tem* (I10-19/20).

Podobno zagato s tem, kaj spada in kaj ne spada pod prikriti kurikulum, razpreta dva primera, ki sta povezana s strahom pedagoških delavcev pred preveč osebnim stikom z učenci in željo po ohranjanju čim nevtralnejše pedagoške drže:

> *Najtežje mi je pri predmetu aktivno državljanstvo, ki ga učim šele nekaj let. S tem ne mislim na predmet in snov na splošno, ampak na druge oblike. Predmet je zasnovan tako, da se na primer veliko pogovarjamo o politiki, tudi o situaciji s pandemijo covid, imamo debate o cepljenju in podobno. /…/ Ob takšnih temah je mnogokrat težko in zelo zahtevno ostati nevtralen. Čez čas, ko te dijaki bolj spoznajo in se te navadijo, pa te tudi oni začnejo spraševati »kaj pa vi mislite, kakšno je pa vaše mnenje o tem …«* (I1-21/22).

En primer je bil neposredno povezan s svetovalnim delom:

> *Tu pa me je najbolj strah, da bi jaz s svojimi prepričanji, ki jih seveda imam, vplivala v svetovalnem odnosu z dijaki. Saj veš, da je zdajle noro. Ogromno jih pride na pogovor, ki je lahko na zelo osebni ravni, in tu se bojim, da včasih preveč razgalim svoja lastna stališča* (I3-21/22).

En svetovalni delavec je kot primer navedel neverbalno komunikacijo med učitelji in šolskim svetovalnim delavcem: *Na primer sestanek učiteljskega zbora, kjer se obravnava določena problematika. Ko nekaj svetujem ali predlagam in nato pogledam določenega učitelja. Že z njegovo držo vem, kaj si on misli. Ali zadevo sprejema ali mu grem na živce* (I11-20/21).

Spet drugi je izpostavil vodeno dejavnost poklicnega usmerjanja:

> *Izpeljala sem dan dejavnosti tako, da sem jim »po skrito« predstavila poklice v sklopu poklicne orientacije. Naredili smo kavarno in nevede so spoznali poklic računalničarja, ki je delal cenik na računalniku; poklic natakarja, kuharja, blagajnika, čistilca, pomivalca posode. Otroci so se imeli zelo fajn in so se počutili zelo koristne. /…/ Tako so spoznali njim dosegljive poklice, ki jih ponujajo šole v okolišu in kjer oni lahko nadaljujejo izobraževanje* (I11-20/21).

Eden je kot primer navedel ravnanje učencev:

> *Mogoče to, da se učenci odpravljajo na wc-je, ki so najbolj odmaknjeni, med predmeti, ki jih vodijo učitelji, ki so najbolj popustljivi. Tam povzročajo razne kršitve, npr. kadijo, prodajajo stvari, uporabljajo mobilne telefone in se snemajo itd. Vedo torej, da na tisto stran šole pedagoški kader redko hodi, ter poznajo učitelje, ki jim dajo dovoljenje za na wc in se ne vrniti dolgo časa nazaj* (I4-20/21).

V dveh primerih naj bi primer prikritega kurikuluma izhajal iz projektnih aktivnosti šole: *Mi imamo recimo veliko nekih aktivnosti, ki ni nujno, da so interesne* *dejavnosti, ali pa da je karkoli. Jaz bi rekla najbolj enostavno projekti, ki jih imamo …* (I5-20/21). V nekaj primerih je šlo bolj za opis bogatitve pedagoške prakse kot pa za prikriti kurikulum:

Na primer učiteljica slovenščine se zelo dobro pripravi na uro, ima dobro strukturo ure. To ni prikriti kurikulum, to je formalnega značaja. Učitelj slovenščine se mora pripraviti na uro. Ampak potem pa ona vnaša notri elemente humorja, elemente, da razume posameznikove potrebe. /…/ Tisti, ki so hiperaktivni, imajo pri njej v košari žogice, ki jih gredo lahko iskat. Če bi radi kaj počeli, lahko stiskajo tisto med uro. /…/ Meni se torej zdi prikriti kurikulum ta odnos, ki ga vzpostaviš, ta odnos pa pomeni, da spoštuješ otroka, ga pri določenih stvareh obravnavaš enakovredno in enakopravno, čeprav si ti po hierarhiji zgoraj … (I8-20/21).

Primere, ki so bolj nedvoumno opisovali prikriti kurikulum, smo razvrstili v enake kategorije kot odgovore na prvo vprašanje. Dvanajst izjav (32 %) je odražalo prepoznavo subjektivnih teorij, implicitnih prepričanj in tihega znanja pri učiteljih. V vsebinskem smislu je šlo za različne poudarke. V dveh primerih so se subjektivne teorije nanašale na učence s posebnimi potrebami:

Potem tudi učenci s primanjkljaji na posameznih področjih učenja, na primer huda disleksija, pa dosegajo lepe ocene in dobre rezultate ob ustrezni podpori. /…/ Težave so pri razmišljanju učiteljev, ki jih smatrajo kot manj uspešne, zaradi stigme. No, pojavi se pa tudi vzkipljivost nad učenci s čustvenimi motnjami, neenako ravnanje z učenci. Če so uspešni, je učitelj prijazen, če ne, pa jih zaničuje (I7-21/22).

V eni izjavi se subjektivne teorije povezujejo z nestrokovnostjo učiteljev:

Učitelj v 8. in 9. razredu je problematičen, ker pri otrocih dejansko išče neznanje. /…/ Imel je hude težave z Bosanci, da so leni … Moral se je javno opravičiti. Skratka, mislim, da je tega veliko, če se ne zavedaš in o tem ne govoriš. Tudi na nižji stopnji so določene učiteljice … Ena izmed učiteljic zelo razlikuje med otroci in otroci to čutijo. /…/ Ta učiteljica ima svoje ljubljenčke, npr. reče otroku: »Ti boš pa mene potolažila, ker me je tvoja sošolka tako ob živce spravila, pridi ljubica in me objemi …« (I10-21/22).

Le en svetovalni delavec se osredotoči na lastne subjektivne teorije:

Ves čas mi prihajajo na misel samo primeri v smislu razlik med spoloma. Že to, ko pri mlajših učencih razlagamo, ko imamo primer poklicev, da tipično v moškem spolu povemo tiste poklice, ki so bolj primerni, naj bi bili bolj primerni za moške – recimo voznik avtobusa, ne voznica avtobusa. /…/ Dobro, so tudi drugi predsodki ali pa recimo enakost med družinami, ko

> *imamo v učbeniku, kako je bil že en izraz, ko smo se vsi zgražali? Mislim, da celo družine in nepopolne družine ali nekaj takega, kar je namigovalo na to, da družina z enim staršem in enim otrokom ni popolna družina* (I11-21/22).

Osem primerov (22 %) se je nanašalo na dnevno rutino. Navajamo enega: *S pozitivno naravnanim odnosom ter pozdravljanjem ob prihodu in odhodu bodo otroci usvojili, da pri prihodu v vrtec ali če nas kdo obišče v igralnici pozdravimo ter da se ob odhodu poslovimo* (I9-20/21).

Še sedem primerov (19 %) pa se je nanašalo na prikriti kurikulum kot vzgojno-disciplinsko prakso, npr.:

> *V jutranjem krogu, ko imajo otroci priložnost, da povedo svoja doživetja ali kaj že vedo o kakšni temi, o kateri se pogovarjamo, z našim zgledom (način, kako otroke poslušamo, da enakovredno namenimo pozornost vsakemu otroku in da vsakemu damo priložnost ter da otroku, ki ne želi biti izpostavljen, to na pozitiven in primeren način omogočimo) navajamo na poslušanje drug drugega, sodelovanje in na tak način utrjujemo povezanost skupine* (I9-20/21).

Pet izjav (14 %) je odražalo razumevanje prikritega kurikuluma kot neželenega vzgojnega fenomena. Primer, ki ga želimo izpostaviti:

> *Prikriti kurikulum vidim v tem, da ena izmed učiteljic vpeljuje kakšne elemente joge v svoje delo. Z jogo se po njenem mnenju učenci sprostijo pri pouku. To je že mogoče res, ampak ali je takšna praksa na šoli dopustna? Ne moremo gledati samo učinkov. Z izvajanjem joge na šoli se do nje opredelimo in jo učencem že predstavimo kot dejavnost, ki jo v šoli zagovarjamo, odobravamo – čeprav ni zares versko nevtralna. /…/ Zakaj je lahko joga dovoljena? Joga je za hindujce podobno kot molitev za kristjane* (I6-19/20).

Čeprav je bilo materialno okolje pri prvem vprašanju omenjeno le v okviru enega odgovora, smo pri navajanju konkretnih primerov v to kategorijo prav tako razvrstili pet izjav (14 %). Navajamo primer: *Ali pa recimo na hodnikih, ko vedno visijo kakšni informativni plakati, ki obveščajo o najrazličnejših dogodkih, ali pa ko razstavimo stvari, ki so jih dijaki sami ustvarili ... to tudi daje neko sporočilo* (I3-21/22).

6.3 Načini odzivanja šolske svetovalne službe na prikriti kurikulum

Pomembno je, da svetovalni delavci poznajo in razvijajo tudi različne načine soočanja s pojavom prikritega kurikuluma. Vprašanje se je glasilo: Kako se sami odzovete oz. ste se v preteklosti že odzvali na prikriti kurikulum pri svojem delu oz. pri delu svojih kolegov?

Sedemnajst izjav (46 %) smo uvrstili v kategorijo prikriti kurikulum je »danost«, neizogibni del vzgojno-izobraževalne ustanove. Svetovalni delavci so izpostavili spontanost, vseprisotnost in neizogibnost prikritega kurikuluma: *Je pa nekaj, kar bo vedno obstajalo. Mislim, da to nastane spontano in da bo vedno prisotno. Ne da bi lahko rekli, da pri nas ne bo skritega kurikuluma, to bo vedno* (12-20/21). Eden je ob tem razmišljal, da to ni nujno narobe: *Takšnih praks je veliko. To se dogaja povsod, tudi na drugih šolah. Včasih se pač dogaja, da mogoče delajo nekaj, kar je v nasprotju z nekimi pravilniki. Ampak včasih se mi to niti ne zdi narobe* (18-19/20).

Svetovalni delavci se zavedajo tudi trajnosti osebnih prepričanj in stališč: *Seveda pa jih veliko ostaja nespremenjenih leta in leta (osebna prepričanja je težko spreminjati)* (11-20/21). Eden je razmišljal o prepletenosti uradnega in prikritega kurikuluma: *Prikriti kurikulum je enakovreden izvedbenemu kurikulumu. Nikakor ga ne moremo ločeno obravnavati ali reči »ta je bolj pomemben kot drugi«. Je pa res, da se v vrtcu ta dva kurikuluma zelo prepletata in ju ne moremo ločeno obravnavati* (19-20/21). Drugi svetovalni delavec neizogibnost prikritega kurikuluma navezuje na vzgojno-disciplinsko delovanje strokovnih delavcev:

> *Navezuje se bolj na vzgojo, da je mir v razredu, da se mora roka dvigniti prej, da se kaj pove, da hodijo tiho po hodniku, tega nikjer ne piše v učnem načrtu, pa to vseeno mora biti, saj bi drugače težje vzpostavili red. Že ko pridem v razred, to da vstanejo, jim pomaga, da se umirijo* (17-19/20).

Dvaindvajset izjav (59 %) smo po prvi analizi uvrstili v kategorijo strategije zmanjševanja učinkov prikritega kurikuluma. Odgovori šolskih svetovalnih delavcev so bili podprti z bolj ali manj konkretnimi idejami. S sekundarno analizo odgovorov smo predloge razvrstili v nekaj podkategorij. Največ, to je sedem izjav (19 %), nakazuje usmerjenost svetovalnega delavca na delo z učitelji. Navajamo primer: *Pomoč učiteljem z različnimi predavanji o empatiji, a žal se glavnih to ne dotakne. Zanje porabimo veliko časa in energije in pri nekaterih nismo uspešni. Ozaveščanje učiteljev, predvsem sprejemanje primanjkljajev in drugačnosti* (17-21/22).

Tri izjave (8 %) nakazujejo kompleksnejše strategije, ki vključujejo pogovore z vodstvom, razprave v okviru pedagoških konferenc, tudi študij teoretičnih izhodišč in sodelovanje z zunanjimi strokovnjaki:

> *Kadar opazimo večje stvari, se z vodstvom odločamo, da imamo neko temo na pedagoški konferenci. Ali naredimo kakšno analizo, povemo teoretična izhodišča o neki stvari ali pa recimo se dobi kakšnega zunanjega strokovnjaka, saj se ne moreš ti s svojimi kolegi vse dogovoriti* (13-20/21).

Dva svetovalna delavca sta se osredotočila na delo z otroki in mladostniki:

Ko pridemo do tega, da moramo otroku nekaj razložiti, je to treba in se ne moremo kar ustaviti in iti mimo, kot da se nič ni zgodilo. Ker na ta način tudi otroka pomiri, mu daš jasno povratno informacijo, ki jo doma morda ne dobi. /…/ Strokovnjaki bodo temu rekli prikriti kurikulum, a meni se zdi, da je to tisto, kar naredi šolo življenjsko (I7-20/21).

Le tri izjave (8 %) so usmerjene v delo na sebi kot strokovnem delavcu:

Večinoma o prikritem kurikulumu ne razmišljam, vendar se zavedam, da je ozaveščanje naših vzorcev, navad, prepričanj in vrednot zelo pomembno, tako da sem tekom dela poiskala pomoč na superviziji in tudi na terapiji, ki mi pomaga pri delu. S tem tudi pri sebi ozaveščam, da bi lahko s svojimi prepričanji vplivala na učence (I5-21/22).

V sedmih (19 %) splošnejših strategijah za zmanjševanje učinkov prikritega kurikuluma smo kot prevladujočo strategijo identificirali pogovor. Če povzamemo besede enega šolskega svetovalnega delavca: *O raznih takih primerih se pogovarjamo s kolegi in iščemo boljše rešitve, stanje ni samoumevno. Se pravi, da smo pozorni na take primere in reflektiramo naše postopke, da bi našli take, ki so za razvoj otrok primernejši* (I1-20/21).

Dvanajst izjav (32 %) je tudi na tem mestu odražalo neustrezno razumevanje pojma prikriti kurikulum. En svetovalni delavec je npr. izpostavil pomen načrtovanja in evalviranja elementov prikritega kurikuluma, dva pa na primer implicirata konkretnejše vsebinske premisleke (o ocenjevanju, konfliktih), a prav tako nakazujeta neustrezno razumevanje fenomena prikritega kurikuluma. Nekaj intervjuvancev se je osredotočilo predvsem na osebna prepričanja, ki jih imajo tudi pedagoški delavci, pa to ni nujno odraz prikritega kurikuluma: *Noben učitelj ne more podajati samo snovi, tudi ko si dlje časa z istimi dijaki in jih začne zanimati tudi tvoje mnenje, se vedno bolj vključujejo v razne debate in postajajo bolj odprti* (I1-21/22).

7 Diskusija

Ugotovimo lahko, da šolski svetovalni delavci poznajo osnovne opredelitve prikritega kurikuluma. Več kot polovici svetovalnih delavcev (59 %) ta pomeni vse tisto, kar se dogaja v šoli, pa ni nikjer zapisano in opredeljeno. Čeprav gre za enostavno opredelitev, lahko sklenemo, da imajo šolski svetovalni delavci vsaj osnovno predstavo o tem pedagoškem fenomenu. Ugotovitev je skladna s tem, kar smo ugotovili v prispevku *Prikriti kurikulum s perspektive šolskih svetovalnih delavcev* (Jeznik in Gregorčič Mrvar 2022).

Analiza vsebinsko kompleksnejših odgovorov pa odraža razumevanje prikritega kurikuluma, ki se sklada z njegovimi teoretskimi opredelitvami. Identificirali smo postmoderno perspektivo razumevanja prikritega kurikuluma kot implicitnega prepričanja in tihega znanja, ki pa so ga svetovalni delavci opredeljevali predvsem pri učiteljih, le izjemoma v okviru svojega dela. Drugi obsežnejši vsebinski sklop odgovorov je odražal razumevanje prikritega kurikuluma kot dnevne rutine in različnih vzgojno-disciplinskih praks.

Ob analizi odgovorov na drugo vprašanje smo ugotovili, da svetovalni delavci prikriti kurikulum razumejo bolj raznoliko in kompleksno, kot se je to nakazovalo ob odgovorih na prvo vprašanje. Povečal pa se je tudi delež odgovorov (13 oz. 35 %), iz katerih je bilo razvidno bodisi nerazumevanje bodisi delno nerazumevanje prikritega kurikuluma. Svetovalni delavci so kot primere nizali različne dimenzije pedagoškega delovanja, ko se strokovni delavci soočajo z lastnimi strahovi in prepričanji ter želijo posredno doseči cilje, ki včasih niti niso neposredno povezani s cilji učnega procesa itd.

Kot zanimivost lahko izpostavimo tiste odgovore, v katerih je mogoče zaznati strah svetovalnih delavcev pred preveč osebnim stikom z učenci in željo po ohranjanju čim nevtralnejše strokovne drže. Nevtralnost javnega šolstva se v Sloveniji praviloma povezuje z njegovo laičnostjo (Kodelja 1995). Meja med dovoljenim in nedovoljenim je dokaj jasno postavljena predvsem na polju religijskega in političnega delovanja, sicer pa naj bi strokovni delavci pri vsebinsko občutljivih temah sledili načelom pluralnosti, objektivnosti in kritičnosti (Zakon o financiranju ... 2022: 92. člen). V formalnem smislu gre za razmeroma strogo prepoved religijskega in političnega delovanja v šoli (prav tam: 72. člen), ki pa se v praksi izvršuje skozi različne simbolne prezentacije religije v šoli (Črnič in Pogačnik 2021). Na konkretni primer takšne religijske reprezentacije je opozorila tudi ena od intervjuvanih oseb, ki je razmišljala o tem, ali je vnašanje elementov joge v šolsko prakso še v skladu z idejo nevtralnosti šolstva v Sloveniji. Hkrati pa nevtralnost ne pomeni, da pedagoški delavci o določenih temah ne bi smeli razpravljati z učenci ali da učenci o tem ne bi ničesar vedeli. Gre bolj za vprašanje, kako na strokovno ustrezen način naslavljati tudi ideološko bolj občutljive teme, in za vprašanje, ali nam usmeritev »objektivno, kritično in pluralno« zares ponudi zadosten odgovor na zapisano dilemo. Medveš (2018) predlaga npr. nekoliko kompleksnejšo metodo vzgoje kot diferencirane moralne komunikacije, pri kateri gre za prepletanje različnih etičnih diskurzov v konkretnih praksah, in ne za moralni pouk ali poduk.

Kot smo izpostavili v prvem delu članka, prikriti kurikulum v okviru delovanja šolske svetovalne službe ni specifično opredeljen, temveč gre bolj za vidik strokovne naravnanosti šolskega svetovalnega dela. Zaznan razmeroma velik delež odgovorov (13 oz. 35 %), ki nakazujejo nerazumevanje oz. nepoznavanje pojavnih razsežnosti prikritega kurikuluma med svetovalnimi delavci, potrjuje potrebo po tem, da se temu v prihodnje nameni več raziskovalne pozornosti –

tako na ravni proučevanja oblik in pojavnosti prikritega kurikuluma na ravni celotne šole in različnih strokovnih delavcev kot specifično na ravni dela šolske svetovalne službe.

Med primeri prikritega kurikuluma, ki so jih nizali šolski svetovalni delavci, lahko izpostavimo subjektivne teorije, implicitna prepričanja in tiho znanje, ki so jih, z izjemo enega, ki je razmišljal o svojem delu, kot primer prikritega kurikuluma prepoznali pri učiteljih v povezavi z učenci s posebnimi potrebami in podobo o učencih, ki je v enem primeru izhajala celo iz nacionalnih stereotipov učitelja. Čeprav je na sistemski ravni v preteklih dveh desetletjih bil narejen pomemben korak k inkluziji, učitelji včasih še vedno ne podpirajo posameznikovih zmožnosti za učenje (Lesar 2019). Kot so v svojih odgovorih izpostavili svetovalni delavci, je odnos nekaterih učiteljev do njih še vedno neprimeren, povezan z njihovimi subjektivnimi teorijami in tihim znanjem.

V zadnjem delu raziskave smo se osredotočili na strategije odzivanja na prikriti kurikulum. Potrdili smo ugotovitev, da je velik del izjav nakazoval neizbežnost prikritega kurikuluma v šolski praksi (Jeznik in Gregorčič Mrvar 2022). Razmislek svetovalnih delavcev o tem, kako ga analizirati in zmanjševati njegove negativne učinke, je bil postavljen v ozadje. To je lahko z vidika strokovne drže šolskega svetovalnega delavca neustrezno. Četudi smo v prvem delu članka ugotovili, da delo svetovalnega delavca ni tako natančno regulirano kot delo učitelja (Gregorčič Mrvar in Resman 2018: 197), prav iz podane strokovne avtonomije izhaja toliko večja odgovornost, da z vso pozornostjo analiziramo tiste vidike šolskega dela, ki so lahko sicer podvrženi neustreznemu, tudi ideološkemu delovanju. Hkrati pa moramo izpostaviti, da bi bilo, ker postaja delo v vzgojno-izobraževalnih ustanovah vse bolj zahtevno in kompleksno, smiselno tudi strokovno bolj celostno opredeliti tako vidike pojavnosti prikritega kurikuluma kot tudi bolj jasno opredeliti strategije zmanjševanja njegovih učinkov. Takšna drža je ključna v razvojno-preventivni naravnanosti svetovane službe, v okviru katere se ta ukvarja s širšimi procesi in značilnostmi reda, režima, kulture in vzdušja v šoli ter predlaga ukrepe za izboljšanje oz. spremembe teh procesov.

Glede na zaznan manko priporočil, kako se konkretno odzvati na pojavnost prikritega kurikuluma v šolskem vsakdanu, ni presenetljivo, da so bili odgovori šolskih svetovalnih delavcev skopi. Konkretne strategije zmanjševanja učinkov prikritega kurikuluma so bile usmerjene predvsem na sodelovanje z drugimi, z učitelji, otroki in mladostniki. Le redko pa je razmislek vključeval npr. analizo in refleksijo dela samega šolskega svetovalnega delavca. Izpostavljena je bila komunikacija, ki lahko poteka na način individualnih ali posvetovalnih pogovorov med strokovnimi delavci v šoli ali pa tudi kot obravnava določene teme v okviru pedagoške konference, lahko tudi ob sodelovanju zunanjih strokovnjakov. Prav različni vidiki komunikacije so tudi teoretsko najbolj izpostavljena načela zmanjševanja učinkov prikritega kurikuluma, na katera stavijo predvsem predstavniki kritične pedagogike (Apple 1990; Giroux 2001; Lynch 1989), pa tudi nekateri domači avtorji (npr. Medveš 2018).

8 Zaključek

V članku smo predstavili ugotovitve raziskave o razumevanju prikritega kurikuluma s perspektive šolskih svetovalnih delavcev. Sprva se je zdelo, da imajo šolski svetovalni delavci jasno predstavo o tem, kaj je prikriti kurikulum in kakšne so njegove pojavne oblike. Bolj poglobljena analiza odgovorov pa je pokazala, da je razumevanje prikritega kurikuluma v več primerih tudi nepopolno in neustrezno. To se je najbolj izrazilo ob navajanju konkretnih primerov prikritega kurikuluma, pa tudi ob opredelitvi ustreznih strategij odzivanja nanj. Vsebinsko ustrezni odgovori so odražali prevladujočo znanstveno-strokovno razumevanje prikritega kurikuluma v kontekstu slovenskega izobraževalnega prostora (subjektivne in implicitne teorije in tiho znanje, rutina, vzgojno-disciplinske prakse).

Zaključujemo, da je treba v prihodnje več pozornosti usmeriti v prepoznavanje in pojavnost prikritega kurikuluma tako v šoli nasploh kot tudi pri šolskem svetovalnem delu. Svetovalni delavec namreč v sodelovanju z drugimi akterji v šoli pomembno sooblikuje delo, življenje, vzdušje in vrednotno naravnanost vzgojno-izobraževalne ustanove. Pomembno je, da strokovno načrtuje svoje delo in v posvetovanju z drugimi stalno reflektira, kako vzpostavlja in vzdržuje ustrezno vzdušje v vzgojno-izobraževalni ustanovi ter razmere za varno in hkrati spodbudno okolje, ki omogoča otrokovo/mladostnikovo optimalno napredovanje v skladu z vzgojno-izobraževalnimi cilji. Šolski svetovalni delavci predstavljajo jedro strokovnih delavcev v šoli, ki se lahko skupaj z vodstvenimi delavci in učitelji spopadejo s strokovnimi izzivi različnih razsežnosti. Reflektirajo lahko potencialno negativne posledice tega fenomena in so pobudniki oblikovanja načinov in strategij soočenja z njim. To so pomembni vidiki razvojne dejavnosti svetovalne službe, ki jo izpostavljamo kot prvenstveno naravnanost in dejavnost te službe (Gregorčič Mrvar in dr. 2020; Medveš 2022).

SUMMARY

The hidden curriculum represents various dimensions of pedagogical activity that concern power relations and the socio-cultural context in which educators operate (rules, routines along with educational and disciplinary practices), as well as the (professional) knowledge that influences the forming of individual subjective theories, implicit beliefs and tacit knowledge.

Scholars in Slovenia are mainly concerned with the phenomenon of the hidden curriculum on the level of preschool education, with a lack of research interest in other educational levels being apparent. For example, while authors recently compared selected factors of the hidden curriculum (empathy, certain personality traits) between female and male (pre)teachers, there has practically been no other research on this topic in the Slovenian context. We were also unable to find any theoretical discussions and empirical research where the hidden curriculum was investigated from the perspective of school counselling work. The article proceeds by presenting the ways school counsellors understand the hidden curriculum. We want to highlight the recognition and incidence of the phenomenon as well as the need to and confront it in both educational institutions generally and school counselling work.

The findings of qualitative analysis of interviews with 37 school counsellors are presented. Focus is given to the way in which school counsellors understand the term hidden curriculum, recognise it in concrete examples of pedagogical work and respond to it. The results revealed that while school counsellors know the basic definitions of the hidden curriculum, deeper analysis of their responses showed that this understanding is often incomplete and inadequate. This was most pronounced when citing concrete examples or defining strategies to respond to the hidden curriculum. Responses holding substantial relevance, however, reflected the prevailing scientific and professional understanding of the hidden curriculum in the Slovenian educational environment (subjective and implicit theories and tacit knowledge, routines, educational/disciplinary practices). The perceived lack of recommendations on how to respond in practice to the hidden curriculum's prevalence in everyday school life makes it unsurprising that the school counsellors' responses were undeveloped. Specific strategies to reduce the hidden curriculum's effects mainly focused on cooperation with others, with teachers, children and adolescents. Only rarely did their considerations include, for example, analysis and reflection on the work of the school counsellor themself. Emphasis was given to communication, which can take the form of individual or consultative discussions between school professionals, or as a discussion on a given topic at a pedagogical conference, possibly with the participation of external experts. Also in theory, various aspects of communication are the most emphasised principles for reducing the effects of the hidden curriculum..

In collaboration with other actors in the school, the counsellor has a considerable impact on the work, life, climate and values of the educational institution. It is important for the counsellor to plan their work in a professional manner and reflect continuously, in consultation with others, on ways to establish and maintain an appropriate educational climate and the conditions for a safe and also supportive environment that enables a young individual to make optimal progress with the educational objectives. School counsellors form the core of the school's professional staff who, together with managers and teachers, are able to meet professional challenges of different dimensions. They can reflect on the potentially negative consequences of this phenomenon and start to develop ways and strategies to cope with it.

In the future, greater attention should be paid to the hidden curriculum's recognition and presence in both in schools generally and the work of the school counselling service.

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MED SOVRAŠTVOM IN TIŠINO: IZKUŠNJE LGBT+ OSEB V PRIMARNEM, SEKUNDARNEM IN TERCIARNEM OBDOBJU IZOBRAŽEVANJA

IZVLEČEK

V prispevku obravnavamo izkušnje LGBT+ oseb v vzgojno-izobraževalnem sistemu, za katerega je glede na mednarodne raziskave značilno pomanjkanje senzibilnosti za spolne in seksualne manjšine. Izvedli smo kvalitativno raziskavo, v okviru katere smo opravili 27 individualnih intervjujev z LGBT+ osebami, ki so (bile) vključene v primarno, sekundarno in/ali terciarno izobraževanje v Sloveniji. Analiza je pokazala, da je najbolj značilna izkušnja kombinacija sovražnosti in nevidnosti. Iz podatkov izstopa vseobsegajoči vpliv predsodkov, o katerih osebe poročajo v raznolikih situacijah. Manj pogosti so opisi varovalnih dejavnikov, ki so večinoma omejeni na medvrstniško podporo in zavzetost posameznih zaposlenih. Pomanjkanje sistemskih ukrepov je izziv, ki ga bo z razvijanjem možnosti za vključujoči uradni in prikriti kurikul ter z izobraževanjem kadra treba naslavljati v prihodnosti.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: LGBT+ učenke_ci, vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem, izkušnje, dejavniki tveganja, varovalni dejavniki

Between Hate and Silence: Experiences of LGBT+ People in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Education Periods

ABSTRACT

We examine the experiences of LGBT+ people in education, which international research shows is characterised by a lack of sensitivity to gender and sexual minorities. We conducted a qualitative study involving 27 individual interviews *with LGBT+ persons who attend or have attended primary, secondary and/or tertiary education in Slovenia. The analysis revealed that the typical experience entails a combination of hate and invisibility. The data show the all-encompassing influence of prejudice, which people mention in various situations. Less common are descriptions of protective factors, which are generally limited to peer support and the commitment of individual staff members. The lack of systemic solutions is a challenge that must be addressed in the future by developing opportunities for inclusive formal and hidden curricula and staff training.*

KEY WORDS: LGBT+ students, education system, experiences, risk factors, protective factors

1 Uvod

Tematiko izkušenj LGBT+ oseb z vzgojno-izobraževalnim (VIZ) sistemom[1] se je v Sloveniji začelo raziskovati v kontekstu študij o vsakdanjem življenju in v tej smeri se je v veliki meri nadaljevalo (Koletnik 2019; Kuhar in Švab 2014; Perger in dr. 2018; Švab in Kuhar 2005). Področje se je razvijalo z raziskovanjem tudi drugih relevantnih in nekoliko bolj usmerjenih tematik, kot so homoseksualnost skozi analizo učnih načrtov, šolskih učbenikov in šolske prakse (Komidar in Mandeljc 2009), izkušnje srednješolskih učiteljic_jev s homofobijo (Magić 2012) in stališča študentk_ov do obravnave homoseksualnosti pri pouku (Rener 2009). Izvedene so bile tudi raziskave, ki so za vir informacij vključile LGBT+ osebe. Maljevac in Magić (2009) sta raziskovali_a homofobno nasilje v šolah, Ferbežar in dr. (2021) izzive mladih LGBTIQA+ oseb med pandemijo covida-19, vezanih na VIZ ustanove, Sešek in Margon (2021) pa izkušnje mladih LGBT+ dijakinj_ov s sovražnim šolskim vzdušjem na eni in viri podpore znotraj šole na drugi strani. Raziskave so pokazale, da je šolsko okolje za LGBT+ mlade eno izmed manj varnih (Kuhar in Švab 2014; Perger in dr. 2018; Švab in Kuhar 2005), saj so tam viri podpore sporadični in omejeni predvsem na podporo prijateljic_ev in posameznih šolskih strokovnih delavk_cev (Koletnik 2019; Sešek in Margon 2021). Velik odstotek LGBT+ učenk_cev se v šolah ne počuti varno in tam tudi večinoma niso (povsem) razkrite_i (Perger in dr. 2018; Sešek in Margon 2021), v VIZ prostoru pa doživljajo različne oblike nasilja in so v številnih kontekstih spregledane_i (Ferbežar in dr. 2021; Komidar in Mandeljc 2009; Kuhar in

1. V prispevku se osredotočamo na primarno (osnovnošolsko), sekundarno (srednješolsko) in terciarno (visokošolsko) obdobje izobraževanja, kar zaobjamemo z izrazom vzgojno-izobraževalni (VIZ) sistem. V specifičnih primerih uporabimo konkretne izraze za posamezna obdobja izobraževanja. V primerih, ko so omenjene izraze uporabljale_i druge_i avtorice_ji, je to upoštevano.

Švab 2014; Perger in dr. 2018; Sešek in Margon 2021; Švab in Kuhar 2005). V nadaljevanju predstavljamo podrobnejši pregled nekaterih raziskav.

Namen pričujočega prispevka je predstaviti ugotovitve kvalitativne raziskave o izkušnjah LGBT+ oseb v primarnem, sekundarnem in terciarnem obdobju izobraževanja. Zanimalo nas je: 1) Kakšne izkušnje imajo LGBT+ osebe z vzgojno-izobraževalnim sistemom?; 2) Katere vidike svoje vzgojno-izobraževalne izkušnje LGBT+ osebe doživljajo kot pozitivne oz. negativne in zakaj?; 3) Kako so po mnenju LGBT+ oseb izkušnje z vzgojno-izobraževalnim sistemom vplivale na njihovo nadaljnje življenje?

Za analizo izkušenj LGBT+ oseb v posameznih obdobjih izobraževanja izhajamo iz Meyerjevega modela manjšinskega stresa in modela rezilientnosti (Meyer 1995; 2003; 2013; 2015), vendar konkretno opredelimo zgolj določene dejavnike tveganja za doživljanje manjšinskega stresa LGBT+ oseb v vzgojno-izobraževalnem sistemu ter nekatere varovalne dejavnike, prek katerih se lahko LGBT+ osebe v VIZ sistemu lažje odzivajo na stresne dogodke zaradi svojega manjšinskega statusa.

2 Vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem in LGBT+ osebe – pregled pomembnejših raziskav

Raziskava Sešek in Margon (2021) je najnovejša raziskava s področja VIZ in LGBT+. V študiji je bilo ugotovljeno, da veliko LGBT+ oseb v srednjih šolah nima občutka varnosti, in sicer 34,8 % zaradi spolne usmerjenosti in 26,4 % zaradi spolnega izraza. Do podobnih ugotovitev so prišle_i Perger in dr. (2018). Med njihovimi anketiranimi se jih je 50 % balo za svojo varnost na hodnikih in 37 % med poukom ali v učilnici, pri tem pa avtorice_ji poleg strahu izpostavljajo tudi izkušnje z nasiljem in diskriminacijo, saj je 29 % anketiranih poročalo o tovrstnih izkušnjah. Te niso omejene zgolj na raven medvrstniškega nasilja in diskriminacije, saj so tudi učitelji_ce aktivno ali pasivno vključeni_e v te pojave. Mlade LGBTIQ+ osebe v okviru te raziskave izražajo potrebo po ureditvi pravilnikov v navezavi na LGBTIQ+ osebe (59 %), pomembnost informiranosti pedagoškega kadra o pravicah LGBTIQ+ oseb (57 %) in splošno podporo strokovnih služb na šolah (55 %). Ravno tako raziskava, opravljena med transspolnimi osebami, (Koletnik 2019) kaže na to, da se tudi ta populacija v šolah najverjetneje ne počuti najbolj varno, saj je učiteljicam_jem razkritih le 13 % vprašanih, hkrati pa podobno kot v predhodno omenjeni raziskavi k temu pripomorejo tudi izkušnje mladih transspolnih oseb z učiteljskim kadrom. Avtor izpostavlja, da je nezmožnost razkritja problematična, saj transspolne osebe v šoli preživijo veliko časa, kar pomeni, da so velik del svojega dneva primorane živeti nerazkrito in samocenzurirano (ibid.). Nekatere izmed LGBT+ oseb so glede na Sešek in Margon (2021) zaradi občutka ne-varnosti tudi izostale od pouka. Po navedbah Koletnik (2019) transspolne osebe izostajajo od pouka dodatno tudi zaradi nevključujočih stranišč. V šolskem okolju so glede na Sešek in Margon (2021) prisotne homofobne opazke, negativne opazke o spolu in spolnem izrazu, seksistične izjave, verbalno nadlegovanje, fizično nadlegovanje, fizični napadi, odnosna agresija, spletno nadlegovanje, spolno nadlegovanje in poškodovanje ter kraja osebne lastnine. Poleg tega v okviru šolskega prostora LGBT+ osebe poročajo o tem, da se LGBT tematike v šoli nikoli ne naslavljajo (54,5 %) oz. da se, vendar izključno v negativnem kontekstu (12,5 %) (Sešek in Margon 2021). Kuhar in Švab (2019), ki sta opravili_a primerjavo podatkov dveh svojih raziskav iz leta 2003 in 2014 sta ugotovili_a, da njuni podatki kažejo naraščanje prisotnosti nasilja v šolah. V prvi raziskavi je izkušnjo nasilja imelo 22 % anketiranih, v raziskavi iz leta 2014 pa je ta številka narasla na 44 %. V navezavi na posledice izkušenj nadlegovanja in napadov sta Sešek in Margon (2021) ugotovili_a, da se osebe s tovrstnimi izkušnjami nameravajo izobraževati krajši čas kot pa tiste, ki imajo takih izkušenj manj.

O odnosu strokovnih delavk_cev VIZ do LGBT+ tematik je podatkov manj. V raziskavi Sešek in Margon (2021) skoraj vse LGBT+ osebe omenjajo, da na šoli poznajo vsaj eno osebo, za katero menijo, da podpira LGBT+ dijakinje_e, na drugi strani pa se šolsko osebje le včasih odzove (52,7 %) ali nikoli (37,1 %) ne odzove na homofobne opazke. Poleg tega je 24 oseb iz raziskave Perger in dr. (2018) izjavilo, da so nasilje doživele tudi s strani zaposlenih. Koletnik (2019) navaja, da transspolnim osebam VIZ redko predstavlja vir podpore. Od vseh anketiranih jih le 8 % potrjuje, da vir podpore predstavljajo učitelji_ce in 2 % druge_i strokovne_i delavke_ci na šoli. Podobno so navedle_i tudi nekatere_i intervjuvanke_ci v raziskavi Ferbežar in dr. (2021), ki niso imele_i občutka, da bi bil lahko VIZ sistem zanje vir podpore med epidemijo covida-19. Edina raziskava, ki je bila opravljena med strokovnim osebjem v srednjih šolah o njihovih stališčih o LGBT+ tematikah, je pokazala, da zaposleni nimajo občutka kompetentnosti za naslavljanje verbalnega homofobnega nasilja (42 % vprašanih) in fizičnega homofobnega nasilja (60 % vprašanih) (Magić 2012).

2.1 Dejavniki tveganja za LGBT+ osebe v VIZ sistemu

LGBT+ osebe so kot marginalizirana družbena skupina podvržene različnim virom stresa, ki jih večinska populacija ne doživlja, in ravno ti distalni stresorji glede na Meyerjev model manjšinskega stresa (Meyer 1995; 2003; 2013; 2015) predstavljajo izhodišče pričujoče raziskave. Konkretneje se osredotočamo na nasilje, (strukturno) diskriminacijo, stanovanjsko izključenost oz. brezdomnost ter stereotipe in predsodke. Celoten model vključuje tako zunanje (distalne) kot notranje (proksimalne) vire stresa, a ga ravno zaradi omejenosti na štiri dejavnike tveganja ne predstavljamo v celoti, temveč v omejenem obsegu. Podrobnejši pregled literature, v katerem so opisani procesi delovanja manjšinskega stresa, je predstavljen v Ferbežar in Gavriloski (2023). Na distalno raven uvrščamo najrazličnejše oblike homo-, bi- in transfobnega medvrstniškega, verbalnega, fizičnega in spletnega nasilja (Meza Lazaro in Bacio 2021; Robinson 2021; Witcomb in dr. 2019), strukturnih diskriminacij na ravni izključujočih šolskih politik (Murchison in dr. 2019), mikroagresij, socialnega izključevanja (Johns in dr. 2021; Nadal in dr. 2016), predsodkov, viktimizacij, spolnega in drugega nadlegovanja (Hinds in dr. 2022). Navedeni stresorji imajo kot dejavniki tveganja za doživljanje manjšinskega stresa za LGBT+ mlade v šolskem okolju negativne posledice za duševno zdravje in konkretneje pri tveganju za samomorilno in samopoškodbeno vedenje, depresijo ter anksioznost (Jadva in dr. 2021), hkrati pa distalni stresorji vplivajo na notranje doživljanje LGBT+ oseb, kar se izraža predvsem kot ponotranjena stigma, prikrivanje stigme in upravljanje z vidnostjo stigme, anksiozno pričakovanje zavrnitev in stalen strah pred nasiljem (Feinstein in dr. 2012; Meyer 2003, 2013; Pachankis 2007; Russell in Bohan 2006).

LGBT+ osebe bolj negativno dojemajo institucionalno VIZ ozračje ter poročajo o več simptomih anksioznosti in/ali depresivnosti kot cisspolne in heteroseksualne (CH) osebe (Amodeo 2020; Ancheta in dr. 2021). To negativno percepcijo izkazujejo podatki, ki kažejo na to, da za LGBT+ osebe v primerjavi z njihovimi CH vrstnicami_ki obstaja povečano tveganje za doživljanje viktimizacije znotraj VIZ prostora (Toomey in Russell 2016) in specifično za različne vrste nasilja, kot so na primer klasično[2], elektronsko in homofobno (Kahle 2017), spolno (Smith in dr. 2022) in medvrstniško, ter povečano tveganje za zalezovanje (Mennicke et al. 2020). Pri tem posebno tveganje predstavlja družbeno pripisana spolna nekonformnost. Osebe s spolnim izrazom, ki ne sovpada z družbenimi pričakovanji, so izpostavljene večjemu tveganju za medvrstniško nasilje in izostajanju od pouka zaradi varnostnih razlogov (Klemmer in dr. 2021). Dodatnemu tveganju so znotraj LGBT+ skupnosti izpostavljene tudi transspolne osebe (Myers idr. 2020), posebno negativnim dogodkom, kot so raba njihovega mrtvega imena[3], napačna raba slovničnega spola v navezavi nanje (Earnshaw in dr. 2020) ter odrekanje

2. Nasilje, ki ga sicer doživlja LGBT+ oseba, vendar glavni povod zanj ne izhaja iz predsodkov na podlagi spola ali spolne usmerjenosti.
3. Ime, ki so ga izbrali starši na podlagi spola, pripisanega ob rojstvu, a ga transspolna oseba ne uporablja več, ker ga je spremenila v skladu z osebnim doživljanjem lastnega spola.

uporabe ustreznih toalet in slačilnic (Horton 2022; Johns in dr. 2021). Medvrstniško nasilje se v različnih raziskavah konsistentno pojavlja kot dejavnik tveganja za depresijo (Hall 2018) in za različne oblike samomorilnosti (Maraccini in dr. 2022). Van der Star in dr. (2021) dodatno izpostavljajo dolgoročne negativne vplive medvrstniškega nasilja, ki so povezani z nižjimi ravnmi zadovoljstva z življenjem v odraslosti. Kot posledice negativnih izkušenj znotraj VIZ sistema se med LGBT+ osebami pojavljajo ponotranjena stigma, pričakovanje zavrnitev in stres, vezan na upravljanje s skrito stigmo (Horton 2022). Pomemben dejavnik tveganja je izključevanje LGBT+ tematik iz spolne vzgoje, saj LGBT+ osebe ne dobijo ustreznih informacij za prakticiranje varne spolnosti in varnih partnerskih odnosov (Baams in dr. 2017; Hobaica in dr. 2019), v kontekstu slovenskega vzgojno-izobraževalnega sistema pa o tovrstnih izključevanjih vsebin iz spolne vzgoje na sistemski ravni niti ne moremo govoriti, saj spolne vzgoje kot konceptualizirano ločenega predmeta in sistemske ureditve področja v okviru formalnega VIZ sistema ni, čeprav se npr. vsebine spolne vzgoje na srednjih šolah v praksi podajajo v okviru vzgoje za zdravje in nekaterih drugih predmetov (npr. biologija, športna vzgoja, razredna ura itd.) (Žalar in dr. 2013), a se ravno na tej ravni v praksi izključuje LGBT+ vsebine. V končni fazi se je ta vidik izključitve pokazal celo pri pripravi in izvedbi omenjene raziskave, ki je izhajala izključno iz heteronormativnega konteksta, na kar je opozoril tudi Kuhar (v Žalar in dr. 2013) v eni od recenzij.

2.2 Varovalni dejavniki za LGBT+ osebe v VIZ sistemu

Na LGBT+ osebe poleg stresorjev na obeh ravneh vplivajo tudi procesi rezilientnosti in znotraj tega varovalni dejavniki. Meyer (2015) je namreč predvidel, da LGBT+ osebe razvijejo določene strategije odpornosti in obrambe, s katerimi zmanjšujejo negativne vplive manjšinskega stresa, da tako lažje preživijo zaradi oteženih okoliščin manjšinskega položaja. Rezilientnost deluje na individualni in skupnostni ravni, v praksi pa sta obe ravni medsebojno povezani. O delovanju individualnih in skupnostnih procesov rezilientnosti mladih LGBT+ oseb v kontekstu VIZ sistema podrobneje pišeta Ferbežar in Gavriloski (2023), zato na tem mestu podajamo zgolj splošne ugotovitve, ki jih razumemo kot ključne za našo raziskavo. Predpogoj za razvijanje rezilientnosti so določene osebnostne značilnosti (npr. humor, razvita samozavest in asertivnost), svetovni nazor, zmožnost upravljanja s čustvi, motivacijska, optimistična in pozitivna naravnanost itd., ki lahko LGBT+ osebam pomagajo pri soočanju z manjšinskim stresom in posledicami (Hill in Gunderson 2015; Johns in dr. 2021; Meyer 2015). Na drugi strani skupnostni procesi rezilientnosti pomagajo LGBT+ osebam pri krepitvi njihove rezilientnosti, kar Meyer (2015) ponovno deli na dve ravni. Na prvi so opredeljeni oprijemljivo naravnani viri, ki jih lahko LGBT+ osebe izkoristijo (npr. dokumenti za zagotavljanje enakosti in nediskriminatornosti), na drugi ravni pa gre za neoprijemljive vire, ki LGBT+ osebam pomagajo na ravneh lažjega umeščanja v družbeni kontekst (npr. politična, družbena in druga gibanja za spremembe vrednotnega in normativnega družbenega sistema, ki bi bil inkluzivno naravnan proti LGBT+ skupnosti). Varovalni dejavniki so tako opredeljeni tako na individualni kot skupnostni ravni rezilientnosti, pri čemer pa se v pričujoči raziskavi osredotočimo zgolj na naravnanost VIZ institucije in zaposlenih ter medvstniške odnose. Ravno ti so se glede na Jadva in dr. (2021) ter Johns in dr. (2021) pokazali kot eden izmed pomembnejših varovalnih dejavnikov, ki zmanjšujejo samomorilno tveganje med LGBT+ mladimi in krepijo varno šolsko okolje. Johns in dr. (ibid.) še poudarjajo, da so okrepljene vezi z zaposlenimi in vrstnicami_ki ključne v primerih strukturne diskriminacije, izločanja in izražanja predsodkov proti LGBT+ osebam.

Pomemben varovalni dejavnik so implementirane institucionalne rešitve. Dve izmed njih sta šolska politika, usmerjena v varovanje LGBT+ učenk_cev, in gej-strejt zavezništvo (ang. gay-straight alliances – GSA[4]). V šolah z eno ali obema omenjenima rešitvama LGBT+ mladi redkeje poročajo o medvrstniškem nasilju, ki temelji na predsodkih do LGBT+ skupnosti (Day in dr. 2020). Tovrstne prakse koristijo vsem učenkam_cem, saj v šolah, ki jih imajo, manj nasilja doživljajo tudi heteroseksualne mlade osebe (Gower in dr. 2018). Day in dr. (2019) še ugotavljajo, da GSA programi pozitivno vplivajo na medvrstniške odnose, saj v šolah s temi programi LGBT+ učenke_ci izpostavljajo več percipirane podpore sošolk_cev. Podobno se je izkazalo s šolskimi politikami, ki pa bolj vplivajo na šolsko osebje. V šolah, kjer so tovrstne politike uvedene, namreč LGBT+ učenke_ci opažajo večjo percipirano podporo učiteljic_jev. Drugi pozitivni vplivi GSA programov so še: povečani občutki varnosti (Marx in Kettrey 2016) in pripadnosti šoli, večja participacija, boljši akademski uspehi, manj viktimizacije, stresa in zlorab substanc med LGBT+ mladimi (Leung in dr. 2022). Pozitiven vpliv ima tudi LGBT+ vključujoč kurikulum, ki zmanjšuje pojave viktimizacije in negativne socialno-čustvene implikacije, ter na drugi strani povečuje občutek varnosti za LGBT+ osebe. Pomembna sta tudi medvrstniška podpora in sprejemanje na splošno, saj imata številne pozitivne učinke, kot so redkejši pojavi depresije in suicidalnosti, višja samopodoba in boljši učni uspeh. Tovrstna podpora ima še toliko večji pomen za LGBT+ osebe, ki nimajo podpornega družinskega okolja

4. Tudi »gender and sexuality alliances« je oblika združevanja LGBT+ učenk_cev in njihovih zaveznic_kov z namenom zagotavljanja varnejšega in spoštljivejšega šolskega okolja (Marx in Kettrey 2016).

(Leung in dr. 2022). Poleg naštetega je za pozitivne izkušnje LGBT+ oseb z VIZ sistemom ključna tudi vključujoča spolna vzgoja, ki med drugim zmanjšuje verjetnost za doživljanje viktimizacije in negativne vplive na duševno zdravje (Proulx in dr. 2019) ter povečuje pripravljenost njih samih, vrstnic_kov in VIZ strokovnega osebja za intervencije ob pojavu zmerljivk, vezanih na LGBT+ osebe (Baams in dr. 2017). Na LGBT+ učenke_ce med drugim pozitivno vplivajo še sprejemajoče šolsko okolje (Denny in dr. 2016), občutek varnosti (Lessard in dr. 2021), podporno osebje (Marshall in dr. 2015) in večje število oseb s podobnimi osebnimi okoliščinami (Eisenberg in dr. 2016).

3 Metodologija

Raziskava je bila izvedena s kvalitativnim raziskovalnim pristopom, ki smo ga izbrale_i, da bi v ospredje postavile_i individualno doživljanje vzgojno-izobraževalnih izkušenj vključenih LGBT+ oseb in poglobile_i že obstoječe kvantitativne podatke. Uporabile_i smo deskriptivno metodo raziskovanja.

Osebe so bile v raziskavo povabljene prek specifičnih nevladnih organizacij, ki se ukvarjajo z LGBT+ populacijo, in metode snežne kepe. Izvedba 27 individualnih pripovednih intervjujev je potekala od aprila 2021 do decembra 2021, pri tem je na željo vključenih v raziskavo 13 intervjujev potekalo v živo, 14 pa prek videokonferenčnega sistema Zoom.

V raziskavo je bilo vključenih 27 LGBT+ oseb iz vseh slovenskih pokrajin, ki so glede na spolno usmerjenost razvrščene v štiri skupine: geji (12), lezbijke (7), bi+ spolne usmerjenosti[5] (7) in heteroseksualna spolna usmerjenost (1). Od tega je 13 cisspolnih moških, 9 cisspolnih žensk, 2 transspolni ženski, 2 nebinarni osebi in 1 oseba, ki je v fazi preizpraševanja svojega spola. Starostna struktura je naslednja: osebe pod 25 let (6); osebe, stare med 25 in 35 let (10), in osebe, stare nad 35 let (11), pri čemer je bila najmlajša oseba v času intervjuja stara 17 in najstarejša 42 let. Opis izkušenj je vezan na obdobja izobraževanja v osnovni in srednji šoli, bivanje v stanovanjski skupini enega izmed slovenskih strokovnih centrov/zavodov ter višješolsko oz. visokošolsko izobraževanje v Sloveniji. Vse osebe so podpisale informirano soglasje in soglasje za zvočno snemanje intervjuja.

Podatki so obdelani s kvalitativno vsebinsko analizo (Vogrinc 2008) po načelih sekvenčnega raziskovanja (Mesec 1998), kar pomeni, da smo ves čas preizpraševale_i predhodne ugotovitve ter tudi ponovno kontaktirale_i intervjuvanke_ce in jih prosile_i za dodatna pojasnila. Intervjuje smo naložile_i v program za analizo podatkov Nvivo in jih uredile_i za postopek kodiranja.

5. Privlačnost osebe do več kot enega spola.

Izbrale_i smo induktivno kodiranje, pri čemer so se pokazale številne kode in kategorije, ki jih opredelimo v nadaljevanju.

4 Rezultati

V prispevku je zaradi vsebinsko in podatkovno obsežnih intervjujev predstavljen le del rezultatov, ki smo jih strukturirali z naslednjimi kategorijami: 1) splošni vtisi LGBT+ oseb o izkušnjah z vzgojno-izobraževalnim sistemom (razlike glede (ne)vidnosti ali (ne)razkritosti, spolni izraz, spol, spolna usmerjenost, kraj, starost in stopnja izobraževanja); 2) dejavniki tveganja (stereotipi in predsodki, nasilje, brezdomnost in nevidnost) ter 3) varovalni dejavniki (institucija in zaposlene_i ter medvrstniški odnosi).

4.1 Splošni vtisi LGBT+ oseb o izkušnjah z vzgojno-izobraževalnim sistemom

Večina intervjuvanih LGBT+ oseb (18) svojo izkušnjo v vzgojno-izobraževalnem procesu opisuje kot nevtralno ali negativno, kar je povezano z dvema elementoma: 1) odsotnostjo (kontinuiranega) fizičnega nasilja in 2) nizkimi kriteriji vrednotenja nasilja. Nevtralnost na eni strani povezujejo z odsotnostjo fizičnega nasilja, ki so ga osebe pričakovale in za katerega vedo, da ga doživljajo nekatere druge LGBT+ osebe. Ker same tega nasilja niso doživele neposredno oz. ker po njihovi oceni doživeto nasilje ni bilo dovolj hudo, svojo izkušnjo (v primerjavi z drugimi LGBT+ osebami) vrednotijo kot razmeroma pozitivno oz. nevtralno. Velik del oseb daje vtis, da so njihovi kriteriji za pozitivne oz. nevtralne izkušnje zaradi splošnega marginaliziranega družbenega konteksta zelo nizki. Za nekatere je dovolj, da svojo izkušnjo ocenijo kot nevtralno, že odsotnost (kontinuiranega) fizičnega nasilja in celo občutijo krivdo, ker s to izkušnjo niso povsem zadovoljne_i:

> *In po drugi strani se počutim krivo za take stvari. O moj bog, razmišljal sem o tem. /.../. Kaj pa mi je bilo težko, če tako gledaš? Primerjaj ostale zgodbe, ki si jih dobila. Ja, neko spletno medvrstniško nasilje, da bi bil pa kdaj ... Določenim ljudem je bilo tako hudo, da si potem mislim: kaj ti sploh jamraš?* [biseksualni moški, pod 25 let].

Oseba navedenega citata je sicer doživljala hude oblike spletnega medvrstniškega nasilja, zaradi česar je tudi razmišljala o samomoru, a ker ni bila tarča fizičnega nasilja, svojo izkušnjo ocenjuje kot nevtralno. Prav tako navaja občutke krivde, saj meni, da njena izkušnja zaradi odsotnosti fizičnega nasilja ni enakovredna izkušnjam tistih oseb, ki so doživljale fizično nasilje, in zato ni upravičena do vrednotenja lastne izkušnje kot nesporno negativne.

Na drugi strani vsesplošna nevidnost LGBT+ tematik, nerazkritost oseb in primanjkljaj pozitivnih izkušenj prispeva k temu, da nekatere_i intervjuvanke_ci svoje izkušnje vrednotijo kot pretežno negativne oz. nevtralne, čeprav niso bile_i tarča neposrednega (fizičnega) nasilja. Kot pomemben dejavnik omenjajo predsodke, ki so bili usmerjeni v LGBT+ skupnost na splošno, saj jih ponotranjijo, kljub temu da niso bili usmerjeni neposredno proti njim.

> *Nevtralna, ker pač, ko si neviden, vsaj nisi bulijan za to. Ampak vseeno na negativni strani nevtralnosti, ker maš pa pol težave odkrit sebe in kljub vsemu pobereš predsodke po poti, tudi če niso proti tebi usmerjeni* [bi+ ženska, med 25 in 35 let].

Osem oseb je imelo razmeroma negativno do travmatično izkušnjo. Ključni dejavniki, ki so vplivali na negativnost izkušnje, so medvrstniško homofobno in transfobno nasilje ter nasilje strokovnega kadra, zaradi česar je bilo marsikoga v VIZ sistemu vsakodnevno strah.

> *Več ali manj, da se zvečer nisem mogla odločit, zakaj jokam, ali zaradi tega, kar se je tisti dan zgodilo doma, ali zato, ker moram naslednji dan spet v šolo. /…/ Da na koncu nimam od izobraževanja /…/ nič drugega kot samomorilnost, to, da sem na antidepresivih /…/. Če se ne bi rodila, bi bilo zame veliko boljše kot it skozi izobraževalni sistem* [transspolna ženska, pod 25 let].

> *Glede izobraževalnega sistema, da se vrnem. Vedno je bilo v neki situaciji, da sem bil vedno zelo prikrajšan in zaničevan zaradi moje spolne usmerjenosti. In sem si mislil »jebem ti sunce«. Mislim, ta sistem me je naredil, da sem pač … bežal. /…/ Tudi ko sem vprašal za pomoč* [zadržuje jok], *je nisem prejel* [gej, pod 25 let].

Pri opisih negativnih izkušenj kot obrambni strategiji izstopata izguba spomina in proces potlačevanja, s katerima so se te osebe lažje soočale z VIZ sistemom oz. so na tak način, takrat in kasneje, lažje (pre)živele.

Samo ena oseba je svojo izkušnjo označila in opisala kot pozitivno. Ključno vlogo je pri tem odigralo osebje na šoli, saj je bilo tej osebi posebej naklonjeno in je bila v skladu s tem tudi deležna nekaterih privilegijev, ki so vključevali skupno preživljanje časa med odmori in zaupne pogovore.

Razlike med posameznimi izkušnjami so se pojavljale glede na različne okoliščine, kot so (ne)vidnost ali (ne)razkritost, spolni izraz, spol, spolna usmerjenost, kraj, starost in stopnja izobraževanja. Nerazkritost se je v naši raziskavi izkazala kot dejavnik, ki učinkuje na število vseh izkušenj, vezanih na spolno usmerjenost oz. spol, saj okolica ne ve, da je oseba del LGBT+ skupnosti in na njo v zvezi s tem ne reagira ali reagira redkeje:

Mogoče, ker sem se bal negativnih izkušenj, in če bi bil bolj pristen ali pa da bi jaz bil jaz z vsemi ... bi bilo več negativnih in tudi več pozitivnih; ker pa nisem šel na to, je bilo pa zelo nevtralno. Za primerjavo je bil moj zdajšnji fant v srednji šoli odprt od začetka, je bil pa z vsemi in je imel dosti več negativnih in tudi dosti več pozitivnih [gej, med 25 in 25 let].

Nerazkritost seveda ne pomeni, da so osebe v šolskem prostoru popolnoma zaščitene. Kot smo že izpostavile_i, na šolajoče vplivajo različni predsodki, ki niso usmerjeni neposredno vanje, a so del socialnega okolja. Izkazalo se je še, da ni nujna razkritost osebe, da bi bila ta percipirana kot LGBT+ oseba in zato tarča nasilja ali drugih nepravičnosti oz. neenake obravnave. Glede na poročila oseb, ki so to same izkusile, in drugih, ki so to zaznale kot opazovalke, igrajo daleč najpomembnejšo vlogo spolni izraz osebe in stereotipi, vezani na vidno predstavitev posamezničine_kove spolne identitete. Kadar oseba ne ustreza pričakovanjem družbe, vezanih na spolni izraz, je ta praviloma deležna več negativnih izkušenj.

Torej, tako kot sem že prej začela oz. sem malo nakazala v to smer, je verjetno odločilen moment v mojem življenju oz. tudi v tem, kakšne odnose sem imela v šoli, predvsem to, kako sem zgledala. Nekako nisem spadala v nobeno skupino [deklet ali dečkov] [nebinarna oseba, med 25 in 35 let].

Na razlikovanja v odnosu do LGBT+ oseb vpliva tudi njihov spol. Lezbijke in biseksualna dekleta so bila zaradi svoje spolne usmerjenosti seksualizirana, fetišizirana in označena za promiskuitetna. Geji in biseksualni fantje pa so pogosteje kot dekleta doživljali odzive gnusa in različne oblike nasilja.

Nikoli nisem razmišljala, da to, kar jaz čutim, da bi bilo ogabno ali nagnusno. In tudi nikoli nisem zares od bližnjih ljudi v šoli dobila take povratne informacije, vsaj ne do mene (valjda so tega bolj deležni gej moški). Ampak nikoli pa, vedno je bil ta občutek, da nisi validen [biseksualna oseba, pod 25 let].

Biseksualne in nebinarne osebe so dodatno doživljale invalidacije še zato, ker jih ljudje niso mogli umestiti samo v eno izmed bolje poznanih binarnih kategorij (lezbijke–geji oz. dekleta–fantje), zato so bile deležne še dodatnih nerazumevanj ali sovražnosti. Razlike so se pojavljale tudi glede na kraj izobraževanja. Osebe se praviloma počutijo varneje za razkrivanje izven domačih krajev, saj jih denimo skrbi, da bi nesprejemanje njihove spolne usmerjenosti oz. identitete v lokalni skupnosti negativno vplivalo na njihovo družino:

Ker lahko vpliva nate, na tvojo družino. Moja mami recimo je imela svoj biznis, in če bi se preveč razvedelo ... [lezbijka, nad 35 let].

Dodatno se pogosteje razkrivajo in večinoma boljše počutijo v večjih/odprtih krajih in državah izven Slovenije. Pomemben dejavnik je tudi starost vključenih oseb. Starejše osebe, ki so se izobraževale v času, ko splet še ni bil v vsakdanji rabi in se o LGBT+ tematikah skorajda ni govorilo, na splošno omenjajo močnejše občutke nevidnosti ter posledično več zmedenosti in več frustracij glede (gradnje) lastne identitete v odnosu do spolne usmerjenosti oz. spola. To se delno spremeni, ko splet stopi v vsakdan mladih ljudi, čeprav osebe izpostavljajo, da ta prelomnica nima le pozitivnih posledic. Pravijo namreč, da so določene informacije res bolj dostopne, kar delno lajša občutke osamljenosti, na drugi strani pa opozarjajo na nasičenost informacij, ki zmedenost samo še povečujejo ter so v marsikaterem primeru nepreverjene in celo škodljive. Poleg tega se je po njihovem mnenju s širjenjem informacij povečala tudi prisotnost nasilja, zaradi česar bi težko ocenile_i, kdaj je bilo lažje iti skozi VIZ sistem kot LGBT+ oseba.

Ko sem jaz hodil v šolo, ni bilo toliko govora, ampak hkrati tudi ni bilo toliko sovražnosti [gej, med 25 in 35 let].

Zadnji dejavnik, ki vpliva na izkušnjo in smo ga zaznali med intervjuji, je stopnja izobraževanja. Kadar so intervjuvanke_ci primerjale_i stopnje, so izpostavljale_i pozitivnejše izkušnje med visokim in višješolskim izobraževanjem, kar pripisujejo večji odprtosti teh prostorov in zrelosti vrstnic_kov.

4.2 Dejavniki tveganja

Stereotipi in predsodki

V intervjujih so bili večkrat izpostavljeni stereotipi, na podlagi katerih se predvideva spolna usmerjenost posameznic_kov. Osebe s spolnimi izrazi, ki po normativnih pričakovanjih okolice ne sovpadajo s spolom, pripisanim ob rojstvu, so percipirane kot LGBT+. Te osebe so po mnenju nekaterih intervjuvank_cev pogosteje deležne nasilnih odzivov, pri čemer ni pomembno, ali je oseba dejansko LGBT+ ali storilke_ci to le predvidevajo, kar pomeni, da so tarče homofobnega in transfobnega nasilja lahko vse osebe nenormativnih spolnih izrazov, in ne le tiste, ki so razkrite kot LGBT+:

V srednji šoli ne [ni bil razkrit]. *Sicer so me kar veliko zbadali, ker sem bil tko malenkost feminilen. Sicer sem poskušal čim bolj skrivat to feminilnost. /…/ Ker so itak vsi sumili, saj, kaj češ drugega, da je feminilen moški kot pa gej. Nisem pa javno govoril* [transspolna ženska, nad 35 let].

Večina gejev feminiziranost razume kot dejavnik tveganja za razkritje, zato svoje vedenje prilagaja družbenim pričakovanjem glede moškega spola, s čimer se želijo izogniti nasilju. Tovrstno prikrivanje stigme zahteva ogromno previdnosti in samocenzuriranja, zaradi česar ta miselni napor opisujejo kot izrazito utrujajoč. S podobnim razlogom nekateri geji in biseksualni moški delujejo samozaščitno ter se izogibajo osebam s pripisanim moškim spolom, ki bi bile lahko na podlagi stereotipov zaznane kot LGBT+:

> *Tudi z odporom, zato ker preprosto je to verjetno predstavljalo nek ..., če se bom preveč družil z njimi, bi lahko to predstavljalo nek rizik, da sam sebe razkrijem* [gej, nad 35 let].

Ob tem marsikateri intervjuvanec poleg samozaščitnega elementa izraža tudi ponotranjeno homofobijo. Podobno velja za domnevno heteroseksualne fante, ki se v skrbi, da ne bi bili percipirani kot geji, izogibajo sošolcem, ki so geji ali so kot taki samo prepoznani. S tem se povezuje tudi ena izmed izjav v intervjuju z biseksualnim moškim, ki zaradi omenjenega označevanja in izogibanja drugih ni imel tesnih prijateljev moškega spola:

> *Zato tudi mogoče nikoli nisem imel moškega prijatelja. Da bi bil res najboljši prijatelj. Ker je bilo njemu neprijetno, ne meni. Neprijetno, da ga je folk videl kot ... se s pedri druži in gor dol* [bi+ moški, pod 25 let].

Nekatere osebe so izrazile, da določeni stereotipi v njih vzbujajo jezo in sovraštvo, vendar se nanje ne odzivajo zaradi strahu, ob tem pa upajo, da bo na problematično izražanje opozoril nekdo drugi v šoli (npr. pedagoški kader).

Predsodki, ki imajo poleg posplošitev še negativno in čustveno konotacijo, se pojavljajo tako na strani vrstnic_ov kot tudi zaposlenih. Ena izmed vključenih oseb omenja, da je izražanje predsodkov dveh sošolcev naletelo na razumevanje zaposlenih in odobritev prošnje po zamenjavi razreda, ker so bile v razredu »samo punce in en gej«:

> *Potem sta pa dva šla v prvem letniku v drugi razred, ker sta rekla, da so razmere v razredu tako nevzdržne, ker je 30 punc in 1 peder. To je bila njuna razlaga, ki je šla čez! Ki je šla čez! Ko: »Ja, te bomo premestili. Ja, revček. Kako grozno«* [bi+ moški, pod 25 let].

Več LGBT+ oseb omenja, da so predsodki izrazitejši, ko se nanašajo na transspolne ženske in cisspolne gej oz. biseksualne moške. V teh primerih zaznavajo več odpora in gnusa.

Nasilje

Različne oblike nasilja, ki se pojavljajo v slovenskem VIZ sistemu v navezavi na izkušnje LGBT+, smo uvodoma že omenile_i (Sešek in Margon 2021), zato naših ugotovitev v zvezi s pojavnimi oblikami nasilja na tem mestu poglobljeno ne predstavljamo. Osredotočamo se predvsem na okoliščine in posledice nasilja ter odnos LGBT+ oseb do različnih oblik nasilja.

Analiza intervjujev kaže na prepoznano fizično, psihološko, spolno, spletno in medosebno nasilje. Nobena izmed oseb ni izpostavila, da bi se VIZ ustanove uspešno soočale s homofobnim in transfobnim nasiljem. Opisovale so primere poskusov odzivanja na homofobno nasilje, a so bili ti poskusi neuspešni, ker so nasilje obravnavali v kontekstih drugih oblik nasilja in pri tem prezrli predsodke do LGBT+ skupnosti, na katerih je temeljilo nasilje:

> *Kar me je tudi zelo prizadelo. Da osnovna šola, da si je zakrivala oči pred tem dvesto na uro. Dokler mami ni znorela, ni bilo nič. Pa še to je bil pristop, narejen v tako zgrešeni luči. /…/ Sploh ni bilo v tem smislu: »Spoštujte ljudi, ki so drugačni od vas.« Ampak: »Ne biti na socialnih omrežjih in objavljati gluposti.« /…/ Da bi pa oni naredili karkoli o ozaveščanju, da ta diskriminacija in nastrojenost proti istospolnim osebam obstaja, ne, nič* [bi+ moški, pod 25 let].

LGBT+ osebe so imele občutek, da je šola nasilje naslovila le iz strahu pred odzivom javnosti na storjeno nasilje in ga je po besedah enega izmed intervjuvancev želela čim prej »pomesti pod preprogo«. Več oseb ima negativne izkušnje z načini, kako je šola naslavljala nasilje. V najboljših primerih so bili ti poskusi neučinkoviti, v najslabših pa so situacijo celo zaostrili. Zaradi tega so nekatere osebe po določenem številu poskusov vključevanja zaposlenih obupale nad to možnostjo:

> *Ker jaz nikoli nisem želel povedati, kaj se dogaja. Mislim med prvim in četrtim razredom sem še govoril. Potem ko sem prišel v to okolje in videl, kakšna je situacija* [npr. povedal učiteljici, ki se na nasilje ni odzvala], *potem pa nisem* [gej, pod 25 let].

Poleg navedenega LGBT+ osebe nasilja niso prijavile: 1) zaradi prepričanja, da povzročajo težave pedagoškemu kadru; 2) da ne bi izgubile ugleda pridne_ga učenke_ca; 3) zaradi prepričanja, da naslavljanje nasilja učiteljicam_jem predstavlja breme; in 4) zaradi strahu pred razkritjem.

V analizi odgovorov je mogoče zaznati, da osebe nasilja ne prepoznavajo kot takšnega in da zmanjšujejo pomen nasilnih incidentov (oboje še posebej velja za tiste oblike nasilja, ki niso usmerjene neposredno na telo), čeprav ob tem opisujejo resne negativne posledice. Izkušnja enega izmed intervjuvancev vključuje različne oblike nasilja (psihološko, verbalno, spolno, medosebno, spletno), čeprav sam teh dejanj ni poimenoval z izrazom nasilje, a je hkrati poudaril, da so ga ta dejanja tako močno prizadela, da je razmišljal o samomoru. K temu je dodal, da nasilja nikoli ni doživel, saj nikoli ni bil tepen, kar kaže na zoženo razumevanje nasilja, ki je zvedeno zgolj na fizično raven:

> *Nasilja pa ni bilo nikoli. Da bi jih jaz fasal* [bi+ moški, pod 25 let].

Večina oseb poroča, da so bili izvajalci nasilja moškega spola. Ob tem sta dve posebej izpostavili, da je nasilje najpogosteje izvajala skupina fantov in da je nasilništvo zviševalo socialni status posameznika v medvrstniški skupini. Eden izmed njiju še poudarja, da so se fanti iz nasilne skupine v situacijah, ko drugi vrstniki niso bili prisotni, do njega vedli prijazno:

Vsi, ki so imeli nek lowkey problem z mano, ena na ena so bili vsi v redu. /.../ Sploh pri fantih je to ultra vidno. /.../ V družbi pa ne obstajam oz. sem takoj z neko negativno, neka vreča za boksanje za tvojo nesigurnost samega vase [bi+ moški, pod 25 let].

Ob tem je več oseb izpostavilo predvidevanje, da so nekateri nasilneži, s katerimi so bile v stiku v času svojega izobraževanja, zaradi zanikanja in zavračanja lastne LGBT+ identitete v obdobju šolanja izvajali nasilje nad drugimi LGBT+ osebami:

In predvidevam, da je bil to ful velik faktor, ta ponotranjena homofobija. Da se nista niti sama sebi razkrila [bi+ ženska, med 25 in 35 let].

Osebe, ki imajo izkušnjo z menjavo VIZ institucij, omenjajo, da so se manj varno počutile v ustanovah, v katerih so prisotni raznoliki predsodki (tudi do drugih stigmatiziranih družbenih skupin).

Kot smo že izpostavile_i, negativnih posledic nima le nasilje, ki ga osebe doživijo neposredno. Na občutek varnosti negativno vplivajo tudi različne sovražnosti, usmerjene v druge družbene skupine, in dogodki, ko so bile LGBT+ osebe le priča homofobnemu ali transfobnemu nasilju ali so za tovrstno nasilje samo slišale. Eden izmed intervjuvancev opiše tudi težke občutke, ko je homofobno nasilje nad sošolcem samo opazoval, zaradi strahu pred neželenim razkritjem in posledično nasiljem pa se zanj ni mogel postaviti:

Take stvari me potem ful jezijo. Me frustrirajo, ko se nisem postavil za koga. /.../ Sem bil ful jezen in ful žalosten obenem. Ker kao, a veš, ful mi je bed, pa ne privoščim mu, pa ful bi rad nekaj naredil, pa spet ne smeš preveč, ker drugače se bom jaz razkrinkal. Tak nek stres sem, to se spomnim, da mi je bilo ful bed [gej, nad 35 let].

Brezdomnost

Ena od oseb je posebej izpostavila tudi neučinkovitost VIZ ustanove, da bi naslovila brezdomnost, s katero se je soočila zaradi družinskega okolja, ki ni bilo varno. Svoje izobraževanje je tudi predčasno zaključila, saj se je morala začeti preživljati sama in s strani izobraževalnega sistema ni dobila ustrezne pomoči.

Šola mi sploh ni pomagala. Jaz se tega spomnim kot zelo slabo izkušnjo, kar se tiče [srednje šole, ki jo je obiskoval_a]. */.../. Šola ni naredila*

> *ničesar. Kar so naredili, da ko sem dala prošnjo, so mi jo odobrili (tisto s šolnino). Kar je bil korak v pravo smer, ampak mi ni zares pomagal. /.../ Jaz vem, da kar se tiče te situacija doma. Velik ljudi, velik institucij sem prosila za pomoč, ampak nikjer nisem dobila pomoči. Je bilo zelo tako na nivoju, da mi ne morejo pomagati, zato ker sem mladoletna. /.../ In nihče me ni takrat zaščitil in dokler nisem sama sebe zaščitila in spravila iz tega okolja. In šola, sprašujem se, kaj bi zares lahko naredila* [nebinarna oseba, med 25 in 35 let].

Nevidnost

Različni vidiki nevidnosti in pomanjkanje spoštljive reprezentacije se pojavljajo kot negativni elementi v odgovorih pri skoraj vseh vključenih osebah. V okviru šolskih aktivnosti se LGBT+ tematik tako večinoma ni naslavljalo ali omenjalo, medtem ko so bile homofobne žaljivke del njihovega vsakdana. Ena izmed intervjuvank v povezavi s tem posebej izpostavi, da se je prek tišine, ki je vladala v VIZ sistemu, »učila homofobije«. V primerih omenjanja LGBT+ tematik v okviru šole so jih naslavljali_e z negativno konotacijo, ekscentrično, v povezavi z boleznimi ali izključno s spolnostjo.

> *Bi rekla, da je najbolj negativna stvar to, da se je 18 let mojega šolanja konstantno izpostavljalo, učilo na isti način po predvidevanju »Vsi učenci in učenke ste strejt in si želite prihodnost – kariera, družina, otroci, upokojitev, smrt«. /.../. Da se to toliko časa dogaja. To ti sigurno naredi ful škode na možganih. /.../. In maš to ponotranjeno zadevo* [homofobijo], *ker se moraš potem sam od sebe naučit, znebit in odučiti, zato da si lahko srečen* [lezbijka, med 25 in 35 let].

Tišina strokovnega kadra je tudi eden izmed razlogov, da osebe niso poiskale podpore, saj preprosto niso vedele, na koga izmed odraslih se je varno obrniti. Opisane negativne dejavnike osebe povezujejo z različnimi vplivi na njihovo življenje, kar se kaže kot nezaupanje v sistem, v prisilni menjavi šole, negativnih vplivih na dosežke pri ocenjevanju, izostajanju od pouka, zlorabah alkohola, ponotranjeni homofobiji, pričakovanjih o zavrnitvah tudi kasneje v življenju, spolni disforiji[6], krepitvi strahu pred razkritjem, osamljenosti, nizki samopodobi, posttravmatskih elementih, potlačitvah spominov, anksioznosti, paničnih napadih, depresiji, samomorilnosti in o samopoškodovanju.

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6. Spolna disforija je občutek nelagodja, ki ga transosebe doživljajo kot posledico neskladja med svojim notranjim doživljanjem spola in zunanjimi pričakovanji okolice glede spola, spolnih vlog, spolnega izraza, vedenja itn. (Brill in Pepper 2022).

4.3 Varovalni dejavniki

Institucija in zaposlene_i

Intervjuji kažejo na to, da VIZ institucije z izjemo ene fakultete nimajo implementiranih nikakršnih sistemskih mehanizmov, ki bi naslavljali predhodno opisane dejavnike tveganja v navezavi na spol in spolno usmerjenost. Kljub temu so LGBT+ osebe izpostavile ključno vlogo posameznih zaposlenih, ki so znotraj cis-heteronormativnih[7] institucij na različne načine delovali varovalno ali pa vsaj pozitivno. V intervjujih so pogosto kot pozitivne izpostavljene omembe LGBT+ tematik in LGBT+ znanstvenic_kov ali umetnic_kov ter vključevanje primerov, ki so povezani z LGBT+ skupnostjo. Varovalno je delovalo strokovno osebje, ki je odkrito izražalo podporo LGBT+ skupnosti na različne načine (z jasnim in javnim opredeljevanjem do LGBT+ tematik, zastavicami, značkami itn.). Osebe namreč poročajo, da so zelo previdne in pozorne na znake, ki omogočajo varno razkrivanje:

> *Prvi, ki je odprl to temo in je pokazal interes za to. Prek tega sem prepoznala, da je varno mu povedat* [lezbijka, med 25 in 35 let].

Ob tem se je pokazalo, da ima večji varovalni učinek, ko podporo javno izražajo individualne_i zaposlene_i, ki so glede na to potem velikokrat prepoznane_i kot varne osebe, na katere se je v stiski mogoče obrniti. Ena izmed udeleženk denimo manjši pomen pripisuje zastavicam, ki so se pojavljale po fakulteti in za katere se ni eksplicitno vedelo, kdo jih je postavil. To jo je sicer razveselilo, ni pa posebej prispevalo k njenemu boljšemu počutju na visokošolski ustanovi. Nekatere osebe so posebej izpostavile, da so imele nekoliko boljši občutek, ker so se izobraževale v ustanovah, ki so bile percipirane kot »odprte«. Pri tem veliko vlogo igra odprtost do vseh družbenih skupin z marginaliziranimi socialnimi konteksti, in ne zgolj do LGBT+ skupnosti:

> *Kako so govorili o tem, mogoče ne ravno o istospolno usmerjenih, ampak recimo o drugih narodnostih, kulturah, veroizpovedih, drugih osebnih okoliščinah* [lezbijka, med 25 in 35 let].

LGBT+ osebe, ki so to omenjale, so največji pomen za znosnejšo vzgojno-izobraževalno izkušnjo in tudi kasnejše življenje pripisale pristnemu in toplemu odnosu z določeno_im učiteljico_em. Eden izmed intervjuvancev je posebej poudaril, da mu je validacija s strani učiteljice, ki jo je spoštoval, veliko pomeni-

7. Skovanka, ki združuje izraza cisnormativnost in heteronormativnost. Gre za družbeni predpostavki, ki privilegirata cisspolne in heteroseksualne osebe ter temeljita na pričakovanju oz. prepričanju, da so vse osebe cisspolne in heteroseksualne ter naravne oz. večvredne (McNabb 2020).

la. Ko se ji je razkril v eseju, mu je v odgovor napisala dve strani dolgo pismo, ki ga še vedno hrani. Od takrat se počuti manj obremenjenega glede potencialnih zavrnitev:

> *In mi je to tudi odprlo pot za naprej, da sem se tudi s tistimi, s katerimi sem se res razumel in so mi več pomenili, da sem se nekako sprostil in se nisem več ukvarjal s tem, kaj bo kdo rekel in a bo kdo sprejel ali ne* [gej, med 25 in 35 let].

Kot smo že opisovale_i v okviru splošnih izkušenj, je edina oseba, ki svojo izkušnjo opisuje kot predvsem pozitivno, razlog za to pripisala ravno tesnemu odnosu z učitelji_cami, ki so ji dajali_e občutek varnosti, sprejetosti in motiviranosti za delo. Občutek varnosti, ki ga daje fizična prisotnost zaposlenih, opisuje še en intervjuvanec. V njegovem primeru zaposleni sicer niso zavestno oz. namenoma dajali občutka varnosti, vendar je učenec njihovo fizično prisotnost vseeno izkoristil za izogibanje nasilju. V situacijah, ko je nasilje pričakoval, se je namreč ves čas gibal blizu učiteljice:

> *Veš, kaj sem delal? Pri kemiji me je bilo vedno zelo strah. /…/ In mene je bilo najbolj strah it takrat. In sem vedno čakal. Zraven učiteljice sem hodil. Ja, nisem mogel* [gej, pod 25 let].

Kot pozitivne izkušnje so izpostavile_i tudi zaposlene, ki so 1) se aktivno zoperstavljale_i homofobiji oz. transfobiji; 2) spoštovale_i zaimke; 3) bile same_i (domnevno) LGBT+ ali 4) so živele_i življenje, ki tradicionalno ni razumljeno kot normativno oz. niso bile_i videti, kot bi od njih pričakovala družba glede na spol, ki jim je bil pripisan ob rojstvu. Ena izmed oseb je slednje posebej izpostavila kot pozitivno, saj je sicer ves čas dobivala informacije s strani družbe, da je s tem, kako je videti, nekaj narobe:

> *Po moje mi je to kar koristilo. To je bilo po moje dobro. Kao, da sem imela nekoga, ki zgleda tako kot ne čist kot jaz, ampak daje validnost temu spolnemu izrazu* [nebinarna oseba, med 25 in 35 let].

Medvrstniški odnosi

Medvrstniški odnosi so socialno okolje, v katerem LGBT+ osebe doživijo največ sovražnosti in nasilja, a obenem tudi največ podpore. Ta jim veliko pomeni in v marsikaterem primeru zmanjšuje vplive sovražnosti, ki jo sicer doživljajo. Več LGBT+ oseb kot pomemben varovalni dejavnik navaja možnost varnega razkritja v razredu oz. pozitiven odziv sošolk_cev, ki se jim oseba odloči razkriti. Ob tem izpostavljajo občutke sprejetosti, veselja in olajšanja:

> *Počutil sem se sprejetega. Da me je cel razred sprejel. Mojo seksualnost in to je to. Mi je res veliko pomenilo. Tudi prav mami sem povedal: »Vaaau!«*

Čisto nov svet. Prav »Vau, kar vsi vejo zame in nič jim ni sporno! Kaaaj?! Vau! To je to, kar si želim!« /…/ Sprejetost čutiš. Po tem sem jaz hrepenel celo svojo življenje in je res fajn občutek [gej, pod 25 let].

In se mi je nekako odvalil dosti velik kamen od srca [gej, med 25 in 35 let].

V kontekstu razkrivanja v medvrstniški skupini se je družba vrstnic glede na izkušnje intervjuvank_cev izkazala za varnejšo, zaradi česar se znotraj teh tudi pogosteje razkrivajo. Poleg naštetega pa jim podporo predstavljajo tudi LGBT+ sovrstnice_ki, s katerimi si delijo podobne izkušnje, zaradi česar si želijo, da bi bilo v VIZ institucijah več razkritih LGBT+ oseb. Večje število intervjuvank_cev je izpostavilo, da so vrstnice_ki lahko zelo vsiljive_i z osebnimi vprašanji o njihovi spolni usmerjenosti ali identiteti, kar LGBT+ mladim predstavlja stisko, saj jih sili v razkritje, na katerega niso pripravljene_i, oz. jih postavi v situacijo, ko morajo zanikati del svoje identitete. V tem kontekstu eden izmed njih izpostavlja, da je v razredu cenil, kako so sošolke_ci spoštovale_i njegovo zasebnost in so ga v istem slogu tudi ščitile_i pred vsiljivostjo drugih učenk_cev. LGBT+ osebe neželeno razkritje sicer opisujejo kot izrazito negativno do travmatično:

Mislim, da ni hujšega, kot da te nekdo razkrije, ko nisi pripravljen. /…/ Če nisi psihično dovolj močen, da preneseš vse to, kar se ti potem vsuje [lezbijka, nad 25 let].

5 Razprava in sklep

Stereotipi sami po sebi ne predstavljajo nujno neposrednega tveganja za pojave nasilja, vendar intervjuji kažejo, da se v marsikaterem primeru lahko povezujejo s predsodki in s tem predstavljajo podlago za nasilje. Osebe so namreč na podlagi stereotipov o domnevnem videzu LGBT+ oseb prepoznane kot del te skupnosti in zato pogoste tarča nasilja. Povezavo med spolnim izrazom in nasiljem natančneje predstavljamo v nadaljevanju. Glede na predstavljene rezultate imajo predsodki ključno vlogo pri negativnih izkušnjah v VIZ pri LGBT+ osebah. Negativni vplivi predsodkov namreč presegajo izključno raven neposrednega delovanja, saj po pripovedih vključenih oseb vplivajo na občutke strahu, samovrednotenja in stresa, kljub temu da posamezna oseba v določenem kontekstu ni (bila) neposredna tarča predsodkov. Dovolj je zavedanje, da se v njeni okolici dogajajo sovražnosti na podlagi spola in spolne usmerjenosti. To lahko med drugim povežemo s teorijo o manjšinskem stresu, ki je socialno determiniran, presega individualno pogojeno situiranost in trajen – tako kot so za življenje LGBT+ oseb trajna družbena in zgodovinska neravnovesja moči (Meyer 2013). Izhajajoč iz tega bi bilo mogoče predpostavljati, da so za učinkovito zagotavljanje varnega in spoštljivega okolja za LGBT+ učenke_ce potrebne celostne strategije, ki v najboljšem primeru vključujejo tudi lokalno okolje. Obenem morajo biti te strategije celovite tudi v kontekstu naslavljanja sovraštva na podlagi raznolikih osebnih okoliščin. S tem se povezuje tudi eden od poudarkov udeleženih v raziskavi, in sicer da varnost okolja ni ocenjena le glede odnosa do LGBT+ skupnosti, temveč tudi glede odnosa okolice do drugih zgodovinsko marginaliziranih skupin.

Za dve osebi je bila VIZ izkušnja izrazito travmatična, saj sta v času osnovnošolskega in srednješolskega izobraževanja ter v enem izmed primerov bivanja v stanovanjski skupini doživljali kontinuirano vrstniško nasilje, ki ga VIZ institucije večinoma niso naslavljale oz. so bile v redkih poskusih intervencij neuspešne ali celo škodljive. Poleg medvrstniškega nasilja sta bili obe osebi tudi tarča nasilja in sovraštva zaposlenih v različnih institucijah, kar je pomembno prispevalo k agregirani viktimiziranosti. Če uporabimo njune besede, je prva npr. izpostavila, da jo je VIZ sistem silil k temu, da je »bežala«, druga pa, da »na koncu nima od izobraževanja nič drugega kot samomorilnost«. V okviru posledic vzgojno-izobraževalne izkušnje obe osebi omenjata podoživljanje travmatskih dogodkov, izrazite občutke stresa v situacijah, podobnih travmatičnemu dogodku, izogibanje določenim prostorom in ljudem ter avtodestruktivno vedenje, pri čemer je bila ena od oseb v času intervjuja v uradnem postopku diagnosticiranja posttravmatske stresne motnje. V navezavi na travmatske dogodke in avtoagresijo sta obe osebi pomoč neuspešno iskali tako znotraj VIZ sistema kot tudi izven, in sicer pri strokovnjakinjah_ih za duševno zdravje. Tudi pri slednjih sta doživeli homofobijo in transfobijo ter nepoznavanje LGBT+ področja, zaradi česar nista dobili potrebovane pomoči. Glede na poročila intervjuvank_cev in nekatere druge raziskave (Magić 2011; Koletnik 2019) so strokovnjaki_nje, ki delujejo v okviru VIZ, predstavljeni_e kot večinoma nekompetentni_e za naslavljanje izzivov, povezanih z LGBT+ področjem, kar bi lahko napeljevalo na pomanjkljivo izobraževanje in usposabljanje tega kadra v povezavi s tem področjem. Na eni strani pedagoški programi (tako za pridobitev formalne pedagoške izobrazbe kot za namen usposabljanja in izpopolnjevanja) ne vsebujejo zadostnih vsebin, ki bi obravnavale LGBT+ tematike v okviru različnih predmetnih področij, na drugi strani pa sistem vzgoje in izobraževanja ni odvisen zgolj od pedagoškega dela in izobrazbe učiteljev. Šola ni zgolj preprosta preslikava družbene realnosti (kot na to opozarja Milner, 1992). Za razumevanje razlogov za zgoraj predstavljene rezultate o nekompetentnosti pedagoškega kadra bi morale_i upoštevati tudi druge dejavnike cis-heteronormativnega družbenega sistema, katerega del je tudi šolski sistem. Ena izmed možnih kratkoročnih rešitev je vključevanje LGBT+

nevladnih organizacij[8], ki že ponujajo različna izobraževanja in podporo VIZ ustanovam v situacijah, ki zadevajo spol in spolno usmerjenost. Dolgoročno pa bi morali v izobraževanje in usposabljanje učiteljskega kadra vnesti vsebine, ki pokrivajo LGBT+ področje, kot tudi nasloviti cis-heteronormativni okvir, iz katerega izhajajo kurikularne vsebine.

Le v enem izmed intervjujev je bilo mogoče zaznati pozitivne izkušnje. To je bil primer osebe, ki je bila deležna posebne naklonjenosti zaposlenih na šoli, s katerimi je tudi preživljala večino odmorov. Glede na to, da se ogromen delež negativnih izkušenj dogaja med odmori v medvrstniških skupinah, bi lahko predvidevale_i, da je odnos med strokovnimi delavkami_ci in intervjuvanko_cem deloval zaščitno ter prispeval k temu, da se oseba v šoli ni počutila le (razmeroma) varno, temveč tudi dokaj sprejeto. Primer torej kaže na to, da ima lahko šolsko osebje izredno velik vpliv na izkušnje LGBT+ oseb. Kljub temu je treba poudariti, da gre v tem primeru za naključen splet dveh okoliščin: a) oseba si je želela postati pedagog_inja, zaradi česar ji je odnos z učitelji_cami veliko pomenil, in b) naklonjeno osebje, ki je bilo odprto za tesnejši odnos z učenko_cem. V tem primeru pozitivna izkušnja ni odraz mehanizmov, ki bi jih institucija implementirala za varnejšo in spoštljivejšo vzgojo in izobraževanje LGBT+ oseb, temveč je splet ugodnih okoliščin in razpoložljivih strokovnih delavk_cev. Poleg tega izkušnja odraža predvsem odsotnost nasilja in nepravičnosti, ne pa tudi možnost razkritega življenja kot LGBT+ oseba (oseba se je razkrila samo redkim posameznicam_kom znotraj srednje šole), zdravih medvrstniških odnosov in oblik dela, ki bi resnično delovale varovalno ter bi zagotavljale celostno in spoštljivo obravnavo v vseh socialnih kontekstih šolskega prostora.

Nenormativni spolni izraz se je v naši raziskavi izkazal za enega največjih dejavnikov tveganja za raznovrstne negativne izkušnje znotraj VIZ sistema. Na podlagi stereotipov, da so lezbijke maskulinega spolnega izraza in geji feminilnega, so osebe, ki ustrezajo tem stereotipom, percipirane kot LGBT+ in zato tarča nasilja. V uvodu že izpostavljena raziskava Klemmer in dr. (2021) kaže na to, da osebe z nenormativnimi spolnimi izrazi zaradi varnostnih razlogov pogosteje izostajajo od pouka in poročajo o več nasilja vseh vrst kot pa njihove_i vrstnice_ki, katerih spolni izraz glede na družbena pričakovanja sovpada s spolom, pripisanim ob rojstvu. LGBT+ osebe se tega procesa stereotipizacije in posledic zavedajo, zaradi česar nekatere izmed njih neprestano upravljajo z vtisi, da bi bile percipirane kot CH in bi se na tak način izognile potencialnemu nasilju. Prikrivanje stigme ima mnoge negativne vplive na posameznice_ke (Pachankis

8. Npr. Društvo informacijski center Legebitra in Društvo Parada ponosa, ki se med drugim posebej usmerjata v delo z VIZ ustanovami.

in dr. 2020), zaradi česar izpostavljamo potrebo po VIZ okolju, v katerem bi se LGBT+ osebe upravičeno počutile varne za razkritje. Tudi heteroseksualne_i in cisspolne_i vrstnice_ki se zavedajo, da biti LGBT+ pomeni veliko tveganje za doživljanje nasilja. Zato se nekatere osebe, predvsem fanti, izogibajo druženju z vrstniki, za katere se sumi, da so geji, in nad njimi celo izvajajo nasilje z namenom dokazovanja svoje heteroseksualnosti. V tem primeru nasilje izhaja iz strahu pred nasiljem, kar ponovno kaže na to, kako pomembno je, da se tudi na videz neškodljive stereotipe ustrezno naslavlja, saj predstavljajo ključno podlago za predsodke in pojave nasilja.

Glede na našo raziskavo je značilna izkušnja za LGBT+ osebe kombinacija sovraštva in nevidnosti. Na eni strani LGBT+ učenke_ci doživljajo različne oblike sovražnosti, kot je denimo nasilje, oz. jih je nasilja na podlagi spola in spolne usmerjenosti upravičeno strah. Na drugi strani pa v VIZ sistemu vlada vsesplošna nevidnost LGBT+ tematik oz. so te, kadar že, najpogosteje predstavljene v kontekstih ekscentričnosti oz. v navezavi na spolnost, bolezni ali duševne motnje. Nekatere osebe omenjajo, da je zaradi navedenih razlogov ravno vzgojno-izobraževalni kontekst prostor, v katerem so se priučile homofobije do same sebe, kasneje pa so se je morale same odučiti. Učenke_ci v VIZ ustanovah preživijo večino svoje mladosti, hkrati pa je to okolje, iz katerega se brez posledic ne morejo preprosto umakniti ali ga brez večjih težav zamenjati, zato upravičeno lahko pričakujemo, da ti vsakodnevni, neizogibni heteronormativni in cisnormativni elementi vplivajo na njihovo življenje.

Med analizo intervjujev smo zaznale_i trend nizke senzibilnosti za prepoznavanje nasilja, zmanjševanja njegovega pomena, ki ni usmerjeno v telo, ter zmanjševanje pomena osebnih in tujih izkušenj z nasiljem na splošno. Na podlagi širšega konteksta intervjujev vidimo dve možni razlagi za tovrstno banaliziranje nasilja. Prva je možnost, da VIZ ustanove premalo osveščajo o medvrstniškem nasilju na splošno in ga tudi preredko naslavljajo, zaradi česar ga učenke_ci sprejemajo kot normalni element vsakdanjega življenja v šoli ter se z njegovimi posledicami soočajo individualno in nereflektirano. Drugi potencialni razlog, ki ga je bilo mogoče zaznati med opravljanjem intervjujev, pa je, da LGBT+ osebe zavračajo vlogo žrtve. Če bi osebe priznale, da nasilje doživljajo oz. jih je prizadelo, bi to po njihovi presoji pomenilo priznanje, da so žrtve, česar pa ne želijo. Obstoj te možnosti za socialno-pedagoške obravnave medvrstniškega nasilja pomeni, da niso vse osebe z ranljivimi socialnimi konteksti tudi nujno ranljive in kot take ne želijo biti obravnavane. Marsikatera oseba je razvila visoko stopnjo rezilientnosti, zaradi česar je pomembno, da strokovne_i delavke_ci LGBT+ osebe ne postavljajo avtomatično v vlogo žrtve, temveč intervencije prilagajajo individualnim okoliščinam primera in vpletenih oseb.

V okviru varovalnih dejavnikov se je kot ključna izkazala socialna podpora, in sicer vrstnic_kov in zaposlenih. Glede na intervjuje imata obe skupini velike potenciale za vzpostavitev varnejših vzgojno-izobraževalnih okolij, kar kaže na to, da kljub kritičnemu primanjkljaju sistemskih rešitev obstajajo načini, kako lahko v razmeroma kratkem času s krepitvijo zavezniških kompetenc obeh skupin postane VIZ prostor varnejši in spoštljivejši kraj za LGBT+ učenke_ce. Raziskava Sešek in Margon (2021) je pokazala, da LGBT+ dijaki_nje, ki imajo pozitivne izkušnje s šolskim osebjem v navezavi na LGBT+ vsebine, pogosteje omenjajo občutke sprejetosti med vrstnicami_ki in pripadnosti šoli, redkejše občutke strahu zaradi njihovega spolnega izraza in spolne usmerjenosti ter redkejše izostajanje od pouka zaradi odsotnosti občutka varnosti v VIZ ustanovi. Kljub temu je treba izpostaviti, da šolsko osebje ni dovolj pogosto prepoznano kot vir podpore (Koletnik 2019; Sešek in Margon 2021) in da je njihova usposobljenost – glede na zadnjo raziskavo Magić (2012) – nezadostna. To pomeni, da je treba v dolgoročne razvojne strategije vključiti izobraževanje šolskega osebja. Prav tako bi bilo treba nasloviti heteronormativnost in cisnormativnost VIZ prostorov, ki bi jih bilo smiselno začeti strateško spreminjati.

SUMMARY

Research shows that the educational environment is one of the less safe places for LGBT+ youth since sources of support there are sporadic and largely limited to support from friends and individual school professionals. The presented qualitative study complements data from existing quantitative studies and sheds light on new aspects of LGBT+ educational experiences in Slovenia. Included in the study were 27 LGBT+ individuals from Slovenia. The described experiences refer to the period of education in primary and secondary school, residential care institutions and higher education. The data were processed using qualitative content analysis, which revealed that the most characteristic experience entails a combination of hostility and invisibility. Prejudice, whose negative impact is more than simply direct, triggers feelings of anxiety, self-deprecation and stress, even if the person was not the direct target of prejudice in a given context. It is enough for individuals to be aware that hostilities based on gender and sexual orientation are taking place in their environment. This can, among other things, be related to the theory of minority stress, a form of psychosocial stress that stems from the marginalised context and is fundamentally different from the traditional forms of stress typically experienced by all people (Meyer 2013).

Only one of the interviews could be seen as conveying a positive experience. This involved a person who had received special affection from the school staff,

with whom they spent most of their breaks. Considering that the majority of negative experiences occur during breaks in peer groups, we can assume that the professional staff–interviewee relationship was protective. In addition, the relationship had contributed to them feeling relatively safe at school and fairly accepted. The case shows that school staff can have a tremendous impact on the experiences of LGBT+ individuals. Nevertheless, it should be noted that this case is a fortuitous combination of two circumstances: a) a person who wanted to become a teacher and for whom their relationship with teachers meant a lot; and on the other hand b) sympathetic staff members who were open to a closer relationship with the student. This means it is important to note that the positive experience in this case does not reflect mechanisms that the institution had put in place to provide a safer and more respectful education for LGBT+ individuals. Instead, it reflects a combination of favourable circumstances and available professional staff. Further, the experience chiefly reflects the absence of violence and injustice, but not the opportunity to come out as an LGBT+ person, for healthy peer relationships, and forms of work that would truly serve as protection and ensure holistic and respectful treatment in all social contexts of the school space.

Non-normative gender expression emerged as one of the greatest risk factors for various negative experiences in the education system. Due to stereotypes that lesbians have a masculine gender expression and gay men have a feminine gender expression, people who conform to these stereotypes are perceived as LGBT+ and therefore targets of violence. Research shows that people with non-normative gender expression are more likely to skip class for safety reasons and report more violence of all kinds than their peers whose gender expression matches the gender assigned at birth according to societal expectations. LGBT+ individuals are aware of this process of stereotyping and its consequences, which is why some are constantly careful to be perceived as heterosexual and cisgender in order to avoid potential violence.

As already highlighted, according to our study the characteristic experience for LGBT+ people is a combination of hatred and invisibility. On one hand, LGBT+ students experience various forms of hostility, such as violence, or have a legitimate fear of violence based on their gender and sexual orientation. On the other hand, LGBT+ issues are generally invisible in the education system or are presented, if at all, only in the contexts of eccentricity or sexuality, illness, or mental disorders.

We noticed a distinct attitude to violence, that is, a tendency toward low sensitivity to recognising violence, a decreasing of the importance of violence that is not physical, and a decreasing of the importance of one's own and others' experiences of violence generally. Based on the broader context of the interviews, we see two possible explanations for such trivialising of violence. The first is the possibility that educational institutions are not sufficiently aware of peer violence in general and address it too infrequently, leading students to accept it as a normal element of everyday school life. Another possible reason identified in the interviews is that some LGBT+ individuals refuse to play the role of a victim.

In terms of protective factors, social support, especially from peers and individual staff, proved to be crucial.

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TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE FOOD CONSUMPTION IN THE EU: CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the construction of sustainable food consumers and their role in securing the transition to a sustainable food system in the European Union. Drawing from studies of governmentality and employing the P.A.C.T. routine theoretical model of consumer responsibilisation, the aim was to analyse the ways in which the responsibilisation for making sustainable food choices has been formulated through the Farm to Fork Strategy. This strategy emphasises the importance of educating and empowering consumers to make sustainable food choices, as reflected in discursive formations and initiatives like the improvement of the EU food labelling system. However, the paper stresses that promoting sustainable consumption as a matter of consumer choice-driven responsibility could disproportionately burden consumers and deepen social inequalities without successfully addressing environmental issues.

KEY WORDS: consumerism, individualisation of responsibility, sustainable food consumption, farm to fork strategy, governmentality

Oblikovanje trajnostne potrošnje hrane v EU: kritična analiza individualizacije odgovornosti

IZVLEČEK

Prispevek raziskuje konstrukcijo trajnostnih potrošnikov in potrošnic hrane ter njihovo vlogo pri zagotavljanju prehoda na trajnostni prehranski sistem v Evropski uniji. Izhajajoč iz študij vladnosti in z uporabo P.A.C.T. rutinskega *teoretičnega modela odgovornosti potrošnikov, je cilj analizirati načine, kako je bila odgovornost potrošnikov in potrošnic za sprejemanje trajnostnih odločitev o hrani oblikovana s strategijo od vil do vilic. Strategija poudarja pomen izobraževanja in opolnomočenja potrošnikov in potrošnic za trajnostno izbiro hrane, kar se odraža v diskurzivnih formacijah in predlaganih pobudah, kot je izboljšanje sistema EU za označevanje živil. Vendar dokument poudarja, da bi lahko spodbujanje trajnostne porabe hrane kot vprašanje odgovornosti, ki temelji na izbiri potrošnikov in potrošnic, nesorazmerno obremenilo posameznike in posameznice ter poglobilo družbene razlike, ne da bi uspešno obravnavalo okoljska vprašanja.*

KLJUČNE BESEDE: potrošništvo, individualizacija odgovornosti, trajnostna potrošnja hrane, strategija od vil do vilic, vladnost

1 Introduction[1]

Our food system is responsible for some of the most pressing global sustainability issues. The current principles guiding the operation of the food system are putting pressure on the environment, society and economy. The food system is also under pressure from climate change, pollution and geopolitical dynamics (IPCC 2019; Martinez et al. 2019: 204). On one hand, although global food production can provide enough food for the entire population, approximately 800 million people still suffer from hunger, with more than two billion struggling with micronutrient deficiencies. On the other hand, there are more than one billion obese people worldwide (Garnett et al. 2015; WHO 2022). This leads to the conclusion that a more sustainable food system is needed to ensure that sustainable food is available, accessible and affordable to everyone.

With a focus on sustainable food consumption as a vital component of the sustainable food system, there is increasing attention on individual consumers as critical actors in demonstrating positive environmental and social change through their choices of buying and eating sustainable food (Miller and Rose 1997; Lockie 2009; Allen 2010; Pyysiäinen and Vesala 2013; Avelino 2021). Recommendations and suggestions on the steps that consumers can and should take to exemplify positive environmental and social change are pervasive in the media, business and policy contexts. At the European level, consumers are encouraged to "choose wisely" and "travel responsibly", and through slogans such as "You Control Climate Change", their actions are portrayed as crucial

1. This work was supported by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS) within the "Young Researchers" program.

for the well-being of the planet (EC 2012[2] in Soneryd and Uggla 2015: 918). These steps most commonly revolve around consumers purchasing responsibly and opting for sustainable, local and seasonal food instead of unsustainable food options (Lyon 2006; Dowler 2008; Isenhour 2011).

Through policies and marketing campaigns, consumers are attributed significant power in shaping the food system. The expectation is for individuals to use this power to purchase and consume sustainably and take small steps to rearrange their everyday lives to accommodate sustainable practices (Lemke 2001; Soneryd and Uggla 2015; Jackson et al. 2020). By doing so, sustainable consumption traverses the economic sphere and expands into the creation of subjects and their identities, areas that were previously considered non-economic (Soneryd and Uggla 2015: 924; van den Berg 2016: 3). It is not just about buying and consuming but also about fulfilling oneself, caring for others and the planet and securing a certain way of life (Žižek 2009: 53).

Nevertheless, some researchers (Rose 1999; Lemke 2001; Hansen and Jespersen 2013) have emphasized that this extended focus on individuals and their responsibility to choose, buy and eat sustainable food needs to be regarded and discussed as a reformation of political rationality. The continuing emphasis on sustainable food consumers as critical agents in enabling the change of the food system tends to normalize this discourse, while the increase in policies, campaigns or advertisements that highlight the responsibilization of consumers are considered necessary and appropriate (Soneryd and Uggla 2015: 922). According to Lemke (2001: 203) and Isenhour (2011), what used to be part of welfare state services is now a personal project and an individual responsibility, and what was protected and enabled by governments is now a question of supply and demand.

This paper builds on the work of researchers (Miller and Rose 1997; Isenhour 2011; Evans et al. 2017; Pyysiäinen et al. 2017) who understand the construction of the sustainable consumer as an act of governance exercised indirectly and subtly by directing individuals towards sustainable options. The analysis expands into the sphere of sustainable food consumption in the European Union (EU) and focuses on addressing the process of consumer responsibilization through a crucial strategy that forms the basis of the transformation of the EU food system until 2030 – the Farm to Fork Strategy. Consequently, this paper aims to critically assess the ways in which the consumer's responsibilization for making sustainable food choices has been formulated through the Farm to Fork Strategy. The significance of this analysis emerges from the fact that it establishes

2. European Commission (2012): You control climate change campaign.

a foundational framework for identifying possibilities and priorities regarding the transition to sustainable food. It emphasizes expectations from actors within the EU food system, influences the creation of funding opportunities and shapes how the strategic elements outlined therein align with upcoming legislative propositions. Therefore, understanding how the Farm to Fork Strategy, a core EU strategy that deals with sustainable food transition, constructs consumer responsibility is relevant. Not only does it outline the consumer's role and position in transforming the EU food system, it also holds the potential to reshape how various stakeholders perceive consumers and how consumers perceive their own role in shaping a more sustainable food system.

The paper comprises three sections. The first section presents the theoretical and conceptual framework of the research, which applies governmentality studies to explain the political and economic rationalities behind the construction of a discourse of responsibilization and the way in which it operationalizes what it means to be a sustainable food consumer. To do so, the paper utilizes Giesler and Veresiu's (2014) model of consumer responsibilization, that is, the P.A.C.T. routine. Second, the paper analyses the Farm to Fork Strategy to illustrate the spectrum of opportunities it offers and the specific actions it anticipates from EU consumers in order for them to actively engage in responsible and sustainable food consumption practices. Lastly, referring to my own analysis, statistical data and research across social sciences that addresses food consumerism, the paper highlights the shortcomings of the discourse of responsibilization and focuses on the issue of power struggles and the inequalities being perpetuated through the adoption of the consumer responsibilization discourse. To do this, the paper assesses the environmental and social responsibility of large agricultural and food companies and the importance of one's socio-economic status in engaging in sustainable consumption practices.

2 Sustainability and consumer behaviour through the lens of governmentality

In his books (1991a, 1998), Foucault began developing an understanding of power in modern politics and government, as the previous focus on the sovereign and the rule of law had been accompanied, and somewhere gradually substituted, by a novel form of power. Power, according to this understanding, does not order and prohibit action but guides and manages life by influencing beliefs and decisions (French 2004: 297; Azer 2022). As such, power directs the functioning of everyday life through social organization, human interaction and actions of self-discipline (Gaventa 2003; Fuchs et al. 2016: 300; Azer 2022).

Furthermore, it is much more than an action of the sovereign as it manifests through various institutions and societal norms. A person is inspired and motivated and, thus, "obeys the suggestions and the orders given to him by advertising, sales agencies or demands of social prestige" (Lefebvre 2014: 305). As emphasized by Quastel (2008: 27), Foucault explored the creation of a subject and their performance through a range of institutions, such as schools, mental hospitals or prisons. However, his research could be expanded towards understanding the logic behind responsible and sustainable food consumption.

Even though power is dispersed throughout "advanced liberal societies", it is still crucial to understand that it is politically motivated and enabled through political rationalities (Miller and Rose 1997; Rose 1999). As our life experiences are socially constructed through relations with others, and as influences on our everyday life are mostly beyond our perceptions, we accept them as natural causes or the results of free will. Therefore, subtle and often unrecognizable forms of governmental action that shape our lives are crucial for those in power to achieve political objectives without imposing direct intervention such as legislation or taxation (Rose 1999; Lemke 2001; Hansen and Jespersen 2013: 4). As Foucault (1991b: 95) states, "government is a question /.../ of employing tactics rather than laws, and even of using laws themselves as tactics – to arrange things in such a way that, through a certain number of means, such and such ends may be achieved".

These governmental tactics are numerous and innovative, encompassing everything from governing others to governing oneself (Lemke 2001: 192). For this reason, Foucault viewed governance as the "conduct of conducts" (Burchell et al. 1991). This formation explains that management or control is more than a simple restriction relating to traditional forms of state policy. It encompasses the management of both the population and the self through the optimization of surroundings and opportunities and enforcing certain ways of knowing and doing (Dean 1991; Foucault 1991b: 102).

The crucial turning point that proved the importance of these governing strategies was the act of intertwining political practice with economic goals. People's habits and consumption practices became important for the well-being of the economy, and since the 18th century, they have been regarded as crucial for the well-being of the state. Thus, these practices became an important factor in oversight and organization (Foucault 1991a, 1991b). With the introduction of free trade, barriers and regulations were framed as undesirable and harmful, a framing that was also transferred to the food consumption sphere, where restrictions and obligations were replaced by guidelines and recommendations (Allen 2010; Isenhour 2011; Soneryd and Uggla 2015: 916).

However, with the scaling down of state interventions from the control of resources, social services and security measures, the responsibility for supporting and managing these resources fell partly into the hands of individual consumers (Lemke 2001: 203; van den Berg 2016: 2). This shift can also be observed in the area of sustainable food consumption, where buying and consuming sustainable food are perceived as a project of responsibilization, while the state is expected to provide consumers with the necessary information and education for them to make “correct” and “sustainable” choices that are perceived as beneficial to them, others and the environment (Rose 1999: 87; Lockie 2009: 195).

I define responsibilization in accordance with Pyysiäinen et al. (2017) as a practice of governance that grants consumers the freedom of choice to conduct their choice-making. By utilizing the theorization of governmentality, this paper understands the process of responsibilization for sustainable food consumption not as a “natural” process but as a power tactic intended to shape human thought and behaviour through the act of self-management or, as Foucault called it, “technologies of the self” (Foucault 1988). Individuals are no longer addressed as citizens but as consumers who need to choose their food wisely and responsibly to enable the functioning of a sustainable food system (Giesler and Veresiu 2014: 842). Through a mixture of education, empowerment and advice, the government exercises its subtle power over individual consumers’ decisions regarding their food choices, even without the need to be responsible for securing these choices every step of the way. By endorsing consumers’ free will and rational decision-making when it comes to choosing or buying sustainable food, the governing power positions individuals as responsible for the social risks of their food consumption or lack thereof, such as illness, poverty or environmental damage (Lemke 2001: 201; Isenhour 2011).

Giesler and Veresiu (2014) presented a framework for analysing the process of responsibilization. According to them, responsibilization occurs through four steps – personalization, authorization, capabilization and transformation – referred to as the P.A.C.T. routine. The first step, personalization, involves formulating the problem of the unsustainability of the current food system as something that is beyond the scope of state action or corporate responsibility alone and, instead, framing it as a consequence of and opportunity for individual action, thereby demanding increased sustainable individual conduct (Hodgson 2002: 314; Giesler and Veresiu 2014: 843). This first step highlights the power of a discourse, which, as a social practice, shapes human actions as well as their knowledge and perceptions of truth (Foucault 1991c).

The second step, authorization, aims to support and legitimize the responsibilization of individual consumers through available economic, psychological or other scientific expert knowledge, which is transmitted through various educational or informational channels (Giesler and Veresiu 2014: 843). The responsible management of the self is regarded not only as logical but also as having moral and economic benefits for the individual and the environment (van den Berg 2016: 3). Therefore, the approaches to authorization may range from emphasizing the norms and values of well-being and sustainable consumption to the economic rationalities of sustaining and greening the food market.

Third, responsibilization requires the “infrastructure of products and services that support individuals’ active self-management” (Giesler and Veresiu 2014: 843), which they refer to as capabilization. Through these products and infrastructure, sustainable food consumers can exercise their responsibility and manage their everyday lives accordingly. These constructions may be diverse, ranging from the market of sustainable food options and the stores where they can be found to education and empowerment methods. The fourth step is transformation, which entails not just the acceptance of new responsibilities but also an entire change in attitude and behaviour, as the project of sustainable food consumption is regarded as an enriching and moral personal project.

3 Responsibilization in the Farm to Fork Strategy

The individualization of responsibility has become a popular discursive tool of green governance, particularly in the Global North (Soneryd and Uggla 2015: 916), and the same trend can be observed in the EU. To accommodate the commitments from the Paris Agreement[3] to limit global warming to or under 1.5 °C, and address the interrelated environmental issues impacting member states, the European Commission (EC) introduced the European Green Deal. Set in motion as the “new growth strategy” aimed at achieving net-zero emissions of greenhouse gases by 2050, and based on the principles of just transition, the European Green Deal commits to a systemic restructuring of the EU’s *modus operandi* to be more inclusive and sustainable, thus ensuring the well-being and protection of its people and nature (EC 2019: 2).

Inside the scope of the European Green Deal, the Farm to Fork Strategy was designed to tackle sustainable food transition in the EU in order to “make food systems fair, healthy and environmentally friendly” (EC n.d.a). The strategy sets various goals to combat climate change and other environmental concerns impacting water, land and air while pledging to ensure sufficient, nutritious and

3. Paris Agreement to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, adopted at the COP 21 on 12 December 2015, entered into force on 4 November 2016.

sustainable food for everyone in the EU (EC 2020: 4). The strategy recognizes that every actor within the food system has a role to fulfil in achieving the sustainability of the EU food system, including "food production, transport, distribution, marketing and consumption" (EC 2020: 4–5). Accordingly, it has announced forthcoming EU political endeavours and proposed recommendations exemplifying how distinct sectors can actively reshape their approaches, including embracing novel prospects that facilitate the enhancement of sustainability in their practices. Thus, the Farm to Fork Strategy exemplifies potential actions within the grasp of consumers, emphasizing the indispensable role individuals play in facilitating the transition to sustainable food.

The responsibilization of sustainable food consumers starts with personalization. The EC website introducing the Farm to Fork Strategy asks the reader, "Do you have the appetite for change?" (EC n.d.a), setting the stage for a reflection on people's dietary patterns and the will to transform them to secure necessary structural changes in the EU. Dietary patterns are presented as more than just satisfying hunger, as they drive environmental, social and economic problems. Additionally, they are the underlying cause of non-communicable diseases and other health problems that burden European society (EC 2020: 2). Thus, sustainable consumption has multiple benefits that not only impact the individual but the wider community and environment. While the importance of other actors participating in the food system in securing sustainable food options is acknowledged, they are portrayed as highly dependent on consumers, since "they cannot be successful if consumers do not choose to buy these products" (EC Scientific Advice Mechanism 2022: 4). Therefore, as the Farm to Fork Strategy concludes, "it is clear that the transition will not happen without a shift in people's diets" (EC 2020: 3).

Owing to the critical position of consumers in the food system, emphasis is placed on ensuring that consumers can consume sustainably and opt for sustainable food choices. This includes food producers and retailers, actors who influence consumers' choices by deciding on the type and nutritional aspect of the food they manufacture or sell (EC 2020: 11). However, consumers residing in the EU are also regarded as a major force in terms of "driving significant change in the food market" (EC 2020: 3), mainly through the demand for sustainable food options. They are presented as key actors that can exert influence over production and retail practices in the EU by demanding sustainable food (EC Scientific Advice Mechanism 2022: 3).

The Farm to Fork Strategy stresses that the process of sustainable transition has already begun: "people pay increasing attention to environmental, health, social, and ethical issues and they seek value in food more than ever before" (EU

2020: 4). By emphasizing the consistent and pervasive adoption of sustainable consumption practices, the strategy not only directs the focus of other stakeholders towards meeting the sustainable requirements of EU consumers but also cultivates the perception of sustainable consumption as an increasingly popular endeavour. As such, it aims to encourage further commitment by emphasizing the necessity of a profound collective commitment towards the goal of sustainable consumption. After all, "it is clear that we need to do much more to keep ourselves and the planet healthy" (EU 2020: 4).

Following the personalization of the responsible consumer discourse, the Farm to Fork Strategy engages in the process of authorization by emphasizing the role of scientific knowledge – environmental, medical and economic – in supporting the changing dietary patterns. Sustainable food consumption can have an influence on the safeguarding of land, water and air, prevent the decline of biodiversity, help in reducing climate change and curb food waste (EC 2020: 3–4). Furthermore, choosing and buying sustainable food are intricately connected to health since healthy food is also less burdensome on the environment and, thus, more sustainable (EC 2020: 11). Poor diets are a serious threat to health and well-being in the EU, especially those that are largely based on processed and red meat. They are behind half of the cardiovascular disease cases in the EU, and it is estimated that more than 50% of adults are now falling into the overweight category (IPES food panel 2019; EC 2020: 3). Accordingly, consumers are informed of the urgency of consuming a "more plant-based diet with less red and processed meat and with more fruits and vegetables" and are expected to reduce "not only risks of life-threatening diseases, but also the environmental impact of the food system" (EC 2020: 13).

With the above in mind, the health benefits of sustainable food are translated into a healthy lifestyle, positively influencing individual well-being. The Farm to Fork Strategy draws attention to the advantages of engaging in sustainable food consumption practices for people's health, lifestyle and natural environment (EC 2020: 2). By bringing lifestyle into the sphere of sustainable food consumption, responsibilization takes the form of an identity project and questions who we are as people and who we want to become if we act in a "moral way" (Foucault 1997: 264). As Žižek (2009: 54) claims, "we are simultaneously doing something meaningful, showing our capacity for care and our global awareness by participating in a collective project".

Besides health benefits and lifestyle improvements, sustainable food consumption is portrayed as potentially influential in sustainable economic growth and the placement of sustainable food options on the food market. The Farm to Fork Strategy points out that "citizens' expectations are evolving and driving significant change in the food market" (EC 2020: 3). An increasing number of consumers in the EU are asking for sustainable food, which is emphasized as the opportunity for food producers to change to more sustainable production methods, thereby ensuring that the demand exists and it is growing. Consequently, responsible consumers derive added advantage from their sustainable actions, not only through the positive impact on the environment, their health and well-being but also through the provision of income for farmers engaged in sustainable practices. As the EC pledges to engage with citizens and encourage their active involvement in the transformation of our food system (EC 2020: 19), the institutions and initiatives that support the capabilization of sustainable food consumers in the EU are crucial. Nevertheless, in order to create "a favourable food environment that makes it easier to choose healthy and sustainable diets" (EC 2020: 2), emphasis is placed on the need to empower consumers to make that choice. Therefore, the empowered consumer, or a consumer in need of empowerment to be able to choose "healthy and sustainable diets and reduce food waste" (EC 2020: 12), represents a core of the capacity-building and choice-making that lead to sustainable consumption practices. The idea of an empowered consumer builds on the presupposition that if consumers are well-informed and encouraged, they will make rational and responsible food choices and consider sustainability and health when making these choices.

The Farm to Fork Strategy briefly mentions two initiatives – sustainable food procurement and tax incentives – as potential options in empowering consumers towards sustainable dietary choices. For example, tax incentives that support organic food and that are indicative of correct food prices, that is, that take into consideration the environmental impact of food, have been suggested for member states (EC 2020: 14). Furthermore, schools, public canteens and hospitals have been identified as spaces that provide good opportunities to engage individuals in sustainable eating practices with the aim of initiating "changes needed for a successful transition" (EC 2019: 19).

However, the Farm to Fork Strategy gives primacy to strengthening food labelling tools and standards as a promising initiative to empower food consumers into making sustainable choices. First, the strategy proposes a revision of the EU regulation on food information to consumers,[4] with the goal of ensuring "better labelling information to help consumers make healthier and more sustainable food choices" (EC, n.d.b). The new regulation will strive to unify the mandatory front-of-pack nutrition labelling and extend the mandatory origin or provenance

4 Regulation (EU) No 1169/2011 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2011 on the provision of food information to consumers.

information. Second, the EC intends to propose a Sustainability Labelling Framework to "empower consumers to make informed and sustainable food choices" (EC, n.d.b). Through this framework, it is envisaged that consumers will be able to decide based on the sustainability information on food products, which represents a novelty in labelling schemes (EC 2020: 13). Through what is envisioned as an informative and substantial labelling system, the consumer is provided with tools to act responsibly and sustainably, although it is the role of the EU or individual member states to provide and control all of this information and guide the consumer towards the optimal choice (Narciso and Fonte 2021: 56).

The reproduction of the discourse on the responsibility of the individual consumer in choosing sustainable food options has a tremendous potential to mobilize people's transformation and acceptance of their responsibility for securing a sustainable future for themselves and others. Since consumers are framed as rational and conscious, sustainable consumption should be appealing to consumers across the EU who wish to re-design their identities to be consistent with these values (Ferrer-Fons and Fraile 2013: 468). According to the Eurobarometer (2020), European consumers welcome a favourable environment that allows them to choose sustainable and healthy food. On the question of the necessary means through which to encourage healthy and sustainable diets, most European consumers name the affordability of healthy and sustainable food (49%), availability (45%) and clear food labelling information (41%) as crucial. However, European consumers still do not see themselves as primarily responsible for securing a sustainable food system. They stress that producers (farmers, fishers, aquaculture producers), food manufacturers and national governments are crucial agents, followed by consumers.

4 Sustainable food consumption – discussion and implications

As imagined by the responsibilization of sustainable food consumers, through empowerment, substantial information and favourable institutional support, people will choose sustainable food options and pursue sustainable lifestyles because they are rational beings and understand that sustainable food is beneficial from the perspectives of health, social well-being and the environment. This presupposition is based on the assurance that sustainable consumers are one of the crucial actors with the power to transform the food market and re-establish the producer–consumer nexus through demand for sustainable food options (Goodman and Goodman 2001: 98). Moreover, this way of rationalizing the special importance of individuals in securing a sustainable food environment is largely based on the assumption that peoples' dietary patterns are a question of choice (Dowler 2008: 764).

Even though choices play an essential role in an individual's life when it comes to food consumption, they are not the only factors determining consumption patterns and options, as people are influenced by food accessibility, availability, their habits, preferences and economic opportunities. Thus, this paper concurs with the conclusions of scholars (Miller and Rose 1997; Summers 2016; Evans et al. 2017; Pyysiäinen et al. 2017) who stress that an extensive focus on consumer choice while disregarding the larger food environment is overly simplistic.

If we look back at the example of the emphasis on a reinforced labelling system in the Farm to Fork Strategy as way to ensure that consumers are able to make sustainable and informed food choices, it would be questionable to expect that providing more information would suffice as a tool through which EU consumers would be empowered to change their consumption patterns and participate in the design of the sustainable food system in the EU. While labels serve as a useful instrument for orientation and obtaining information, they are insufficient in initiating transformative change since consumers are, as explained by Narciso and Fonte (2021: 56), constructed by cultural, social, economic, generational and other influences. At the same time, the food consumption arena is constructed through a combination of actors and their relations.

Instead of focusing on the responsibilization of consumers to remedy environmental and climate degradation by choosing sustainable food and boycotting unsustainable options, van den Berg (2016) stressed the importance of tackling these issues at the source – at the level of production and supply. Many of today's environmental issues relating to the food system are caused by large food and agricultural companies. For example, industrial farming is highly dependent on industrial chemicals and fertilizers, which can pollute the environment through wastewater and nutrient run-offs and cause loss of biodiversity. Furthermore, the meat industry is causing land degradation and deforestation, health issues through the usage of antibiotics and is responsible for a majority of greenhouse gas emissions in the food industry. Large food manufacturers, in particular, are implicated in numerous social and ecological crises in their quest to maximize profits (Nestle 2013, 2018; Mann 2021).

Furthermore, Garnett et al. (2015) reported that production and provisioning decisions are made by a handful of actors. The top 10 food companies together earn more than one billion euros daily, while millions of people who depend on agriculture for income and food live in poverty at under 1.13 euros a day (IPES food panel 2019). Likewise, in the EU, around three percent of farms now own 52% of EU farmland, and 20% of farms account for 80% of payments under the

Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). This means that the most polluting producers continue to receive CAP subsidies, and assessments of the member states' CAP spending plans indicate that they are likely to continue receiving them in the new CAP 2023–2027 (BirdLife, ClientEarth, EEB, Greenpeace 2021; EEB 2021).

While the Farm to Fork Strategy draws attention to the importance of various actors in transforming the food system towards greater sustainability and emphasizes the role of the food industry, there is no mention of the differences in the magnitude of the sustainability impact between small and large producers, processors and retailers. Thus, large food companies are not targeted as actors that should take additional responsibility in remedying the environmental issues caused. Furthermore, there are a lack of suggestions when it comes to adequate binding obligations for large food and agricultural companies. For the reorganization of food companies' work to be in line with the sustainability measures of the European Green Deal, the Farm to Fork Strategy implemented the EU Code of Conduct on Responsible Food Business and Marketing Practices.[5] The EC requires commitments from food corporations and groups to implement tangible measures towards promoting health and sustainability while giving them full freedom to structure their actions according to available knowledge and means. However, there are no legal obligations in place (EC 2020; EC 2021). The voluntary code of conduct was evaluated in SAPEA's[6] 2023 evidence review as largely ineffective in securing the sustainability of the EU food system (SAPEA, 2023).

Furthermore, the focus on governing strategies that emphasize and support consumers in their decision-making regarding "good" food options implies that consumption is a matter of personal choice. However, this premise neglects the impact of different factors that determine and limit rational choice-making, particularly differences based on socio-economic status (Fuchs et al. 2016; Evans et al. 2017: 1398; Mapes 2018: 269; Vega-Salas et al. 2022). Buying organic or fair-trade food is not an option for everyone, as research has shown that foods considered sustainable and healthy are often more expensive than unsustainable, nutrient-poor and high-calorie options (Reutter et al. 2009: 303; Ferrer-Fons and Fraile 2013: 471; Penne and Goedemé 2021). Consequently, low-income consumers are more likely to consume a less healthy and unsustainable diet, which burdens their health (Narciso and Fonte 2021: 60; Vega-Salas et al. 2022). According to the OECD, women and men in the EU who fall into

5. The EU Code of Conduct on Responsible Food Business and Marketing Practices, as envisaged by the Farm to Fork Strategy, entered into force on 5 July 2021.
6. SAPEA (Science Advice for Policy by European Academies) is a consortium of academy networks that provide independent scientific advice to the EC.

the low-income group are "90% and 50% more likely to be obese, compared to those on the highest incomes" (OECD 2019: 14).

Furthermore, the price factor is only now gaining significance in the EU. According to Eurostat, food and non-alcoholic beverages, alongside housing, water and energy accounted for the majority of household expenditure in the EU (Eurostat 2022b). On top of that, consumer prices in the EU increased from a 4.8% rise in January 2022 to an 11.6% rise in June 2022 compared to 2015 prices (Eurostat 2022a). As reported by the latest statistics from 2020, 11% of the population in the EU is unable to afford a quality meal every second day, and 21.5% of people are at risk of poverty or social exclusion (Eurostat 2022b). It is not surprising then that EU consumers identify price as the first barrier when making decisions about making more sustainable food choices (BEUC 2020).

Therefore, many low-income consumers are often unable to afford to pay more for sustainable food; at the same time, they face barriers to adopting a sustainable lifestyle. Access and availability are significant obstacles for low-income consumers, and many low-income communities lack the time and resources to learn how to cook more sustainably or grow their food (Dowler 2008: 763; Costa et al. 2019). Nevertheless, when the understanding of individualized sustainable consumption is framed around the question of choice instead of insufficient resources, the way we define the issue and form solutions changes significantly. According to van den Berg (2016: 4), when consumers are expected to choose responsibly, those who do not make sustainable choices are seen as making "wrong" or "harmful" choices. This further differentiates individuals and reproduces social inequalities.

5 Conclusion

The paper has explored the political interest in the responsibilization of individual consumers to influence the transformation of the food system by choosing a healthy, environmentally friendly lifestyle through sustainable food choices. By addressing people as consumers who need to act sustainably and ethically and choose responsibly, they are influenced through moral obligations. This promotion of responsible choices in determining which foods people are going to eat also conditions the understanding of the policies needed to facilitate dietary shifts. However, consumers' food decisions are structured and managed by various actors simultaneously, from international organizations, governments, food and agricultural companies to farmers and consumers, while consumer choice is hardly a sufficient factor in determining sustainable food consumption when people on low incomes struggle to secure sufficient food.

As demonstrated in this paper, the discourse of responsibilization features throughout the Farm to Fork Strategy, which serves as the basis for current and future EU food and environmental policies. It indicates the need to educate and empower consumers to make informed choices, as demonstrated by the emphasis placed on improving the food labelling system in the EU. Unsustainable food not only harms the environment but is a cause of numerous non-communicable diseases. However, it is oftentimes cheaper and more readily available to people on low incomes. As such, even with the improved food labelling system, the choice will not be the only factor influencing consumption patterns. Therefore, policies focusing on empowerment and choice-making must be accompanied by socio-economic options that not only address the food income constraints faced by consumers but also consider the costs of essential expenses that burden people and other overlapping systems of influence.

Furthermore, this paper emphasizes the need to increase the responsibilities of other actors participating in the food system, most notably large food corporations. Even though they are addressed through the Farm to Fork Strategy, concrete mechanisms such as the EU Code of Conduct on Responsible Food Business and Marketing Practices need to be strengthened with ambitious binding policies. This could encompass financial or regulatory steps that increase the tax burden of companies that manufacture non-sustainable foods, or it could stipulate the obligatory inclusion of an essential share of sustainably sourced foods within their products, irrespective of specific labels, such as organic. To conclude, it is important to emphasize that practicing and promoting sustainable consumption as an individual choice without considering the plurality of influences that structure and condition the food system might only deepen current social inequalities and prolong environmental problems.

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RECENZIJE KNJIG

BOOK REVIEWS

Nina Cvar

Aleš Završnik, Katja Simončič (ur.):
Artificial Intelligence, Social Harms and Human Rights.
London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023.
290 str., (ISBN 978-3-031-19148-0), 106,99 EUR

Inovacije in tehnološki razvoj spreminjajo družbeno vez, toda razvojni premiki se ne odvijajo ločeno od družbenoekonomskega, političnega in kulturnega okolja, kar nam na primeru tehnologije umetne inteligence skozi pravni in etični okvir nazorno pokaže znanstvena monografija *Artificial Intelligence, Social Harms and Human Rights*, ki je v začetku leta 2023 izšla pri založbi Palgrave Macmillan, uredila pa sta jo Aleš Završnik in Katja Simončič.

V zadnjem času lahko spremljamo hiter razvoj strojnega sistema umetne inteligence, širša javnost pa se je s to tehnologijo morda prvič pobliže srečala ob t. i. velikih jezikovnih statističnih modelih, kot je npr. Chat GPT. Delovanje Chata GPT sloni na velikih količinah podatkov, na podlagi katerih ta podaja predvidevanja verjetnih zaporedij besed, četudi ne razume jezika v človeškem smislu.

Orodja z umetno inteligenco lahko pozitivno podpirajo številna družbena področja, po drugi strani pa lahko sistemi umetne inteligence kršijo temeljne človekove pravice, kodificirane v ustavah in zavezujočih mednarodnih pravilih. Tudi sicer ti sistemi ne posedujejo t. i. etičnega razumevanja sveta, vendar pa lahko o njih morda najlažje razmišljamo prav z vidika naravne (človeške) inteligence in njenih specifičnosti.

Čeravno se monografija, ki vključuje deset prispevkov, analize mesta umetne inteligence v sodobni družbi loteva skozi prizmo človekovih pravic – zanima jo, v kolikšni meri jih umetna inteligenca krši oz. kakšne so implikacije njenega delovanja za človekove pravice – vse analize prinašajo svež, predvsem pa dragocen in pomemben prispevek k razumevanju strojnega sistema umetne inteligence.

Delo, katerega osrednja stava je, da naj se pri razvoju pričujoče tehnologije upošteva interdisciplinarni pristop, je v grobem razdeljeno na dva velika epistemološka dela: prvi del obravnava različna področja, na katerih se lahko v povezavi z umetno inteligenco pojavijo kršitve človekovih pravic v sklopu kazenskega pravosodja in kazenskega pregona, sodobnega vojskovanja in horizontalnih zasebnopravnih razmerij, kot je npr. zaposlovanje, drugi del pa se osredotoča na politike in modele upravljanja z umetno inteligenco; ob tem vključuje široko mrežo vključenih deležnikov, raziskovalni poudarek pa namenja tistim pristopom, ki bi lahko zagotovili kar največjo splošno javno korist, vključujoč poglobljen pretres učinkov na različne zakonske pravice.

Glede na to, da gre pri umetni inteligenci za strojni sistem, ki deluje tako, da lahko z uporabo strojnih in/ali človeških podatkov in vhodnih podatkov vpliva na okolje z izdelavo rezultata za določen nabor ciljev, avtorice in avtorji monografije izpostavljajo oblikovanje ustreznega pravnega in etičnega okvira, v katerem naj se odvija razvoj tega sistema.

Tudi sicer je morda največja odlika dane monografije, da ji uspe ujeti edinstveno ravnovesje med obravnavo tematik, povezanih z umetno inteligenco, človekovimi pravicami in etiko, obenem pa prek analiz sama podaja zanimivo mešanico družboslovnih in humanističnih diskurzov skupaj z računalniškimi znanostmi in tehniko.

Knjigo odpre prispevek *Artificial Intelligence and Sentencing from a Human Rights Perspective*, ki se ukvarja z vpeljavo umetne inteligence v kazenskopravni postopek, ob tem pa tematizira številna kompleksna pravna vprašanja, ki so bodisi nadaljevanje obstoječih problematik bodisi gre za povsem nove izzive, pri čemer se morda za najbolj lucidnega izkaže poskus analitičnega preseka z analizo UI v kazenskem pravu. Sledi besedilo *Technical and Legal Challenges of the Use of Automated Facial Recognition Technologies for Law Enforcement and Forensic Purposes*, ki podaja premislek o tehničnih in pravnih izzivih uporabe tehnologij samodejnega prepoznavanja obrazov za namene kazenskega pregona in forenzike, a ob tem opozarja na nezanesljivost takšnih metod, saj je avtomatizirano prepoznavanje obrazov po svoji naravi verjetnostno, zaradi česar je treba vzpostaviti ustrezne celovite zakone, s katerimi bi se zapolnila regulativna praznina. V nadaljevanju monografija postreže z ekskurzom v sodobno vojskovanje, in sicer s poglavjem Artificial Intelligence, International Law and the Race for Killer Robots in Modern Warfare, ki ponudi kritičen premislek o vplivu umetne inteligence na vojaško logistiko, obveščevalno dejavnost in nadzor. Poleg izrisa geopolitičnega konteksta posebno pozornost namenja rabi brezpilotnih letal, podobno kot analiza tehnologije samodejnega prepoznavanja obrazov pa tudi pričujoči prispevek poziva k oblikovanju skladnega, zavezujočega mednarodnega pravnega okvira za uporabo brezpilotnih letal, ki naj med drugim določa, da morajo vsa brezpilotna letala z umetno inteligenco sloneti na ustreznem človeškem nadzoru. Z diskriminatornimi učinki avtomatiziranega odločanja na področju zasebnega prava, natančneje na področju zaposlovanja ter dostopa do blaga in storitev ter njihove dobave, se ukvarja poglavje *Artificial Intelligence and the Prohibition of Discrimination in the EU: A Private Law Perspective*, ki se sklene s predstavitvijo mehanizmov t. i. algoritemske vladnosti, izpostavljajoč, da so najbolj problematične tiste odločitve, ki jih sprejmejo algoritmi, pri katerih zaradi uporabe neustreznega merila ali niza meril – samoučeči se algoritmi kot merila izberejo npr. narodnost, rasno ali etnično poreklo ter invalidnost – prihaja do prikrite diskriminacije.

Prvemu sklopu monografije, ki ga sestavljajo štiri poglavja, sledi drugi sklop s šestimi besedili, ki pod drobnogled postavljajo različne problematike, povezane s politikami upravljanja z umetno inteligenco in njenimi različnimi oblikami uporabe. *In Defence of Ethics and the Law in AI Governance: The Case of Computer Vision* obravnava presečišče pravne in etične skladnosti sistemov umetne inteligence na področju raziskav in razvoja s ciljem določiti predhodna etična in pravna tveganja na izbranem področju in z osrednjim pozivom, naj bosta pravo in etika vključena v oblikovanje politik in pripravo postopkov odločanja, pri čemer pa ne pozabi podati niti premisleka o odnosu med pravom in etiko. Odlika poglavja je njegova izrazita interdisciplinarnost, ki se med drugim odraža v navedbi družbenih in etičnih posledic orodij UI na številnih področjih, od bančništva in finančnega sektorja, zaposlovanja in sodnega sistema pa vse do izobraževanja, vključno z velikimi jezikovnimi modeli. Najpomembnejši poudarek izbranega poglavja je kritika stališč, ki tehnologijo razumejo nevtralno. Tudi naslednje besedilo, *What Role for Ethics in the Law of AI?*, obdeluje področje etike, in sicer v navezavi na procese algoritemskega sklepanja ter na razmerje med etiko in pravom. Ob tem npr. podaja poglobljeno analizo evropskega pravnega okvira, za katerega avtorica pravi, da sloni na zaščiti temeljnih pravic, katerih skupno jedro je koncept človekovega dostojanstva. Temu doda zanimivo razpravo o razmerju med etiko, moralo in prevpraševanjem artificelnosti inteligence oz. uma, sklene pa ga s premislekom o razmerju med nezavezujočnostjo etičnih smernic in pravom.

Ali lahko govorimo o komputacijski etiki, katere interes so algoritmi za sprejemanje etično sprejemljivih odločitev? Raziskava *Introduction to Computational Ethics* prek dveh glavnih usmeritev – pristopov od spodaj navzgor in pristopov od zgoraj navzdol, ki jih tudi sicer najdemo v policy modelih digitalizacije – naslavlja prav vprašanje komputacijske etike, pri čemer podaja taksonomijo komputacijskih pristopov, analizo pa zaključi s predlogom hibridnih metod, ki združujejo pristopa od spodaj navzgor in pristope od zgoraj navzdol, kar naj bi omogočilo učinkovite modele odločanja. Razmerje zasebnih podjetij, ki so v aktualni ekonomskopolitični konstelaciji ključni razvijalci umetne inteligence, do mednarodnega prava človekovih pravic naslavlja študija *Artificial Intelligence and Human Rights: Corporate Responsibility Under International Human*. Četudi, kot nas pouči izbrano poglavje, je bil s sprejetjem (pravno nezavezujočih) mednarodnih standardov za varstvo človekovih pravic s strani zasebnih podjetij dosežen določen napredek v smeri pravne varnosti, še naprej ostajajo odprta nekatera vprašanja glede odgovornosti podjetij, ki razvijajo UI. Pričujoče besedilo sloni na normativnem pristopu, ki mu omogoča sistematično in dobro strukturirano analizo odnosa med zasebnimi podjetji, UI in človekovimi pravicami. Glede na to, da je – tako avtorica poglavja – možnost, da UI negativno vpliva na človekove pravice, očitna, po drugi strani pa mednarodni pravni okvir človekovih pravic (še) ne določa jasnih standardov za podjetja, ki razvijajo UI, je moč reči, da je osrednji poziv avtorice članka oblikovanje sodelovanja med praktiki, oblikovalci prava in politike ter akademiki – slednje naj bi bilo po njenem ključnega pomena za razjasnitev odgovornosti podjetij s področja umetne inteligence in prenos spoštovanja človekovih pravic podjetij v zvezi z umetno inteligenco v izvedljive postopke v praksi.

Svojevrsten, a pomemben odmik od drugih vsebin monografije predstavlja predzadnje poglavje *As Above so Below: The Use of International Space Law as an Inspiration for Terrestrial AI Regulation to Maximize Harm Prevention*, v katerem se avtorja osredotočata na potencial UI za preprečevanje škode, ki izhaja iz degradacije okolja, vključujoč podnebne spremembe, onesnaževanje okolja, ekstremne vremenske razmere in naravne nesreče. Ker mnogi fenomeni naštetih področij obravnave segajo tako rekoč onkraj planeta, poglavje odpira tudi izzive vesoljskega prava. V tem oziru besedilo deluje celo multidisciplinarno, a poudarja, da bi lahko nekatera načela vesoljskega prava služila kot koristno vodilo pri razvoju mednarodnega pravnega okvira za uporabo umetne inteligence na Zemlji.

Rdeča nit monografije *Artificial Intelligence, Social Harms and Human Rights* sta res pravo in etika, a njeno teoretsko propulzivnost gre iskati prav v interdisciplinarni metodološki nameri, ki jo kot tako smelo sklene sklepno, sociološko osnovano poglavje z naslovom *Democratizing the Governance of AI: From Big Tech Monopolies to Cooperatives*. Poleg navedbe teze o UI kot mestu kulminacije alienacije avtorici v besedilu na eni strani ponudita kritičen pregled različnih vidikov monopolizacije UI, npr. problem koncentracije raziskav in inovacij pod okriljem korporacij in elitnih univerz, na drugi strani pa s predlogom o preoblikovanju velikih tehnoloških podjetij v zadruge z lastninskimi deleži njihovih članic in članov poudarita nujnost demokratizacije UI. Prav demokratizacija in javno dobro ter ustrezen pravni in etični okvir pa so tako rekoč konceptualna veziva predstavljene monografije.

Lucija Klun

Mateja Sedmak, Fernando Hernandez-Hernandez, Jana M. Sancho-Gil and Barbara Gornik (Eds.): Migrant Children's Integration and Education in Europe: Approaches, Methodologies and Policies. Barcelona: Ediciones Octaedro SL.
374 p., (ISBN 987-84-18615-37-5), Open Access

The book's strengths are at the same time what makes it a strenuous read as a whole – the authors write about migrant children's integration in a range of different national contexts including Italy, the UK, Spain, Slovenia, Poland, Greece and Brazil. While jumping contexts throughout the chapters calls for some cognitive acrobatics, the book achieves a wonderful result – a wide and detailed outlook on the "integrational landscapes" across two continents. Despite these geographical ambitions, there are still many moments when one thinks: "Oh, but it is the same everywhere". While these moments certainly help sustain the thread running through the book, they have a downside. The similarities between different national contexts often surface as common conceptual and terminological confusions, shared (unresolved) problems, and shared (unrealised) convictions.

The first similarity, shared conceptual and terminological confusion, leads many authors on a mission to comb through the "multiplicity of academic and political debates" (p. 21). This takes the form of disentangling the terminological duos, trying to understand how one differs from the other, where one "ends" and the other "begins", for example: integration vs. inclusion, integration vs. assimilation, multicultural vs. intercultural education, mostly to the point of siding with one more than the other (integration trumps assimilation), settling on the view that they are almost synonymous (see the "Introduction", p. 22 for a discussion of the interchangeability of the terms integration and inclusion in the European Commission's Action Plan), or transcending them all through a "child-centred approach", which apparently moves beyond the thinking in either model (p. 114). While these debates are valuable, resolving the dubious dichotomies exceeds the book's scope. Therefore, it may have been more sensible to compress the debatable dichotomies into a single chapter (Chapter 2 is the closest at doing this comprehensively) and then leave them as they are – an unsteady, albeit useful descriptive and normative foundation for educational policy and practice.

The second similarity, "shared problems", refers primarily linked to the PISA test results of first-, second- and third-generation migrants, which are persistently lower than their "native" peers. Although underperforming is seen less with each new generation (Schleicher, 2019), this cannot be convincingly attributed to successful educational policies. Other challenges explored by authors in the book are: discriminatory attitudes which affect migrant children's well-being and performance, migrant children's marginalisation at the intersections of families' low socio-economic status, housing and material situation, age, ethnicity, gender, language, legal status. Some authors speak about (unhelpful) victimisation of children, which frames them as vulnerable and lacking in agency, being mere observers of cultural clashes or contradictions. Many authors present racist and anti-migrant currents in politics and culture, which affect national and local integration policies. They describe the authorities as remaining "suspicious" (p. 286), openly reluctant and xenophobic, or insistently ignorant of the growing diversity in classrooms. These unwelcoming contexts are largely revealed as the insufficient professional training of teachers (Chapter 8) and ineffective policies of placing children in classrooms. The latter sometimes entails being immediately immersed into the regular classes, which leaves migrant students isolated from teachers and classmates they cannot communicate with, and exposed to lessons they do not understand. This type of "sponge integration" is evidently very harsh, futile and leads to children feeling incompetent and powerless. "All these deficits", as authors observe (p. 191) with respect to the Slovenian case, "increase the risk of school failure". At the other end of the spectrum, migrant children are streamed into a parallel schooling system, like what commonly occurs in Greece's refugee hospitality centres. Researchers working in a refugee camp on mainland Greece observed such segregation persisting despite the protests of the parents and children, with the authorities insisting that students would find "mainstream school attendance too difficult" (p. 323). Chapter 2 provides a comprehensive basis for considering these problems through an overview of European policy and legal documents, recommendations and academic articles of recent decades, following the "trends in integrating migrant children through education ..." (p. 63). The chapter thus gives useful tools for exploring, ordering and understanding the lively flurry of problems arising during the educational integration of migrant children in different contexts.

As concerns the similarity of "shared (unrealised) convictions", one of these in particular stands out. All authors share the view that education is an immensely important factor in migrant's integration, "one of the most important and powerful resources promoting participation and inclusion" and schools especially a "major vehicle for inclusion /…/ and promotors of diversity" (p. 71). As such, the institutions and educators within them seem to carry a considerable burden. They are not only responsible for migrant children's language learning and educational progress, but also for the integration of their families (by involving families in school-organised activities), nurturing democratic and cohesive societies, promoting tolerance and respect for diversity or, as the introduction to the book reads: "the integration of migrant children in preschool and school settings has proven to be especially effective in building an inclusive and equal society, avoiding future social exclusion that leads to poverty and exploitation" (p. 18). These goals, while admirable and perfectly defendable, add substantial pressure on educational institutions – it remains unclear how to boost the enthusiasm of pedagogical workers for such grandiose tasks. Research with teachers (Chapters 8, 9, 10, 11) generally showed that professional training has yet to prepare them to tackle the quotidian tasks of including certain migrant children in given classrooms, and only then – possibly – to task them with elevation of social cohesion.

Another firm conviction is uniquely shared by the book's authors and is less common in the integration scholarship generally – the project MiCREATE, which was specifically based on nurturing the 'child-centred approach' in research, policy and education. These cornerstones resonate throughout the book principally as methodological remarks: the idea is to enhance research methods that hold more resonance for children's lives and those promising to encourage their participation like photovoice, short films, the "draw and write" method, focus groups, narrative interviews and autobiographical stories. A few authors mention the need to remove the power from the adult (researchers) to the children themselves, and provide them with an opportunity to express their opinions and ultimately impact policymaking in relation to themselves and their 'own' integration. References are made to children's voices in various chapters: the insistence that children must be "given a voice" (p. 49), the "challenge of hearing their voice" (p. 303), the researcher's role in enhancing children's voices by "making their views, opinions and desires heard" (p. 114) and, finally, that participatory research has to "include representation of participants' voices" (p. 173). Notwithstanding the promising methodological 'toolbox' and unanimous conviction that research should be (and was) child-centred, hardly any children's voices appear in this book. One exception is in Chapter 5 where children's agency is presented through dialogues with a researcher. While the authors have written articles incorporating several of the children's views elsewhere, this book unfortunately misses its own subjects. It would be valuable to see children's visual contributions or read selected raw data from their interviews. These could prove to be epistemologically enriching or maybe too scattered, too loosely connected to make up a data set. Either way it would be interesting and relevant to read and see children's contributions.

References

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Nina Perger

Vlado Kotnik. Trans(spol)nost. Arheologija trans/vednosti.
Ljubljana: Krtina, 2022.
523 str., (ISBN 978-961-260-151-5), 40 EUR

V času, ko diskurzi in prakse, povezani s spoli in delanjem spolov, vključno s transspolnostjo, vse intenzivneje zavzemajo svoj prostor v družbenopolitičnem in civilnodružbenem smislu, tako v smislu intenziviranja raznolikosti praks kot tudi v smislu izrazitejših poskusov marginaliziranja transspolnosti, se zdi, da znanstvene tematizacije pojava transspolnosti specifično v slovenskem prostoru nekoliko zaostajajo, vsaj v primerjavi z mednarodno znanstveno produkcijo. Transspolna vednost je v zahodnem prostoru polja znanosti od devetdesetih let 20. stoletja razmeroma institucionalno konsolidirano akademsko polje, kar pa ne pomeni, da je kot tako tudi razbremenjeno vseh izzivov in poskusov devalorizacije v smeri **»**manj znanstvene**«** znanosti, tako znotraj polja znanosti kot tudi zunaj njega. Z delom, ki je predmet te recenzije in katerega namen je primarno ponuditi »panoramski razgled po relevantni transspolni učenosti« (str. 13), pa ta vednost, kot zapiše avtorica, potrka »tudi na vrata slovenske akademe« (str. 13).

Delo, ki sestoji iz štirih obsežnejših vsebinskih sklopov – trans vednosti, trans zgodovin, trans teorij in trans medijev –, v osnovi zasleduje podrobnejši popis družbenozgodovinskih praks tematiziranja in konstituiranja pojava transspolnosti in »življenja« transspolnosti v različnih registrih. Prva dva dela vključujeta nepogrešljiv pregled delovanja zgodovinskih oblastnih režimov, od produkcije institucionalne vednosti o transspolnosti, ki se s svojimi učinki patologiziranja odklonov od spolnih in seksualnih norm še posebej tesno vpenja v produkcijo vednosti medicine, do seksologije, zlasti kot se je razvijala na prelomu 19. v 20. stoletje. Ključni doprinos slednje je, kot izpostavi avtorica, v tem, da pojav spolne neskladnosti začne obravnavati kot svojstvenega, in ne v okviru seksualne nenormativnosti (homoseksualnosti) oziroma v okviru poskusa »posnemanja heteroseksualnosti« (str. 74). Ob bok tovrstnim tematizacijam avtorica postavlja – prav tako nepogrešljivo – obravnavo zgodovinskih praks *živetih* spolnih nenormativnosti, od antičnih transspolnih dinamik do baročnega »igranja s spolom«, če izpostavimo le dve izmed mnogih obravnavanih, ki so, kot opozori avtorica, vendarle vsaj v nekaterih primerih tudi pomembno zaznamovane z družbenorazrednimi pogoji (str. 159). V tretjem delu avtorica podrobno obravnava pretekla in sodobna teoretska orodja – od že omenjene seksološke teorije do bolj družboslovno in humanistično zaznamovanih teoretskih aparatov, vključno z interakcijsko, identitetno in feministično teorijo –, tako z vidika njihovih omejenih dometov v premislekih o transspolnosti kot tudi z vidika njihovih doprinosov h kasnejšemu formiranju transspolnih študij. Pri tem avtorica poglobljeno in natančno popiše tenzije in omejitve tam – v nekaterih (trans izključujočih) feminističnih pristopih, kvirovskih in gejevsko-lezbičnih študij –, kjer jih z vidika teoretskih sorodnosti ter bližnjih srečanj s primežem spolnih in seksualnih normativnosti, ki prečijo »subjekte« in »objekte« preučevanja, morda ne bi pričakovale, in kjer bi, ravno obratno, pričakovale, kot zapiše Ahmed (2016: 34), »naklonjenost kladiv«, ki *skupaj* preoblikujejo svet, ki se upira realnosti spolne in seksualne raznolikosti. V zadnjem delu avtorica ponudi podroben popis medijske in kulturne produkcije, povezane s transspolnostjo in spolno nenormativnostjo – tudi v Sloveniji –, ki prehodijo dolgo pot od molka in nevidnosti do senzacionalističnih upodobitev in nenazadnje, predvsem od devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja naprej, v kompleksnejše in realnejše upodobitve v literaturi in filmih ter na odrih in televiziji. Pri tem je tovrstne produkcije, kot izpostavlja avtorica, pomembno misliti ne le same po sebi, temveč tudi oziroma predvsem v povezavi s širšedružbenimi učinki – formiranja odnosa do transspolnosti v širši javnosti –, pa tudi, nenazadnje, z upodabljanjem izkušenjske dimenzije transspolnosti, ki je pomenljiva tudi z vidika samoraziskovanja lastne spolne zaznamovanosti in spolne identitete.

»Zgodovinski pregled transspolnih manifestacij« (str. 137) je še posebej pomenljiv, in sicer vsaj z dvojnega vidika. Prvič zaradi tega, ker s samim prikazom zgodovinske kontinuitete »situacij spolne spremenljivosti, dvoumnosti in neskladnosti« (str. 138) nasprotuje družbeno prevladujočim težnjam po zdravorazumskosti v relaciji z razumevanjem spola, ki se zgošča okoli in v strukturi spolnega binarizma in ki je, bourdieujevsko (Bourdieu 2010: 4), osnovana na sočasnosti dveh medsebojno podpirajočih se procesov, namreč ahistorizacije in naturalizacije, s pomočjo katerih se družbena konstrukcija spolov prikrije kot družbenozgodovinski produkt in prikaže kot tisto »najbolj naravno v družbenem redu«. Povedano drugače, s historizacijo transspolnih manifestacij v njihovi raznolikosti avtorica ponuja orodja za denaturalizacijo spola včeraj in danes, obenem pa z njo prikaže, da v sodobnih živetih transspolnih manifestacijah – v nasprotju z idejami o LGBTIQ+ indoktrinacijah, agendah in domnevnem »pohodu« LGBTIQ+ ideologij skozi družbene institucije in iz tega izpeljanih domnevnih grožnjah o razpadu družine, nacije, civilizacije – ni moč najti niti neke nove grožnje obstoječemu (spolnemu) redu niti neke specifične posledice posebne dekadenc(e) sodobne družbe. Drugič, zgodovinska kontinuiteta spolne nenormativnosti, še posebej takrat, ko jo sočasno, vzporedno ali zaporedno spremlja tudi obravnava oblastnih režimov, ki poskušajo – tudi ali pa predvsem s sklicevanjem na avtoriteto znanosti – podrejati to, kar se percipira kot odklonsko in kar se skozi percepcije, podprte z močjo celotnega družbenega reda in njegove normativnosti, tudi (oziroma šele) vzpostavlja kot tako, kaže na konstantnost brbotanja spolne nenormativnosti in/ali transspolnosti, ki primežu spolne (in seksualne) normativnosti kontinuirano in vsaj v delu uhaja(ta).

V relaciji z obema zgoraj obravnavanima vidikoma – odkritih in skritih stalnic dominacije, povezanih s spolom (gl. npr. Bourdieu 2010), pa tudi konstantnih upiranj – pa delo z razgledom po zgodovinskih in sodobnih produkcijah institucionalne vednosti, ki je še posebej v preteklosti, v določeni meri pa tudi v sodobnosti, na primer v okviru trans izključujočih feminizmov kot najbolj očitnem primeru, delovala kot podaljšek (cis) normativnosti, utrjevanja s spolom povezanih norm in hierarhičnih razmerij med oblikami vednosti (znanstveno posvečena vednost v relaciji s praktično vednostjo), po svoje kliče tudi k odgovornosti pozicioniranj in praks znotraj akademskega sveta.

Avtorica ob sistematičnem pregledu intelektualnih in teoretskih predhodnic transspolnih študijev, ki so s svojimi teoretskimi prelomi, zamiki, obrati in oplajanji formirali tako imenovane transspolne episteme, tj. znanstveno validirane »sistemske transspolnosti vednosti« (str. 87), ki producirajo vednost o transspolnosti »od zgoraj navzdol«, izpostavi tudi pomen t. i. (akademske) vrnitve transspolne vednosti. Slednjo obravnava kot podrejeno in podjarmljeno vednost v smislu podrejenosti vednosti, ki (in kot) jo proizvajajo transspolni ljudje »kot akademski in intelektualni agensi« (str. 89) *in* kot ne-akademski agensi v smislu praktične, akterske vednosti (str. 90), na drugem mestu pa ob bok slednjim v kontekstu transspolne vednosti oziroma njenega najnovejšega korpusa – transspolnih študij – pridodaja tudi »cisspolno eruditsko vednost« (str. 103). Če vnaprejšnji predsodek, ki pogosto bremeni »cisspolno vednost« o transspolnosti (še posebej takrat, ko se formira mimo doprinosa transspolnih oseb, in takrat, ko se formira s pokroviteljstvom sorodnih manjšinskih vednosti), »ni popolnoma neutemeljen«, kot zapiše Bourdieu v povezavi z razmislekom o lastnem analitskem delu, povezanim z moško dominacijo (2010: 132–135), s čimer se seveda strinjamo, pa se vendarle pojavlja premislek o tem, v kolikšni meri je problem vednosti o transspolnosti v sami cisspolnosti znanstvenice oziroma teoretičarke, na kar nas lahko napeljuje raba izraza »cisspolna vednost«. Ali ni nemara osrednji problem domnevno »cisspolne vednosti« v tem, da znanstvenoanalitsko delo ni docela in celovito opravljeno – k čemur je po svoje tudi družbeno spodbujeno –, predvsem z vidika (nepremišljene ali ne docela premišljene) rabe tistih »miselnih orodij« (Bourdieu 2010: 134), ki so pravzaprav proizvod samih spolnih struktur družbenega reda, ki se jih ravno skuša (pre)misliti, tj. cisnormativnosti. Če slednje drži, potem je problematična točka pravzaprav vednost, ki ne misli samih danih prevladujočih družbenih pogojev spolnega reda, temveč meje svojih misli strukturira po njihovih mejah in znotraj njih, ne pa sama spolno zaznamovana pozicija po sebi. V vsakem primeru pa je – tako na ravni *homo academicus* kot tudi na ravni *homo ordinarius* (str. 241), torej tako na ravni agensa akademskega življenja kot tudi na ravni agensa vsakdanjega življenja in njunih praks – ključna, kot zapiše avtorica, generalizirana »decisseksizacija« sveta (str. 65), vključno z miselnimi orodji, s katerimi preučujemo svet, katerega del smo tudi same.

Pričujoča recenzija je v doseganju svojega namena zagotovo necelovita, saj je delo *Trans(spol)nost: Arheologija trans/vednosti* obsežno, izčrpno in širokopotezno, zato je prikaz narejen po podobnem načelu, kot se avtorica dela loteva svojega projekta z vidika zgodovinskega pregleda »predtransspolne dobe«, tj. po načelu »odbiranja« (str. 137). Nedvomno pa gre za prispevek, ki je, še posebej upoštevaje nekolikšno zaostajanje »življenja« znanstvene transspolne vednosti v slovenskem prostoru v primerjavi z zahodnim prostorom, toliko pomembnejši, ne le za samo področje transspolne vednosti in tudi ne le za njej sorodne vednosti, temveč – še posebej v luči diskusije družbene umeščenosti institucionalne produkcije vednosti – za vednost kot tako. S tega vidika naj trk tovrstnega dela na vrata slovenske akademe odzvanja.

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Primož Krašovec

Louis Althusser: Za Marxa.
Ljubljana: Založba /*cf., 2023.
Prevod: Maja Breznik in Slavoj Žižek.
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Knjiga *Za Marxa* nadaljuje renesanso prevodov Althusserja v slovenščino – ti so se začeli v osemdesetih s prvim prevodom *Ideologije in ideoloških aparatov države* (1980) ter *Filozofijo in spontano filozofijo znanstvenikov* (1985), nadaljevali z *Izbranimi spisi* (ki poleg *Ideologije* vsebuje še dva spisa »srednjega« Althusserja in pozni *Podtalni tok materializma srečanja*) leta 2000 in nato presahnili do 2017, ko je izšel prevod *Predavanj o Rousseaju* – in je skupaj z *Branjem* Kapitala (2018) najpomembnejši del »zgodnjega« Althusserja oziroma Althusserja strukturalističnega marksizma iz šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja, ki je bil v dosedanjih prevodih odsoten, čeprav sta obe deli močno vplivali na lokalno bolj znana in vplivnejša dela iz sedemdesetih, kot je Ideologija.

Za Marxa uvede tako splošni teoretski horizont oziroma problematiko, ki jo je Althusser kasneje razvijal in samokritično predeloval v sedemdesetih, kot tudi že nekatere ključne koncepte, ki bodo kasneje nastopali v *Ideologiji* in drugod. V tej razsežnosti – razširitve in dopolnitve teoretskega horizonta/problematike – je glede na lokalni teoretski pomen *Ideologije* in drugih že prej prevedenih Althusserjevih del prevod *Za Marxa* nedvomno aktualen in teoretsko relevanten (poleg že omenjenih zametkov konceptov teorije ideologije vsebuje tudi zametke razmerja med filozofijo in znanostjo, ki ju Althusser nadalje razvija v *Filozofiji in spontani filozofiji znanstvenikov* ter *Leninu in filozofiji*) ter predstavlja nekakšen teoretski *prequel* nekaterim že prevedenim delom.

A hkrati to ne izčrpa teoretskega potenciala *Za Marxa*, saj poleg že omenjenega vsebuje tudi izčrpno kritiko humanističnega marksizma oziroma branj Marxa, skozi katero Althusser razvija antihumanistično strukturalistično branje Marxa. Ali, rečeno drugače, koncepti, ki jih Althusser kasneje razvije v smeri teorije ideologije in marksistične epistemologije in ki so v zametkih prisotni že v *Za Marxa*, so »organski« del njegove kritike humanizma, kar je kontekst, ki je v dosedanjih prevodih Althusserja manjkal in ga prevod *Za Marxa* pomembno dopolni. Osnovni koncept te kritike humanizma, ki se deloma nadaljuje tako v Althusserjevi kasnejši marksistični epistemologiji in teoriji ideologije in ki se prvič pojavi ravno v *Za Marxa*, je epistemološki rez. Gre za predelavo Bachelardovega koncepta epistemološkega preloma, s katerim je ta pokazal, da se znanost ne razvija linearno in kontinuirano na način vse natančnejšega in izčrpnejšega spoznavanja svojih predmetov, temveč, nasprotno, na način diskontinuitet in prelomov.

A medtem ko so za Bachelarda epistemološke ovire, ki motijo razvoj znanosti, individualno psihološke in je tisto, kar se upira znanstvenemu mišljenju, vsakdanje mišljenje, so za Althusserja epistemološke ovire strukturne in se znanosti upira ideologija. Znanstvena teorija se lahko vzpostavi le z rezom s predhodno ideološko problematiko, in ravno ta rez, po katerem se Marxova teorija razlikuje od humanistične ideologije, je tisto, kar Althusser raziskuje v *Za Marxa*. Zgodovinski kontekst te raziskave so razprave o marksistični teoriji in politični strategiji, ki so sledile Stalinovi smrti (1956 – *Za Marxa* prvič izide leta 1965) ter (samo)kritičnim komunističnim in marksističnim refleksijam stalinističnega terorja v Sovjetski zvezi. Tedanje razprave o marksistični teoriji, ki naj bi bila zmožna tako kritično ovrednotiti kot intelektualno preseči stalinistično obdobje komunistične zgodovine, so (tako na socialističnem vzhodu – primer je jugoslovanska Praxis šola v šestdesetih – kot znotraj zahodnega marksizma) kot teoretski problem stalinizma večinoma opredelili pretirano objektivistično branje Marxa, prevelik poudarek na *Kapitalu* in zanemarjanje Človeka, etike in humanosti ter kot rešitev predlagale antropocentrično branje Marxa in povratek k njegovim zgodnjim delom (predvsem *Pariškim rokopisom*), skratka marksistični humanizem.

Za Marxa je neposredna kritika teh tendenc v tedanjem marksizmu. Motivacija zanjo je slutnja, da se z njimi marksistična teorija nevarno približuje meščanski, liberalni ideologiji (ki se je, vsaj v regionalnem kontekstu, potrdila s konverzijo jugoslovanskih humanističnih marksistov v liberalizem konec osemdesetih in v devetdesetih) in s tem izgublja tako svojo kritično teoretsko razsežnost kot zavezanost revolucionarni komunistični politiki. A obenem zaradi kontaminiranosti s stalinizmom neposredna reafirmacija »objektivističnega« marksizma in poudarka na *Kapitalu* ni bila mogoča oziroma je zahtevala teoretsko inovacijo. Althusserjeva rešitev tega problema je bila že omenjena izposoja koncepta epistemološkega preloma in njegova predelava v epistemološki rez, ki ločuje teorijo od ideologije. Mladi, humanistični Marx je tako postal ideološki Marx oziroma Marx, ki je začel razvijati svojo teorijo v »mediju« takratne meščanske ideologije – mladoheglovskega idealizma. A sčasoma je začel opuščati začetne koncepte (denimo človeško bistvo in odtujitev) in mladoheglovske filozofije ni kritiziral več od znotraj, temveč je začel razvijati svojo teoretsko problematiko in nove koncepte (denimo družbena formacija, razredni boj, produkcijski način). Epistemološki rez, znotraj katerega se Marx emancipira od humanistične ideologije, je Althusser lociral v *Nemški ideologiji*, za katero je kasneje Marx slavno napisal, da sta v njej z Engelsom opravila s svojo poprejšnjo filozofsko vestjo.

Althusserjeva teza je radikalna – za Althusserja Marx ni bil nikoli zares heglovec, temveč se je tudi v mladostnih spisih že poskušal izviti iz heglovske problematike, zato tudi za branje Kapitala Heglova teorija ni relevantna, saj je bila (razen nekaj sarkastičnih opazk in podobnosti na ravni besed, ne pa tudi teoretske strukture) že popolnoma opuščena. Četudi bi se dalo kritiko humanističnega marksizma verjetno izvesti tudi brez nje, lahko Althusserjevo kritko Hegla v Marxu razumemo v širšem kontekstu kompleksne intelektualne zgodovine pariških šestdesetih, kjer je kritika Hegla s strani Althusserja, Foucaulta, Deleuza in drugih pripravljala teoretski teren za strukturalizem in poststrukturalizem (katerih ključni klasični filozofski referenci sta bila Spinoza in Nietzsche) – in ravno strukturalistična teorija, ki jo je v Franciji pred Althusserjem inavguriral Lévi-Strauss in vzporedno z Alhusserjem razvijal Lacan, je bila tista, ki je Althusserju omogočila antihumanistično branje Marxa.

Knjiga *Za Marxa* sicer ni ukinila humanizma v teoriji – ta je v družboslovju in humanistiki še vedno prisoten v obliki »manifestnih« predstav o človeku, individualnosti, subjektu in *agency*, a predstavlja zgodovinski dokument osnov kritike humanizma, ki je ravno zaradi njegovega vztrajanja še vedno aktualna in relevantna. Humanizem ni tako vztrajen zaradi svoje teoretske vrednosti niti ne nastopa vedno kot izdelana ideologija; prej je epistemološka ovira v osnovnem Bachelardovem pomenu (upiranje generičnega zdravega razuma znanstvenemu spoznanju) – in brez vztrajnega ponavljanja antihumanističnega epistemološkega preloma je tudi sodobna sociologija bolj ali manj le zdrav razum, obtežen s strokovnim žargonom.

V tej razsežnosti je prevod *Za Marxa* pomemben kot gesta oziroma intervencija – tudi če so nekatere podrobnosti v knjigi zastarele in vsi njeni koncepti (denimo razumevanje države kot orodja vladajočega razreda ali metafora baze in nadzidave) niso prestali preizkusa časa, je osnovni antihumanistični naboj (skupaj z osnovnim strukturalističnim premikom težišča teorije od substance k razmerjem) še vedno odločilen. Enako pomemben je tudi poudarek na avtonomiji teorije, saj lahko ob pregledu kasnejših zdravorazumskih kritik antihumanističnih teorij (denimo Foucaultove teorije diskurzivnih formacij, Deleuzove teorije afektov, Kittlerjeve materialistične teorije medijev ali Landove teorije tehnologije) hitro ugotovimo, da te izhajajo iz kriterijev, ki so teoriji zunanji in zanjo irelevantni, denimo, da antihumanizem ni uporaben za boje za socialno pravičnost, da je moralno ambivalenten ali da je preveč pesimističen, kot da bi bila vloga teorije moralno-bodrilna, in ne spoznavna. *Za Marxa* tako ne predstavlja toliko neposredno aktualne marksovske teorije (oziroma obstaja veliko kakovostnejših sodobnih marksovskih teoretskih del, predvsem povezanih z Neue Marx Lektüre) kot primer osnovnega teoretskega pristopa, ki je postavil sodobno teorijo.

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