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Boštjan Udovič, Miran Komac, Milan Brglez

Can Young Members of Slovene Minorities in Neighbouring Countries be Useful for Slovenia's Diplomacy?

The article deals with the issue of incorporating young members of Slovene minorities in neighbouring countries into Slovenia's diplomatic and foreign policy activities. The key precondition for this is the perception of Slovenia as their kin-state. The paper brings two main findings: the first is that a definition of kin-state as a unique concept is problematic, since it changes with different variables. The second finding refers to a concrete case study of young members of Slovene minorities in neighbouring countries, who have different contexts and perceptions of Slovenia (and Slovenehood). This means that Slovenia needs a comprehensive overhaul – and adaption to different conditions – of its own understanding of its ethnic minorities in the neighbouring countries if it wishes to include its young kin in Austria, Croatia, Hungary and Italy in its foreign policy and diplomacy.

Keywords: youth, minorities, Austria, Italy, Croatia, Hungary, diplomacy, Slovenia.

So mladi pripadniki slovenskih manjšin v sosednjih državah lahko sredstvo za delovanje slovenske diplomacije?

Članek obravnava vprašanje vključevanja mladih pripadnikov slovenskih manjšin v sosednjih državah v aktivnosti slovenske diplomacije in zunanje politike, pri čemer predpostavlja, da je ključni predpogoj za to razumevanje Slovenije kot matične domovine. Ugotovitvi članka sta dve: prva se nanaša na to, da je definicija matičnosti kot koncepta sui generis problematična, saj se spreminja glede na različne spremenljivke; druga ugotovitev pa se nanaša na konkretno študijo primera – mlade pripadnike slovenskih manjšin v sosednjih državah. Ti namreč Slovenijo (in slovenstvo) razumejo v različnih kontekstih in predstavah. To pa pomeni, da mora Slovenija temeljito prestrukturirati – in po različnih merah ukrojiti – svoje razumevanje lastnih nacionalnih manjšin v sosednjih državah, če želi mlade pripadnike slovenskih manjšin v Avstriji, na Hrvaškem, v Italiji in na Madžarskem vključevati v svojo zunanjo politiko in diplomacijo.

Ključne besede: *mladi, manjšine, Avstrija, Italija, Hrvaška, Madžarska, diplomacija, Slovenija.*

Correspondence address: Boštjan Udovič, Fakulteta za družbene vede, Kardeljeva ploščad 5, SI-1000 Ljubljana, e-mail: bostjan.udovic@fdv.uni-lj.si; Miran Komac, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Erjavčeva 26, SI-1000 Ljubljana, e-mail: miran.komac@guest.arnes.si; Milan Brglez, European Parliament, Rue Wiertz 60, BE-1000 Bruxelles; Fakulteta za družbene vede, Kardeljeva ploščad 5, SI-1000 Ljubljana, e-mail: milan@milanbrglez.si.

1. Introduction and Problem Statement

Inclusion of members of ethnic minorities in the political and administrative structures of their kin-state is a question reviving the old dilemmas regarding ethnic minorities: (1) are minority members a fifth column, or can they play a positive, bridging role between their two states; (2) and if so, how can members of ethnic minorities be included in the state structures of their kin-states? The discussion can get even more sensitive with questions like: (3) may ethnic minority members be employed in the foreign service structures of their kin-states, and (4) to which state will ethnic minority members be loyal – the state in which they have the status of ethnic minority or the state of their ethnic identity? And finally, this context also opens the issue of the citizenship of minority members: legally the members of Slovene minorities are aliens unless they also have Slovene citizenship, while those that do have it also enjoy all the advantages and privileges it brings. The list of questions that have been raised but never answered with scientific rigour should include one more: Are minority members willing to assume the responsibility of becoming an instrument of foreign policy or domestic politics of their kin-state? This is not just an issue in (daily) politics, but an important conceptual question of the emancipation potential of minority communities that is barely addressed in the literature (Ho & McConell 2019; Gilboa 2021). All these questions and dilemmas are important, but unfortunately they remain on the side track in research on the perception of minorities and the ethnic question.

This article is the first (although limited) attempt at testing a limited number of variables aimed at analysing the capacity for using Slovene minorities (i.e. members of the Slovene ethnic minorities in Austria, Croatia, Hungary and Italy) to represent or present Slovenia's foreign policy interests (and pursue diplomacy) in the states where these communities live. In our analysis, we will limit ourselves to young members of these minorities (aged 18–29), since the youth of today are the (political) decision-makers of tomorrow (Mihelič & Lipičnik 2010; Lavrih 2012, 28–30). This means that Slovenia – in order to be able to count on their help in the future – should shape and encourage them already today as it develops and implements its own national interests.

The conceptualisation and theoretic foundations of diplomacy were expanded with the end of the Cold War, and rethinking this field has become more topical as actors that had long been present in diplomatic practice also came under the theoretical spotlight. One such actor are minority and diaspora communities, as well as their individual members, who had been directly or indirectly engaged in diplomacy since the antiquity (cf. the institute of *proxenos* in Ancient Greece). A number of such examples are known also when it comes to Slovenes: already before Slovenia became independent, envoys of the Slovene government or foreign minister included Peter Millonig, a Slovene from Carinthia represent-

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ing Slovenia in Washington DC; Karl Smolle, a Slovene from Carinthia heading an information office in Vienna; Božidar Fink and Marko Kremžar, Slovene post-WWII emigrants in Argentina, who represented the newly independent Slovenia in Argentina. Among the first ambassadors taking up duties after Slovenia's international recognition on 15 May 1992, we can find Ferenc Hajós, a member of the Hungarian minority in Slovenia, who served as Slovenia's first ambassador to Budapest; and Karl Bonutti, a member of the Slovene minority in Italy and emigrant, who was appointed honorary consul of Slovenia in Cleveland, US, and who served as the Slovene ambassador to the Holy See between 1998 and 2002. Of course, we must not forget Bojan Brezigar, a member of the Slovene minority in Italy, who was the official spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during Slovenia's first European Union presidency (2008). And the list goes on.

Knowing their work and efforts for Slovenia's successful diplomatic and international relations, we have no doubt the people listed above performed their duties with dedication and pursuing the highest standards. Nevertheless, this does not relieve us of the conceptual question of their position between hammer and anvil. As minority members, they were part of two countries: the one they belonged to ethnically and the one they belonged to by citizenship. In this sense, they bore a kind of duality or dual character.

In diplomatic law, these issues are well defined both formally and politically. First, we have the approval of the receiving state that a particular individual may serve as head of the mission there (Article 4 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations; *exequatur* for consuls, Article 12 of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations). Second, states avoid appointing nationals of the receiving state as their ambassadors (Articles 8.1 and 8.2 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations; so-called *regnicoles*). If they nevertheless go for this option, they first need an approval of the receiving state, and the latter has much more authority when it comes to its own citizens compared to nationals of the sending state (e.g. limited immunity and more chances not to grant it). And finally, in case of doubts about a diplomat's objectivity, the dismissal of such a diplomat can be quicker and politically less painful. However, diplomatic relations are, of course, not only tied to political and legal relations between two states, but also their social relations. This is where things get complicated.

Appointing someone with dual citizenship identity (nationality and ethnic identity differ from citizenship) as ambassador is generally not an issue when the relations between the two states in question are good. But on the other hand, this dual character can quickly become a stumbling block if the relations between the two states sour. As a rule, an envoy should represent the interests of the appointing state, regardless of whether they come from the state of their ethnicity or a minority community (i.e. a state where this minority lives). But this is easier said than done. A person growing up in a minority community is not only a member of the minority, but also the majority population, since the minority

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is not an isolated island existing in a vacuum, but rather functions within a particular society and culture.

Figure 1 illustrates the process of including ethnic minorities in the pursuit of foreign policy and diplomacy of their kin-state. Three preconditions exist for this process to even start: (1) the kin-state of the ethnic minority must be aware that minority members can be an instrument of its diplomacy (and foreign policy in general); (2) members of the minority community in question must feel affiliation with (both!) their kin-nation and kin-state. If this sense of belonging is missing, the conditions for the minority to engage in the diplomacy of its kin-state are not met; and (3) the previous two points are necessary, not sufficient conditions. For minority members to become instruments of diplomacy of their kin-state, they must take a conscious decision about this. In the absence of this decision (non-decision), or if they decline cooperation (active NO), there is no potential for minority members to be used for pursuing the national interests of their kin-state in the receiving state.

Figure 1: Process of including ethnic minorities in the pursuit of diplomacy and foreign policy of their kin-state
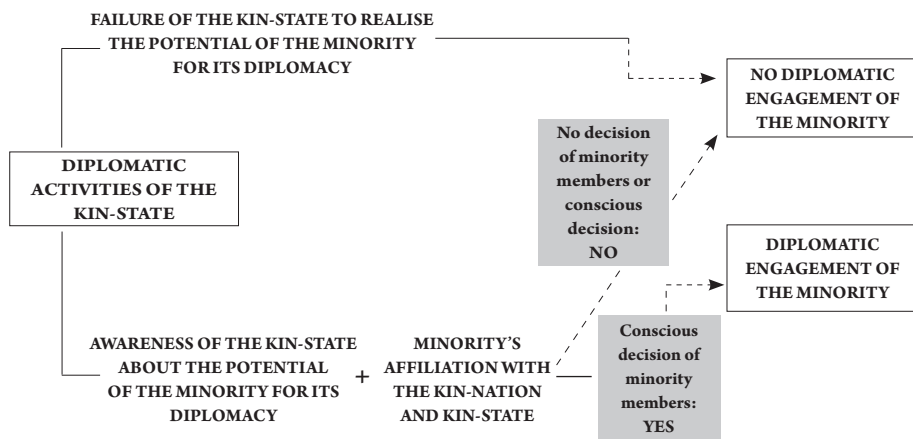
Source: Own illustration.

All of the above sets the framework for our analysis of the possibilities for including young members of Slovene minorities in the neighbouring countries in the pursuit of diplomatic and foreign-policy interests of the Republic of Slovenia. In doing so, we will not question t he precondition of the Slovene Ministry of Foreign Affairs being aware of the potential of including minorities in its foreign-policy and diplomatic activities, as this can be assumed from the analysed normative documents adopted by the Republic of Slovenia (e.g. the Foreign Affairs Act, the Act Regulating Relations between the Republic of Slovenia and Slove-

nians Abroad, other laws). The potential of young minority members for pursuing the interest of Slovenia's foreign policy and diplomacy will be measured using two proxy variables: (a) affiliation with the Slovene nation (kin-nation), and (b) affiliation with Slovenia as a state (kin-state). We claim that potential for using minority communities in the pursuit of foreign policy and diplomacy only exists when individuals in the minority agree with it (Figure 1). In the case of Slovenia, this means that members of the Slovene minority communities in the neighbouring countries must agree that the Slovene nation is their kin-nation and Slovenia their kin-state in order to realise the diplomatic and foreign-policy interests of Slovenia. If this condition is not met, Slovene minority members can only contribute to cultural and economic cooperation between Slovenia and the state where they live.

To determine whether young minority members meet this condition, and therefore whether it is possible to make them part of Slovenia's diplomatic and foreign-policy efforts, we have set the following two research questions:

RQ1: How do young minority members perceive the Slovene nation – do they see it as their kin-nation?

RQ2: How do young minority members perceive the Republic of Slovenia – do they see it as their kin-state?

These two research questions will be answered using a combination of different methods. The theoretical part will use critical analysis and synthesis of secondary sources on the issue of kin-states and kin-nations. The empirical part will draw from primary source data collected among young members of Slovene minorities in the neighbouring countries by Kržišnik-Bukić et al. (2015), and Udovič and Komac (2022). The data (and analyses) reflect the positions of young people in all four Slovene minority communities in neighbouring countries. To answer the research questions and assess the potential of young members of the Slovene minorities in the neighbouring countries to engage in Slovenia's foreign policy and diplomacy, we will only use those variables from the abovementioned studies that are relevant to the research questions: (1) attitude towards the Slovene language, (2) attitude towards the Slovene nation as the kin-nation of Slovene minorities in the neighbouring countries, and (3) attitude towards Slovenia as their kin-state. In our analysis, we must be aware of the limitations of the two studies – the unstructured sample and small number of respondents make it hard to generalise the results. Regardless of this, we believe the two studies to be paramount, as they are the only ones conducted among young members of Slovene minorities in the neighbouring countries in the last decade. Their results reveal certain positions among young minority members that call for deep and critical reconsideration of the rigid and sometimes unrealistic perception of the patterns of thinking and for realising these considerations in these minority communities.

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The article consists of three parts. The introduction and problem statement are followed by a theoretical discussion, setting the framework for defining the concept of kin-nation and kin-state. This theoretical framework is then tested on primary sources from the two empirical studies. The paper wraps up with a discussion and conclusion, which includes some instructions for future research on this issue.

2. Theoretical Framework: Kinness and Foreignness (among Slovenes)

The understanding and conceptualisation of kinness is always derived from the interpretation and conceptualisation of related concepts. But the starting point is always personal identity, which is then upgraded with different forms of social identity, based on a specific difference, or a specific marker. Four identity constellations are most relevant for our discussion: linguistic identity, ethnic or national identity, geographical identity, cultural identity (cf. Valentinčič 2016). State identity is also relevant, as it defines certain characteristic of all the identities listed above.[7]

The social identity question (cf. Južnič 1996; Šabič & Brglez 2002; Zdravković 2015; Vižintin 2015; Bajt 2016; Grgič 2016; Baskar 2020; Riman 2022; Čok 2022) is one of the most difficult and unsolvable issues. Not only does it stem from the core of understanding what defines a person as something (marker), but also from the self-perception (of the subject) (Deutsch 1970; cf. also Spreizer 2015). A similar complexity in understanding and theoretical conceptualisation can be found when we look at the interpretation and definitions of ethnicity, and the derived definition of nation (and state) (Anderson 2006; Cordell 2007; Batory 2009; Bajt 2011; Eigler 2012; Nossal 2018; Pogonyi 2015; Fedinec 2016; Baskar 2020; Kosi 2013; Kosi & Stegar 2016; Vidmar Horvat 2021; etc.). If we take ethnic identity, for example, this complexity is illustrated very vividly in the monograph by Komac et al. (2007), which analyses the ethnic structure of the City of Ljubljana. In this monograph, one of the respondents had this to say about her ethnic identity (Komac et al. 2007, 21): "I don't know! My father is half Slovene and half Montenegrin, my mother is half Croat and half Muslim. I was born in Slovenia and have lived here my entire life. **Now you tell me what I am!!!?**" [emphasis added]. But when we talk about nation and nationality, we should look at their interpretation by two notable Slovene intellectuals of the 20th and 21st centuries, Janez Evangelist Krek (1925) and Peter Kovačič Peršin (1993). Although they differ in where they start from (Krek[8] defines the nation more in terms of biology, while Kovačič Peršin[9] relies more on language and folklore), their thoughts intersect in the end – culture is the artefact that makes a group of people a nation. How we define a nation thus also impacts other related definitions, including that of the kin-nation (Milharčič Hladnik 2015).

We believe there are four conditions for kinness of a nation. First, there can be no kin-nation if there is no nation. Second, there is no kin-nation if the nation had not formed its own state. Third, there is no kin-nation without a unit that is detached from the nation. And fourth, defining an independent concept of kin-nation requires awareness of the existence of the above – awareness of the existence of a nation, and at the same time awareness that part of the nation is physically separated from the main part of the nation.[10] This separation is usually geographical (detachment), which means there is a geographical obstacle between the main part of the nation and the detached unit (detached community) of the same nation preventing these two units to come together and the detached unit to join the main part of the nation. However, the obstacle can also be psychological or sociological. Moreover, the concept of kinness has another inherent characteristic – it is a binary concept. Kinness presupposes the existence of the opposite category of non-kinness or foreignness (us vs them) (Jurić Pahor 2015; Smrdelj 2021).[11]

The interpretation of kinness also hits another challenge, highlighted by Strle (2007, 119) – the static view on nations implied in the concept of kinness. In other words: Without a static interpretation of the concept of nation we cannot conceive kinness. A dynamic interpretation of ethnic/national identity creates new ethnic identity communities (Sršen 2016; Sedmak & Zadel 2015). Taking Slovenes in Canada, for example, we can interpret this category statically, meaning that the understanding of who is a Slovene (nation) and who is a Slovene in Canada (detached part of the nation) does not change. But we can also interpret Slovenes in Canada as a new ethnic identity formation *par excellence*, called Canadian Slovenes. The kinness of this community is no longer tied to Slovenia as a kin-state, but rather to their ethnic and political community as they define it themselves (cf. Strle 2007, 120).

The interpretation of kinness (of a state/nation) is, therefore, a two-way process flowing either from the direction of the nation/state or from the detached part of the nation. If it is derived from the nation/state, then this identity community defines itself as the kin-nation/kin-state for detached communities, and also defines the characteristics of kinness (geographic, demographic, linguistic, cultural, etc.). On the other hand, if the detached part of the nation is the one defining kinness, it can be defined much more broadly than it is perceived/interpreted/self-defined by the main national/state community (cf. Komac 2015).[12] The idea of kinness is, therefore, greatly conditioned by the cultural, sociological and geographical structure of what is meant under kin or original. Kinness thus means speaking the same language and/or sharing similar cultural patterns. Kinness is often quickly linked to state, although it does not necessarily depend on a specific delineated geographical area (state-centred view) alone and may bear much broader connotations. An illustrative example is the song *Des Deutschen Vaterland* by Ernst Moritz Arndt, which stresses that the German homeland is

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everywhere the German language is spoken: "*So weit die deutsche Zunge klingt Und Gott im Himmel Lieder singt*" ("As far as the German tongue sounds and sings songs to God in heaven") (Feurzeig 2002, 69–70). Contrary to the German concept, the interpretation of kinness among Slovenes has been tied mainly to ethnic identity since its inception in the mid-19th century (Melik 1986, 16), and remains to this day.

This is confirmed by Reginald Vospernik, who discussed in 1986 the relationship between Slovenia (as the mainland or kin-state) and Slovenes living beyond its borders, stressing that it would be more appropriate to use the uniform cultural space as a measure instead of ethnic lines. He says:

> Both mainland Slovenia and those beyond its borders speak of the so-called kin-nation. The kin or mainland – this means a biological, historical, geographical source, and around it are its children and descendants in hierarchical order. But the historical fact is that the ethnogenesis of Slovenehood appeared on the edge of today's settlement, in former Carantania, in the geographical and spiritual vicinity of the Prince's Stone. It seems to me that normal, unforced and organically developed relations should also be based on such historical facts. The confidence of numerous minority members building on their own ethnogenesis is an appropriate guarantee for culture creation based on an awareness of a uniform cultural space (Vospernik 1986, 59).

Despite considerations (and doubts) (cf. Moric 2021) that the ethnic line may not be the best marker for the relations between the mainland and non-mainland, the rise of national sentiment in the second half of the 1980s in Slovenia led to a complete fortification of the idea of nationality and mainland as the basic concept of Slovene statehood.

Poet Tone Pavček, one of the national fathers of the Slovene state, read the demands of the national political programme of independence for Slovenia on 9 May 1989.[13] Among these demands was that "we want to live in a sovereign state of the Slovene nation" (Repe 2002, 198). A year and a half later, voters[14] decided on this demand in a plebiscite, answering the question: Should the Republic of Slovenia become an independent sovereign state? Over 95 % voted for independence, which was then declared on 25 June 1991. Six months later, on 23 December 1991, the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia was adopted, with three implicit references to the concept of mainland or kin-state/kin-nation.

Article 3 of Slovenia's Constitution states that "Slovenia is a state of all its citizens and is founded on the permanent and inalienable right of the **Slovene nation** to self-determination" [emphasis added]; Article 6 describes the flag as the "white-blue-red Slovene **national** flag" [emphasis added]; and Article 5 points out that the state shall "maintain concern for the **autochthonous** Slovene **national** minorities in neighbouring countries and for Slovene emigrants and workers abroad and shall foster their contacts with the homeland"[15] [emphasis added]. The constitutional provisions on the kin-state/kin-nation

were then followed by references in acts and delegated legislation. The Act Regulating Relations between the Republic of Slovenia and Slovenians Abroad (2006 and amended 2010) states in Article 5 that:

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> (1) Slovenians in the border areas of the neighbouring countries and around the world shall be an equal part of the unified Slovenian nation;
> (2) The Republic of Slovenia is the **homeland** of all Slovenians abroad as well as the protector of the indigenous Slovenian national minority in the neighbouring countries [emphasis added].

A careful reading of this law reveals that the Slovene nation exists as an indivisible whole, regardless of where parts of this nation are settled (*ipso facto* meaning an expansion of not only national policy but also statecraft beyond the state's borders). But things get even more problematic when we look at the second paragraph of Article 5 of this act, where Slovenia decided on its own will to assume the responsibility of being the homeland of all Slovenes outside its borders, meaning that Slovenia alone has the right to determine the kinness (originality) of anyone declaring themselves as a Slovene.[16] Taking the reading of this law to the absurd, we may come to a situation where someone self-declaring as a Slovene and living in Germany must assume the fact that they are not only a member of the Slovene nation but also of the Slovene homeland (delineated with the state borders of Slovenia). The issues with this conceptualisation of kinness are underlined by Žigon et al. (2020, 193), illustrating them with the example of poet Cvetka Lipuš:

> Cvetka Lipuš builds her relationship to the Slovene language consciously, but does not link this relationship to Slovenia; […] the Slovene language [is] part of her identity, while Slovenia (as a state) is not. Therefore, she does not identify herself as a minority member, and she does not consider herself a Slovene (as part of a uniform nation). She considers herself a Slovene poet (in the ethnic sense).

The importance of kinness as a category in the context of the Slovene nation is confirmed by the Slovene website of the Government Office for Slovenians Abroad (N/D), where the section on detached parts of the nation says: "The autochthonous Slovene national communities in neighbouring countries are tightly connected with the Republic of Slovenia, **which is their kin-homeland and protector state**" [emphasis added]. From the perspective of our analysis of the importance of Slovene minority communities and young people in these communities for foreign policy, we should also highlight Article 7 of the Act Regulating Relations between the Republic of Slovenia and Slovenians Abroad (2006 and amended 2010). The article stipulates that the "care for Slovenians in the border areas of the neighbouring countries and Slovenians around the world shall be an integral and essential component of the Republic of Slovenia's foreign

policy". What is of essence in this sentence is the content, which acts paternalistic and, looking at Figure 1, indicates a misunderstanding of minority communities (and their youth) as an object instead of subject. Such a formulation deprives Slovene minorities of their self and their agency, interpreting them mainly as helpless units that need to be protected and safeguarded through foreign-policy and diplomatic activities.[17]

So, how should kinness be interpreted? Depending on the theoretical framework we assume. Building on classical positivist theories, which focus on etatism, it is in the nature of states to declare themselves as the mainland or kin-state. This in itself means they interpret kinness on the principle of being the protector of the interests of specific communities (in such conceptualisations, kinness is often linked to citizenship). On the other hand, if we take the post-positivist approach, we can see this as a construct determined by changeable and/or complex variables that depend on the individual. It is a self-identification and identity construct built by each individual in order to pursue their activities, desires and interests as part of a specific societal and cultural community, which is also picked by the individual (it can be an ethnic, national, nuclear, local or other community). It is characteristic of this construct that it derives from cultural and historical, economic and political, as well as personal factors, which work reciprocally and simultaneously. The interpretation of kinness thus changes with time and place, as well as with changes in social stratification and place within social patterns.

3. Perceptions of Kinness among Young Members of Slovene Minorities in Neighbouring Countries

3.1 Introduction and Description of the Sample of Empirical Research Used

Below we will use the results of two most recent studies to derive a set of answers as to how young members of Slovene minorities in the neighbouring countries see the concepts of kin-state and kin-nation – the studies by Kržišnik-Bukić et al. (2015), and Udovič and Komac (2022).[18]

The survey of Kržišnik-Bukić et al. (2015) was conducted on 240 respondents (aged 15–29), 60 from each of Slovenia's neighbouring countries (for more on the data collection methods and sample, see Kržišnik-Bukić 2018, 7–26). The survey by Udovič and Komac (2022) was done on individuals aged between 18 and 29. Compared to the former survey (Kržišnik-Bukić et al. 2015), the sample here was smaller (N = 82) and the respondent structure is not symmetrical. The highest share of respondents (almost 50 %) live in Italy, followed by Croatia (22 %) and Austria (21 %), while the fewest live in Hungary (9 %). Although none of these two surveys had a representative sample of respondents – meaning that

their results cannot be generalised – they do indicate certain characteristics and trends in the development/thinking of young members of Slovene minorities, which are relevant to our discussion.

For our analysis, we will only take the variables from the survey by Kržišnik-Bukić et al. (2015) that refer to the young respondents' affiliation with the Slovene language and nation. These are variables Q20 (first language / mother tongue), Q46 (affiliation with an environment, area, state)[19] and Q48 (ethnic community affiliation). From the survey by Udovič and Komac (2022), we will use the variables Q2 (interpretation of kinness, self-assessment of capacity for pursuing the interests of the Slovene ethnic community or the Republic of Slovenia in Austria), Q3 (interpretation of kinness, self-assessment of capacity for pursuing the interests of the Slovene ethnic community or the Republic of Slovenia in Italy), Q4 (interpretation of kinness, self-assessment of capacity for pursuing the interests of the Slovene ethnic community or the Republic of Slovenia in Hungary) and Q5 (interpretation of kinness, self-assessment of capacity for pursuing the interests of the Slovene ethnic community or the Republic of Slovenia in Croatia).

3.2 Results

3.2.1 First Language / Mother Tongue (Q20)

The mother tongue variable was included in our analysis because it is paramount to understanding affiliation with the Slovene nation. While doing so, we were aware of the limitations of such a variable (e.g. undefined what a mother tongue is; ambiguity of the concept; interpreting the concept through multilingualism), but we nevertheless believe that, for a culture-focused nation like Slovenes (Rupel 2017), language is an important means of identity-building and identification for an individual declaring themself as a Slovene. Kržišnik-Bukić et al. (2015) offered four choices with the question: What is your first language (the language you first started speaking)?: (a) Slovene, (b) majority language of the country of origin, (c) Slovene and the majority language at the same time, (d) other. The respondents' answers by country are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: First language / mother tongue (answers by respondents in %)

	Austria	Croatia	Italy	Hungary
Slovene	73.3	8.3	38.3	6.7
Majority language	11.7	83.3	16.7	66.7
Slovene and majority language	11.7	8.3	41.7	26.6
Other	3.3	0	1.7	0
Total	100	100	98.4	100

Source: Calculations based on Kržišnik-Bukić et al. (2015, 87).

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Table 1 reveals different starting positions with respect to the mother tongue of the respondents. While Slovene as a mother tongue is strongly present in Austria, the situation is reversed in Croatia and Hungary, where the majority language is predominant. Also worth noting is the situation in Italy, where respondents said their mother tongue was both Slovene and the majority language. Summing up, we can point out that the perception of Slovene as a mother tongue can serve a tool for mobilising young minority members in Austria and partly in Italy (cf. Brezigar & Vidau 2021), but it would not be effective in Hungary and Croatia.[20]

3.2.2 Affiliation – with a Town, Area, Country

Question 46 (Q46) was used by Kržišnik-Bukić et al. (2015) to test young minority members' affiliation with their environments. The underlying thesis of the researchers was that the more affiliation young minority members feel with their primordial environment, the more attached they will be to the basic characteristics of this environment.

Table 2: Affiliation with the environment (in %, I feel affiliation or strong affiliation with this category)

	Austria	Croatia	Italy	Hungary
My village/town	43.4	48.3	65.4	62.3[21]
My municipality	31.7	45	43.3	38.3
My region/province	48.4	68.8	43	21.5
My state[22]	45	53.4	30	33.4
The border area	36.7	33.3	75[23]	56.7

Source: Adapted from Kržišnik-Bukić et al. (2015, 234–239).

The results reveal major differences between young members of the minorities in the four analysed states. Strongest affiliation with the basic local community was expressed in Hungary and Italy. In Croatia, on the other hand, young people in minority communities feel the strongest affiliation with their region/province. From the perspective of pursuing Slovenia's foreign policy, it is important to note that, with the exception of Croatia, young minority members perceive state affiliation as less important than local affiliation. A case in point is Italy, where three quarters of the young respondents from minority communities feel affiliation with the border area. This is an imaginary formation that everyone interprets their own way. One of its features is, however, that it is defined by a serried Slovene population. An interesting observation is also made by Obid (2018b, 204–205), who links the strong local patriotism in the cases of Austria and Italy with emotional attachment to the local environment, which suffered greatly through history for expressing Slovene national identity (under fascism and Nazism).[24]

3.2.3 Self-Declared Affiliation with the Ethnic Community

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For young minority members to have the capacity and to in fact engage in Slovenia's foreign policy, it is not only important that the individual in question be in contact with Slovenia, but also that they feel affiliation with the Slovene nation. This is one of the main features of the concept of kinness, as part of which expressing one's national affiliation is supposed to be an attempt at overcoming the physical (as well as psychological and sociological) obstacles in establishing contact with the kin-nation. Kržišnik-Bukić et al. (2015) asked their respondents about their ethnic community affiliation (Q48). Their answers are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Ethnic community affiliation (respondents' answers in %)

	Austria	Croatia	Italy	Hungary
Slovene	56.7	11.7	38.3	23.3
Majority	8.3	51.7	3.3	33.3
Slovene and majority	30	30	50	43.4
Other or no answer	5	6.6	8.4	0

Source: Adapted from Kržišnik-Bukić et al. (2015, 265).

The results are somewhat surprising, as they indicate that young minority members in Austria feel the greatest affiliation with the Slovene ethnic community, while those in Croatia feel the least affiliation. On the other hand, they feel the highest affiliation with the majority nation in Croatia and Hungary. These data pose a serious challenge not only for Slovenia's foreign policy, but also for the Government Office for Slovenians Abroad. Given that minority communities are by definition regarded as affiliated with the kin-nation, these high shares of affiliation with only the majority nation in Croatia and Hungary indicate an inappropriate policy of Slovenia towards its minorities, since it has failed to put in place an understanding of the relationship between the kin-nation and minority community as something positive and something that connects.[25]

3.2.4 Kin-Nation and Kin-State

Udovič and Komac (2022) asked young members of Slovene minority communities directly whether they consider the Slovene nation and the Slovene state their kin-nation and kin-state, respectively. The questions were aimed at testing how young minority members perceive kinness of the nation and state.

Table 4 reveals the following: While respondents from Austria and Italy overwhelmingly labelled Slovene as their mother tongue, this was far from the case with respondents from Croatia and Hungary. However, a different picture is revealed when it comes to the relationships in the triad of the Slovene lan-

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guage – Slovene nation – Slovene state. Symmetrical relations can be observed among the respondents from Croatia and Hungary, while greater asymmetry is seen among respondents from Italy and Austria. While almost all respondents from Austria agree that Slovene is their mother tongue, already their affiliation with the Slovene nation as their kin-nation is at a much lower level of agreement. A similar pattern is found with respondents from Italy. On the other hand, we can see with respondents from Hungary and Croatia that their affiliation with the Slovene nation is relatively higher than their perception of Slovene as their mother tongue. Another important point is that, apart from the respondents from Croatia, all other respondents agree that Slovenia is not their kin-state/homeland. And this runs contrary to the numerous documents (mentioned above) that were adopted in Slovenia over the last 30 years.

Table 4: Interpretation of kinness of language and nation/state among young minority members (1 = I completely agree, 7 = I completely disagree)

	Austria		Italy		Hungary		Croatia	
	$\overline{x}$	s	$\overline{x}$	s	$\overline{x}$	s	$\overline{x}$	s
The Slovene language is my mother tongue	6.9	0.25	6.5	1.17	4.2	2.32	4.4	2.54
The Slovene nation is my kin-nation	3.9	2.43	4.6	1.99	5.0	2.1	5.1	2.35
The kin state is the country where you were born	4.1	2.19	3.8	1.94	4.7	1.94	5.3	1.5
My kin-state is Slovenia	2.6	2.33	3.7	2.06	3.0	2.06	5.5	1.93

Source: Calculations based on Udovič and Komac (2022).

3.2.5 Self-Assessment of the Capacity for Pursuing Slovenia's Interests in the Country of Origin

Udovič and Komac (2022) used two statements for respondents to indicate their agreement to establish whether young members of Slovene minorities are aware of their capacity, as well as test their desire to pursue either the interests of their minority community or Slovenia's national interests in the state where they live. The authors did this above all to test the potential of using young minority members for pursuing Slovenia's foreign-policy interests and activities, in accordance with Figure 1.

The findings that can be drawn from Table 5 paint quite a diverse picture. While respondents from Austria, Hungary and Italy agree overwhelmingly that their actions and activities can contribute to the realisation of the interests of their ethnic community within their country, the self-assessments of the capacity to pursue Slovenia's national interests are much less clear-cut. The highest level of agreement with the latter statement was among respondents from Hungary (6.0), and the lowest among those from Austria (3.8). Respondents from Italy and Croatia agree slightly more with this statement.

Table 5: Self-assessment of the capacity for pursuing the interests of the Slovene ethnic community or the Republic of Slovenia in the country of origin (1 = I completely disagree, 7 = I completely agree)

	Austria		Italy		Hungary		Croatia	
	$\overline{x}$	s	$\overline{x}$	s	$\overline{x}$	s	$\overline{x}$	s
As a member of the Slovene ethnic community in […] I can contribute to the pursuit of the interests of this community in […]	6.4	0.96	6.0	1.3	6.3	1.03	5.0	1.71
As a member of the Slovene ethnic community in […] I can contribute to the pursuit of the interests of Slovenia in […]	3.8	2.02	4.8	1.83	6.0	1.1	5.3	1.14

Source: Calculations based on Udovič and Komac (2022).

4. Discussion and Conclusion

The findings from the research by Kržišnik-Bukić et al. (2015), and Udovič and Komac (2022) open three important questions on whether (and how / to what extent) Slovenia's foreign policy and diplomacy can rely on the youth in Slovene minority communities in the neighbouring countries in the pursuit of Slovenia's national or foreign-policy interests in these states.

The first question refers to the relationship between minorities and their kin-state (in our case Slovenia). We can see that the respondent young members of minority communities in the neighbouring countries relate their Slovenehood to different components. While young minority members from Austria and Italy view it primarily through the lens of the Slovene language, young minority members from Croatia and Hungary link their Slovenehood mainly to their understanding of affiliation with the Slovene nation. However, almost all of them – with the exception of the respondents from Croatia – agree on one thing: they do not perceive Slovenia as their kin-state/homeland. We can explain this in two ways: (a) young minority members are connected with Slovenia through cultural/ethnic ties (language, culture, tradition, etc.), but not in the national sense (cf. also Kovačič 2021); and (b) for young minority members, their kin-state/ homeland is the country where they were born and the country of their citizenship,[26] not the one with which they are linked in terms of culture, language and ethnic ties. This has changed from older generations. The identities of young minority members are dual or adapted (Vavti 2007, 169), and even fluid with some (cf. Žigon et al. 2020).

The second dilemma relates to our definition and interpretation of kinness and kin-state/homeland. We have established that young minority members find this concept to be outdated, which begs the question whether the provisions of Article 5 of the Act Regulating Relations between the Republic of Slovenia and

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Slovenians Abroad (2006 and amended 2010), which defines the exterritorial status of minorities as part of the kin-nation, also call for an overhaul. Particularly considering the fact that Slovene minorities developed simultaneously with the creation of the Slovene nation. The difference being, of course, that the Slovene nation became homogenous with the help of nation-wide media and socialisation, turning it into a supra-regional community, while the fundamental identification and connecting mechanisms among Slovene minorities in the neighbouring countries remained tied to local and regional affiliation (cf. Klemenčič 2011). We believe the provision in question should be updated in a way that is more inclusive rather than exclusive. It should be rewritten around a new core concept of kin-nation, which builds much more on (the common) culture rather than homeland (which is usually limited to the standard state form).

Third, the key finding – also relevant from the perspective of foreign policy – is that Figure 1 fails to explain sufficiently the understanding of minorities as an actor in diplomacy. The figure was designed on the presumption that foreign policy is realised in the kin-state (subject), while the minority and its members merely confer the messages (as an object). Our interpretation was based on the premise that the minority wishes to belong to the kin-state and finds kinness (of their homeland) important. The results of the studies by Kržišnik-Bukić et al. (2015), and Udovič and Komac (2022) reveal a different situation. Young minority members perceive kinness in different ways – for some it refers to the state of their first language / mother tongue, or self-declaration of affiliation with the nation of this state, for others it is the local environment, and others still see it as simultaneous affiliation with both their languages and nations. After all, (young) minority members in Italy have replaced the classical concept of kinness and homeland with the concept of the border area – a geographical area that exists conceptually, but is completely undefined geographically. As a result, we can see that the state expressing kinness is a necessary but not a sufficient condition. To achieve a sufficient condition, the idea of kinness of a particular state/nation must be granted legitimacy by the minority community. Kinness thus cannot be defined (or claimed) by the state (mainland) alone; it requires an intersection between a self-definition of the state as the kin-state and the legitimacy given by the minority that it is in fact their kin-state. And this is a finding that is also crucial for the pursuit of Slovenia's foreign policy and diplomacy, which has a potential for using young minority members, but with a diversified approach. In Croatia and Hungary, political decision-makers can do this more directly, stressing the political component of foreign policy. In Austria and Italy, things are different, on the other hand, and in order for the Slovene minority to internalise the Slovene national interests they should be pursued through economic and cultural cooperation between their two states and nations in particular. This realisation is pivotal for the formulation of approaches to Slovenia's relations with its

neighbours, which should not continue along the one-size-fits-all line as today, but rather tailored to different criteria and conditions – the Slovenia's national interest, the minority in the relevant country, and of course the political and economic relations with the country in question.

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Notes

[1] In the international scientific literature, the concept goes by different names: kin-state, external homeland, motherland, *état-parent*, *Heimat*. The Slovene term generally used is literally closer to external homeland, rather than state (e.g. Act Regulating Relations between the Republic of Slovenia and Slovenians Abroad (2006 and amended 2010, Article 5). However, this article will use the term kin-state (called the "external national homeland" by Brubaker 1993, 6; also 1995 and 1996).

[2] Interesting observations on the generational divisions in the perception of Slovenia as their kin-state and the Slovene nation as their kin-nation for Slovenes in Austria can be found in Lavrih (2012, 61–74), who says that: (1) the veteran generation (interviewees aged 70–90) perceive the Slovene language as their mother tongue, the Slovene nation as their kin-nation and Slovenia as their kin-state/external homeland; (2) the baby boomers (interviewees born between 1945 and 1970) and Generation X (interviewees born between 1970 and 1980) perceive Slovenehood and the Slovene language mainly through an emotional component, while they no longer see Slovenia as their external homeland; (3) Generation Y (interviewees born between 1980 and 2000) view Slovenehood much more pragmatically, sometimes even anachronistically. Slovenia is not a homeland for them, that is Austria.

[3] This dilemma was most evident in Slovenia's case in relation to the Austrian State Treaty. With respect to the enforcement of the latter, Slovenes in Carinthia often say this is a matter between the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Austria, and not the Slovene minority. On dilemmas regarding Carinthia, see Griesser-Pečar (2021).

[4] Here, we should stress that the terms Slovenia's national interest and Slovene minorities in neighbouring countries, although often used in Slovenia, have never been precisely defined. This topic offers as much content as there are people discussing it. The paper talks about a topic that is somewhat of a taboo in Slovenia's foreign policy – the usefulness of Slovene ethnic minorities in the pursuit of Slovenia's interests in the states where these minorities live.

[5] In 2000, Slovenia's Prime Minister was Andrej Bajuk, a Slovene who grew up and lived in Argentina; and Angelika Mlinar, a Slovene from Carinthia, was Minister of Development and Cohesion Policy between December 2019 and March 2020.

[6] This issue is relevant in multinational formations. For instance, the Yugoslav federal diplomatic service had a certain distribution according to its constituent states (also called republics), by which specific posts usually went to specific republics (Slovenes were often permanent representatives to the United Nations – cf. Udovič 2016; they were usually consuls or at least vice-consuls in Klagenfurt and Trieste, and often ambassadors in Bonn – cf. Udovič 2022). Such an ethnic key can be found today in the diplomatic service of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but not, for example, in those of Spain, the UK or Belgium (Catalonia, Basque, Scotland, Valonia, Flanders).

[7] There are, of course, many more spheres of identity. Among others, social identity, economic, world-view and religious identity, the identities of different subcultures (e.g. punk identity, LGBT identity), etc.

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8   Janez Evangelist Krek (1925, 130) said: "A nation, **due to its common origin, has certain characteristic physical features** […]. As one nation we can therefore count families and individuals **with the same physical**, and especially **psychological characteristics**, as well as the same language" [emphasis added].

9   According to Peter Kovačič Peršin (1993, 36), a "nation genealogically starts constituting when **related families** recognise themselves as the same in terms of **speech, customs, historical fate** and geographical settlement" [emphasis added].

10   This severed/separated part can go under different qualifiers (minority, ethnic community, emigrants, expats, etc.), but all of these qualifiers mark the same thing – separation of a smaller unit from the larger unit.

11   A debate on this binary category took place in the Slovene National Assembly when appointing Angelika Mlinar, a Slovene from Carinthia, as minister on 17 and 19 December 2019. Below are a few statements form the session records. "Were she a proud Slovene, they would have used raw materials from Slovenia. I simply can't avoid the feeling that your interests are more in Austria than Slovenia. If you become minister, we will have a representative of Austria in the Slovene government. I have a feeling we will have some sort of a 'foreign agent' in the government. Look, others are not allowed dual citizenship in Austria, and you were allowed to keep the Austrian citizenship …" (Jani Ivanuša, SNS, 17 December 2019 in National Assembly 2019a). "We are once again divided around this issue as a nation and politicians: Is it right for this person to be the flag bearer at the Olympics or not, just because he's not a fullblood Slovene, because he was not born in Slovenia?" (Gregor Perič, SMC, 19 December 2019 in National Assembly 2019b). "The Slovene frog of shamelessness seems to be cooked tender with the candidacy of an Austrian for minister in the Slovene government, and we've all added our spices in the pot." (Robert Polnar, DeSUS, 19 December 2019 in National Assembly 2019b). "She wouldn't give up the Austrian citizenship if she weren't allowed dual citizenship. And this – sorry I have to say so – unfortunately sounds as if not even a ministerial post means enough to her to give up the Austrian citizenship. And the feeling, which – admit it – even you in the coalition have, is that she only took the Slovene citizenship for the position." (Alenka Jeraj, SDS, 19 December 2019 in National Assembly 2019b).

12   In the case of Slovenes in Canada, Strle (2007, 120) finds that there are different definitions of the kin-state or homeland of Slovenes in this identity community: "Some recognised their homeland in Yugoslavia as a whole, some only in Slovenia, some in the local community, region, religion, possibly only a particular area or their family house […]. With a brief review of emigrant press and materials of associations involving Canadian Slovenes, [we were able to establish] that most interpreted their homeland as the Slovene ethnic territory, and some understood it more broadly as the territory of South Slavs."

13   On the role of minority members on Slovenia's road to independence, see Klemenčič (2017) and Devetak (2021).

14   Everyone with a registered permanent residence in Slovenia was eligible to vote, regardless of nationality.

15   The content would be the same if the word homeland were replaced with mainland or kin-state.

16   The term for mainland or kin-state in Slovene is the same as the term for queen bee. And in fact, this interpretation of the Slovene nation resembles the organisation of a beehive. In the centre lies the queen bee, and around it are thousands of bees catering to the well-being of the queen bee.

17   Komac (N/D) points out that this interpretation is not only used by Slovenia, but also all its neighbouring countries, so it is "no wonder that we are constantly at loggerheads with our neighbours, and they with us, about land and people".

18   This online survey was conducted between 4 March and 22 June 2022, and consisted of 8 questions and statements, to which respondents had to take a position.

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[19] Južnič (1996) defines territorial identity as a space where boundaries delineate the identity framework. For more on territoriality and its impact on minorities (and the other way around), see Bufon (2017), Žagar (2018) and Marin (2012).

[20] Obid (2018a, 112) notes that some interviewees do not subscribe to the interpretation of belonging to a nation automatically because they speak its language. This is confirmed by interviewee A1, who said: "This perception that you speak a particular language and that makes you a member of a particular nation is so 19th century."

[21] This micro-locational affiliation is confirmed by interviewee M4, saying: "In fact, this […] is homeland to me. Being from Porabje, from Slovenska ves, from Monošter" (Munda Hirnök & Novak Lukanovič 2018, 140).

[22] Methodologically, it would be better to use the phrase: The state of my citizenship, or phrase: The state where I live.

[23] "Yes, certainly, no doubt I feel part of our space – in terms of culture, sports, music […]" (Interviewee I1; Vidau 2018, 59).

[24] For more on the importance of memory, see Orlić (2015).

[25] Obid (2018b, 216) is more positive about the perception of nation as a significant category, saying that "it is a fact that nation clearly remains a category with which most people, including young people, can identify". He adds that young members of the minority community in Croatia are a special case, as "only the respondents with Slovene or dual citizenship chose the Slovene ethnic community".

[26] Lavrih (2012, 70) asked young Slovenes in Carinthia to comment on the statement by late Boris Pahor, Slovene writer from Italy, that they are not Slovenes, but rather Austrians speaking Slovene. The author found that all her interviewees agreed, since they linked being a Slovene to having Slovene citizenship. This, however, does not mean they do not see themselves as a distinct group *per se* – i.e. Carinthian Slovenes.

Acknowledgement

Mojca Medvešek, Romana Bešter, Janez Pirc

Factors Influencing the Attitudes of the Majority Population of Slovenia towards Immigration

The article presents the results of a study on the attitudes of the majority population of Slovenia towards immigration and the factors influencing such. The factors examined included: socio-demographic characteristics of the members of the majority population, contacts between the majority population and immigrants, and perceived economic, security, and cultural threats. We took as our premise two theoretical frameworks – group threat theory and intergroup contact theory. The results show that the majority population has a rather reserved attitude towards immigration and mostly believes Slovenia should tighten immigration conditions. The influence of individual factors on the majority population's attitudes was tested using hierarchical multiple regression analysis. Perceived threats, especially cultural threat, and to a lesser extent economic and security threats, emerged as the strongest predictors of attitudes towards immigration.

Keywords: immigration, attitudes towards immigration, perceived threats, Slovenia.

Dejavniki, ki vplivajo na odnos večinskega prebivalstva Slovenije do priseljevanja

V prispevku predstavljamo izsledke raziskave o tem, kakšen je odnos večinskega prebivalstva Slovenije do priseljevanja ter kateri dejavniki vplivajo nanj. Proučevali smo naslednje dejavnike: socialno-demografske značilnosti pripadnikov večinskega prebivalstva, stike med večinskim prebivalstvom in priseljenci ter percepcije ekonomske, varnostne in kulturne ogroženosti. Izhajali smo iz dveh teoretskih okvirov – teorije skupinske ogroženosti in teorije medskupinskih stikov. Rezultati kažejo, da ima večinsko prebivalstvo dokaj zadržan odnos do priseljevanja. Večina meni, da bi morala Slovenija zaostriti pogoje priseljevanja. Vpliv posameznih dejavnikov na oblikovanje odnosa večinskega prebivalstva smo preverjali s pomočjo hierarhične multiple regresijske analize. Kot najmočnejši napovedovalci odnosa do priseljevanja so se pokazale percepcije ogroženosti, zlasti kulturne, nekoliko manj pa ekonomske in varnostne ogroženosti.

Ključne besede: *priseljevanje, odnos do priseljevanja, percepcije ogroženosti, Slovenija.*

Correspondence address: Mojca Medvešek, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Erjavčeva 26, SI-1000 Ljubljana, e-mail: mojca.medvesek@inv.si; Romana Bešter, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Erjavčeva 26, SI-1000 Ljubljana, e-mail: romana.bester@inv.si; Janez Pirc, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Erjavčeva 26, SI-1000 Ljubljana, e-mail: janez.pirc@inv.si.

1. Introduction

Research conducted in European countries shows that public reactions to immigration range from reluctant acceptance to rejection, irrespective of a country's historical development and immigration policy (Citrin & Sides 2008; Ceobanu & Escandell 2010). While in the 1980s and 1990s the majority population's reluctance to immigration grew at a steady pace, this trend seems to have come to a halt in the past two decades. Although the attitudes of the majority population in Europe remain relatively negative (Meuleman et al. 2009; Ceobanu & Escandell 2010), the salience of immigration as an issue has risen sharply over the last decade (Dempster et al. 2020, 11). Likewise, the difference in the attitudes towards immigration between Eastern European countries – which are traditionally non-immigrant countries and continue to record fewer immigration flows – and Western Europe has become more pronounced. In Eastern Europe, attitudes towards immigration are generally more negative than in the West (Coenders et al. 2009; Ceobanu & Escandell 2010).

The studies carried out in Slovenia (Komac & Medvešek 2005, 215–236; Zavratnik et al. 2008; Toš & Broder 2014) confirm that the ethnic and cultural diversity of a society is not always perceived as something positive. Immigrants, regardless of how long they have lived in Slovenia, are likely to be considered foreigners whose loyalty to the nation is questionable. A part of the majority population sees them as a potential threat to society, the welfare state, national security, Slovene culture and language. Research on immigration and integration conducted since 1990 confirms that the receiving country – together with the opinions and attitudes of the majority society towards immigrants – plays an important role in the integration of immigrants (Penninx 2013; Unterreiner & Weinar 2014, 2). Anti-immigration sentiments and attitudes that have lately re-emerged in many European countries (Esipova et al. 2015; Esipova et al. 2020) are considered to be an important constraint on migration policy and an obstacle to the successful integration of immigrants (Finseraas et al. 2016). The reverse is also true, though. As noted by Naveed and Wang (2021), there is a significant positive correlation between the majority population's favourable attitudes towards immigrants and social integration. In such regard, it is good to know the attitudes of the majority population towards immigration and the factors shaping such.

The article focuses on the analysis of a wide range of factors that influence the attitudes of Slovenia's majority population towards immigration. The presentation of the theoretical and methodological background underpinning the research is followed by a description of the majority population's attitudes towards immigration to Slovenia. The central part of the article deals with the factors that influence the formation of such attitudes. Finally, the results of the analysis used to test the impact of individual variables on the majority population's attitudes towards immigration are discussed.

2. Theoretical Background

The existing literature shows that people's attitudes towards immigration are shaped by several factors associated both with individual characteristics and experiences and the social context. Much of the debate on the factors shaping the attitudes towards immigration is based on the group threat theory (or group conflict theory), on the one hand, and intergroup contact theory, on the other.

The group threat theory assumes that the negative opinions of the population, the natives, are the result of a perceived threat that they see in the presence of immigrants and/or permissive integration policies that give immigrants access to resources (Blumer 1958; Blalock 1967; Quillian 1995). With the development of the group threat theory, the study of the formation of prejudices, stereotypes, and attitudes as a result of individual characteristics and experiences has shifted to the study of the formation of prejudices, stereotypes, and attitudes as a result of intergroup relations. An individual identifies with a particular group (the ingroup), forms an image of the other group (the outgroup), and develops an understanding of the relationships between them. When this is combined with a perception of threat – the belief that the outgroup is taking over the resources that the individual believes belong to the ingroup – prejudices or negative attitudes are formed (Blumer 1958). This means that even if members of the majority community do not perceive immigrants as a threat to their personal interests, they may still perceive immigrants as a threat to the ingroup's interests (Schlueter & Davidov 2011). Feelings of threat relate to different aspects of life, meaning that there are different types of threats: economic (Mayda 2006; Ben-Nun Bloom et al. 2015), political, cultural (Stephan et al. 2005; Lucassen & Lubbers 2012; Ben-Nun Bloom et al. 2015), and security (or criminal) threats (Lahav & Courtemanche 2011), as well as threats to social welfare (Mayda 2006). It is thus important to distinguish between the different types of threats as each of them, depending also on the social context, leads to different attitudinal and behavioural consequences (Lahav & Courtemanche 2011; Ben-Nun Bloom et al. 2015). However, as Kleider (2021, 8–9) points out, the impact of these types of threat perceptions can be interrelated or complementary. It is important to note that perceived group threat and anti-outgroup attitudes represent two closely related, yet theoretically and empirically distinct concepts (Blalock 1967; Quillian 1995; Schlueter et al. 2008). The concept of perceived group threat is commonly defined as anticipation of negative consequences due to the presence of some outgroup and is understood as a direct predictor of more explicit, discriminatory anti-outgroup stances. To what extent such perceived threats induce such discriminatory attitudes towards the outgroup is, in fact, an empirical question (Schlueter & Scheepers 2010, 286). Previous research clearly supports the assumption that perceived group threat increases anti-outgroup attitudes (Esses et al. 2001; Riek et al. 2006; Stephan et al. 2005; Schlueter et al. 2008).

The conclusions of group threat theory are contradicted by the findings of the studies relying on (intergroup) contact theory. Contact theory assumes that, under the right conditions, increased proximity and regular contact between different ethnic groups, or interpersonal interactions between the majority population and immigrants, may effectively reduce the majority population's prejudice against immigrants and induce positive attitudes towards diversity. The two dominant measures of intergroup contact are context (i.e., size of a minority group within a specified geographical area) and individual behaviour (i.e., personal contact between members of the majority and minority groups). Intergroup contact occurs in a particular context, which may or may not encourage it (Stein et al. 2000). The size of the immigrant group in the receiving country is indeed an important factor that shapes the attitudes of the majority population towards immigrants. While group threat theory predicts a negative relationship between outgroup size and the ingroup's attitude towards immigrants, the contact theory mainly assumes a more positive relationship between the two. The larger the outgroup, the more opportunities there are to establish positive intergroup contacts, which contributes to a more positive attitude towards immigrants (Schlueter & Scheepers 2010). In this regard, Barceló (2016, 104) notes that the positive effect of the number of immigrants in a given country on the attitude of the natives towards immigrants is more likely due to the country's historical experience as a recipient of immigrants than due to the sheer size of the immigrant group. As he writes, tolerance is not increased by a short-term increase in the share of immigrants but, instead, by the long-term share of immigrants in the country, that is the reception of immigrants over a long period of time. He adds that the more positive attitudes towards immigrants in countries with a longer immigration tradition could also be shaped by different past policies in relation to immigrants in these countries (for example, policies aimed at improving the image of immigrants) (Barceló 2016, 109).

Lately, more complex structural models have been developed to identify the effects of intergroup contact, taking into account both positive and negative factors, together with the individual, structural, and normative context of contact (Durrheim & Dixon 2005, 21; Pettigrew & Tropp 2006). These studies are somewhat more cautious in validating intergroup contact theory, but there is still a large body of research in the psychological and sociological literature that confirms that intergroup contact contributes to the reduction of prejudice and negative attitudes towards outgroup members (Pettigrew et al. 2011).

3. Methodology

The data were drawn from an empirical survey conducted in 2020 on a sample of the majority population of Slovenia within the framework of the project Challenges of Immigrant Integration and Development of Integration Policy in

Slovenia (hereinafter: The Challenges of Integration project). The survey was conducted between June and September 2020 on a representative sample of 5,000 Slovene residents aged between 18 and 70. The sample was prepared by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (SORS) using a random sampling method. Following the SORS definition of resident, the sample included persons, irrespective of their nationality, with a registered permanent and/or temporary residence in the Republic of Slovenia, residing or intending to reside in the country for a year or more and not temporarily absent for a year or more. The survey was sent by regular mail and was returned by 952 residents. To analyse the attitudes of the majority population towards immigration, we only took into account the responses of Slovenia-born residents (855).

Table 1: Selected socio-demographic characteristics of the population surveyed under the Challenges of Integration project (2020)

	Challenges of Integration – a survey among residents of Slovenia (only Slovenia-born residents)	
Gender	**Number**	**%**
Men	395	46.2
Women	460	53.8
Total	855	100.0
Age		
Young adults (18–35 years)	239	28.0
Middle-aged adults (36–55 years)	337	39.4
Older adults (56–70 years)	279	32.6
Total	855	100.0
Education		
Basic education (primary school or less)	47	5.5
Secondary education (short and upper secondary vocational or general education)	405	47.4
Tertiary education (college, university, postgraduate studies)	399	46.7
N/A	4	0.5
Total	855	100.0
Degree of urbanisation of the place of residence		
Urban/suburban area	487	57
Rural area	364	42.6
N/A	4	0.5
Total	855	100.0

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Immigrant background		
No immigrant background (both parents born in Slovenia)	740	86.7
With an immigrant background (one or both parents are foreign-born)	114	13.5
N/A	1	0.1
Total	855	100.0

Source: Data from The Challenges of Integration project.

Among the respondents, 46.2 % were men and 53.8 % were women. Most of them (39.4 %) were middle-aged adults between 36 and 55 years of age, followed by older adults (32.6 %) aged 56 to 70, and young adults aged 18 to 35 (28 %). The respondents largely (47.4 %) attained secondary education; a similar share (46.7 %) had a university degree and a few (5.5 %) had basic education. The majority of respondents reported living in an urban or suburban area (57 %) while 42.6 % reported living in the countryside. 86.7 % of respondents had no immigrant background and 13.5 % had an immigrant background.

In terms of gender and age structure, the sample was fairly representative of Slovenia's total population (according to 2020 data), the only exceptions being education and the degree of urbanisation of the place of residence. The share of respondents with tertiary education was significantly higher than in the country's population as a whole. As regards the degree of urbanisation of the place of residence, according to SORS data (SORS 2021a, 2021b), the actual proportions of residents living in urban (49.9 %) and residents living in rural (50.1 %) areas are much more balanced than in our sample.

4. Attitudes of the Majority Population towards Immigration

The results of the survey showed that the respondents expressed a rather reserved attitude towards immigration and immigration policies. The majority (59.6 %) thought that Slovenia should tighten immigration conditions and (65 %) that the demographic situation and economic needs in Slovenia did not provide sufficient grounds to support greater immigration. A considerable share (58.1 %) of respondents also disagreed that Slovenia should be more open to receiving refugees. The majority population supported the restrictions on immigration, yet they also acknowledged that it was immigrants who made it possible for some sectors of the Slovene economy to prosper by taking on jobs that others refused. The views of the majority population reflected support for selective immigration management, with more than half of the respondents agreeing that Slovenia should pursue a migration policy aimed at attracting high-skilled and highly educated foreign nationals.

The general opinion among the respondents (55.3 %) was that immigrants do not make Slovenia a better or a worse country to live in. Nevertheless, the share of those who thought that Slovenia had become a worse country to live in because of immigrants (28.3 %) was higher than the share of those who thought that Slovenia had become a better country for living (16.3 %).

A significant share (66.7 %) of respondents thought that immigrants in Slovenia abused the social support system. A considerable proportion (44.2 %) thought that immigration increased the number of crimes recorded in Slovenia, and a similar share (44.4 %) felt that immigrants undermined Slovene culture.

5. Factors Influencing the Attitudes of the Majority Population towards Immigration

In line with group threat theory and intergroup contact theory, we built a model to determine whether the predicted factors (perceived economic/cultural/security threats, intergroup contact and socio-demographic factors) have an impact on the formation of the majority population's attitudes towards immigration.

Proceeding from group threat theory, we hypothesised that the perceived group threat is an important factor shaping the attitudes towards immigration among the majority population, and tested whether residents who feel economically, culturally or security threatened hold a more negative attitude towards immigration than those who do not perceive these threats. Given the inconsistent research results regarding which type of threat has a stronger impact on the attitudes towards immigration, we wanted to see how strongly the impact of each perceived threat reflects in the attitude towards immigration in our sample. Building on intergroup contact theory, we also wanted to test whether individuals who have more contact with immigrants and those who have more immigrants in their circle of friends have a more positive attitude towards immigration. We explored how strong a predictor of attitude towards immigration are the socio-demographic characteristics of the majority population compared to perceived economic/cultural/security threats. Based on the findings of some previous research, we hypothesised that socio-demographic characteristics would prove to be less a predictor of the majority population's attitude towards immigration than the perceived economic/cultural/security threats.

The suitability of the model and the relative contribution of each factor (independent variable) to explaining total variance and our hypotheses were tested using hierarchical multiple regression. To determine the attitudes of the majority population towards immigration, we created an index of attitudes towards immigration (dependent variable) that consisted of three variables: Q9a – Slovenia should tighten the conditions for immigration to Slovenia (1 – strongly disagree, 5 – strongly agree), Q9c – Slovenia should be more open to receiving refugees (1

– strongly agree, 5 – strongly disagree), and Q9d – Slovenia needs more immigrants due to its demographic situation and economic needs (1 – strongly agree, 5 – strongly disagree). The index of attitudes towards immigration (1 – strongly in favour of immigration, 5 – strongly against immigration) has a Cronbach's alpha of 0.835 ensuring good reliability of results.

The independent variables included in the model were those that had been identified as relevant by previous research and are considered to be important predictors of the attitudes towards immigration. One such variable is the perceived economic threat, i.e., the perception of competition between the majority population and immigrants for scarce resources such as employment, social services, and housing. These perceptions are triggered by fear and suspicion that immigrants will deprive the majority population of certain privileges and benefits (e.g., jobs, social support). The perceived economic threat was measured by the Economic Threat Index consisting of three variables with a five-point scale of possible responses: Q17b – Immigrants take jobs away from Slovenes (1 – strongly disagree, 5 – strongly agree), Q17v – Wages in Slovenia are lower because of immigrants (1 – strongly disagree, 5 – strongly agree), and Q30e – Immigrants take advantage of the social support system in Slovenia (1 – strongly disagree, 5 – strongly agree). The economic threat index has a Cronbach's alpha of 0.782 ensuring good reliability of results.

The second independent variable was the perceived cultural threat, i.e., the perception that the different cultures, value systems, attitudes and moral values of immigrants pose a threat to the culture and values of the majority society. The perceived cultural threat was measured by the Cultural Threat Index, also composed of three variables: Q32 – Do you think that immigrants generally undermine or benefit Slovene culture? (1 – strongly benefit, 5 – heavily undermine), Q30j – Immigrants need to have religious facilities where they can practice their religion (1 – strongly agree, 5 – strongly disagree), and Q30d – With their way of life, immigrants undermine Slovene culture (1 – strongly disagree, 5 – strongly agree). The cultural threat index has a Cronbach's alpha of 0.775, which ensures good reliability of results.

The third independent variable was the perceived security threat, i.e., the perception that immigration jeopardises physical integrity and public safety. The perceived security threat was measured by the security threat variable Q30c – Immigration increases the number of crimes (1 – strongly disagree, 5 – strongly agree).

Intergroup contact between the majority population and immigrants was measured by two variables. The first one was the frequency of contact with immigrants, which we called contact: Q20 – How often do you have contact with immigrants in your daily life, for example on public transport, on the street, in a shop or your neighbourhood (1 – never, 7 – every day). The second variable was circle of friends: Q22 – How would you describe your circle of closest friends?

(1 – there are many immigrants in my circle of friends, 2 – there are some immigrants in my circle of friends, and 3 – there are no immigrants in my circle of friends).

For the socio-demographic characteristics of the majority population, the following variables were used: gender, age (expressed in years), education (1 – primary and vocational school, 2 – upper secondary school, 3 – vocational college, 4 – university, 5 – master's degree and PhD), immigrant background[1] (with or without an immigrant background), and the degree of urbanisation of the place of residence (urban/suburban or rural areas). For the nominal and categorical independent variables, we created dummy variables as 0/1 values.

Table 2: Variables included in the regression analysis

Indexes and variables	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Number
Attitude towards immigration (dependent variable)	3.64	1.078	770
Economic threat	3.11	1.037	770
Cultural threat	3.00	0.984	770
Security threat	3.22	1.086	770
Contacts	4.84	1.919	770
Circle of friends – many immigrants[1]	0.10	0.297	770
Circle of friends – some immigrants[2]	0.53	0.499	770
Gender – men[3]	0.46	0.499	770
Age	45.02	15.089	770
Education	2.70	1.243	770
Background – with an immigrant background[4]	0.14	0.347	770
Urbanisation of the place of residence – urban/suburban area[5]	0.58	0.493	770

Source: Data from The Challenges of Integration project.
[1] Dummy variable: circle of friends – many immigrants (0 or 1 value).
[2] Dummy variable: circle of friends – some immigrants (0 or 1 value).
[3] Dummy variable: gender – men (0 or 1 value).
[4] Dummy variable: background – with an immigrant background (0 or 1 value).
[5] Dummy variable: urbanisation of the place of residence – urban/suburban area (0 or 1 value).

Before running the hierarchical multiple regression, we checked that the required assumptions were met. The sample (N = 855) was large enough to include in the analysis ten independent variables (Tabachnick & Fidell 2001). The conditions of homoscedasticity and multicollinearity were met (the values of the variance inflation and tolerance coefficients were appropriate). We did not detect outliers or units that were significantly different from the others in the sample considered. The variables included in the analysis had few missing values, so we decided not to replace them but rather to exclude them from the analysis.

Table 3: Summary of the results of the hierarchical regression analysis to determine the impact of selected factors on the formation of the majority population's attitudes towards immigration

Variables	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5		
	β	Beta	sr²	β	Beta	sr²	β	Beta	sr²	β	Beta	sr²	β	Beta	sr²
Age	.002	.022	.0004	.002	.032	.0009	-.001	-.017	.0002	-.001	-.016	.0002	.000	.005	.0000
Background – with an immigrant background	-.210	-.068	.0044	-.100	-.032	.0009	.018	.006	.0000	.036	.012	.0001	.061	.020	.0003
Education	-.168***	-.194	.0357	-.159***	-.184	.0320	-.079**	-.091	.0075	-.031	-.036	.0011	-.015	-.018	.0002
Gender – men	.180*	.083	.0069	.188*	.087	.0073	.057	.027	.0006	.080	.037	.0013	.076	.035	.0012
Urbanisation of the place of residence – urban/suburban area	-.121	-.056	.0030	-.095	-.044	.0017	-.076	-.035	.0010	-.054	-.025	.0006	-.052	-.024	.0005
Circle of friends – many immigrants				-.837***	-.230	.0408	-.439***	-.121	.0108	-.329**	-.091	.0061	-.238*	-.065	.0031
Circle of friends – some immigrants				-.422***	-.195	.0317	-.245***	-.114	.0104	-.136*	-.063	.0031	-.086	-.040	.0012
Contacts				.024	.043	.0016	-.002	-.004	.0000	-.020	-.035	.0010	-.011	-.019	.0003
Security threat							.533***	.537	.2560	.291***	.294	.0488	.159***	.160	.0123
Economic threat										.427***	.411	.0942	.287***	.276	.0361
Cultural threat													.385***	.351	.0566
Adjusted R	.058			.108			.366			.460			.517		
R Squared	.064			.118			.373			.467			.524		
Δ R Squared				.053			.256			.094			.057		

Source: Data from The Challenges of Integration project.

N = 770
* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

The variables age, immigrant background, gender, education, and degree of urbanisation of the place of residence added in the first stage (Model 1) together make a statistically significant contribution to the regression model ($F(5.764) = 10.501$, $p < .001$) and explain 5.8 % of the variance of the dependent variable attitude towards immigration. Age, immigrant background, and degree of urbanisation of the place of residence do not appear to have a statistically significant or unique impact on the variable attitude towards immigration in our model and sample, although they proved to be – especially age – important factors shaping the formation of attitudes towards immigration by several previous studies (Huber & Oberdabernig 2016; Javdani 2020, 3). In Model 1, only two variables – education and gender – emerged as having a statistically significant impact on

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the attitudes towards immigration. Men have a more negative attitude towards immigration than women. Respondents with a higher level of education have a less negative attitude towards immigration than respondents with a lower level of education.

The other two variables – contacts and circle of friends, which explain intergroup contact – included in Model 2 explain the additional 5.3 % of the variance in the variable attitude towards immigration, making the model statistically significant, $F(8.761) = 12.678$, $p < .001$. The education and gender of the respondents and their circle of friends also have a statistically significant impact on the variable. Respondents who have immigrants among their friends and respondents with higher education have a less negative attitude towards immigration, and men have a more negative attitude towards immigration than women.

In Model 3, we added the variable security threat, which explains a new 25.6 % of the variance in the variable attitude towards immigration – the model is statistically significant, $F(9.760) = 50.267$, $p < .001$. In addition to the statistically significant impact of education and the respondents' circle of friends, there is a positive and statistically significant association between perceived security threat and the majority population's attitudes towards immigration. Respondents who feel their security is being threatened have a more negative attitude towards immigration.

In Model 4, we added the independent variable economic threat, which explains an additional 9.4 % of the variance in the variable attitude towards immigration – again, the model is statistically significant, $F(10.759) = 66.603$, $p < .001$. In Model 4, only perceptions of security and economic threats and the circle of friends have a statistically significant impact on the shaping of attitudes towards immigration. The variable circle of friends is negatively correlated with the variable attitude towards immigration, which means that respondents who have more immigrants among their friends have a less negative attitude towards immigration. The variables security threat and economic threat are positively correlated with the variable attitude towards immigration, which means that respondents who perceive immigration as a security or an economic threat have a more negative attitude towards immigration.

In Model 5, we added the independent variable cultural threat, which explains an additional 5.7 % of the variance in the variable attitude towards immigration – again, the model is statistically significant, $F(11.758) = 75.913$, $p < .001$. In this model, only four variables have a statistically significant impact: circle of friends – many immigrants, which explains only 0.3 % of the variance ($sr^2 = .0031$), security threat, which explains 1.2 % of the variance ($sr^2 = .0123$), economic threat, which explains 3.6 % of the variance ($sr^2 = .0361$), and cultural threat, which explains 5.7 % of the variance ($sr^2 = .0566$) in the variable attitude towards immigration. The last three variables also record the highest absolute values of the standardised beta coefficient, particularly the variable cul-

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tural threat (beta = .351), followed by the variable economic threat (beta = .276) and the variable security threat (beta = .161). This means that in our model the cultural threat factor is the most important factor shaping the attitudes of the majority population towards immigration. The independent variables included in Model 5 together explain 52.4 % of the variance of the dependent variable attitude towards immigration.

6. Discussion of Results

The socio-demographic characteristics of the majority population have been shown to have some influence on the formation of attitudes towards immigration. This is particularly true for education. In our analysis, the education of the respondents had a statistically significant impact on their attitude towards immigration in Models 1, 2 and 3. Respondents with higher education showed a less negative attitude towards immigration. Education appears to be a stable factor in shaping the attitudes towards immigration or immigration policy also in many other studies (Hello et al. 2002; Gang et al. 2002; Hainmueller & Hiscox 2007). People with higher levels of education tend to have a more positive view on immigrants and immigration (Wright et al. 2012; Freeman et al. 2013) and are more optimistic about the economic benefits of immigration (Citrin et al. 1997). There are two types of theoretical arguments for this kind of impact of education on the opinions about immigration: arguments related to labour market integration and arguments unrelated to labour market integration. The first assume that immigrants are not in direct competition with the more highly educated majority population and that the more highly educated benefit more from employing lower-paid, less skilled immigrants. As a consequence, more educated members of the majority population do not develop a negative attitude towards immigration (Barceló 2016, 89; Callens & Meuleman 2017). Arguments unrelated to labour market integration refer to the fact that higher education is associated with greater openness and cosmopolitan outlook, which results in a more tolerant attitude towards cultural diversity, a greater capacity for reflexivity, better-developed critical thinking, and greater exposure to other cultures as a consequence of a broader, international network of acquaintances (Hainmueller & Hiscox 2007, 400; Ceobanu & Escandell 2010, 319; Barceló 2016, 89).

A statistically significant relationship was also found between gender and attitudes towards immigration (Models 1 and 2). Compared to education, the impact of gender on shaping the attitudes towards immigration of the majority population is less well explored. Classical gender theories expect men to be more opposed to immigration than women. This is usually attributed to men's greater tendency towards authoritarianism which is associated with more negative attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. For example, Peresman et al. (2021) suggest that a perceived need to protect the ingroup from potential

cultural threats can serve as a key mechanism by which authoritarian predispositions manifest as hostility towards immigration. The results of empirical studies on the impact of gender on attitudes towards immigration are mixed, even contradictory (Valentova & Alieva 2013), yet a large body of research confirms a greater aversion to immigration among men than among women (Ponce 2017, 2). Ponce (2017) points out that recent debates on immigration (especially concerning Muslim cultures and the roles of women within them) question this relationship between gender and anti-immigrant attitudes. Ponce's analysis of data from the European Social Survey suggests that women are no less likely than men to show anti-immigrant attitudes. Contrary to traditional patterns regarding gender and attitudes towards immigrants, his study even shows that women are more likely to hold negative attitudes, but only towards a certain group of immigrants – i.e. Muslims. As Ponce suggests, a possible explanation for this is that women perceive Muslim culture – which is increasingly demonised in the Western world as gender inegalitarian – as a threat to gender equality. In our research, women hold more favourable attitudes towards immigration than men. This may be at least partly related to the higher proportion of highly educated women than men. On the other hand, based on some economic indicators, one would expect to find more pronounced perceptions of economic vulnerability on the female side, and thus more opposition to immigration. Indeed, our sample featured a higher proportion of unemployed women than men, and as some studies have found, unemployment is associated with significantly stronger perceptions of economic threat (Callens & Meuleman 2017) and (consequently) with a more negative attitude towards immigration (Lancee & Pardos-Prado 2013).

The perceived security, economic, and cultural threats emerged as stronger predictors of the majority population's attitudes towards immigration than socio-demographic variables. Respondents manifesting stronger perceptions of economic, cultural, and security threats had a more negative attitude towards immigration.

As expected, the strongest predictor of attitudes towards immigration among the majority population was the perceived cultural threat. The Slovene nation is based on an ethno-cultural conception of national identity (Nećak 1997, 20). It is assumed that this conception tends to foster more negative attitudes towards immigration than the civic conception of national identity because the immigration of foreigners of a different ethnicity or culture is perceived as a threat to national identity which is deemed to be ethnic in its essence. In contrast, the civic conception of national identity, which is rooted in an understanding of the national community as a political rather than ethno-cultural formation, tends to foster more positive attitudes towards immigrants, as cultural diversity is not perceived as a threat (Dixon 2019, 18; Wright et al. 2012). What exactly it is about culturally different groups that is perceived as dangerous and threatening is still a matter of debate. As Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014, 242) note,

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[not] all of the ostensibly cultural attributes operate in the same way. For instance, the fact that immigrants' language use influences immigration attitudes but that their skin tone does not suggests the value of differentiating among cultural traits based on their perceived immutability. Immigrants are rewarded or penalised for how they speak and the education they obtain, attributes over which they are perceived to have control.

Less important seem to be the traits that immigrants cannot or find difficult to change, such as skin colour or religion. The results of our survey also show that the majority Slovene population gives preference to acquired traits (education, language knowledge, skills, acceptance of the Slovene way of life) over ascribed traits (religion, skin colour) when deciding which immigrants are welcome (Medvešek et al. 2022, 121).

The perceived economic threat emerged as the second strongest factor influencing the attitudes of the majority population towards immigration. The perceptions of economic threat are largely shaped by the perceived labour-market competition (Kessler 2001; Mayda 2006; Scheve & Slaughter 2001) or by perceptions that immigrants represent a burden for the welfare state (Facchini & Mayda 2007). It is worth noting here that perceptions of economic threat are often based on an overestimation of the total number of immigrants and their proportion among the lowest earners, the less educated, the unemployed, and the recipients of fiscal transfers (Goldin et al. 2018, 126–127), leading to the perception that immigrants take more from the welfare system than they contribute to the economy of the receiving country. In Slovenia, respondents expressed a greater sense of threat based on perceptions that immigrants take advantage of the social support system than based on labour-market competition. Respondents do not see immigrants as competitors in the labour market, since immigrants often take on jobs that others do not want, thus playing a complementary role in the labour market and enabling some sectors of the Slovene economy to prosper.

A further potentially important co-shaper of attitudes towards immigration is contact between the majority population and immigrants. The structure of the respondents' friendship circle was more important than the frequency of contacts. The analysis confirmed our hypothesis that individuals with many immigrants in their circle of friends have a more positive attitude towards immigration than those who do not have immigrants among their friends. However, our data do not support the assumption that individuals who have more contact with immigrants have a more positive attitude towards immigration.

7. Final Remarks

The attitudes of the majority population towards immigration can have an impact on migration policymaking and the integration of immigrants. In a situation

where much of Europe is facing an ageing population, unfavourable demographic projections and labour shortages, immigration seems like a practical necessity, and negative attitudes towards immigration among the majority population can be a barrier in this respect. The same applies to negative attitudes towards immigrants already residing in the receiving countries, which hinder or prevent successful integration. If we are to change the attitudes of the majority population, we need to know the factors that shape such attitudes.

When examining the attitudes of the majority population in Slovenia towards immigration, the perceived cultural threat emerged as the strongest predictor thereof, followed by perceived economic and security threats. The stronger impact of perceived cultural threat can perhaps be linked to the fact that the Slovene nation is based on the concept of ethnic, not political, community. The presence of immigrants and multiculturalism in everyday practices challenges the myth of national cultural homogeneity. From this perspective, the ethnic conception of national identity is arguably more prone to perceiving immigrants of a different culture as a threat than the civic conception of national identity (Dixon 2019, 18; Wright et al. 2012). Nevertheless, as Bajt (2016, 51) points out, in no way should nationalist exclusion be understood as associated only with so-called ethno-cultural nations, for it permeates all nation-states. This is confirmed by the results of recent international surveys showing that the majority of people in different countries favour relatively strict immigration policies that restrict further immigration, especially immigration from countries that are ethnically or culturally very different (see e.g. Javdani 2020).

Most research considers perceived cultural, economic and security threats as independent factors. Further research should focus on the possibility that the effects of different types of threats on people's attitudes towards immigration are complementary or interrelated. An analysis of the processes shaping the attitudes towards immigration that assumes that individuals' perceptions of different kinds of threats are clearly separated and independent of each other may lead to a false simplification of their impact (Kleider 2021, 8–9). Moreover, the influence of some other factors related to the individual characteristics of the members of the majority society – such as political and ideological orientation, religiosity and values – as well as the influence of the social context (e.g. the number of immigrants, media coverage of immigrants, etc.) on the formation of attitudes towards immigration should also be examined.

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Notes

1   Immigration background means one or both parents are foreign-born.

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Margareta Gregurović, Marko Mrakovčić

Law Students and Social Distance towards Migrants and Some Other Relevant Groups in Croatia

Increased migration and the effects of the 2015/16 European migration/refugee crisis are reflected in changes in the attitudes towards migrants and members of certain religions. Law students, who are thought to come into contact with the issue of migration in their work, are of greater concern. This paper presents the results of a survey conducted in 2019 among 1st and 4th year law students at four law schools in Croatia. The study aims to determine how close a relationship (on Bogardus' social distance scale) law students would achieve with the various types of migrants, Roma, and members of different religions. The results show that law students are likely to have the closest relationship with immigrants from North America and Western European countries and express the greatest average distance towards asylum seekers. They associate the greatest social closeness with Catholics. The analyses of the effects of sociodemographic characteristics, contextual indicators, and value orientations and attitudes on social distance imply that nationalism has the strongest effect on all groups.

Keywords: migrants, religious groups, social distance, law students, Croatia.

Študenti prava in socialna distanca do migrantov in nekaterih drugih skupin na Hrvaškem

Povečan obseg migracij in vpliv evropske migracijske/begunske krize v obdobju 2015–2016 se odražata v spremembah odnosa do migrantov in pripadnikov nekaterih verskih skupin. Zaskrbljenost vzbujajo predvsem študenti prava, ki se bodo z migracijami srečevali pri svojem delu. V prispevku so predstavljeni rezultati raziskave, izvedene leta 2019 med študenti 1. in 4. letnika prava na štirih pravnih fakultetah na Hrvaškem. Namen raziskave je ugotoviti, kako tesen odnos (po Bogardusovi lestvici socialne distance) bi študenti prava vzpostavili s posameznimi vrstami migrantov, Romi in pripadniki različnih verskih skupin. Rezultati kažejo, da bi študenti najtesnejši odnos vzpostavili s priseljenci iz Severne Amerike in zahodnoevropskih držav, največjo povprečno distanco pa izražajo do prosilcev za azil. Največjo socialno bližino izkazujejo do katoličanov. Analize vpliva družbeno-demografskih značilnosti, kontekstualnih kazalnikov ter vrednostnih usmeritev in stališč na socialno distanco nakazujejo, da ima pri vseh skupinah najmočnejši vpliv nacionalizem.

Ključne besede: *migranti, verske skupine, socialna distanca, študenti prava, Hrvaška.*

Correspondence address: Margareta Gregurović, Institut za migracije i narodnosti, Trg Stjepana Radića 3, HR-10000 Zagreb, e-mail: margareta.gregurovic@imin.hr; Marko Mrakovčić, Sveučilište u Rijeci, Pravni fakultet, Hahlić 6, HR-51000 Rijeka, e-mail: marko.mrakovcic@uniri.hr.

1. Introduction

In recent years, two situations have led to two concepts grounded in sociology becoming ubiquitous elements of political and public discourse and debate throughout Europe.

The first one relates to the issue of migration, which became an unavoidable topic in the EU and many of its member states during and after the migration/refugee crisis. The latter is a geopolitical term frequently used by the media and the political and general public to describe the arrival of large numbers of refugees to the EU in 2015 and 2016 (Rogelj 2017). According to Eurostat (2022), the number of immigrants who applied for asylum in the EU for the first time in 2015 (1,216,860) and 2016 (1,166,815) more than doubled compared to the pre-crisis period in 2014 (530,560). This influx of migrants posed major challenges to the Union's common asylum policy and pointed to the need for its reform. Accordingly, the European Commission presented the first package of proposals for the reform of the common asylum system in May 2016 and the second one in July, both aimed at a better and fairer distribution of applications among member states (Bježančević 2019). However, these ideas and the Brussels policy were not endorsed by all political options in all member states. Rather, citing the climate of the Brexit referendum, the migration/refugee crisis issue revealed the weaknesses of the European project and became a fertile ground for the Eurosceptics and the sovereigntists. By rejecting the EU's proposed migrant quotas, they sought to change the European political scene (cf. Petrović et al. 2021; Lončar 2020). The Visegrad Group (Czechia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia) – which calls itself the "protectors of Europe from foreign invaders" – opposed Germany's policy of "welcoming" migrants and the "Brussels" reform of the common asylum system (Strnad 2022, 73). By placing the migration issue at the centre of the EU political arena, a sharp cleavage emerged in public and political discourse between the Visegrad vision of a nationalist Europe and the Brussels vision of an open, multicultural, and cosmopolitan Europe. The politicization of the migration issue crystallized anti-migrant attitudes and fuelled cultural insecurities among some people. This allowed the Visegrad Group to counter the Brussels idea of greater European integration with its notion of defending national sovereignty (Strnad 2022, 73).

Regarding Croatia's experience with the migration/refugee crisis, it should be noted that an estimated 650,000 migrants transited through Croatia on what is known as the Balkan route during the aforementioned period, but only a small number of migrants applied for asylum in Croatia.[1] Moreover, it is important to emphasize that in the mentioned period, Croatian citizens were confronted for the first time with the phenomenon of mass migration of people from a significantly different socio-cultural background. Although the influx of migrants started at the time of the highly polarized 2015 parliamentary election campaign

dominated by ideological issues and significant polarization between the left and the right, the issue of migration did not significantly influence the dominant political discourse of this election campaign (Henjak 2018). Moreover, state actors and the media portrayed migrants as having similar experiences to Croatian citizens during the Homeland War in the 1990s and therefore sympathized therewith while also assuring that the ultimate goal of migrants was to reach the developed countries of Western Europe and not to stay in Croatia (Henjak 2018, 3–4). In the campaign for the 2016 early parliamentary election, the issue of the migration/refugee crisis had relatively little significance. However, considering the extent and duration of migrations on the Balkan route and the reactions of some politicians and political options thereto, it appeared that this situation and the reactions to it negatively affected citizens' attitudes both in the mentioned period and in the following years (Henjak 2018; Vuksan-Ćusa 2018; Ajduković et al. 2019).

The second situation relates to the use of the term "social distance" in the context of discussions on the containment of the COVID-19 pandemic. Although the term has become more popular than ever, in most public discussions it is used diametrically opposite to its use in sociology and other social sciences. In their media appearances, numerous actors used this term when referring to the maintenance of physical distance between people in everyday face-to-face social interactions. Experts, media commentators and policymakers incorrectly used the term social distance instead of simple and precise terms such as "physical distance" or "separation" when discussing the measures needed to contain the spread of infections (Rukavina 2020). Another problem related to the use of the aforementioned term in the general public and the professional community is that the concept of distance is sometimes equated with the concept of closeness. This is in contrast to Simmel's original conceptualization (as well as Bogardus' operationalization of the concept, 1925b; 1933) of the term in the context of reflection on the nature of social relations because he believed that "the unity of nearness and remoteness" i.e., closeness and distance, is integral to any relationship between people (Simmel 2001, 152). Another problem is the *ad hoc* revisions (changes or additions) of the categories, either of the original or the revised versions of Bogardus' social distance scale. Numerous studies conducted in Croatia in an attempt to revise the categories of this scale usually did so by changing or adding individual categories without providing an explanation of the methodology used for this purpose (Ivković 2010). Finally, the problem with Bogardus' social distance scale is that its applicability under contemporary social conditions differs from the time when Bogardus constructed the instrument, as does its precision and sensitivity as a measurement tool in general (Parrillo & Donoghue 2005; Mather et al. 2017), or temporality (Tusini 2022).

Considering the above challenges and the first results of the research study presented herein, focusing on different aspects of attitudes of law students to-

wards Middle East migrants (see Mrakovčić & Gregurović 2020), the paper aims to investigate the level of social distance expressed by law students towards different groups of immigrants to Croatia, both in terms of the geographical and socio-cultural background of immigrants and in terms of their religious affiliation, as well as the level of social distance towards asylum seekers and asylees/refugees in general and towards Roma – a social group towards which the greatest distance is usually expressed. We also wanted to investigate whether members of certain groups are perceived as potentially desirable and potentially undesirable immigrants in our country, and how good a predictor of social distance towards these immigrant groups are the different value orientations, attitudes and socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. The reason for choosing law students is related to the fact that they, as future experts, are more likely to come into contact with the analysed groups and to ensure the implementation of specific rights that different types of migrants have in Croatia. Therefore, it is important to determine whether they perceive the issue of migration and migrants' rights primarily through the prism of national and international legal norms or whether they experience these phenomena in the same way as legal laymen. Finally, the paper also aims to present the initial ideas and assumptions of the authors responsible for the development and operationalization of the concept of social distance to stimulate a professional discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of using this concept/scale in the research of social phenomena.

2. Theoretical-Conceptual Framework

Unlike many concepts used in sociology that are "children of many parents", the concept of social distance has a very clear origin. It comes from the "fertile mind of Georg Simmel", while its original meaning was partially reduced but also popularized by the work of Robert E. Park and finally operationalized in the work of Emory S. Bogardus (Ethington 1997, 2). Simmel argues that social distance (i.e., closeness/remoteness) is one of the fundamental properties of space, which in turn is one of the fundamental aspects of sociality in general (Ivković 2010). In his discussions, he distinguishes between the geometrical and metaphorical aspects of distance (Rukavina 2020, 1). Simmel's remarks (2001) on the "geometry of social life", on the differences and connections between the spatial and symbolic distance between people, can be better understood through the example of the "stranger-merchant". This social actor is a synthesis of the two aforementioned features of sociality: he is at once geometrically close to the group with which he trades through exchange interactions, but at the same time he is symbolically distanced from it because he is experienced as a stranger and outsider (Ethington 1997, 3–4). Simmel (2001, 152) believes that the sociological form of the "stranger" makes it clear that "spatial relations are only the condition, on the one hand, and the symbol, on the other, of human relations." The "unity

of nearness and remoteness involved in every human relation" is thus specific to the social relationship with the stranger-merchant and can be expressed as follows: "in the relationship to him, distance means that he, who is close by, is far, and strangeness means that he, who also is far, is actually near" (Simmel 2001, 152). Nevertheless, it is immanent to the stranger's position within that group and the social order in which that group exists and operates that he is perceived and in certain cases treated as someone who is "being outside it and confronting" that group and that order (Simmel 2001, 152).

Park (1924, 339) considers that the concept of social distance, as distinct from spatial distance, can be useful to sociologists because it enables them to analyse and explain the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy that characterize personal, as well as social, relations in general. He believes that people not only have a sense of distance towards the individuals with whom they come into contact but that they have almost the same sense towards entire classes and racial groups. In his view, the terms "race consciousness" and "class consciousness" actually describe a state of mind in which people become aware of the distance that separates them (or at least that they perceive as separating them) from other classes and races that they do not fully understand (or that they regard as different from their own) (Park 1924, 340). Racial and class consciousness, Park argues, as well as prejudice and social distance towards those considered different and other, intensify when members of a group feel that members of other groups threaten their economic interests or social status. Consequently, prejudice can be understood as "forces" that tend to "preserve the existing social order" and the desirable "social distances upon which that order rests" (Park 1924, 344). If the members of different social groups are "all right in [their] place" and maintain a "proper distance" from each other, then "everyone is capable of getting on with everyone else" (Park 1924, 341). The analysis of the perceived appropriate distance between different actors in a social order is useful for the study of social relations because it reveals the "subtle taboos and inhibitions" on which the social organization of that order is based (Park 1924, 344).

Bogardus (1925a, 216–217), in his attempt to find out how and why the "grades of understanding and intimacy" that characterize pre-social and social relations, i.e., social distance, vary, asked the research participants to classify different groups according to whether they harboured friendly, neutral feelings towards them or feelings of antipathy and dislike. He found that friendly feelings were most often directed towards groups to which the participants themselves belonged, that neutral feelings were directed towards groups they did not know, and that tradition and accepted opinions about particular groups were the most common reason for antipathy and dislike towards them, with personal negative experiences with members of those groups being another reason generalizing such feelings to the entire "despised" groups (Bogardus 1925a, 226). Further on, the operationalization of the social distance concept yielded a measurement that

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serves as a means of ensuring adequate interpretation of the various degrees and grades of understanding and feelings that represent the character of social relations between members of different groups in different social situations (Bogardus 1925b, 299). This evolved to the final version of the social distance scale (Bogardus 1933, 369) which included seven categories for assessing the closeness/distance to different groups (racial, professional, and religious) and measured whether the respondents would agree to 1. marry, 2. have as regular friends, 3. work beside in an office, 4. have several families in their neighbourhood, 5. have merely as speaking acquaintances, 6. have live outside their neighbourhood, 7. have live outside their country. He believed that by using the social distance scale at different time intervals, it would be possible to determine changes in the attitudes (distance) of an individual respondent or group of respondents towards different social groups (Bogardus 1933, 270).

Ever since its operationalization, the concept of social distance has become a frequently used tool for analysing attitudes, prejudices, and possible/desirable relationships with various social groups, especially those perceived as deviating from the dominant socio-cultural matrix or threatening the social order. The concept has proven useful for at least two reasons. First, as Pehlić (2019) points out, according to the social identity theory (Triandis 1994; Tajfel & Turner 1979), people generally tend to classify themselves and other people into different categories. As part of this process and as a result of their own need to create and maintain a positive social identity, people are often simultaneously positively biased towards the group they consider their own and negatively biased towards groups they consider different. Second, the above bias has been shown to be strengthened in situations of conflict exacerbation. In such situations, individuals tend to identify more strongly with their social group and adhere more closely to its norms and standards, while expressing more negative attitudes and behaviours towards the social group or groups they consider to be on the opposite side (Pehlić 2019).

In Croatia, the concept of social distance has been most frequently used to analyse closeness or distance to different national/ethnic groups (Katunarić 1991; Malešević & Uzelac 1997; Malenica 2003; Banovac & Boneta 2006; Boneta et al. 2013). Sometimes the concept has been used to analyse distance towards different religious groups (Previšić et al. 2004; Mrnjaus 2013), sometimes only towards Roma (Šlezak & Šakaja 2012; Kalebić Maglica et al. 2018), and sometimes against groups characterized as different from the dominant social matrix for some reason (i.e., drug addicts, alcoholics or criminals, people with health, physical or mental limitations etc.) (Lotar et al. 2010; Vučković Juroš et al. 2014; Baloban et al. 2019). Finally, the concept has also been used, albeit very rarely, for the analysis of the attitude towards refugees and exiles in the context of migrations related to the wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bulat 1995; Čolić & Sujoldžić 1995) and towards migrants, refugees, and asylum seek-

ers in the context of the European 2015/2016 migration/refugee crisis (Medlobi & Čepo 2018; Ajduković et al. 2019).

Although the social distance scale has so far not been widely used in the context of research on the (un)desirability of different groups as potential immigrants to Croatia, the results of the aforementioned research on ethnic and religious distance have produced multiple findings that can be used to conceptualize and operationalize research on the aforementioned topic.

First, research studies have found that people exhibit varying levels of distance towards members of various other social groups and that prejudice and this distance can be affected by the social context (situational factors and prevailing social and (sub)cultural norms) (cf. Vučković Juroš et al. 2014) or can change parallel with the changing social circumstances and over time (cf. Šiber 1997; Malenica 2003; Previšić et al. 2004; Baloban et al. 2019). Further on, studies have shown that influential social actors (especially the political elites) and the media can affect the degree of social distancing towards members of certain social groups by shaping discourses in which members of those groups are portrayed in a negative light (cf. Katunarić 1991; Malešević & Uzelac 1997; Medlobi & Čepo 2018). Finally, they have found that the degree of distancing from groups perceived as other may be related to various socio-demographic and socio-cultural characteristics of people, their contacts and experiences with members of these groups, and the values, political orientations, and attitudes they support or hold (cf. Bulat 1995; Šiber 1997; Malenica 2003; Banovac & Boneta 2006; Vučković Juroš et al. 2014; Medlobi & Čepo 2018; Baloban et al. 2019).

3. Main Aim and Research Questions

Following the above theoretical-conceptual framework and the results and conclusions of the cited empirical research studies, the main aim of this research is to determine the level of social distance expressed by students of law faculties of Zagreb, Rijeka, Osijek, and Split towards various national/ethnic and religious groups of immigrants to Croatia, and how the distance towards these groups is related to the socio-demographic, contextual-experiential, and value-attitudinal characteristics of respondents. The research questions with which we begin our analyses are:

1) Do law students perceive different ethnic and religious groups as more or less (un)desirable in the context of their immigration to Croatia, and do they position (distance) themselves differently from them?

2) Are and to what extent are different socio-demographic, contextual-experiential (e.g., acquaintances with migrants and/or asylum seekers) and value-attitudinal characteristics of the respondents good predictors of their social distance from different ethnic and religious groups?

4. Method

4.1 Respondents

The paper is based on a research study conducted in mid-2019 among law students at four law schools in Croatia: Zagreb, Rijeka, Split, and Osijek.[2] This group of respondents was selected because law students, as future experts, may come into contact with asylum seekers, refugees, and other migrants in their work, and it is important to determine their attitudes towards vulnerable migrant groups (cf. Mrakovčić & Gregurović 2020). The survey was conducted in a class setting among 1st and 4th year students. The aim was to include between 100 and 150 students from each selected cohort in each faculty to allow comparisons between younger and older students and between different faculties. A sample of 667 respondents was obtained, whose detailed characteristics are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Sample structure

Variable	Categories	N	%
Location of the Law Faculty	Zagreb	265	39.4
	Rijeka	193	28.7
	Split	119	17.7
	Osijek	95	14.1
Year of study	1	352	52.4
	4	320	47.6
Gender	Female	494	73.5
	Male	173	25.7

Source: Own data.

The largest proportion of students comes from Zagreb (almost 40 %). Slightly more than a quarter comes from Rijeka, 18 % from Split and 14 % from Osijek. The sample is balanced in terms of the year of study – slightly more than a half (52 %) are first-year students. The gender distribution is clearly skewed in favour of female students, who make up almost three quarters of the sample. In addition to the above characteristics, it is important to note that almost half of the respondents (48.7 %) estimate their family's financial situation to be neither better nor worse than that of the majority, but on average they estimate their family's financial situation to be slightly better than that of the majority (M = 3.54, SD = .692). The sample is markedly ethnically homogeneous (93 % Croats) while 5 % of respondents did not answer this question.

4.2 Measuring Instruments

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The dependent variable used in the study was Bogardus' social distance scale (Bogardus 1933), which was modified and evaluated for several immigrant groups. Students were asked to rate the closest relationship they are willing to have with different migrant groups and with members of selected ethnic and religious groups using a seven-point scale: 1 – Marital relationship; 2 – Personal friend; 3 – Immediate neighbour; 4 – Colleague at work; 5 – Resident in my country; 6 – Visitor to my country; 7 – To exclude from my country. Migrants towards whom social distance was assessed were grouped according to their historical and geographical background, while relations with asylum seekers, asylees/refugees, and Roma were additionally analysed. Members of the Roma ethnic group are included in this instrument to further investigate the hypothesis that refugees and asylum seekers represent the new Roma, i.e., a group with which there is (the greatest) social distance (Miočić 2018, cf. CMS 2017). Another ethnically unspecified group was added to the questionnaire due to the often-mainstream perception of economic immigrants as foreign workers in Croatia (cf. Čačić-Kumpes et al. 2012). The result on the scale was considered summative, meaning that the marked closest relationship also implies all less close relationships.

The independent variables are divided into three groups. The first group consists of socio-demographic characteristics: gender, size of place of residence, highest parents' education level, family socio-economic status, and nationality. The place of residence was determined by the students on the following scale: 1 – Village, 2 – Small town (10,000 to 35,000 inhabitants), 3 – Large town (over 35,000 inhabitants), 4 – Zagreb. The socio-economic status of the family was determined using 5 categories from 1 – significantly worse than the majority to 5 – significantly better than the majority. The nationality of the respondents was divided into two categories: 1 – Croatian, 2 – other. The second group consists of contextual variables related to experiences with migrants and asylum seekers/refugees and personal/family exile or refugee experience. Students were asked if they had friends in the Republic of Croatia who were non-Croatian citizens or foreigners, if they had ever met a refugee or an asylum seeker, and if they or someone in their immediate family had an exile or refugee experience in their lives. The third group of independent indicators refers to value orientations and attitudes based on several sociological studies. Propensity to political concepts was examined using 15 out of 24 items of the original scale constructed by Čulig et al. (2007). The latent structure of the analysed items is almost identical to the original: in addition to the extracted items on the original factors clericalism (3 items, Cronbach's α = .892), expertocratism (3 items, Cronbach's α = .729), and Europeanism (3 items, Cronbach's α = .582), items that originally formed two conceptually opposed factors (nationalism and multiculturalism) were com-

bined into a single factor nationalism (6 items, Cronbach's α = .812). In addition to the political concepts analysed, students were also asked about their values using the authoritarianism (5 items, Cronbach's α = .740) and conservatism (3 items, Cronbach's α = .512) scales (Sekulić & Šporer 2006). Higher scores on all factors indicate a stronger acceptance of the attitudinal constructs analysed. In addition to the stated attitudes, the respondents' political orientation was examined on a five-point scale: 1 – left to 5 – right, and religious self-identification on a six-point scale: 1 – convinced believer to 6 – non-religious, opposing religion (Marinović Jerolimov 2005).

4.3 Analyses

The paper uses a series of univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses conducted using the SPSS 18.0 software package. Univariate analyses first describe dependent variables, which are then related to selected independent indicators. In addition, the latent structure of the dependent variables is checked using factor analysis, and the identified factors are considered as dependent constructs – criteria in multiple regression analysis. The relationship between each dependent construct is tested with paired samples t-test.

5. Results

As indicated earlier, the evaluation of social distance towards a particular group can serve as an indicator of prejudice, hostility, and even discrimination towards that group. Looking at the types of relationships that law students are willing to form with certain immigrant groups and with members of the Roma ethnic group, it appears that they are ready for the closest (friendly) relationship with immigrants from North America – more specifically from the United States and Canada – and from Western European countries (Figure 1). They are somewhat less favourable on average to immigrants from the countries of the former Yugoslavia and are as willing to have neighbourly relations with them as they are about immigrants from Asian countries such as China, Korea, etc., Africa, and unspecified foreign workers. It is worth noting that most of the immigrant workers and migrants, in general, come to Croatia from neighbouring countries (i.e., ex-Yugoslavia countries), especially from Bosnia and Herzegovina (Podgorelec et al. 2019). On average, they are willing to accept members of all other groups as work colleagues, with the greatest average distance expressed towards asylum seekers. They estimate an equally close relationship with refugees and Roma.

The distance that law students estimate in relation to members of different religions is fairly consistent. Apart from the lowest average distance towards Catholics with whom they are on average willing to maintain the closest rela-

tions (marriage), respondents are on average willing to maintain friendly relations with Orthodox, Protestants, and atheists or neighbourly relations with Jews, non-Christians, and Muslims.

Figure 1: Frequency distribution on the social distance scale towards migrant, ethnic, and religious groups
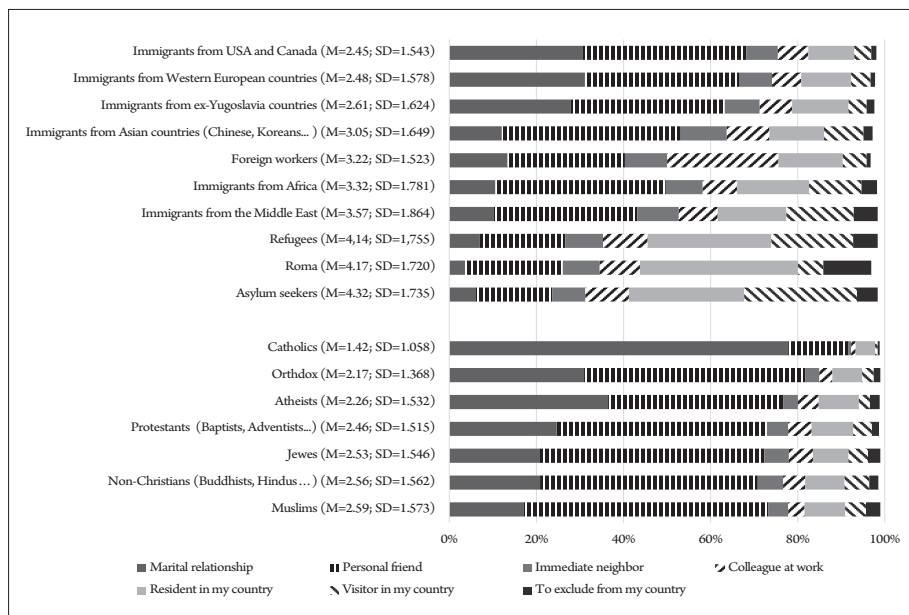
Source: Own data.

Factor analysis was used to test whether there is a latent structure behind the expressed distance towards migrant, ethnic and religious groups.[3] It was determined that migrant and ethnic groups form two latent dimensions, i.e., two factors that together explain 80.95 % of the variance. The first dimension comprises groups towards which a greater social distance is expressed (asylees, asylum seekers, Roma, immigrants from the Middle East, and immigrants from Africa), while the second dimension comprises groups towards which a lower social distance is expressed (immigrants from the United States and Canada, immigrants from Western European countries, immigrants from the countries of the former Yugoslavia, and immigrants from Asian countries). Foreign workers are excluded from this analysis. Both factors have high internal reliability (Cronbach's α1 = .920; Cronbach's α2 = .928) and are used as dependent indicators of desirable and undesirable immigrant groups in further analyses. Factorization of social distance towards members of other religions yielded a single-factor solution with high internal reliability (Cronbach's α = .947). This factor did not include the item used to measure social distance toward Catholics.

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The values of the composite variables created based on the factors obtained show that the lowest social distance is expressed towards members of other religions, with the largest grouping of responses to the first two categories of social distance: marital relationship and friendship (Figure 2). The values of the two composite variables based on the factors of social distance to more or less desirable immigrant groups are also consistent with the previously analysed frequencies of each variable. Comparing all three composite variables, law students associate marriage primarily with desirable immigrants, and friendship with members of other religions. They are most likely to accept undesirable migrants as residents of their country, although about one fifth of respondents are open to friendly and cooperative relationships. Similar conclusions also emerge from the statistically significant differences between means of the composite variables: the lowest average distance is expressed towards religious groups – on average at the friends level, and the greatest towards the undesirables – at the level of associates at work.[4] It is important to note that the most exclusive category of social distance is chosen by an extremely small number of law students: about 3 % of them would like to exclude undesirable migrant groups from Croatia, and less than 1 % would exclude desirable migrants and members of other religions.

Figure 2: Distribution of the composite variables of social distance towards migrant, ethnic, and religious groups based on factor analysis
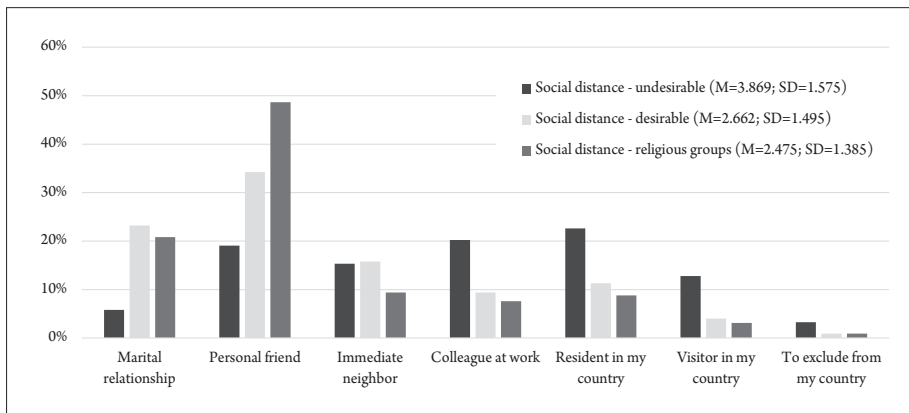
Source: Own data.

Furthermore, an analysis of variance was conducted to check the differences in the evaluation of social distance towards migrant, ethnic, and religious groups among students from different universities (Table 2). Statistically significant differences between law students from four Croatian universities were found for all three composite variables of social distance, with law students from the universities of Zagreb and Rijeka showing on average a lower social distance towards

all analysed groups than law students from Osijek and Split. At the same time, students from Zagreb and Rijeka are on average willing to establish a coopera- tive relationship with undesirable migrants (students from Osijek and Split on average accept them as residents of their country), a friendly and neighbourly re- lationship with desirable migrants (students from Osijek and Split are willing to establish a neighbourly and collaborative relationship), and a friendly relation- ship with members of other religions (students from Osijek and Split are willing to establish a neighbourly relationship).

Table 2: Average differences in the expressed social distance towards migrant, ethnic, and religious groups between law students from four universities

		N	M	SD	F (p) post hoc[*]
Social distance – undesirable	Zagreb	264	3.602	1.494	20.867 (.000) ZG≠ST, OS RI≠ST, OS
	Rijeka	192	3.500	1.548	
	Split	116	4.491	1.607	
	Osijek	94	4.617	1.329	
Social distance – desirable	Zagreb	264	2.288	1.236	32.822 (.000) ZG≠ST, OS RI≠ST, OS
	Rijeka	191	2.319	1.352	
	Split	115	3.409	1.632	
	Osijek	94	3.521	1.605	
Social distance – religious groups	Zagreb	264	2.303	1.176	20.063 (.000) ZG≠ST, OS RI≠ST, OS
	Rijeka	193	2.109	1.152	
	Split	116	2.836	1.609	
	Osijek	94	3.255	1.646	

Source: Own data.
[*] Tamhane T2 post hoc test was applied due to the determined inhomogeneity of the variables

Finally, hierarchical multiple regression was used to test the effect of the three models on the expression of social distance towards migrant, ethnic, and reli- gious groups (Table 3). The first predictor model includes the respondents' socio-demographic characteristics: gender, size of the place of residence, fam- ily socio-economic status, highest parents' education level, and nationality. The second consists of contextual indicators that point to personal and/or family exile or refugee experience and familiarity with foreigners and refugees/asylum seekers. The third predictor model introduces value orientations and political attitudes, describing the propensity towards nationalism, clericalism, experto- cratism, and Europeanism as political constructs, authoritarianism and conser- vatism as value constructs, with respondents' political orientation and religious self-identification additionally included.

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Table 3: Hierarchical regression analysis of the assessment of the effects on social distance towards migrant, ethnic, and religious groups

	Social distance towards undesirables			Social distance towards desirables			Social distance towards members of other religions		
	Model 1 (β)	Model 2 (β)	Model 3 (β)	Model 1 (β)	Model 2 (β)	Model 3 (β)	Model 1 (β)	Model 2 (β)	Model 3 (β)
Gender	-.010	-.014	-.022	-.016	-.016	-.010	-.049	-.048	-.040
Size of the place of residence	**-.099***	-.089	-.034	-.085	-.082	-.077	**-.108***	**-.105***	-.078
Highest level of parents' education	-.006	-.003	-.022	-.042	-.040	-.041	-.059	-.056	-.067
Family socio-economic status	.058	.062	.041	-.028	-.025	-.042	-.020	-.017	-.034
Nationality (1 – Croats; 2 – other)	**-.115***	**-.118***	**-.088***	-.032	-.029	-.020	**-.091***	-.086	-.072
Personal/family exile/ refugee experience (1 – yes)		.013	-.01		.040	.023		.056	.033
Friends – foreigners in Croatia (1 – yes)		-.031	.024		-.073	-.051		-.084	-.036
Met an asylum seeker or refugee (1 – yes)		**-.119***	-.052		-.038	-.006		-.034	.030
Attitude towards religion (convinced believer → opponent of religion)			-.073			-.049			-.047
Political orientation (left → right)			**.113***			.015			.017
Nationalism			**.362****			**.107***			**.302****
Clericalism			.010			.111			**.184****
Expertocratism			-.012			-.060			-.027
Europeanism			-.028			.046			**.104****
Authoritarianism			**.119****			.014			.041
Conservativism			**.165****			.081			**.204****
	R^2=.025 F=2.383 p=.038	R^2=.041 F=2.462 p=.013	R^2=.335 F=14.302 p=.000	R^2=.015 F=1.442 p=.208	R^2=.024 F=1.427 p=.183	R^2=.084 F=2.616 p=.001	R^2=.033 F=3.315 p=.006	R^2=.045 F=2.802 p=.005	R^2=.307 F=13.054 p=.000

* p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p<.001
Source: Own data.

The results in Table 3 show that the analysed models interpret social distance towards undesirable migrant groups and members of other religions almost the same, while they interpret social distance towards desirable migrant groups as somewhat weaker. Place of residence and nationality were found to be the only statistically significant predictors in the first model, explaining between 2.5 % and 3.3 % of the variance of the dependent variables. Croats, compared to

members of other ethnic groups and residents of less urban areas, were found to
have greater social distance towards undesirable migrant groups and members of
other religions. Nationality remained a significant predictor of social distance to-
wards less desirable migrants in models 2 and 3. Most of the contextual variables
proved not to be statistically significant. Only personal contact with refugees/
asylum seekers proved to be statistically positive in assessing social distance to-
wards the undesirables, the group that includes these two types of migrants. In
other words, students who had the opportunity to meet a refugee or an asylum
seeker showed lower social distance towards the group of migrants defined as less
desirable. Finally, when respondents' values and political orientations are included,
the effect of the third model increases to a prominent 33.5 % of the variance
of social distance towards undesirables and 30.7 % of social distance towards
members of other religions. This model is the only significant model in predict-
ing social distance towards desirables, accounting for 8.4 % of the variance. Na-
tionalism has the strongest effect on all three dependent variables. Those who en-
dorse this construct to a greater degree, i.e., those who are more inclined towards
national exclusivity, national homogeneity, and lack of openness towards cultural
differences, show greater social distance towards all three groups. In addition,
a tendency towards conservatism is significantly associated with greater social
distance towards the undesirables and members of other religions. Greater dis-
tance towards the undesirables is also expressed by law students who are more
right-oriented politically and those who are more inclined towards authoritarian
values. At the same time, in the third model, no significant positive effect of con-
textual contact with refugees or asylum seekers can be attributed to this depen-
dent variable anymore. On the other hand, students who are more inclined to
clericalism, but also Europeanism, show greater social distance towards members
of other religions, i.e., students who attach greater political importance to the
Catholic Church and students who advocate European unity show greater social
distance towards members of other religions.

6. Discussion

In general, law students have been found willing to establish varying levels of
distance towards members of different ethnic groups and towards undefined for-
eign workers, refugees, and asylum seekers. On average, they are willing to main-
tain the closest relationships with immigrants from North America and Western
European countries, followed by immigrants from the countries of the former
Yugoslavia. The aforementioned groups are followed by immigrants from Asian
countries and Africa, and foreign workers in general. Finally, on average, students
show the greatest distance towards immigrants from the Middle East, refugees
and asylum seekers, and Roma. Factor analysis confirmed that, in terms of so-
cial distance, students perceive some groups as somewhat more desirable im-

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migrants to Croatia (immigrants from the U.S. and Canada, Western European countries, countries of the former Yugoslavia, and Asian countries) and other as somewhat more undesirable (immigrants from the Middle East and Africa, refugees and asylum seekers, and Roma). The inclusion of Roma in the same group as asylum seekers and the fairly even expression of social distance towards asylum seekers and Roma suggests that the thesis of asylum seekers as the new Roma is justified even among law students in Croatia, according to which asylum seekers become the group towards which the greatest distance is expressed – a place previously occupied by the Roma ethnic group (cf. CMS 2017).

Since ethnic prejudice, including prejudice against immigrants, is usually linked to the perceived threat that a foreign group may pose to the host society and its residents (Vučković Juroš et al. 2014), it is reasonable to assume that our respondents perceive some groups as a more serious threat and others as a less serious threat, either to the existing social order or to their interests and identities. Thus, whether it is the fear of losing their social, economic, or political power with the arrival of some immigrants (cf. Berg 2009; Rustenbach 2010) or the fact that some groups, in addition to the aforementioned threats, also pose a symbolic threat that may threaten their cultural and social identities (cf. Pereira et al. 2009), it is evident that our respondents show lower social distance towards potential immigrants from the West and neighbouring countries than towards those coming from the Middle East and Africa, for example, or towards refugees and asylum seekers in general. Although the relationship between social distance towards different migrant groups and the perception of these groups as a real and/or symbolic threat in Croatia needs to be further investigated, the results of some studies support the thesis that prejudice towards immigrants is related to the perception of these groups as a potential threat to the host country (especially to the ethnic majority) and the perception of the justification/legitimacy of one's own (im)migration.

For example, the results of research by Mrakovčić and Gregurović (2020) on the law students' attitudes towards Middle East migrants and asylum seekers in Croatia show that students who perceive asylum seekers as a threat to Croatia's culture, identity, economy, and security or as disguised economic migrants in search of a better life, rather than as genuine refugees, tend to have more negative attitudes towards Middle East migrants and the possibility of their residence in Croatia. Similarly, Gregurović et al. (2019) showed that residents of the Zagreb city quarter where the shelter for asylum seekers is located express, compared to residents of the control city quarter, a greater social distance towards asylum seekers and perceive them as a health and economic threat rather than seeing them as genuine refugees. Medlobi and Čepo (2018) found in their research that respondents with stronger national pride were more likely to express a sense of threat from the arrival of refugees and that the respondents' basic personal willingness (at the attitudinal level) to help people who have come through/to

Croatia as part of the migration/refugee crisis depends on whether they perceive these people as refugees, asylum seekers, or migrants. Greater willingness was expressed if they were perceived as refugees and less if they were perceived as migrants in general. Although this needs further investigation, it suggests that people are more likely to distance themselves from those groups of migrants that they perceive as posing a realistic and/or symbolic threat and as economic opportunists, rather than as refugees fleeing from war-torn areas (cf. Ajduković et al. 2019; Verkuyten et al. 2018).

Further on, the level of social distance towards the analysed migrant and religious groups differs considerably between students from the four largest Croatian universities. Law students from Zagreb and Rijeka show, on average, lower levels of social distance towards all groups studied than those from Osijek and Split. For example, while the former are on average willing to establish a cooperative relationship with undesirable migrants, the latter are willing to accept them only as residents of their country. Students from Zagreb and Rijeka are also ready for friendly relations with desirable migrants and other religious groups, while students from Osijek and Split are ready to establish a neighbourly and collaborative relationship with them. Although their results are not directly comparable to ours, some studies have also pointed out the importance of analysing regional differences in social distance towards other ethnic groups and asylum seekers in Croatia (cf. Bullat 1995; Banovac & Boneta 2006; Malenica 2003; Ajduković et al. 2019), indicating more positive attitudes towards different ethnic groups and asylum seekers in the contexts of Istria-Primorje and Central Croatia opposed to more negative attitudes in the contexts of Eastern Croatia and Dalmatia. The findings and conclusions of these research studies suggest that in order to adequately understand and explain social distance, as well as regional differences in this matter, it is necessary to examine the social and cultural characteristics from which meanings can be derived to interpret social reality and how influential actors and institutions use these meanings to shape and legitimize the desired social order and the desired social relations with different social groups.

Looking at the effects of respondents' socio-demographic characteristics, contextual indicators, value orientations and attitudes on social distance, it is clear that the effect differs significantly depending on which group it refers to.

Of the socio-demographic variables, only the respondents' size of the place of residence and nationality proved to be significant predictors of distance towards undesirable migrants and religious groups. Respondents belonging to the majority group (Croats) and respondents from less urban areas showed greater distance towards undesirable migrants and members of other religions than members of ethnic minorities and respondents from more urban areas. Of the contextual variables, only the experience of meeting a refugee or asylum seeker proved to be a significant predictor of distance, but only in the case of undesirable migrants. In addition, it seems interesting to point out that socio-

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demographic and contextual variables do not have predictive power for distance towards the desirable migrant groups. Finally, it is important to point out that the above socio-demographic and contextual characteristics are no longer significant predictors of distance towards undesirable (except for belonging to a majority or minority ethnic group) and religious groups when value and attitudinal constructs are included in the model. This certainly suggests that the problem of students' social distance towards others is, for the most part, actually some kind of worldview issue.

Many studies in Croatia (Banovac & Boneta 2006; Katunarić 1991; Malenica 2003; Medlobi & Čepo 2018) show that the tendency towards national exclusivism is usually associated with greater social distance towards others. The results of our study show that national exclusivism, which is in the background of (ethno)nationalism and anti-multiculturalism, is the only statistically significant predictor of distance towards undesirable and desirable migrants and religious groups. Although it does not have the same predictive power in all three cases, it is evident that those respondents who support the idea that the ideal state is one in which only one (ethno)nation lives and reject the idea that the state should help preserve the culture and customs of all ethnic groups exhibit a kind of universal lack of openness towards members of all groups perceived as other, regardless of the degree of situational threat they may feel from them at a given moment.

Moreover, conservatism proved to be a significant predictor of distance only in the case of undesirable migrants and religious groups. Since the effect is larger in the case of distance towards religious groups than towards undesirable migrants, we assume that this is more a matter of a certain ethnocentric suspiciousness towards diversity that rejects any significant change in the existing cultural and social order rather than a universal closeness towards all outsiders. This is supported, albeit indirectly, by Bulat's (1995) research findings showing that there is a correlation between the level of social distance towards different refugee groups and the perception of their socio-cultural difference from the host society. Considering that, according to the 2011 Croatian census (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2011), 86.28 % of the citizens identified themselves as Catholics and that Catholicism is often highlighted in public discourse as a fundamental component of Croatian national identity, there is a strong case for arguing that distance towards religious groups can be explained as part of the conservative suspiciousness towards diversity due to resistance to change in the existing national identity, while support of clericalism has been shown to be a significant predictor of distance only toward religious groups. Indeed, students who support the idea that society should be organized according to the principles and norms of the Catholic Church have shown to simultaneously express greater distance towards religious but not to other groups analysed.

Furthermore, it is somewhat surprising that respondents who support the idea of a Europe without borders and believe that European countries can pro-

tect their economic and political interests only in a united Europe also show greater distance towards other religious groups. Although we cannot determine with certainty why this is so, it is possible that law students view the affiliation with both Catholicism and the EU as a sign of belonging to the West rather than the East, and therefore those who are more religious support the idea of a united Europe. The above statement is partially confirmed by Petrović et al. (2021) who found that before the outbreak of the migration/refugee crisis in 2015, higher frequency of church attendance was a statistically significant, albeit weak, predictor in many CEE countries of the support for the idea that their country should follow EU decisions, even if one does not fully agree with them. In addition, the PEGIDA movement (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the Occident) bases its position on preserving borders and strengthening Fortress Europe on a religious foundation and is considered a defender of Western civilization and Christianity (Murariu 2017), which can also be linked to the results of this research.

Additionally, authoritarianism proved to be a statistically significant predictor of social distance towards undesirable migrants. The fact that more authoritarian respondents express greater distance only towards the group of undesirable immigrants suggests that the latter group, towards which the greatest social distance is expressed, is perceived as a significant realistic and/or symbolic threat. Namely, according to the assumption of the theory of authoritarian dynamics (Stenner 2005), the difference in intolerance between authoritarian and non-authoritarian individuals occur only in situations of normative threat. In such a situation, actors with authoritarian predispositions react with increased intolerance towards those they hold responsible for this threat.

It was also shown that the political orientation of respondents is related to the level of their distance only towards undesirable migrants. That is, it seems that the attitude towards this group has become an important political issue that distinguishes those who identify with the left from those who identify with the right. Those who are more politically oriented to the right tend to have a greater distance towards the aforementioned group, and those who are more oriented to the left tend to have a lower distance. It is important to look at this relation in terms of the relationship between political orientation and nationalism because it often turns out that those on the right tend to support authoritarian political actors and aggressive nationalism, which often implies that migrants are held responsible for various economic and social problems (Medlobi & Čepo 2018, 64). The fact that political orientation is only related to the distance to the mentioned group and not to the other analysed groups supports Šiber's (1997, 24–25) conclusion that when analysing social distance towards others, it is necessary to distinguish between "traditional/cultural" and "political" distance. The latter is important for understanding the dynamics of political attitudes towards others since their (non)acceptance in a society depends significantly on both

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personal political attitudes and orientations of its citizens and the messages sent out by influential social and political actors and the media. The interplay of the above factors has a significant effect on the expression of (in)tolerance towards others at the level of personal action as well as on the support to discriminatory policies directed towards them at the systemic level.

7. Conclusion

Law students as future experts who are likely to come into contact with different aspects of lawbreaking and provide for the rights of specific groups of migrants in Croatia (immigrant workers and asylum seekers and refugees alike) are willing to establish varying levels of distance toward members of migrant and religious groups. A striking result of the study is the greatest social distance expressed towards asylum seekers, the group which could be included among the most sensitive and vulnerable groups (along with Roma). Placing this result in the post-migration/refugee crisis period, one keeps wondering about the effects of this crisis on students' attitudes. Even though we do not have comparable data from the pre-crisis period, we can only presume that the larger proportion of migrants coming from significantly different cultural and religious settings (including asylum seekers and refugees) as well as negative media portrayals (emphasizing the threat posed by those groups) of the migration/refugee crisis led to a shift in attitudes and greater social distance expressed towards migrants described in this paper as undesirable.

We also find it worth pointing out that Bogardus' social distance scale is the basis for a discussion about its applicability in today's context (see, e.g., Mather et al. 2017; Parrillo & Donoghue 2005). This is also suggested by the results of this study, which showed relatively weak differences in the expressed distance towards individual groups – although they can still ultimately be defined as desirable or undesirable. It would therefore be advisable to initiate a scholarly discussion on how to improve the sensitivity of the scale because it is an open question whether the difference in mean values between desirable and undesirable (friends/neighbours for the former and colleagues at work for the latter) is substantively and realistically too small.

Finally, it should be noted that due to the limitations of this study in terms of the sample adequacy and specificity of the population analysed, the results of our research should be additionally confirmed in a new study, preferably on a representative sample of the entire student body or the general population. In future research, more attention should also be paid to the analysis and explanation of regional specificities and differences in social distance towards different migrant groups, and the effect of political and media discourse on the social distance of different social groups towards migrants should be further investigated.

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Notes

1. According to EUROSTAT (2022), the number of people applying for asylum for the first time in the Republic of Croatia increased from over 100 in 2015 (140) to over 2,000 in 2016 (2,150).

2. The approval of the Ethics Committee of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies was obtained to conduct the research (April 2019).

3. Two factor analyses were performed using the principal component analysis method, with varimax rotation and the G-K criterion for stopping factor extraction. The first was applied to items assessing social distance towards migrants and ethnic groups, and the second to items assessing distance to members of different religions. Conditions for implementation were met for both factor analyses: FA1) Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = .890; Bartlett's Test of Sphericity = 5747.661; FA2) Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = .907; Bartlett's Test of Sphericity = 3817.722. The saturations of each item on the factor are shown in Appendix 1.

4. The above results were obtained using the paired samples t-test, which tested the significance of the mean differences for all three pairs of social distance: 1) undesirable – desirable: t = 26.225; df = 663; p = .000, 2) undesirable – religious groups: t = 26,234; df = 664; p = .000, 3) desirable – religious groups: t = 3.810, df = 662, p = .000.

Appendix 1

Factor analysis of social distance towards members of migrant and ethnic groups

	Factor	
	1	**2**
3.2. Social distance: Refugees	**.888**	.283
3.1. Social. distance: Asylum seekers	**.887**	.229
3.4. Social distance: Roma	**.796**	.230
3.9. Social distance: Immigrants from the Middle East	**.710**	.526
3.10. Social distance: Immigrants from Africa	**.658**	.568
3.7. Social distance: Immigrants from the USA and Canada	.213	**.916**
3.6. Social distance: Immigrants from Western European countries	.258	**.911**
3.5. Social distance: Immigrants from ex-Yugoslavia countries	.332	**.818**
3.8. Social distance: Immigrants from Asian countries (Chinese, Koreans ...)	.528	**.719**

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis;
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization;
80.952 % of interpreted variance;
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = 0.890;
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity = 5747.661

Factor analysis of social distance towards members of religious groups

	Factor
	1
4.5. Social distance: Protestants (Baptists, Adventists ...)	**.929**
4.6. Social distance: non-Christians (Buddhists, Hindus ...)	**.913**
4.4. Social distance: Jews	**.901**
4.3. Social distance: Muslims	**.883**
4.2. Social distance: Orthodox	**.868**
4.7. Social distance: atheists	**.845**

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
79.239 % of interpreted variance
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = .907
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity = 3817.722

Lara Sorgo, Sonja Novak Lukanović, Nives Zudič Antonič

Pupils' and Parents' Opinions on Schools with Italian as the Language of Instruction

The model of education in the ethnically mixed area of Slovene Istria is designed to ensure schooling for members of the Italian national community and their children in their own language, i.e., Italian. Although also attended by pupils of other nationalities, primary schools with Italian as the language of instruction are key for the preservation of Italian culture and language. The authors present selected research findings that shed light on the opinions of pupils and their parents on whether schools with Italian as the language of instruction develop pupils' communicative competence in both Italian and Slovene, and whether the existing model of education creates conditions that promote the pupils' awareness of the linguistic and cultural diversity of their environment. The results of the research reveal that the majority of the respondents consider competence in several languages an added value and that the model of education is adequate and good.

Keywords: primary schools with Italian as the language of instruction, linguistic competence, Slovene Istria, pupils' and parents' opinions.

Mnenja učencev in njihovih staršev o šolah z italijanskim učnim jezikom

Izobraževalni model na narodnostno mešanem območju slovenske Istre je zasnovan tako, da pripadnikom italijanske narodne skupnosti omogoča šolanje v svojem jeziku, torej v italijanščini. Osnovne šole z italijanskim jezikom imajo ključno nalogo pri ohranjanju italijanske kulture in jezika, čeprav jih obiskujejo tudi učenci drugih narodnosti. V prispevku avtorice predstavljajo izbrane izsledke raziskave, ki osvetljujejo mnenja učencev in njihovih staršev o tem, ali šola z italijanskim učnim jezikom razvija sporazumevalne zmožnosti učencev tako v italijanskem kot v slovenskem jeziku in ali obstoječi model izobraževanja ustvarja pogoje, ki vplivajo na oblikovanje zavesti učencev o jezikovni in kulturni raznolikosti okolja. Rezultati kažejo, da večina udeležencev meni, da je znanje več jezikov dodana vrednost in da je model izobraževanja ustrezen in kakovosten.

Ključne besede: *osnovne šole z italijanskim učnim jezikom, jezikovna kompetenca, slovenska Istra, mnenja učencev in staršev.*

Correspondence address: Lara Sorgo, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Erjavčeva 26, SI-1000 Ljubljana, e-mail: lara.sorgo@guest.arnes.si; Sonja Novak Lukanović, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Erjavčeva 26, SI-1000 Ljubljana, e-mail: sonja.novak@inv.si; Nives Zudič Antonič, Oddelek za italijanistiko, Fakulteta za humanistične študije, Univerza na Primorskem, Titov trg 5, SI-6000 Koper, e-mail: nives.zudic.antonic@fhs.upr.si.

1. Introduction

An individual's or a group's attitude towards a language is a complex psychological whole, involving knowledge, feelings, and behaviour. For some scholars (Giles et al. 1983), language attitudes are difficult to define and measure, as they are subjectively coloured and difficult to quantify. Gardner (1982), for example, considers language attitudes only in relation to attitudes towards second language learning, pointing out that language attitude is also determined by an individual's performance in language acquisition, especially second language (L2) acquisition. The level of linguistic competence is particularly relevant to language use at the institutional level, as an individual's proficiency or linguistic competence varies (Cummins 1984) from basic communicative competence suitable for communication at the interpersonal level to a higher cognitive or academic competence where language is used as an instrument of thought. An individual's linguistic behaviour is therefore influenced by various social, political, historical, and cultural factors that shape his or her perception of language acceptance and indirectly affect the motivation to learn and use a language.

The ethnically mixed area of Slovene Istria is a heterogeneous territory – a meeting point for different cultures and languages where individuals from different ethnic groups coexist. Slovene Istria has historically been home to the Italian national community which is one of the two constitutionally recognised autochthonous minorities in Slovenia.[1] The Constitution, various laws, and the national language policy provide the conditions for the use of the minority language – i.e., Italian – which in Slovene Istria is an official language, just like Slovene. This means that the national community is guaranteed equal status, which is particularly important for maintaining its vitality. Thus, also the model of education is designed to meet the specific needs of the environment, take into account the cultural and educational traditions of the ethnic group, and reflect the political status of the minority population (Novak Lukanovič et al. 2011, 350; cf. also Zorman 2021).

The ethnically mixed area is a "natural laboratory" (Novak Lukanovič 2011, 80) with numerous opportunities to observe the coexistence of different communities and cultures and build multicultural awareness and tolerance (Zudič Antonič 2012). In this context, schools with Italian as the language of instruction play a key role for both the Italian minority and the majority population, as they attach great importance to language learning and to the development of multilingualism and multiculturalism. Čok (2009, 21) sees minority schools as a true laboratory for the schools of the future, which are to be open to qualitative development of the educational process. As Zudič Antonič (2009, 79–80) points out, the Italian school has a broader role, which is expressed not only in the implementation of the learning process but also in the achievement of numerous educational objectives. The school creates conditions for the preserva-

tion of the cultural heritage of the ethnically mixed area, while strongly emphasising the development of intercultural communication and positive attitudes towards diversity.

The empirical data presented in this article are derived from the 2019 study titled Importance of Schools with Italian as the Language of Instruction on the Slovene Coast for Maintaining the Vitality of the Italian National Community. The selected results present the opinions of pupils and their parents on the importance of language knowledge (Italian and Slovene) and schools with Italian as the language of instruction. The results also serve as a good starting point for reflection on whether schools with Italian as the language of instruction sufficiently develop pupils' communicative competence in both Italian and Slovene, and whether the existing model of education creates conditions that influence the formation of pupils' awareness of the linguistic and cultural diversity of their environment.

To better understand the obtained data that shed light on the respondents' opinions, we present in brief the legal framework and the organisation of education in schools with Italian as the language of instruction in Slovene Istria.

2. Legal Protection and Model of Education for Members of the Italian National Community in Slovene Istria

The education of members of the Italian national community is an integral part of education in Slovenia, as defined by both the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia[2] and several sector-specific laws: the Kindergartens Act (2005), the Basic School Act (2006), the *Gimnazija* Act (2007), the Vocational and Technical Education Act (2006), and the Organisation and Financing of Education Act (2007). The law which regulates in more detail the rights of the Italian (and Hungarian) national community in education is the Act Regulating Special Rights of Members of the Italian and Hungarian Ethnic Communities in the Field of Education (2001). The latter defines the special objectives of education for members of the Italian (and Hungarian) national community, the organisation of the educational process, the adaptation of programmes and curricula, the public kindergarten and school network, special conditions for kindergarten and school professionals, the language of operation, and financing. The state, together with the national community and its institututions, is therefore obliged to provide for the existence and development of preschool and school education in the language of the national community.

There are three primary schools with Italian as the language of instruction in the ethnically mixed area of Slovene Istria: *Pier Paolo Vergerio il Vecchio* in Koper, *Dante Alighieri* in Izola and *Vincenzo e Diego de Castro* in Piran. In these

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schools, Italian is taught as mother tongue or first language.[3] Its specific task in this context is to preserve and promote the importance of the historical presence of the language, culture, and identity of the Italian national community. The curriculum and syllabus[4] of schools with Italian as the language of instruction contain, in addition to the objectives laid down by the educational regulations, also specific socialisation objectives aimed at the familiarisation with the culture and history of the ethnic community present in the local environment, as well as at transmitting different values and shaping pupils' attitudes towards the linguistic and cultural diversity in their environment (Nećak Lük 2009b, 115).

Schools are attended by children of the Italian national community but are also open to other pupils, regardless of their ethnicity and nationality, who perceive contact with Italian culture and language as a positive value (Novak Lukanovič et al. 2011, 351). For this second group, in particular, the motivation to learn Italian in the school context and use it also outside school or in everyday communication is very important.

3. Research Method and Sample Structure

The empirical data and selected results presented in the article are derived from a study conducted in 2019.

The study aimed to identify and present a broader pupils' and parents' view on the importance of language knowledge and the educational model in schools with Italian as the language of instruction. Language attitude influences the motivation to learn and use a language. Studying language attitude is relevant primarily in terms of the achievement of the socialisation goals of minority education (Nećak Lük 2009a, 30), such as familiarisation with the other language and with the history and culture of one's own and the other nation.

The study comprised the following research questions:
– Do schools with Italian as the language of instruction sufficiently develop pupils' communicative competence in both Italian and Slovene?
– Does the existing model of education in schools with Italian as the language of instruction create conditions that influence the formation of pupils' awareness of the linguistic and cultural diversity of their environment?

The study involved pupils of the 7th, 8th and 9th grades of the three primary schools with Italian as the language of instruction (*Pier Paolo Vergerio il Vecchio* in Koper, *Dante Alighieri* in Izola and *Vincenzo e Diego de Castro* in Piran) and their parents. Before starting the survey in schools, parents were asked for their written consent to include their pupils in the survey. As shown in Table 1, the planned sample was 152 pupils, but since many pupils did not return or obtain their parents' consent,[5] the final sample included 83 pupils, which represents a sample realisation rate of 54.6 %.[6]

Table 1: Number of pupils by grade and number of pupils participating in the survey in the school year 2018/19

Primary school	Pupils	
	No. of pupils in 7th, 8th and 9th grades	Number of returned pupils' surveys
Pier Paolo Vergerio il Vecchio, Koper	69	32
Dante Alighieri, Izola	47	31
Vincenzo e Diego de Castro, Piran	36	20
Total	152	83

Source: Data obtained from the survey.

The questionnaire used to collect the data was prepared for the pupils in Italian only. It consisted of 14 closed and open ended questions. In addition to mother tongue and ethnic affiliation, we inquired which language pupils speak at home, for example with their parents and siblings, and which language they use outside the home. We also asked them to self-assess their language skills, i.e., the level at which they understand, speak, read, and write in Italian and Slovene. This was followed by statements about the importance of knowing Italian and statements about the school they attend, which had to be rated on a five-point scale (from 5 – strongly agree to 1 – strongly disagree).

Only the parents of the pupils who took part in the survey were sent the questionnaires, yet not all of them returned them. The questionnaire for the parents consisted of 20 closed and open ended questions. Some of the questions concerning the importance of language learning and some of the statements about the importance of language knowledge and the school attended by their children were the same as in the questionnaire for the pupils, while other questions referred to Italian as an official language in the ethnically mixed area of Slovene Istria and to the Italian national community. Forty-three questionnaires were completed and returned, which equals a sample realisation rate of 28.2 %. This figure surprised us as we had expected a higher response rate from parents. Although the sample is small and no generalisation is possible, the data collected is informative and relevant for understanding the topic in general, considering that children's attitudes are also influenced by their family values.

The majority of pupils (90.3 %) and parents (90.6 %) surveyed have their permanent residence in the ethnically mixed area. Only eight (9.6 %) pupils reported having permanent residence outside the ethnically mixed area of Slovene Istria and lived in Italy (Trieste, Muggia). Four (9.4 %) parents also have permanent residence in Italy. 66.7 % of the pupils have lived in their current place of residence since birth, while 33.3 % of the pupils migrated from other places. Of these, only two pupils (2.4 %) moved from Ljubljana, while 13.2% immigrated from abroad (four from Italy, two from Russia and one each from the Czech Re-

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public, Serbia, and North Macedonia). Of the 21 (48.8 %) parents who have not lived in their current place of residence since birth, 47.6 % moved there from another place within the ethnically mixed area, 14.2 % moved from other parts of Slovenia (Ljubljana, Dolenjska), and 42.8 % immigrated from abroad (Italy, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia).

As indicated in Table 2, the structure of pupils and parents by mother tongue or first language is as follows: 28.9 % of pupils have two mother tongues or first languages, i.e., Slovene and Italian; 27.7 % report Slovene to be their mother tongue, and 20.5 % report Italian to be their first language. For 22.9 % of pupils, the mother tongue is another language (Macedonian, Albanian, Serbian, Bosnian, Croatian, Russian). Compared to pupils, a larger proportion (37.2 %) of parents report their mother tongue to be Slovene, 25.6 % chose Italian, while 20.9 % indicated they have two mother tongues, both Slovene and Italian. For 16.3 % of the parents, the mother tongue is another language (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, Istro-Venetian dialect).

Table 2: Pupils' and parents' mother tongue

Pupils		Parents	
Mother tongue			
Italian	20.5 %	Italian	25.6 %
Slovene	27.7 %	Slovene	37.2 %
Italian and Slovene	28.9 %	Italian and Slovene	20.9 %
Other	22.9 %	Other	16.3 %
Total	100 %	Total	100 %

Source: Data obtained from the survey.

Table 3 shows the replies to the question on ethnic affiliation. Based thereon, 25.3 % of the pupils identify themselves as Slovenes, while 20.5 % state their ethnic affiliation is Italian–Slovene or Slovene–Italian. 16.9 % of pupils identify themselves as Italians and 22.9 % chose the reply other ethnic affiliation (Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Macedonian, Albanian, Russian, or mixed affiliation: Slovene–Albanian, Slovene–Croatian, Slovene–Macedonian, Slovene–Serbian). 8.4 % of the pupils refused to answer this question, and 3.6 % report to be ethnically undefined. The majority of the parents, i.e., 37.2 %, identify themselves as Slovenes, 18.6 % state their ethnic affiliation is Italian–Slovene or Slovene–Italian, and only 9.3 % identify themselves as Italian. A relatively high share of parents, 16.3 % to be precise, did not wish to answer the question, 7 % chose other ethnic affiliation (Croatian, Istrian, Serbian–Slovenian), and 4.7 % report to be ethnically undefined.

Table 3: Ethnic affiliation of pupils and parents

Pupils		Parents	
Ethnic affiliation			
Italian	16.9 %	Italian	9.3 %
Slovene	25.3 %	Slovene	37.2 %
Italian–Slovene or Slovene–Italian	20.5 %	Italian–Slovene or Slovene–Italian	18.6 %
Other ethnic affiliation	22.9 %	Other ethnic affiliation	7 %
Ethnically undefined	3.6 %	Ethnically undefined	4.7 %
Do not wish to reply	8.4 %	Do not wish to reply	16.3 %
No reply	2.4 %	No reply	7 %
Total	100 %	Total	100 %

Source: Data obtained from the survey.

4. Research Outcomes: Pupils' and Parents' Opinions on the Importance of Language Knowledge and the Educational Model in Schools with Italian as the Language of Instruction

4.1 Pupils' Opinion

4.1.1 Self-Assessment of Language Skills

Pupils were asked to assess their knowledge of Italian and Slovene.[7] We were interested in their linguistic competence in all four language skills: understanding, speaking, reading, writing (1 – very poor, 2 – poor, 3 – neither good nor poor, 4 – good, 5 – very good).

When asked how they assess their language skills in Italian, only 76 pupils provided a full reply. The highest ratings were reported in understanding: 62.5 % have a very good, 27.5 % a good, and 10 % a neither good nor poor understanding of Italian. No pupil chose the reply poor or very poor. In speaking, 41 % of the pupils chose the reply very good, and 42.3 % good. The ratings were relatively low in writing, which also presents the highest coefficient of variability. 28.2 % of pupils assess their writing in Italian as very good, 34.6 % as good, 30.8 % as neither good nor poor, and 6.4 % as poor. The most incomplete data were obtained for reading. Six pupils did not answer the question, 44.2 % of them assessed their reading in Italian as very good, 28.6 % as good, 24.7 % as neither good nor poor, and 2.6 % as poor.

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The above results are presented in Table 4, where the arithmetic mean and standard deviation are shown for ease of understanding. The answers indicate that pupils assess their linguistic competence the highest in understanding ($\overline{x}$ = 4.52) and the lowest in writing ($\overline{x}$ = 3.85).

Table 4: "How do you rate your knowledge of Italian?"

	N	Min	Max	Arithmetic mean	SD
Understanding	80	3	5	4.52	.675
Speaking	78	2	5	4.21	.812
Reading	77	2	5	4.14	.884
Writing	78	2	5	3.85	.913
Number of pupils who provided a full reply	76				

Source: Data obtained from the survey.

When asked to assess their knowledge of Slovene, pupils rated such rather low in all four skills. Understanding scored the highest: 51.8 % said their understanding of Slovene was very good, 25.3 % rated it as good, 18.1 % as neither good nor poor, and 4.8 % as poor. As regards speaking, 33.3 % of pupils assessed their knowledge as very good, 27.2 % as good, 27.2 % as neither good nor poor, 11.1 % as poor, and 1.2 % as very poor. A relatively high proportion of pupils (37 %) rated their reading skills as very good, 29.6 % as good, 16 % as neither good nor poor, 11.1 % as poor, and 6.2 % as very poor. The lowest scores were reported in writing: only 23.5 % of pupils rated their writing skills in Slovene as very good and 33.3 % as good. 22.2 % of pupils assessed their writing as neither good nor poor, 19.8 % as poor, and 1.2 % as very poor.

The results presented above are shown in Table 5 including the arithmetic mean and standard deviation for better clarity and understanding. Pupils gave the highest score for understanding ($\overline{x}$ = 4.24), and the lowest score for writing ($\overline{x}$ = 3.58). The highest standard deviation is observed in speaking (SD = 1.229), where responses vary considerably.

Table 5: "How do you rate your knowledge of Slovene?"

	N	Min	Max	Arithmetic mean	SD
Understanding	83	2	5	4.24	.919
Speaking	81	1	5	3.80	1.229
Reading	81	1	5	3.80	1.066
Writing	81	1	5	3.58	1.094
Number of pupils who provided a full reply	81				

Source: Data obtained from the survey.

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A comparison of the results presented in Tables 4 and 5 reveals that pupils rate their knowledge of Slovene rather low in all four skills, while the rates for Italian are higher. In the context of schools with Italian as the language of instruction, the explanation for and the cause of such results are most likely to be found in the educational system itself. Pupils are exposed to the Italian language for many hours of the day as the whole educational process takes place in Italian and they speak Italian with their classmates. This is confirmed by the results of our survey since, as they themselves said, communication with their classmates at school is only or mainly in Italian (54.9 %). Another reason for the differing rates lies in how critical they are of their language knowledge. In fact, a subjective assessment of language skills does not always reflect actual knowledge, as pupils – when self-assessing – most likely had the school programme in mind rather than merely their language skills.

4.1.2 Opinions on the Importance of Knowing Italian

The study also explored attitudes towards individual languages, more precisely Italian, which is the subject of our research. Language attitude is important because it represents a complex psychological whole, involving both knowledge and feelings, as well as an individual's behaviour. Table 6 shows the pupils' responses about the importance of knowing Italian on a five-point scale ranging from 1 – strongly disagree to 5 – strongly agree.

Table 6: Pupils' opinions on the importance of knowing Italian

Statement	N	Arithmetic mean	SD
The knowledge of Italian I get at school enables me to continue my education in Italy.	83	4.40	.883
Knowing Italian opens up more job opportunities.	83	4.33	.734
I use Italian in various situations, including outside school.	82	4.12	1.169
Knowing Italian allows me to make friends.	83	3.99	1.006
Knowing Italian allows me to understand and accept the culture of my environment.	83	3.39	1.135
Knowing Italian gives me a chance for success in my environment.	83	3.30	1.079
Knowing Italian is necessary to feel Italian.	83	2.61	1.333

Source: Data obtained from the survey.

As seen from Table 6, the arithmetic mean is the highest for the statement that the knowledge of Italian pupils get at school enables them to continue their education in Italy ($\bar{x}$ = 4.40), which means that this statement was agreed with by the highest number of pupils. Although the pupils participating in the survey attend primary school and we do not have data on how many of them actually go on to secondary school in Italy, we can conclude that they rate the knowledge

of Italian they acquire at school as important. Strong agreement with this statement also offers us a first insight into the effectiveness of the educational model in schools with Italian as the language of instruction, i.e., that the model enables the development of communicative competence and the transfer of knowledge useful for their further education. This is followed by the statement that knowing Italian opens up more job opportunities ($\overline{x}$ = 4.33), which is consistent with the economic factors of the language. Knowledge of Italian is therefore important from a practical point of view, as shown by previous research (Novak Lukanovič 2006) presenting some indicators of the specific role of Italian: economic co-operation with Italy, the presence of the Italian language in an ethnically mixed area, and the usefulness and spread of the language in the world.

Our data also confirm the statement that pupils use Italian in various situations, including outside school ($\overline{x}$ = 4.12). As can be seen from the data on communication within the family, namely with parents, the answers show that 25 % of the pupils speak only or mainly Italian with their mother, while 23.8 % use both languages equally; 30.8 % of the pupils speak only or mainly Italian with their father and 16.8 % use both languages equally. In other communicative situations, Italian seems to be spoken to a limited extent, for example when talking to neighbours (15.7 % speak only or mostly Italian), at the doctor's (13.6 % speak only or mostly Italian), in the shop (12.5 % speak only or mostly Italian) and at the post office (11.4 % speak only or mostly Italian).

Pupils agreed least with the statement that knowing Italian is necessary to feel Italian ($\overline{x}$ = 2.61). This statement also presents the highest standard deviation (SD = 1.333), which means that pupils answered with high variability. The theory points out that language and identity are closely linked, and that language is considered the most important symbol of an individual (Joseph 2004, cited in Novak Lukanović 2019) and is passed on from generation to generation along with culture. However, the data from our study show that the link between language and identity is not so important for pupils and that their perception of identity is subjective, as affiliation with an (ethnic) group is mainly marked by subjective feelings.

4.1.3 Opinions on the Educational Model

We also presented the pupils with a series of statements relating to the model of education in which they are involved and which they know well, or to the organisation of classes in schools with Italian as the language of instruction. The pupils' answers are shown on a five-point scale (from 1 – strongly disagree to 5 – strongly agree) in Table 7.

The highest share of pupils agreed with the statements that teachers have a good command of Italian ($\overline{x}$ = 4.47), that the school gives pupils enough knowledge to continue their education anywhere in Slovenia ($\overline{x}$ = 3.94), and

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that teachers have a good command of Slovene ($\bar{x}$ = 3.64). The positive attitude towards the statement that teachers have a good command of both Italian and Slovene suggests that language plays an important role in schools with Italian as the language of instruction and that this is perceived by pupils as quality preparation of teachers.

Table 7: Pupils' opinions on the educational model

Statement	N	Arithmetic mean	SD
Teachers have a good command of Italian.	81	4.47	.808
The school gives me enough knowledge to continue my education anywhere in Slovenia.	83	3.94	1.028
Teachers have a good command of Slovene.	83	3.64	.945
Children like learning Italian at school.	83	3.60	.732
Children like learning Slovene at school.	83	3.28	.874
Learning a foreign language (e.g., English, German, etc.) is more important than learning Italian.	83	3.05	.961
There should be more Slovene language lessons at school.	83	2.52	1.263
I have problems learning several languages at school.	82	2.35	1.211
There should be more Italian language lessons at school.	83	2.31	1.287

Source: Data obtained from the survey.

Pupils are slightly less likely to agree with the statements that children like learning Italian at school ($\bar{x}$ = 3.60) and that they like learning Slovene at school ($\bar{x}$ = 3.28) but show low agreement with the statements that there should be more Italian language lessons ($\bar{x}$ = 2.31) – which is the one with which they agree least of all the statements – and that there should be more Slovene language lessons ($\bar{x}$ = 2.52).

Pupils do not wish to have more Italian and Slovene language lessons, as can be seen from the answers to the statement that learning a foreign language (e.g., English, German, etc.) is more important than learning Italian ($\bar{x}$ = 3.05), which is ranked medium. Over the last decade, English has risen in status compared to Italian and Slovene because it is more attractive to learners as the language of globalisation, which often leads to neglect or a decline in motivation to learn other languages.

4.2 Parents' opinion

4.2.1 Opinions on the Importance of Knowing Italian

Several statements were also used to evaluate the parents' opinions on the importance of knowing Italian, especially in the ethnically mixed area of Slovene Istria.

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Table 8 shows the parents' replies on a five-point scale ranging from 1 – strongly disagree to 5 – strongly agree.

Table 8: Parents' replies on the importance of knowing Italian in the ethnically mixed area

Statement	N	Arithmetic mean	SD
In the ethnically mixed area, there should be schools with both Italian and Slovene as languages of instruction.	43	4.72	.908
The knowledge of Italian children get at school enables them to continue their education in Italy.	43	4.59	.706
Knowing Italian opens up more job opportunities.	43	4.33	.944
In the ethnically mixed area, bilingualism is consistently practised in public institutions.	43	4.21	1.186
Knowing Italian enables me to understand and pursue the culture of my environment.	43	4.19	1.118
Knowing Italian enables me to make friends with Italians.	43	4.14	1.060
Knowing Italian is necessary to feel Italian.	43	3.33	1.492
It is not necessary for Slovenes to learn Italian.	43	2.35	1.211

Source: Data obtained from the survey.

Table 8 shows that parents agree the most with the statement that in the ethnically mixed area, there should be schools with both Italian and Slovene as languages of instruction, which is the reply with the highest arithmetic mean ($\overline{x}$ = 4.72). This result is important for us as it suggests that the respondents are aware of the importance of a multilingual and multicultural environment in which they live and in which Italian has the same status as Slovene. The statements about knowledge of Italian enabling pupils to continue their education in Italy ($\overline{x}$ = 4.59) and opening up more job opportunities ($\overline{x}$ = 4.33) follow in order of mean values. It is worth pointing out that the two statements referring to the ethnically mixed area also achieved relatively high agreement. The statements that in the ethnically mixed area, bilingualism is consistently practised in public institutions ($\overline{x}$ = 4.21) and that knowing Italian enables them to understand and pursue the culture of their environment ($\overline{x}$ = 4.14) are important because they show that people are aware of the presence of the Italian language and the Italian national community. Parents were the least likely to agree with the statement that it is not necessary for Slovenes to learn Italian ($\overline{x}$ = 2.35), which is confirmed by the above statement with the highest arithmetic mean. Parents are therefore aware that the implementation of bilingualism requires that both members of the majority population and members of the minority population master both languages – Italian and Slovene. The highest standard deviation is observed for the statement that knowing Italian is necessary to feel Italian (SD = 1.492) where responses vary considerably.

Based on the above, we find that the majority of respondents have a positive attitude towards bilingualism or a multilingual environment in which majority and minority languages coexist. It can also be confirmed that the majority of parents support the equal status of the Italian language in the ethnically mixed area of Slovene Istria and hence the legislation underpinning the educational model of schools attended by their children.

4.2.2 Opinions on the Educational Model

We were also interested in the parents' opinions on schools with Italian as the language of instruction. Table 9 shows the parents' replies on a five-point scale (from 1 – strongly disagree to 5 – strongly agree).

Table 9: Parents' opinions on schools with Italian as the language of instruction

Statement	N	Arithmetic mean	SD
Children like to learn Slovene at school.	43	3.93	.884
Children like to learn Italian at school.	43	3.81	1.220
Teachers have a good command of Slovene.	43	3.81	.880
The school gives children enough knowledge to continue their education in Slovenia.	43	3.81	1.052
Teachers have a good command of Italian.	43	3.79	1.081
Pupils attending schools with Italian as the language of instruction are overburdened.	43	2.84	1.379
It would be better if children had more lessons of foreign languages (e.g. English, German, etc.) instead of Italian.	43	2.72	1.202

Source: Data obtained from the survey.

As can be seen, the highest arithmetic mean is observed for the statement that children like to learn Slovene at school ($\overline{x}$ = 3.93), which means that most parents agreed with this statement. This is followed by a set of statements with the same mean value, as for example that children like to learn Italian at school ($\overline{x}$ = 3.81), that teachers have a good command of Slovene ($\overline{x}$ = 3.81), and that the school gives children enough knowledge to continue their education in Slovenia ($\overline{x}$ = 3.81). Parents were slightly less likely to agree that teachers have a good command of Italian ($\overline{x}$ = 3.79) and that children attending schools with Italian as the language of instruction are overburdened ($\overline{x}$ = 2.84). This statement also presents the highest variability in responses, as shown by the standard deviation (SD = 1.379). Parents were least likely to agree with the statement that it would be better if children had more lessons of foreign languages (e.g. English, German, etc.) instead of Italian ($\overline{x}$ = 2.72), which confirms the importance of knowing both the majority and minority languages, i.e. the two languages present in the

environment. It should also be pointed out that a relatively large standard deviation is observed for most of the answers.

As the school system in the ethnically mixed area is adapted and suited to the specific needs of the environment, we also explored whether parents consider the current form of schooling in Slovene Istria to be suitable and of good quality. Figure 1 shows that the majority (53.5 %) of respondents think that the current model is suitable and of good quality, while almost a quarter (23.3 %) think that the current model is not suitable. A relatively high proportion (20.9 %) said they did not know.

Figure 1: Parents' replies to the question whether the current form of schooling in the ethnically mixed area is suitable and of good quality
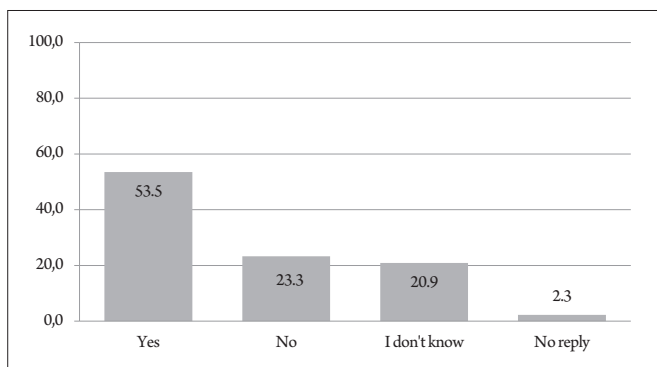
Source: Data obtained from the survey.

Parents were also asked to justify why they think the current model of education is of good quality and suitable, or why they think it is not. Parents who thought that the form of schooling in the ethnically mixed area of Slovene Istria was suitable and of good quality justified their answer by arguing that the level of Slovene and Italian knowledge was suitable and enabled the children of the minority to be educated in their mother tongue. Parents who felt that the current form of schooling was not suitable made other arguments, such as that pupils do not have enough knowledge at the end of school, that teachers are not sufficiently prepared, and that the school with Italian as the language of instruction is not ambitious enough and does not know how to take advantage of the opportunities offered in the educational process. The data also show that parents are not sufficiently familiar with the educational system in the ethnically mixed area of Slovene Istria. The situation should be improved by providing parents with additional information as they have an important influence on the pupils' views, their perception of the educational model, and their general attitude towards a language.

5. Conclusion

The article presents selected research results that reflect the specific features of the educational model in schools with Italian as the language of instruction in Slovene Istria in an attempt to answer the research questions set at the beginning.

As regards the first research question (Do schools with Italian as the language of instruction sufficiently develop pupils' communicative competence in both Italian and Slovene?), the data confirm that, according to a majority opinion of pupils and parents, schools with Italian as the language of instruction sufficiently develop pupils' communicative competence in both Italian and Slovene for all four language skills (understanding, speaking, reading, writing).

Comparing the responses of pupils and parents also gives us an insight into the respondents' attitudes towards language knowledge and education. There are no major differences between pupils' and parents' views, or rather, pupils appear to have slightly more positive views on the educational model than parents. In any case, both groups are aware of the importance of language knowledge, as it not only enables more effective communication but also opens up more opportunities in the labour market. The attitudes towards language knowledge, which include a strong agreement with the statements that schools with Italian as the language of instruction provide sufficient knowledge to continue education in Italy as well as in Slovenia, and that the teachers have a good command of both Italian and Slovene, indicate that language has special importance and value in minority schools. The data confirm beyond doubt that the importance of language knowledge is a multidimensional category, which is also linked to the model of education in ethnically mixed areas.

The results also confirm the second research question (Does the existing model of education in schools with Italian as the language of instruction create conditions that influence the formation of pupils' awareness of the linguistic and cultural diversity of their environment?). In minority schools, language has a special status and represents an asset for the Italian minority as well as for the community as a whole, including the majority population. It can be confirmed that the existing model of education in schools with Italian as the language of instruction creates conditions that influence the formation of pupils' awareness of the linguistic and cultural diversity of their environment. Both pupils and their parents are aware of the linguistic and cultural diversity of the environment in which they live and attend school. It is notable, however, that a large proportion of parents are unfamiliar with or undecided about the suitability and quality of the existing educational model, a fact that surprised us precisely because of the important influence that family values have on children's opinions.

We can conclude that the curricula in schools with Italian as the language of instruction require continuous monitoring, not only in the narrow circle of stakeholders involved in education but also in the wider environment in which

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the school operates. The benefits of this type of education, or the knowledge of several languages, are sometimes not as obvious as one might think, and this is why we should strive to raise parents' awareness and, consequently, to achieve a high quality of professional staff in schools. Intercultural education, which is important for the coexistence and understanding of other cultures, needs to be developed and upgraded, but it is also important that the educational system provides appropriate content and methods for language teaching. A positive attitude towards languages and bilingualism in an ethnically mixed area promotes the possibility of using the Italian (minority) language in all domains, including outside the school environment, thus contributing to the vitality of the Italian national community.

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Notes

[1] Although several ethnic groups are present in Slovenia, the ones considered historical ethnic minorities are the Italian, Hungarian, and Roma communities. The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia (1991) defines Italian and Hungarian national communities as autochthonous (Article 5) but does not provide any specific interpretation of this adjective. The two communities enjoy the highest level of protection of their special rights (Articles 11, 64 and 80). A limited scope of provisions is also provided for the Roma community – the position and special rights of the Roma community in Slovenia are set out in Article 65 of the Constitution (cf. Komac 2002; 2020).

[2] Article 64 of the Constitution provides that the Italian and Hungarian national communities have the right to education and schooling in their own languages and defines the geographical areas in which such form of schooling is compulsory.

[3] By mother tongue, we mean first language, i.e., the language learned in early childhood.

[4] The syllabus is adapted for the following subjects: Italian as mother tongue or first language, Slovene as second language (language of the environment), social studies, history, geography, and music. In addition, there are certain adaptations in teaching standards, teaching materials in Italian, and staff, as it is foreseen to have a qualified staff of Italian native speakers, mostly members of the Italian community (Zudič Antonič 2009).

[5] At the Koper school, we did not obtain consent for as many as 35 pupils (50.7 %): two consents were negative, i.e., the parents did not allow their pupils to take part in the survey, while the remaining 33 consents were missing. On the days when the survey was carried out, two pupils were absent and could not take part in the survey. At the Izola school, we did not obtain consent for 16 pupils (34 %): four pupils were not allowed to participate in the survey and 12 consents

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were missing. At the Piran school, we did not obtain consent for a total of 15 pupils (41.6 %): two pupils were not allowed to take part, while 13 consents were missing. One pupil was absent on the day of the survey.

6   In the 2018/19 school year, the total number of pupils was 594, of which 282 in Koper, 174 in Izola, and 138 in Piran.

7   While aware that self-assessment is not the most reliable method, we assumed that the results could still be useful as the use of a language – Italian or Slovene – in different speaking situations enables us to assess the actual/real level of proficiency in a particular language. The results of the self-assessment, which are subjectively coloured, also help us to identify the value that an individual attaches to a language.

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Aleksandro Burra

Uresničevanje posebnih pravic pripadnikov italijanske narodne skupnosti: primer Osrednje knjižnice Srečka Vilharja Koper

Vloga dvojezičnih ustanov je ključna pri ustvarjanju dvojezičnosti. V prispevku smo s predlaganim sistemom za merjenje uspešnosti želeli ugotoviti, kako ena izmed ključnih kulturnih ustanov na narodnostno mešanem območju, Osrednja knjižnica Srečka Vilharja Koper, uresničuje posebne pravice pripadnikov italijanske narodne skupnosti v okviru poslovanja in dejavnosti knjižnice. Kot raziskovalno metodo smo uporabili študijo primera. Pri analizi raziskovalnega problema in raziskovalnih podatkov smo uporabili deskriptivno metodo, analizo pa smo opravili glede na pet točkovno ovrednotenih dejavnikov doseganja uspešnosti pri uresničevanju posebnih pravic pripadnikov italijanske narodne skupnosti. Rezultati nakazujejo, da knjižnica zelo dobro uresničuje institucionalno dvojezičnost, vseeno pa še obstajajo možnosti za izboljšave, da bi dosegli popolno uresničevanje dvojezičnosti.

Ključne besede: splošne knjižnice, italijanska manjšina v Sloveniji, institucionalna dvojezičnost, uresničevanje zakonsko določenih posebnih pravic.

Implementation of the Special Rights of Members of the Italian National Community: The Case of the Central Library Srečko Vilhar Koper

The role of bilingual institutions is crucial in developing bilingualism. The study proposes a performance management system to find out how one of the key cultural institutions in the ethnically mixed area – the Central Library Srečko Vilhar Koper – implements the special rights of members of the Italian national community in terms of the library's operations and activities. The research method applied was case study. The descriptive method was used in the analysis of the research problem and research data. The analysis involved a set of five factors, and the success achieved by each factor was scored. The results suggest that the library properly implements institutional bilingualism. Nevertheless, there is still room for improvement to achieve a full implementation of bilingualism.

Key words: *public libraries, Italian minority in Slovenia, institutional bilingualism, implementation of legally provided special rights.*

Correspondence address: Aleksandro Burra, Univerza na Primorskem, Pedagoška fakulteta, Cankarjeva 5, SI-6000 Koper, e-mail: aleksandrob@yahoo.it.

1. Uvod

Institucionalni dejavniki so pomemben faktor pri medgeneracijskem prenosu jezika v etnično heterogenih skupnostih, kar potrjujejo tudi različni teoretični modeli (Giles et al. 1977; Fishman 1991; Grin & Vaillancourt 1997). Osrednja knjižnica Srečka Vilharja Koper (v nadaljevanju: OKSV), ki že vrsto let sodeluje pri oblikovanju kulturnega značaja mesta in širšega, predvsem obalno-kraškega območja, je kot taka prepoznana tako na lokalni ravni kot tudi širše. Knjižnica deluje na narodnostno mešanem območju, kjer živijo tudi pripadniki avtohtone italijanske narodne skupnosti. Slednjim so na podlagi Ustave Republike Slovenije in mednarodnih pogodb zagotovljene posebne pravice. V prispevku smo skušali ugotoviti, ali se pravice manjšine dejansko uresničujejo tudi v praksi; v ta namen smo preverjali uspešnost delovanja knjižnice na tem področju, s čimer bi pripomogli k nadaljnji krepitvi njene vloge in pomena pri ohranjanju dvojezičnega okolja, v katerem deluje. Ne nazadnje ima OKSV kot osrednja območna knjižnica za splošne knjižnice, ki delujejo na Obali, posebno vlogo tako s strokovnega in koordinacijskega kot tudi finančnega vidika (Pravilnik o osrednjih območnih knjižnicah 2003).

Prispevek je strukturiran v šest poglavij: v prvem poglavju so podane zakonske/pravne podlage, ki opredelijo institucionalni položaj italijanske narodne skupnosti v Sloveniji, predvsem v javni upravi; v drugem poglavju so predstavljene dejavnosti OKSV za pripadnike italijanske narodne skupnosti ter določila, ki opredelijo njeno delo; v tretjem poglavju so opredeljeni namen, cilji, raziskovalna vprašanja in metodologija raziskave; v četrtem poglavju je ponazorjeno mersko orodje za evalvacijo uspešnosti, ki predstavlja izvirni doprinos k raziskovanju institucionalne dvojezičnosti; v petem, osrednjem poglavju, ugotavljamo uspešnost pri izvajanju dvojezičnosti, na osnovi raziskave pa je nakazana ocena učinkovitosti izvajanja institucionalne dvojezičnosti. V zaključnem poglavju so predstavljeni predlogi za izboljšanje uresničevanja dvojezičnosti.

2. Položaj italijanske narodne skupnosti v Sloveniji

2.1 Ustavnopravni položaj italijanske narodne skupnosti

Ustava Republike Slovenije (v nadaljevanju ustava) ščiti tri narodne skupnosti in jim dodeljuje posebne pravice, ki so podrobneje urejene z zakonodajo. V Sloveniji se varstvo manjšin izvaja na narodnostno mešanih območjih, in sicer po načelu pozitivne diskriminacije. V širšem pomenu jo lahko opredelimo kot uveljavljanje posebnega pravnega položaja in/ali pravic, ki je namenjeno preprečevanju manj ugodnega položaja in spodbujanju oziroma ustvarjanju enakih možnosti določenih kategorij oseb (šibkejših, socialno ogroženih članov družbe, pripadnikov etničnih manjšin, žensk, starejših …) na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja, zaposlovanja in delovnih razmerij (Flander 2004, 99–100).

Členi v ustavi, ki se nanašajo na pripadnike manjšine, so: 64. člen (posebne pravice avtohtone italijanske in madžarske narodne skupnosti), 11. člen (uradni jezik na območjih, na katerih živita italijanska ali madžarska narodna skupnost, je tudi italijanščina ali madžarščina), 61. člen (pravica do izražanja narodne pripadnosti); 62. člen (pravica do uporabe svojega jezika in pisave) (Ustava Republike Slovenije 1991).

Javno rabo slovenščine in rabo jezika italijanske in madžarske narodne skupnosti na območju Slovenije, kjer ti skupnosti živita, na podlagi ustave ureja Zakon o javni rabi slovenščine. Ta uporabe jezikov narodnih skupnosti ne ureja neposredno in celovito, ampak to vprašanje prepušča področnim zakonom, ki izrecno določajo poslovanje s strankami tudi v jeziku narodnih skupnosti (Zakon o javni rabi slovenščine 2004).

Kot trdita Novak Lukanovič in Mulec (2014, 96), številni normativni akti v Sloveniji upoštevajo dejstvo, da sta na narodnostno mešanih območjih, ki jih opredeljujejo statuti občin, italijanski in madžarski jezik enakopravna s slovenskim tako na individualni kot na institucionalni ravni.

Poseben pomen strokovnjaki pripisujejo uradovanju v jeziku manjšine. Giles et al. (1977, 309)[1] ugotavljajo, da etnolingvistična vitalnost določene jezikovne skupine glede na druge jezikovne skupine temelji na njeni demografiji, na njenem statusu in tudi na institucionalni podpori. Berrutto (2009, 185) meni, da lahko jezikovno vitalnost "razumemo kot kontinuiteto izročila in prenosa jezika z ene generacije na drugo". V tem smislu torej vitalnost sovpada s kontinuiteto medgeneracijskega prenosa. Nasprotno pa sta za druge avtorje za namene vrednotenja "temeljno vprašanje glede vitalnosti obseg in sestava populacije govorcev" (Grenoble & Whaley 2006, 5). Glede na kompleksnost konceptualnega okvira je vitalnost nekega jezika kompleksno vprašanje kvalitativne in kvantitativne narave in je povezano tudi z drugimi dejavniki, ki precej presegajo demografske. Institucionalna podpora kot spremenljivka etnolingvistične vitalnosti "je stopnja, v kateri je jezikovna skupina formalno in neformalno zastopana v različnih nacionalnih, regionalnih in lokalnih institucijah. Zdi se, da je vitalnost jezikovne skupine povezana s stopnjo uporabe njenega jezika v različnih institucijah vlade, cerkve, poslovanja itd." (Giles et al. 1977, 309). V Fishmanovem modelu (1991, 87–114) je prisotna lestvica stopenj medgeneracijske razpoke, ki poudarja tudi povezavo med govornim obnašanjem in družbeno/institucionalno podporo ter napoveduje razvoj v smeri ohranjanja ali opuščanja manjšinskega jezika. Kot izpostavljata v osrednjem vodilu teoretičnega prispevka Grin in Vaillancourt (1997, 43–65), bodo govorci uporabljali svoj jezik, če bodo imeli tudi priložnost, da ga uporabljajo, oziroma mora obstajati vrsta okoliščin, v katerih je jezik mogoče uporabljati. V sklopu Unescovega modela, ki izhaja iz dokumenta Jezikovna vitalnost in ogroženost (Brenzinger et al. 2003),[2] so jezikoslovci pri oblikovanju referenčnega okvira za določanje vitalnosti jezikov vključili tudi institucionalno podporo kot enega izmed devetih pomembnih dejavnikov pri določanju vitalnosti nekega jezika.

2.2 Dvojezičnost na delovnem mestu – javni uslužbenci

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Novak Lukanovič (2020, 56–57) navaja, da mnogi raziskovalci (npr. Grenier & Vaillancourt 1983; Grin 1996, citirano v Novak Lukanovič 2020) potrjujejo, da ekonomske spremenljivke prispevajo k zaščiti in promociji manjšinskih jezikov ter vplivajo na strukturne spremenljivke etnolingvistične vitalnosti skupnosti, kot so jih opredelili Giles et al. (1977, 309). To pomeni, da tudi politika države močno vpliva na stopnjo znanja posameznega jezika, na njegovo rabo in družbeno vrednotenje, torej na vrednost jezika (Gazzola 2014, citirano v Novak Lukanovič 2020, 57).

V 17. členu Zakona o javnih uslužbencih je določeno, da se za delovna mesta javnih uslužbencev, ki morajo na podlagi zakona kot uradni jezik uporabljati jezik narodne skupnosti, kot pogoj določi tudi znanje jezika narodne skupnosti. Prav jezik narodne skupnosti je poseben pogoj za zasedbo delovnega mesta – ta pogoj in raven potrebnega znanja jezika narodne skupnosti (osnovna raven ali višja raven znanja jezika narodne skupnosti)[3] pa se določita glede na vsebino, vrsto in obseg nalog, ki jih mora opravljati javni uslužbenec na delovnem mestu (Zakon o javnih uslužbencih 2007). Ustrezna določitev znanja jezika narodne skupnosti je pomembna tudi zaradi dejstva, da javnim uslužbencem na takšnih delovnih mestih (v skladu s 23. in 28. členom Zakona o sistemu plač v javnem sektorju) pripada dodatek za dvojezičnost in da je višina dodatka za dvojezičnost od 3 do 6 % (Zakon o sistemu plač v javnem sektorju 2009).

Predstojnik je dolžan presoditi, ali javni uslužbenec izpolnjuje pogoje za konkretno delovno mesto, na katerem se zahteva znanje jezika narodne skupnosti.

Že omenjeni Zakon o javnih uslužbencih in uradno pojasnilo MJU št. 100-425/2008/5 z dne 11. 7. 2008 (Ministrstvo za javno upravo 2008) določata le pogoje in raven potrebnega znanja manjšinskega jezika, ne določata pa stopnje jezikovne kompetence delavca na obeh ravneh. Novak Lukanovič in Mulec (2014, 98–99) opozarjata, da je "stopnja znanja jezika […] tudi po rezultatih drugih raziskav zelo pomembna spremenljivka, ki vpliva na uresničevanje individualne in institucionalne dvojezičnosti na narodnostno mešanih območjih".

Korak naprej pri določanju jezikovnih kompetenc manjšinskega jezika je mogoče zaslediti v noveli Zakona o posebnih pravicah pripadnikov italijanske in madžarske narodne skupnosti na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja iz leta 2018. V 15. členu zakona je za strokovne in druge delavce predvidena tudi stopnja znanja učnega jezika oz. italijanščine (raven C1), javna ustanova pa je zadolžena za izvajanje preizkusa znanja (Zakon o spremembah in dopolnitvah Zakona o posebnih pravicah italijanske in madžarske narodne skupnosti na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja 2018). Ministrstvo za javno upravo je z dokumentom, naslovljenim Normativna ureditev dvojezičnega poslovanja, isto leto določilo, da je pri določanju ravni znanja jezika narodne skupnosti za javni sektor treba upoštevati publikacijo Sveta Evrope *Common European Framework of Reference*

for Languages – Skupni evropski referenčni okvir (znanje tujega jezika na osnovni ravni ustreza ravni A2, znanje na višji ravni pa ravni B2) (Ministrstvo za javno upravo 2018, 18–19).

V Sloveniji je torej znanje manjšinskega jezika za zaposlene v javnih službah posebej ovrednoteno (za razliko od zasebnega sektorja) in je tudi pomembno (pogoj) za zasedbo delovnega mesta, vendar, kot meni Novak Lukanovič (2020, 67), to ni v prid uresničevanju institucionalne dvojezičnosti v okolju. Podobno v okviru Sveta Evrope ugotavljajo, "da Slovenija skladno s svojim ustavnim in pravnim okvirom italijanski in madžarski narodni skupnosti zagotavlja visoko raven varstva. Kljub temu pa izvajanje tega pravnega okvira po mnenju Sveta Evrope ni popolnoma zadovoljivo" (Vlada Republike Slovenije 2021, 3).

3. Dejavnosti Osrednje knjižnice Srečka Vilharja Koper za pripadnike italijanske narodne skupnosti

Osrednja knjižnica Srečka Vilharja Koper / Biblioteca centrale Srečko Vilhar Capodistria je splošna knjižnica, ki opravlja knjižnično dejavnost kot javno službo za območje Mestne občine Koper in izvaja tudi naloge območne knjižnice za obalno-kraško območje (OKSV 2012b).

Skrb in dovzetnost za večkulturnost in večjezičnost sta prisotni v številnih členih ustanovitvenega odloka in Pravilnika o splošnih pogojih poslovanja Osrednje knjižnice Srečka Vilharja Koper, in sicer v delih, kjer je govora o organih in poslovanju zavoda.

Kot knjižnica na narodnostno mešanem območju izvaja tudi dejavnosti za pripadnike tu živeče italijanske narodne skupnosti. Gre za posebne naloge, ki izhajajo neposredno iz pravnega reda Republike Slovenije.

Zakon o knjižničarstvu, ki ureja javno službo na področju knjižnične dejavnosti, v 25. členu določa, da splošne knjižnice na narodnostno mešanih območjih zagotavljajo pripadnikom italijanske in madžarske narodne skupnosti komuniciranje v njihovem jeziku in pripravijo program dejavnosti v soglasju s predstavniki narodnih skupnosti (Zakon o knjižničarstvu 2001).

Za izvajanje knjižnične dejavnosti za pripadnike narodne skupnosti imajo splošne knjižnice na voljo dva dodatna delavca z aktivnim znanjem jezika narodne skupnosti. "Knjižnice, ki delujejo na teh območjih, se dogovorijo o skupnem zagotavljanju dejavnosti za potrebe narodne skupnosti. Soglasje k sistemizaciji knjižnic za del dejavnosti, namenjen manjšinski narodni skupnosti, izda ministrstvo, pristojno za kulturo" (Pravilnik o pogojih za izvajanje knjižnične dejavnosti kot javne službe 2003, 14. člen).

OKSV ima tako enega zaposlenega bibliotekarja z aktivnim znanjem italijanskega jezika, Mestna knjižnica Izola in Mestna knjižnica Piran pa vsaka po 0,5 EPZ zaposlenega.

Na narodnostno mešanem območju, kjer živita avtohtoni italijanska in madžarska narodna skupnost, ima splošna knjižnica v zbirki najmanj štiri enote gradiva na prebivalca, pripadnika narodne skupnosti, v jeziku te narodne skupnosti (Pravilnik o pogojih za izvajanje knjižnične dejavnosti kot javne službe 2003, 11. člen). Pomemben je tudi 11.b člen tega pravilnika, ki določa letni prirast monografskih publikacij, neknjižnega gradiva in serijskih publikacij tudi za avtohtone narodne skupnosti iz sredstev občin in države ali iz drugih virov prirasta gradiva (zamena, dar).

Nakup knjižničnega gradiva in dejavnosti knjižnic so izvorno dolžne financirati občine, in sicer za vse prebivalce na območju, ki ga pokriva posamezna knjižnica, vključno s pripadniki narodnih skupnosti (Zakon o knjižničarstvu 2001, 52. člen). Država z dodatnim financiranjem splošnih knjižnic dopolnjuje sredstva občin; ministrstvo, pristojno za kulturo, jim namenja dodatna sredstva za delni nakup knjižničnega gradiva in računalniške opreme, za obdelavo, posredovanje knjižničnega gradiva in informacijskih virov ter različne druge dejavnosti pripadnikov italijanske (in madžarske) narodne skupnosti.

Nekateri oddelki OKSV izvajajo dejavnosti, ki so namenjene tudi pripadnikom italijanske narodne skupnosti. Tako na primer Oddelek za mlade bralce izvaja ure pravljic za otroke in druge aktivnosti v italijanskem jeziku. Največji obseg dejavnosti za pripadnike italijanske narodne skupnosti pa knjižnica izvaja na Oddelku za italijaniko, ki je bil leta 1986 namensko ustanovljen za zadovoljevanje knjižničnih in informacijskih potreb pripadnikov italijanske narodne skupnosti v Kopru in tudi za koordinacijo knjižnične dejavnosti za italijansko narodno skupnost v štirih obalnih občinah.

Oddelek za italijaniko na podlagi vsakoletnega neposrednega poziva Ministrstva za kulturo za pripravo programa dejavnosti splošne knjižnice za pripadnike narodne skupnosti pripravi svoj program v soglasju s predstavniki italijanske samoupravne narodne skupnosti. Kot je navedeno v letnem poročilu knjižnice, oddelek v okviru svetovalno-razvojnih nalog spremlja tudi delovanje šolskih in drugih knjižnic narodne skupnosti, jim svetuje in z njimi sodeluje. Oddelek skrbi tudi za dosledno izvajanje dvojezičnosti v celotni knjižnici na narodnostno mešanem območju, na katerem deluje (OKSV 2019).

4. Namen, cilji, raziskovalna vprašanja, metodologija raziskave

4.1 Namen, cilji in raziskovalna vprašanja

Predmet raziskave je merjenje uspešnosti delovanja OKSV pri skrbi za uresničevanje pravic pripadnikov italijanske narodne skupnosti, namen raziskave pa na osnovi njenih rezultatov opredeliti morebitne ukrepe za povečanje vloge in pomena OKSV pri ohranjanju dvojezičnosti v lokalnem okolju.

Cilji raziskave:
– proučiti uresničevanje posebnih pravic pripadnikov italijanske narodne skupnosti v okviru OKSV;
– izmeriti uspešnost delovanja OKSV na tem področju;
– pripraviti izhodišča in predloge za povečanje vloge knjižnice v lokalnem okolju kot pomembnega dejavnika pri ohranjanju dvojezičnosti.

Pri zasnovi raziskave, njeni metodologiji ter uporabljenih raziskovalnih metodah so nas vodila naslednja raziskovalna vprašanja:
– Ali OKSV posluje dvojezično in izvaja dejavnosti/storitve za pripadnike italijanske narodne skupnosti na enaki ravni kot za pripadnike večinskega naroda?
– V kolikšni meri je OKSV uspešna pri uresničevanju posebnih pravic pripadnikov italijanske narodne skupnosti?

4.2 Metodologija raziskave

Kot raziskovalno metodo smo uporabili študijo primera, ki predstavlja eno od vrst kvalitativnih raziskav. Pri analizi raziskovalnega problema in raziskovalnih podatkov smo uporabili deskriptivno metodo, pomagali pa smo si tudi z anonimno anketo. Anketa je bila izvedena terensko v vseh oddelkih OKSV v maju 2021. Anketne liste je vrnilo 35 od 37 zaposlenih. Anketni vprašalnik je vseboval pet vprašanj in je bil pripravljen le za namen ugotavljanja jezikovne usposobljenosti delavca za delo s pripadniki narodne skupnosti.

Na osnovi temeljnih ugotovitev te raziskave smo pripravili mersko orodje za evalvacijo uspešnosti pri uresničevanju posebnih pravic pripadnikov italijanske narodne skupnosti v OKSV.

Pred pripravo merskega orodja smo preučili temeljno sociološko, sociolingvistično in socialno-psihološko strokovno literaturo, vezano na omenjeno področje.[4]

Pri pripravi raziskovalnega instrumentarija za ugotavljanje uspešnosti pri uresničevanju posebnih pravic pripadnikov italijanske narodne skupnosti v OKSV smo uporabili elemente, ki smo jih zasledili v delih Drugačno v splošnem (Novljan 2001) in Skrb za varstvo manjšin v slovenskih zakonih in normativih za knjižnice (Marković 1998), objavljenih v strokovni reviji knjižnice.

Raziskovalni instrumentarij se odprto sklicuje na že omenjeni Unescov dokument Jezikovna vitalnost in ogroženost, ki je močno povezan z usmeritvami na podlagi Fishmanove lestvice GIDS (Fishman 1991).[5] Raziskavi sta bili vodilo za našo analizo predvsem pri izbiri pristopa.

5. Mersko orodje za evalvacijo uspešnosti

Mersko orodje za evalvacijo uspešnosti obravnava pet dejavnikov, ki dosežejo različne ravni med 0 in 5, pri čemer 0 pomeni neobstoj različnih oblik dvojezič-

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nosti znotraj knjižnice, 5 pa predstavlja popolno spoštovanje različnih oblik dvojezičnosti.

Prva dva elementa ocenjujeta prisotnost dvojezičnosti na oddelkih knjižnice in na knjižničnih družbenih omrežjih, tretji in četrti element preverjata oblikovanje večkulturne in večjezikovne knjižnične zbirke in usposobljenost knjižničarjev za delo s pripadniki narodne skupnosti, peti element pa organizacijo prireditev in dejavnosti v jeziku narodne skupnosti.

Kljub temu, da je instrumentarij izdelan za evalvacijo uspešnosti izvajanja posebnih pravic narodnih skupnosti v knjižnicah, pa je pristop treba razumeti kot vodilo, ki ga je mogoče prilagoditi tudi različnim lokalnim razmeram, ustanovam/zavodom na dvojezičnem območju in specifičnim ciljem, zastavljenim v raziskavi.

V nadaljevanju bomo predstavili omenjene dejavnike.

5.1 Vidna dvojezičnost

Dejavnik pojasnjuje in ocenjuje prisotnost različnih oblik vidne dvojezičnosti, ki je na simbolni in prestižni ravni pomemben znak prisotnosti manjšinskega jezika v okviru zakonsko utemeljenega narodnostno mešanega območja. Bolj ko se jezik dosledno in neprekinjeno uporablja v prostorih knjižnice, toliko močnejši načeloma je. Idealno bi bilo, da bi se jezik uporabljal v vseh dokumentih in vidnih prostorih knjižnice (splošna raba).

Preglednica 1: Vidna dvojezičnost

Raven	Opis
5	Uradni naziv, urnik, ves promocijski material na oddelkih, letaki ter vabila na predstavitve in dogodke na vseh oddelkih so dvojezični.
4	Uradni naziv, urnik in ves promocijski material na oddelkih so dvojezični. Letaki in vabila na predstavitve in dogodke na oddelkih so občasno/delno dvojezični.
3	Uradni naziv, urnik in ves promocijski material na oddelkih so dvojezični. Letaki in vabila na predstavitve in dogodke na oddelkih niso dvojezični.
2	Uradni naziv in urnik sta dvojezična, promocijski material je delno dvojezičen.
1	Uradni naziv in urnik sta dvojezična.
0	Nobena oblika vidne dvojezičnosti ni prisotna.

Vir: avtorjevi kriteriji preverjanja.

5.2 Dvojezičnost v novih medijih

Dejavnik pojasnjuje in ocenjuje prisotnost dvojezičnosti v novih domenah rabe jezika, kot so na primer novi mediji oz. spletna stran knjižnice in Facebook, na katerem se objavljajo knjižnične informacije javnega značaja, novice, dogodki

in prireditve. Crystal (2000, 141) navaja, da bo manjšinski "ogroženi jezik […] napredoval, če bodo njegovi govorci lahko uporabljali elektronsko tehnologijo".

Preglednica 2: Dvojezičnost v novih medijih

Raven	Opis
5	Vstopna spletna stran je dvojezična (osnovni podatki knjižnice, dokumenti javnega značaja); glavni meni in podmeniji spletne strani so dvojezični. Vse vsebine, vezane na novice, dogodke in prireditve, so dvojezične na spletni strani in na drugih družbenih omrežjih (Facebook, Instagram …).
4	Vstopna spletna stran je dvojezična (osnovni podatki knjižnice, dokumenti javnega značaja); glavni meni in podmeniji spletne strani so dvojezični. Vse vsebine, vezane na novice, dogodke in prireditve, so delno dvojezične na spletni strani in na drugih družbenih omrežjih (Facebook, Instagram …).
3	Vstopna spletna stran je dvojezična (osnovni podatki knjižnice, dokumenti javnega značaja); glavni meni in podmeniji spletne strani so dvojezični. Vse vsebine, vezane na novice, dogodke in prireditve, so v večinskem jeziku na spletni strani in na drugih družbenih omrežjih (Facebook, Instagram …).
2	Vstopna spletna stran je dvojezična (osnovni podatki knjižnice, dokumenti javnega značaja); glavni meni in podmeniji spletne strani so delno dvojezični.
1	Vstopna spletna stran je dvojezična (osnovni podatki knjižnice, dokumenti javnega značaja).
0	Nobena oblika dvojezičnosti ni prisotna.

Vir: avtorjevi kriteriji preverjanja.

5.3 Oblikovanje večkulturne in večjezikovne knjižnične zbirke

Pravilnik o pogojih za izvajanje knjižnične dejavnosti kot javne službe (2003, 11 člen), ki se nanaša na normative za pripadnike narodnih skupnosti, določa obseg gradiva v jeziku manjšine za splošne knjižnice na območjih, kjer živijo pripadniki narodnih skupnosti. Brez načrtovanega prirasta npr. monografskih publikacij, serijskih publikacij in neknjižnega gradiva ne bi bilo mogoče dolgoročno zagotoviti dvojezičnega okolja v knjižnici, ki se izraža tudi s prisotnostjo izvirnih italijanskih objav, predvsem iz Italije.

Preglednica 3: Oblikovanje večkulturne in večjezikovne knjižnične zbirke

Raven	Opis
5	Prirast števila monografij in serijskih publikacij v manjšinskem jeziku je skladen z normativi.
4	Prirast števila monografij ali serijskih publikacij v manjšinskem jeziku odstopa do –20 %.
3	Prirast števila monografij ali serijskih publikacij v manjšinskem jeziku odstopa do –40 %.
2	Prirast števila monografij ali serijskih publikacij v manjšinskem jeziku odstopa do –60 %.
1	Prirast števila monografij ali serijskih publikacij v manjšinskem jeziku odstopa do –80 %.
0	Ni prirasta monografij ali serijskih publikacij v manjšinskem jeziku.

Vir: avtorjevi kriteriji preverjanja.

5.4 Usposobljenost knjižničarjev za delo s pripadniki narodne skupnosti v skladu z zakonodajo

Ta dejavnik je skladen z ustavo in področnimi zakoni, povezanimi z izpostavljeno funkcionalno dvojezičnostjo, kar pomeni, da pripadniki manjšine v vseh govornih položajih, formalnih in neformalnih, pri komuniciranju znotraj skupine in tudi zunaj nje uporabljajo svoj materni jezik. Ustrezna določitev zahtevane ravni znanja jezika italijanske ali madžarske narodne skupnosti je pomembna tudi zaradi dejstva, ker javnim uslužbencem in tako tudi knjižničarjem v skladu s peto alinejo prvega odstavka 23. člena in v skladu z 28. členom Zakona o sistemu plač v javnem sektorju iz leta 2009 pripada dodatek za dvojezičnost (Zakon o sistemu plač v javnem sektorju 2009; Medvešek 2020, 28).

Preglednica 4: Usposobljenost knjižničarjev za delo s pripadniki narodne skupnosti

Raven	Opis
5	Vsi zaposleni poznajo manjšinski jezik skladno z normativi.
4	Večina zaposlenih pozna manjšinski jezik skladno z normativi.
3	Vsaj polovica zaposlenih pozna manjšinski jezik skladno z normativi.
2	Vsaj tretjina zaposlenih pozna manjšinski jezik skladno z normativi.
1	Le redki zaposleni poznajo manjšinski jezik skladno z normativi.
0	Nihče od zaposlenih ne pozna manjšinskega jezika.

Vir: avtorjevi kriteriji preverjanja.

5.5 Organizacija knjižničnih prireditev in dejavnosti v jeziku narodne skupnosti

Ta dejavnik preverja dejansko razsežnost dvojezičnosti in pojasnjuje, ob kakšnih priložnostih in v kolikšnem obsegu je pri izvajanju knjižničnih prireditev in dejavnosti prisoten jezik manjšine.

Preglednica 5: Organizacija prireditev in dejavnosti v jeziku narodne skupnosti

Raven	Opis
5	Dejavnosti in prireditve za otroke, mladino in odrasle so popolnoma dvojezične.
4	Dejavnosti in prireditve za otroke in mladino so dvojezične. Dejavnosti in prireditve za odrasle so delno dvojezične.
3	Dejavnosti in prireditve za otroke in mladino so pretežno dvojezične. Dejavnosti in prireditve za odrasle so redko dvojezične.
2	Dejavnosti in prireditve za otroke in mladino so delno dvojezične.
1	Dejavnosti in prireditve za otroke in mladino so občasno dvojezične.
0	Dejavnosti in prireditve niso dvojezične.

Vir: avtorjevi kriteriji preverjanja.

6. Ugotavljanje uspešnosti

Pri ugotavljanju uspešnosti OKSV na tem področju smo dejansko stanje primerjali z razpoložljivo notranjo dokumentacijo knjižnice (poročila, načrt dela), s stanjem na družbenih omrežjih, z zakonskimi določili, ki opredelijo predmet raziskave, in z anonimno anketo.

6.1 Vidna dvojezičnost v prostorih OKSV

Po preverjanju na terenu smo ugotovili, da so uradni naziv, urnik, ves promocijski material, letaki ter vabila na predstavitve in dogodke, ki jih izdaja knjižnica, dvojezični na vseh oddelkih in enotah na narodnostno mešanem območju.

Vidni dvojezičnosti v prostorih OKSV tako dodelimo 5. raven od 5 možnih.

6.2 Dvojezičnost v novih medijih OKSV

OKSV ima v celoti dvojezično vstopno spletno stran, prav tako so dvojezični osnovni podatki knjižnice, dokumenti javnega značaja, iskalnik menija in podmenijev. Dvojezičnost je zagotovljena z ločenim delovanjem spletne strani v slovenskem in italijanskem jeziku (in ne s prikazom obeh jezikov sočasno), v italijanski jezik pa so prevedene tudi sistemske vsebine, kot so vabila, novice ter informacije o dogodkih in prireditvah. Izgled spletne strani je sodoben in minimalističen, pri oblikovanju pa so delovali strokovnjaki, ki so s postavitvami in barvami ustvarili pregledno in funkcionalno sodobno spletno stran, ki deluje na vseh napravah. Spletna stran ima vključene tudi zahteve, ki izhajajo iz Zakona o dostopnosti spletišč in mobilnih aplikacij, s čimer je olajšana uporaba spletne strani tudi za slabovidne in slepe.

Pomanjkljivost je le, da so dokumenti javnega značaja knjižnice, vezani na nabavno politiko, in programi dela samo v slovenskem jeziku, medtem ko poročilo o delu knjižnice vsebuje povzetke v italijanskem jeziku.

Opažamo, da so vse vsebine na Facebooku, vezane na novice, opis dogodkov in posnetih prireditev, pretežno v slovenskem jeziku.

Dvojezičnosti v novih medijih OKSV dodelimo 4. raven od 5 možnih.

6.3 Oblikovanje večkulturne in večjezikovne knjižnične zbirke v OKSV

Ali OKSV ustrezno oblikuje svojo zbirko za pripadnike italijanske narodne skupnosti, smo poskušali ugotoviti s primerjavo letnega prirasta števila monografij in serijskih publikacij v italijanskem jeziku v letu 2020. Iz dokumenta o nabavni politiki OKSV je razvidno, da mora biti glede na jezik publikacij letni prirast celotne knjižnice naslednji: 60–70 % naslovov prirasta v slovenskem jeziku, 12 % v italijanskem, 10 % v angleškem, 2 % v hrvaškem in srbskem jeziku ter

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2 % v drugih jezikih (OKSV 2011). Po podatkih N. Ventin, vodje Oddelka za nabavo in obdelavo gradiva OKSV (osebno komuniciranje, 2020, 28. avgust),[6] je leta 2020 knjižnica pridobila 578 enot monografij v italijanskem jeziku. Celotna knjižnična pridobitev (vsi jeziki) pa je znašala 9.253 enot. Pod predpostavko, da v Kopru živi manj kot 1.000 pripadnikov italijanske narodne skupnosti,[7] nabava monografij v knjižnici presega standard 250 enot/1.000 pripadnikov narodne skupnosti (Pravilnik o pogojih za izvajanje knjižnične dejavnosti kot javne službe 2003, 11.b člen).

Leta 2020 je knjižnica pridobila tudi 43 naslovov serijskih publikacij v italijanskem jeziku. Skupaj je knjižnica pridobila 829 naslovov serijskih publikacij (vsi jeziki), kar pomeni 5,2 % prirasta v italijanskem jeziku. Nabava serijskih publikacij knjižnice ne dosega oz. odstopa od standardov, saj letno ne dopolnjuje knjižnične zbirke serijskih publikacij v jeziku narodne skupnosti v obsegu najmanj 15 % naslovov (Pravilnik o pogojih za izvajanje knjižnične dejavnosti kot javne službe 2003, 11.b člen). Prirast italijanskih monografij v celotni knjižnici torej znaša 6,3 %, prirast serijskih publikacij v italijanskem jeziku pa znaša v celotni knjižnici 5,2 %.

Oblikovanju večkulturne in večjezikovne knjižnične zbirke (nabava) v OKSV dodelimo 4. raven od 5 možnih.

6.4 Usposobljenost knjižničarjev za delo s pripadniki narodne skupnosti

Pravilnik o notranji organizaciji in sistemizaciji delovnih mest v Osrednji knjižnici Srečka Vilharja Koper iz leta 2012 predpisuje osnovno ali višjo raven znanja jezika italijanske narodne skupnosti (OKSV 2012a). Glede na kadrovsko strukturo na dan 31. 8. 2020 na OKSV smo zasledili, da je za 35 od 37 zaposlenih predpisana osnovna raven znanja jezika italijanske narodne skupnosti. Višjo raven jezika zasledimo le pri bibliotekarju z Oddelka italijanike, medtem ko je za direktorja predvideno aktivno znanje jezika.

Z anonimno anketo smo preverili jezikovno usposobljenost delavcev knjižnice za delo s pripadniki italijanske narodne skupnosti v skladu z zakonodajo. Izvedeli smo, da je velika večina zaposlenih (33 od 37) predvideno znanje jezika pridobila na podlagi obiska OŠ ali/in SŠ na narodnostno mešanem območju, dva nimata opravljenega izpita italijanščine, dva pa nista odgovorila.

Usposobljenosti knjižničarjev za delo s pripadniki narodne skupnosti dodelimo 4. raven od 5 možnih.

6.5 Organizacija prireditev in dejavnosti v jeziku narodne skupnosti

Iz letnega poročila o delu iz leta 2019 smo izvedeli, da so se na mladinskem oddelku OKSV izvajale redne bibliopedagoške dejavnosti tudi za šole in vrtce

z italijanskim učnim jezikom (v italijanskem jeziku), in sicer: obiski oddelkov knjižnice in predstavitev zbirk, bibliopedagoške ure (ki vključujejo tudi ure pravljic), uprizorjene predstave s senčnim gledališčem in Noč v knjižnici. Na omenjenem oddelku so večkrat mesečno organizirali tudi ure italijanščine v knjižnici za predšolske in osnovnošolske otroke (začetna in nadaljevalna stopnja). Iz istega dokumenta lahko razberemo, da so bile knjižnica in njene enote aktivne tudi na področju izvajanja prireditev in aktivnosti/dogodkov za odrasle v večinskem in manjšinskem jeziku (OKSV 2019).[8]

Po preverjanju na terenu in sodeč po posnetih prireditvah tudi na Facebook strani knjižnice smo ugotovili, da je praksa precej nagnjena k večinskemu jeziku oz. velika večina dogodkov poteka samo v slovenskem jeziku. Hkrati pa zabeležimo tudi 13 dogodkov v italijanskem jeziku s pozdravi ali uvodi v slovenskem jeziku, ki izhajajo iz dolgoletnega sodelovanja med lokalno skupnostjo Italijanov v Kopru in Oddelkom za italijaniko (OKSV 2019). Praksa pri izbiri in obsegu uporabljenega jezika na prireditvah/aktivnostih potrjuje prisotnost spremenljivk vsebina in publika. Pri tem je treba poudariti, da je ponudba dogodkov/prireditev v slovenskem jeziku večja.

Kar se tiče publikacije knjižnice, je letni informativni bilten ustanove *Morje idej* popolnoma dvojezičen.

V publicistični dejavnosti njenih oddelkov lahko navedemo še revijo *Studia iustinopolitana* in knjižno zbirko *Bibliotheca iustinopolitana*. Po pregledu vseh izdanih številk zbirke domoznanskega oddelka, *Bibliotheca iustinopolitana,* ugotavljamo, da so bili od prve do tretje številke zbornika (2013) vsi prispevki v dvojezični obliki oz. prevedeni v celoti. Od četrte številke (2013) dalje zasledimo le še prisotnost dvojezičnih uvodov, namesto celotnih prevodov člankov pa postopno uveljavljanje samo izvlečkov v italijanskem jeziku. Od šeste številke dalje smo v povprečju zasledili po en članek v italijanskem jeziku (z izvlečkom v slovenščini) in večje število člankov v hrvaščini.

Pri razstavah knjižnice je na vsakem panoju prisoten vsaj povzetek v jeziku narodne skupnosti.

Organizaciji prireditev in dejavnosti v jeziku narodne skupnosti dodelimo 4. raven od 5 možnih.

6.6 Splošni pregled rezultatov raziskave

Na osnovi zgoraj omenjenega na prvo raziskovalno vprašanje, vezano na dvojezično poslovanje in izvajanje dejavnosti/storitve za pripadnike italijanske narodne skupnosti na enaki ravni kot za pripadnike večinskega naroda, delno odgovorimo pritrdilno, saj izbrani dejavniki merjenja kljub doseganju zelo visoke ravni niso na popolnoma enaki ravni.

Preglednica 6: Dvojezično poslovanje in dejavnosti za pripadnike italijanske narodne skupnosti v OKSV – skupno

		Dosežena raven/točke
1.	Vidna dvojezičnost v prostorih OKSV	5
2.	Dvojezičnost v novih medijih OKSV	4
3.	Oblikovanje večkulturne in večjezikovne knjižnične zbirke OKSV	4
4.	Usposobljenost knjižničarjev za delo s pripadniki narodne skupnosti	4
5.	Organizacija prireditev in dejavnosti v jeziku narodne skupnosti	4
	Dosežene točke	21 od 25
	Točke skupaj in odstotni delež	84 %

Vir: avtorjevi kriteriji preverjanja.

Drugo raziskovalno vprašanje, vezano na uspešnost pri uresničevanju posebnih pravic pripadnikov italijanske narodne skupnosti, smo preverili na podlagi analize vsebinskega področja. Doseganje uspešnosti posameznega dejavnika vsebinskega področja smo zabeležili v razpredelnico. Doseženo raven posameznega elementa smo nato pretvorili v točke in jih sešteli. Doseženo število točk smo pretvorili v odstotke.

Na drugo raziskovalno vprašanje lahko na osnovi pridobljenih rezultatov odgovorimo pritrdilno, saj smo z analizo ugotovili, da je bilo z oceno obravnavanega vsebinskega sklopa doseženih 21 točk od 25 možnih oz. 84 %, čemur lahko pripišemo oceno prav dobro.

Analizo smo želeli podkrepiti z drugimi morebitnimi raziskavami o isti tematiki, vendar drugih ali podobnih raziskav oziroma drugih merskih instrumentov za merjenje uspešnosti javnih ustanov žal nismo zasledili.

Predstavljeni način ugotavljanja uspešnosti pri uresničevanju posebnih pravic pripadnikov italijanske narodne skupnosti je model, ki je enostaven za uporabo in nam omogoča poglobljen vpogled v omenjeno področje poslovanja s pripadniki manjšine. Model omogoča diahrono ugotavljanje uspešnosti knjižnice skozi čas, kakor tudi sinhrono primerjanje oz. primerjavo z drugimi knjižnicami. V prilagojeni obliki bi lahko omenjeni model z istim namenom uporabile tudi druge javne ustanove, in sicer kot sredstvo za določanje politik, ki jih je treba sprejeti za popolno uresničevanje dvojezičnosti. Na ta način bi lahko Slovenija upoštevala tudi ugotovitve in priporočila odbora strokovnjakov Sveta Evrope za Evropsko listino o regionalnih ali manjšinskih jezikih ter zlasti učinkovito ukrepala, da bi zmanjšala razkorak med pravnim okvirom in dejanskim izvajanjem pri uporabi italijanščine pri zagotavljanju javnih storitev (Vlada Republike Slovenije 2015, 4).

7. Zaključki

Na osnovi rezultatov raziskave lahko z gotovostjo trdimo, da na OKSV kljub zelo dobrim rezultatom še ostajajo nekatere možnosti za izboljšavo izvajanja dvojezičnega poslovanja in dejavnosti/storitev za pripadnike italijanske narodne skupnosti, ki ni popolnoma na enaki ravni kot za pripadnike večinskega naroda.

Dodaten napor bi bilo treba nameniti popolnemu izpolnjevanju normativov glede prirasta serijskih publikacij v italijanskem jeziku in vključevanju manjšinskega jezika v vsa družbena omrežja knjižnice. Prav na tem področju opažamo, da je manjšinski jezik le delno zastopan v primerjavi z večinskim. Italijanski jezik ni popolnoma osvojil sodobnih medijev in zaostaja za slovenskim jezikom.

Kar se tiče usposobljenosti knjižničarjev za delo s pripadniki narodne skupnosti, smo ugotovili, da ni večjih težav pri izpolnjevanju zakonskih pogojev za zasedbo delovnega mesta. Kljub temu opozarjamo, da jezikovne kompetence delavca niso vedno dosledno preverjene pred sklenitvijo delovnega razmerja, kar lahko odločilno vpliva na uresničevanje individualne in institucionalne dvojezičnosti. Pomemben korak naprej bi bil zagotovo izvedba preizkusov znanja v specifični javni ustanovi, kot to že predvideva Zakon o posebnih pravicah italijanske in madžarske narodne skupnosti na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja za vse delavce, ki ne izpolnjujejo pogojev znanja italijanskega jezika za zasedbo delovnega mesta. Tako bi dejansko zagotovili tudi enega od pomembnih pogojev Grina in Vaillancourta oz. konkretno priložnost, da pripadniki italijanske narodne skupnosti svoj jezik uporabljajo v različnih okoliščinah.

Glede organizacije prireditev in dejavnosti v jeziku narodne skupnosti menimo, da bi bilo treba nastalo prakso pri njihovem izvajanju zrcalno primerjati z drugimi modeli izvajanja dvojezičnosti v drugih državah na tem področju. Tako bi lahko pridobili dodatne sugestije in predloge za obogatitev dvojezične prakse pri nas. Seveda omenjena primerjava ni predmet te raziskave. Obsežnejše in kakovostnejše dejavnosti za pripadnike narodne skupnosti bo knjižnica lahko izvajala le po predhodni ugotovitvi njihovih dejanskih potreb in interesov na področju knjižničarstva. Le tako bodo dejavnosti knjižnice usmerjene k specifičnim potrebam in željam narodne skupnosti. Pri tem priporočamo upoštevanje povprečne starosti pripadnikov italijanske narodnosti na Obali, ki je višja od slovenskega povprečja, kar narekuje izvedbo prilagojenih programov (Komac 1999, 20–21).

S pomočjo predlaganega modela – s spremembami/prilagoditvami, kjer so potrebne – bi bilo treba analizo razširiti na druge javne ustanove/zavode, ki poslujejo v dvojezičnem okolju, da bi pridobili celovito sliko prakse izvajanja dvojezičnosti. Model predstavlja poenostavljen pristop od spodaj navzgor, ki bi lahko ob dosledni uporabi podal koristne povratne informacije o izvajanju ukrepov delovne skupine Vlade Republike Slovenije za izvrševanje predpisov na področju uresničevanja pravic italijanske in madžarske narodne skupnosti v Republiki Sloveniji. Seveda je ob tem treba imeti vedno v mislih, da lahko ob

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predlaganih analizah obstajajo tudi drugi družbenopolitični in gospodarski dejavniki, ki bi jih bilo morda treba bolj poglobljeno analizirati in govorijo o tem, da je izboljšanje ravni dvojezičnosti zapleten, zahteven in dolgoročen proces (Limon & Novak Lukanovič 2017, 665).

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Opombe

¹ V zvezi s tem modelom je bila opravljena evalvacija na podlagi subjektivne percepcije etno-lingvistične vitalnosti z ustreznim vprašalnikom, ki je bil uporabljen na vzorcu Italijanov, živečih na istrsko-kvarnerskem območju. Podatki, ki primerjajo percepcijo vitalnosti italijanske skupnosti in percepcijo vitalnosti slovenske/hrvaške večine, kažejo občutno nižje vrednotenje položaja italijanske narodne skupnosti za skoraj vse strukturne spremenljivke (Štrukelj 1989).

² V letih 2002 in 2003 je UNESCO zaprosil mednarodno skupino jezikoslovcev, naj oblikuje refe-renčni okvir, po katerem bi bilo mogoče določiti vitalnost jezikov. Nastal je dokument z naslovom Jezikovna vitalnost in ogroženost (Brenzinger et al. 2003).

³ Preverjanje izpolnjevanja tega pogoja je v skladu s tretjim odstavkom 61. člena Zakona o javnih uslužbencih iz leta 2007 ter uradnim pojasnilom MJU št. 100-425/2008/5 z dne 11. 7. 2008 (Ministrstvo za javno upravo 2008). Na podlagi omenjenih dokumentov je mogoče izpolnjevanje tega pogoja presojati na naslednji način: za osnovno raven znanja jezika narodne skupnosti se lahko šteje: (1) zaključena osnovnošolska obveznost na dvojezični osnovni šoli; (2) končana srednja šola, kjer je bil eden od jezikov tudi italijanski ali madžarski, pri čemer oseba predhodno ni končala dvojezične osnovne šole; (3) opravljen izpit italijanskega ali madžarskega jezika na dodiplomskem ali podiplomskem študiju; (4) potrdilo o jezikovnem usposabljanju pri ustrezni organizaciji v trajanju najmanj 300 ur; (5) potrdilo o uspešno opravljenem izpitu na osnovni ravni znanja jezika narodne skupnosti. Za višjo raven znanja jezika narodne skupnosti se lahko šteje: (1) zaključena osnovnošolska obveznost na dvojezični osnovni šoli in končana srednja šola, kjer je bil eden od jezikov tudi italijanski ali madžarski; (2) končana srednja šola, kjer je bil eden od jezikov tudi italijanski ali madžarski, pri čemer oseba predhodno ni končala dvojezične osnovne šole, in izpit na dodiplomskem ali podiplomskem študiju iz enega izmed teh jezikov; (3) zaključen dodiplomski študij enega izmed jezikov narodne skupnosti; (4) šolanje v drugi državi, kjer je eden izmed jezikov narodne skupnosti materni jezik; (5) certifikat oziroma potrdilo o višji ravni znanja jezika narodne skupnosti.

⁴ Naj omenimo monografijo Medetnični odnosi in etnična identiteta v slovenskem etničnem prostoru (Nećak Lük & Jesih 1998) in raziskavo Percepcija kulturne in jezikovne raznolikosti v obmejnih mestih (Novak Lukanovič et al. 2006).

⁵ Medgeneracijski prenos jezika, ki ga ponuja Fishmanova lestvica GIDS, je na primer ohranjen tudi v sklopu Unescovega modela kot osrednji dejavnik vitalnosti (Burra & Debeljuh 2013).

⁶ Vir je na voljo pri avtorju.

⁷ Iz uradnega poročila, objavljenega v Statističnih informacijah (SURS 2003, 23) izvemo, da je prebivalcev Mestne občine Koper, ki so se po narodni pripadnosti opredelili za Italijane, 712.

⁸ Omenjene aktivnosti so se izvedle le delno zaradi epidemije novega koronavirusa in preprečevanja širjenja bolezni covid-19 v letih 2020 in 2021.

Katalin Munda Hirnök, Sonja Novak Lukanović

Porabski štipendisti, nosilci razvoja slovenske narodne skupnosti na Madžarskem

V članku na podlagi opravljene spletne ankete s porabskimi štipendisti, ki so se izobraževali na visokošolskih ustanovah v Sloveniji, intervjujev s predstavnicama manjšinskih organizacij, strokovne literature in časopisnih člankov analiziramo, kakšen je bil in je pomen omenjenih štipendistov za razvoj slovenske narodne skupnosti na Madžarskem.
Rezultati potrjujejo izhodiščno predpostavko, da so štipendisti dejansko nosilci razvoja lastne skupnosti. Obenem rezultati prinašajo podatke o štipendijski politiki in prizadevanjih slovenskih manjšinskih struktur za vključitev mladih, tudi štipendistov, v svoje delovanje. Pridobljeni podatki so med drugim tudi pokazali, da zaradi gospodarske nerazvitosti obmejnega območja Porabje trenutno ne predstavlja perspektivnega okolja za mlade, čeprav bi si anketiranci to želeli.

Ključne besede: slovensko Porabje, slovenska skupnost na Madžarskem, mladi, porabski štipendisti.

Scholarship Holders from the Slovene Raba Region – Promoters of the Development of the Slovene National Community in Hungary

Based on an online survey conducted among scholarship holders from the Slovene Raba Region who studied at higher education institutions in Slovenia, interviews with representatives of minority organisations, professional literature and newspaper reports, the article analyses the role of this group of scholarship holders in the development of the Slovene national community in Hungary. The results confirm the initial assumption that scholarship holders are indeed the promoters of the development of their community. Likewise, the results provide information on the scholarship policy as well as on the efforts of Slovene minority structures to involve young people, including scholarship holders, in their activities. The data also show, among other things, that due to the economic underdevelopment of the border area, the Raba Region is not seen as a promising environment for young people, although the respondents would like it to be so.

Keywords: Slovene Raba Region, Slovene community in Hungary, young people, scholarship holders from the Raba Region.

Correspondence address: Katalin Munda Hirnök, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Erjavčeva 26, SI-1000 Ljubljana, e-mail: katalin.hirnok@inv.si, Sonja Novak Lukanović, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Erjavčeva 26, SI-1000 Ljubljana, e-mail: sonja.novak@guest.arnes.si.

1. Uvod

Porabski štipendisti, ki so se v 70. in 80. letih prejšnjega stoletja izobraževali v Sloveniji (in se vrnili na Madžarsko), in nekateri posamezniki, ki so končali študij na Visoki učiteljski šoli Dániel Berzsenyi (danes Univerzitetno središče Savaria – ELTE SEK) v Sombotelu (Szombathely), so postali pomembni akterji politične in kulturne organiziranosti slovenske narodne skupnosti na Madžarskem. Slovenska skupnost je v tem obdobju še vedno delovala v okviru Demokratične zveze južnih Slovanov (v nadaljevanju DZJS),[1] enotne organizacije Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev, v kateri je imela enega predstavnika. Dejavnosti DZJS so segale na področje kulture, vzgoje in izobraževanja, medijev, narodnostnih pravic itd., bile pa so pod močnim ideološkim, političnim in gospodarskim vplivom Madžarske socialistične delavske partije (Nemeth 1985).

Možnost študija oziroma štipendiranja pripadnikov južnih Slovanov (tudi Slovencev) na Madžarskem so v Socialistični federativni republiki Jugoslaviji (v nadaljevanju SFRJ) urejali meddržavni sporazumi med vlado SFRJ in LR Madžarsko,[2] po osamosvojitvi Slovenije pa med Republiko Slovenijo in Republiko Madžarsko.[3]

Možnosti za študij na visokošolskih izobraževalnih ustanovah v Sloveniji so se za porabske Slovence odprle v 70. letih 20. stoletja. Prva porabska Slovenka, ki je leta 1973 prišla kot štipendistka študirat v Ljubljano, je bila Marija Kozar-Mukič, kasneje znana etnologinja, za njo pa so prihajali še drugi. Število štipendistov je vsekozi nihalo.

Štipendijsko politiko so do 90. let 20. stoletja na Madžarskem vodili oziroma usmerjali Ministrstvo za šolstvo,[4] DZJS, županijski organi in lokalni akterji (šole). Informacije o možnostih študija in štipendije v Sloveniji so mladi v Porabju po letu 1990 lahko pridobili od pristojnih ministrstev v obeh državah, od slovenskega svetovalca za slovenski jezik v Porabju, prek časopisa Porabje, na Zvezi Slovencev na Madžarskem (v nadaljevanju ZSM), od učiteljev na šolah ipd. Z razvojem sodobne informacijske tehnologije so informacije o možnostih študija v Sloveniji danes širše dostopne.

V novih družbenopolitičnih razmerah (demokratizacija madžarske družbe) se je zaradi nezadovoljstva slovenske manjšine (zlasti mladih) z delovanjem DZJS[5] oblikovala zahteva po njeni reorganizaciji oziroma izstopu iz nje. Zakon o društvih iz leta 1989 (*1989. évi II. törvény az egyesülési jogról*) je omogočil, da so Slovenci januarja leta 1990 ustanovili slovensko društvo Lipa. Pobudniki so bili mladi, med njimi tudi štipendisti (Mihelič 1989, 16). Še istega leta oktobra je prišlo do ustanovitve ZSM, prve samostojne organizacije, ki deluje na področju kulture, medijev in gospodarstva. ZSM je bila do sprejetja Zakona o pravicah narodnih in etničnih manjšin na Madžarskem leta 1993 (*1993. évi LXXVII. törvény a nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségek jogairól*) edina organizacija, ki je pokrivala potrebe slovenske narodne skupnosti na pomembnejših področjih manjšinskega

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življenja. Omenjeni zakon je omogočil ustanavljanje manjšinskih samouprav (od leta 1994) ter Državne slovenske samouprave (v nadaljevanju DSS) (1995) (Munda Hirnök 1999). Leta 2011 je Madžarska sprejela novo ustavo (*Magyarország Alaptörvénye*). Isto leto je položaj narodnosti na Madžarskem na novo uredil ustavni Zakon o pravicah narodnosti (*2011. évi CLXXIX. törvény a nemzetiségek jogairól*). Na podlagi tega zakona so narodnosti na Madžarskem, tudi Slovenci, dobile pravico do izvolitve zagovornika narodnosti v madžarski parlament. Zagovorniki nimajo enakih pristojnosti kot poslanci, saj med drugim nimajo glasovalne pravice, lahko pa ustanovijo komisije zagovornikov, katerih vprašanja nato obravnava parlament. Slovenci na Madžarskem so leta 2014 za svojo zagovornico v madžarskem parlamentu izvolili Eriko Köles Kiss (Munda Hirnök & Novak Lukanovič 2018, 150–151), ki je bila na parlamentarnih volitvah leta 2022 izvoljena že tretjič.

V obdobju po demokratičnih spremembah se je občutno povečalo število novonastalih kulturnih društev in drugih oblik združenj, ne le v Porabju, temveč tudi v drugih delih države, kjer živijo Slovenci.

Omenjene manjšinske organizacije so v teh desetletjih z vključitvijo mladih (zlasti štipendistov) zapolnile določena delovna mesta na različnih področjih, ki so vitalnega pomena za njihovo delovanje. Čeprav do zdaj tematika porabskih štipendistov ni bila raziskana, terenske izkušnje in osebna poznanstva kažejo, da so se nekateri zaposlili na osnovnih šolah v Porabju, pri manjšinskih organizacijah in ustanovah itd., drugi so dobili službe zunaj območja avtohtone poselitve, v drugih delih države, kot predavatelji slovenskega jezika v visokošolskih ustanovah, v muzejih, pri političnih predstavništvih Republike Slovenije na Madžarskem, v slovenskih podjetjih z izpostavo na Madžarskem itd.

Ker so se nekateri med njimi že ali pa se bodo kmalu upokojili, so manjšinske organizacije postavljene pred resne izzive. Manjšinske strukture se namreč soočajo s kadrovsko podhranjenostjo in preobremenjenostjo ter starajočo se strukturo na vodstvenih položajih in v različnih organizacijah. ZSM sicer prek kulturnih skupin že zdaj vključuje mlade v svoje delovanje, težje pa pridobi mlade za vodstvene funkcije organizacij in društev, zlasti tiste, ki govorijo slovensko (Munda Hirnök 2019, 7–8). Tudi izsledki raziskave Mladi v slovenskem zamejstvu: družbeni in kulturni konteksti ter sodobni izzivi[6] (v nadaljevanju Mladi v slovenskem zamejstvu) potrjujejo šibko vključenost mladih Porabcev v vodstvo manjšinskih struktur (Munda Hirnök & Novak Lukanovič 2018, 163–174).

Namen pričujočega prispevka je predstavitev izbranih empiričnih podatkov, ki smo jih pridobili v okviru projekta Porabski štipendisti kot akterji ohranjanja in razvoja slovenske narodne skupnosti na Madžarskem. Poskušali smo evidentirati število štipendistov, ki so uspešno zaključili visokošolsko izobraževanje v Sloveniji, in ugotoviti, ali so se njihova pričakovanja in želje glede zaposlitve v Porabju (in tudi v Sloveniji) uresničili. Prav tako smo želeli evidentirati število štipendistov, ki so še v procesu visokošolskega izobraževanja. Med štipendisti, ki

se še izobražujejo, smo želeli preveriti, na katerih področjih se želijo zaposliti in v katera okolja se nameravajo vrniti. Zanimalo nas je tudi, ali obstaja pri slovenski manjšini v Porabju načrt glede pritegnitve in vključitve študentske populacije, predvsem štipendistov, ki študirajo v Sloveniji, v delovanje manjšinskih struktur tako v času njihovega študija kot tudi po končanem študiju. Brez dvoma ti mladi predstavljajo pomemben človeški kapital, ki akumulira znanje in ga lahko tudi širi v geografski prostor. Sam finančni kapital (vključujoč tudi investicije) je mrtev kapital, ki je odvisen od ljudi, ki s tem kapitalom upravljajo (Cameron 2005). Prav zato je za vitalnost slovenske manjšine v Porabju pomembno zavedanje o pomenu znanja mladih, ki lahko posredno in neposredno prispevajo h graditvi tako imenovane *knowledge based economy* oz. na znanju osnovanega gospodarstva, ki predstavlja enega od temeljnih stebrov narodne identitete in pogoj za obstoj narodne skupnosti (Grin et al. 2003; Grin 2009; Novak Lukanović 2002). Prav zato smo v našem raziskovanju iskali odgovor na vprašanje, ali je Porabje perspektivno okolje za (izobražene) mlade.

2. Kratek oris Porabja

Vpogled v značilnosti položaja porabskih Slovencev na osnovi empiričnih podatkov, terenskega opazovanja, objavljene strokovne literature ipd. kaže slabosti in prednosti razvojnih možnosti slovenske narodne skupnosti. Porabski Slovenci se še vedno spoprijemajo s posledicami svoje večdesetletne skoraj hermetične zaprtosti (železna zavesa) in obrobnosti, kar se še danes kaže tako rekoč na vseh področjih, še posebej na gospodarskem. V času železne zavese so to obmejno območje vsi razvojni načrti Madžarske zaobšli. Posledice državne regionalne politike so se kazale v tem, da je obmejni prostor dejansko postal gospodarski mrtvi kot, ki se je posledično tudi demografsko izčrpal. Zaradi neugodnih življenjskih razmer in politične represije, še zlasti v obdobju Rákosijevega režima, ko je prišlo tudi do izgona oziroma deportacij porabskih družin (Munda Hirnök 2013), in po zatrtju madžarske vstaje leta 1956,[7] se je iz obmejnega območja izselilo veliko ljudi. Na zmanjševanje števila prebivalcev v Porabju so vplivale tudi kasnejše notranje selitve v druge dele Madžarske (Zupančič 2000, 133–136; Kovács 2007).

Porabje je izrazito agrarna pokrajina, v kateri ni dovolj industrije in storitvenih dejavnosti, ki bi lahko prebivalcem ponudili dovolj delovnih mest in zagotovili gospodarski razvoj. Šele v zadnjem obdobju se je z (delnim) razvojem infrastrukture odprlo nekaj delovnih mest v porabskih vaseh.

Parkovna ureditev območja (Porabje je del Narodnega parka Őrség in Trideželnega krajinskega parka Őrség-Raab-Goričko) je (lahko) na eni strani ovirajoči dejavnik za vrsto modernizacij, na drugi strani pa porabskim Slovencem ponuja nove priložnosti, zlasti v turizmu in ekološkem kmetovanju. Pri teh prizadevanjih ima pomembno vlogo Razvojna agencija Slovenska krajina

(v nadaljevanju RASK), ki od svoje ustanovitve leta 2006 uspešno pridobiva finančna sredstva iz evropskih in državnih skladov.

Demografska struktura območja je dokaj neugodna. Statistični podatki iz leta 2011 izkazujejo ne le nadpovprečno ostarelo strukturo slovenskega prebivalstva (Munda Hirnök 2014, 110), temveč tudi šibko številčnost (za slovensko narodnost se je opredelilo 2.385 oseb, delež mladih od 10 do 29 let predstavlja 14,1 % celotne populacije) (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal 2014). Populacija mladih, ki bodo postavljeni v središče naše obravnave, postaja ne le na Madžarskem, temveč tudi v Sloveniji in v drugih evropskih državah, vse izrazitejša demografska manjšina.

Za jezikovni položaj v Porabju je značilno, da se kljub močni institucionalni podpori manjšinskemu jeziku (razen s strani cerkve[8]) in relativno dobro urejeni pravni zaščiti manjšine na Madžarskem dinamika opuščanja slovenskega jezika/porabščine nadaljuje. Do opuščanja je prišlo zaradi prekinitve prenosa jezika v družini (Nećak Lük 1998, 240–248; Munda Hirnök & Novak Lukanovič 2016, 210–216). Med dejavniki, ki so pripeljali do nizke vitalnosti slovenskega jezika, so še mešani zakoni, večja pomembnost oziroma perspektivnost tujih jezikov (zlasti nemščine zaradi bližine Avstrije), nezainteresiranost staršev (ki še znajo porabsko), da bi se z otroki pogovarjali slovensko ipd. (Munda Hirnök 2017, 56–57; Novak Lukanovič et al. 2018, 63–69).

Pripadniki slovenske narodne skupnosti in tudi pripadniki drugih narodnosti, ki jih navaja Zakon o pravicah narodnih in etničnih manjšin na Madžarskem (1993),[9] imajo pravico do izobraževanja v maternem jeziku, kar tudi izkoristijo v praksi. Pouk slovenščine je v različnih oblikah prisoten na celi vertikali vzgojno-izobraževalnega sistema (Munda Hirnök & Novak Lukanović 2019, 198–203). Čeprav je bilo na področju izobraževanja v maternem jeziku na formalnopravni ravni narejenega veliko, ugotavljamo, da prizadevanja za izboljšanje položaja slovenskega jezika v praksi za zdaj zaostajajo za želenimi učinki. Dvojezične osnovne šole v Porabju se soočajo z upadanjem števila otrok in nezadostnim kadrom, usposobljenim za dvojezični pouk, kar vpliva tudi na kakovost poučevanja. Dvig kakovosti dvojezičnega pouka predstavlja velik strokovni izziv tako za upravljalca (DSS) kot za vzgojno-izobraževalne institucije. Ne smemo pa prezreti pomoči Slovenije, ki z zagotovitvijo mobilnih pedagoških kadrov poskuša pomagati pri izvajanju pouka slovenskega jezika in izvenšolskih dejavnosti (Munda Hirnök 2019, 14–18).

K izboljšanju razvojnih možnosti med drugim prispevajo razmeroma dobro urejena pravna zaščita narodnosti na Madžarskem po spremembi političnega sistema, obstoječa manjšinska infrastruktura, ustanovitev Evropskega združenja za teritorialno sodelovanje Muraba (EZTS Muraba) ter investicije v okviru Razvojnega programa Slovenskega Porabja[10] in Programa spodbujanja gospodarske osnove avtohtone slovenske narodne skupnosti na Madžarskem (STA 2021; Eöry 2021, 2).

Glede na omenjeni prikaz stanja se nam postavlja vprašanje, ali je za mlade iz Porabja, ki so zaključili študij in tudi tiste, ki trenutno študirajo v Sloveniji oziroma v prihodnje nameravajo nadaljevati študij v Sloveniji, Porabje perspektivno okolje? Ali zaznavajo več možnosti za izgradnjo strokovne kariere v Sloveniji ali drugje?

Del štipendistov je po končanem študiju že v preteklosti ostal v Sloveniji. Izsledki novejše raziskave Mladi v slovenskem zamejstvu[11] o mobilnosti mladih v slovenskem zamejstvu na Madžarskem kažejo, da se je zaradi zaposlitvenih ali drugih življenjskih priložnosti pripravljenih za dalj časa ali trajno preseliti v druge države Evrope 71,7 % anketirancev, 60 % v Slovenijo in polovica v drug kraj znotraj Madžarske (Munda Hirnök & Novak Lukanovič 2017, 171–172).

Poznavalci manjšinskih razmer so namreč mnenja, da se s trajno izselitvijo mladih iz Porabja, ki po končanem študiju ostanejo v Sloveniji, slabi manjšina kot taka (Mukič 2000, 248). Beg možganov je danes nekako splošen družbeni trend ne le v zamejskih okoljih, ampak tudi širše.

Navedeni podatki pričajo o tem, da se slovenska skupnost na Madžarskem dandanes sooča s težavami, ki so na eni strani povezane z dediščino obmejnega območja, na drugi strani pa z izzivi družbenih sprememb, ki od nje zahtevajo aktivno vlogo pri reševanju le-teh.

3. Raziskava Porabski štipendisti kot akterji ohranjanja in razvoja slovenske narodne skupnosti na Madžarskem

3.1 Metodologija raziskave

Primarne vire o porabskih štipendistih smo zbrali s pomočjo spletne ankete in z intervjujema s predstavnicama manjšinskih organizacij (s predsednico ZSM in z glavno in odgovorno urednico časopisa Porabje) po elektronski pošti (oktober-november 2020).

Sekundarni viri vključujejo znanstveno literaturo v povezavi s slovensko manjšino, širšo znanstveno literaturo in članke iz časopisov Narodne novine in Porabje.

Štipendiste smo za sodelovanje v spletni anketi iskali z metodo snežne kepe in prek ZSM. Pripravili smo strukturiran vprašalnik v slovenščini z vprašanji zaprtega in odprtega tipa. Pripravljene so bile tri različice vprašalnika: za štipendiste, ki so se po končanem študiju vrnili na Madžarsko, za štipendiste, ki so po končanem študiju ostali v Sloveniji, in za štipendiste, ki so še v procesu izobraževanja v Sloveniji. Vprašanja, s pomočjo katerih smo želeli izvedeti, ali so porabski štipendisti dejansko akterji ohranjanja in razvoja slovenske narodne skupnosti, so zahtevala odgovore o naslednjem: spol, starost, stopnja pridobljene izobrazbe, narodna pripadnost, materni jezik, podatki o šolanju v Sloveniji (informacije o možnostih študija v Sloveniji, pogoji za pridobitev štipendije, razlogi

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za študij v Sloveniji, znanje slovenskega jezika ob začetku študija, izbira fakultete oziroma študijske smeri), področja zaposlitve po končanem študiju, samoocena anketiranih o doprinosu k razvoju slovenske manjšinske skupnosti, mnenje anketirancev o tem, ali je Porabje perspektiven prostor.

S pomočjo zgoraj omenjene metode smo evidentirali 36 štipendistov, za 25 od njih smo uspeli pridobiti kontakt (e-naslov). Vprašalnik smo torej poslali 25 osebam, kar predstavlja slabih 70 % vseh evidentiranih. Vrnjenih je bilo 13 vprašalnikov, kar predstavlja 52 %. Med temi se jih je devet (69,2 %) po končanem študiju vrnilo na Madžarsko, trije (23,1 %) so ostali v Sloveniji, eden pa je še v procesu izobraževanja. Med štipendisti, ki se še izobražujejo, smo želeli preveriti, na katerih področjih se želijo zaposliti in v katera okolja se nameravajo vrniti.[12] Zbrane podatke smo statistično obdelali s programom Excel.

Zaradi zagotavljanja anonimnosti anketirancev smo pri navajanju uporabili naslednje oznake: A = anketiranec, X = zaporedna številka anketiranca.

Prebivališče anketiranih kaže, da slaba tretjina (30,8 %) živi v kraju stalnega prebivališča od rojstva, dobri dve tretjini (69,2 %) anketiranih pa se je v času študija oziroma življenja preselila v kraj trenutnega stalnega prebivališča.

V anketi je sodelovalo devet (69,2 %) žensk in štirje moški (30,8 %). V največjem deležu (53,8 %) je zastopana srednja generacija med 31 in 55 leti, 38,5 % anketiranih je starejših od 55 let in le ena oseba (7,7 %) sodi v mlajšo generacijo (5–30 let). Izobrazbena struktura anketiranih kaže, da med njimi prevladujejo posamezniki (77 %) z visoko oziroma fakultetno izobrazbo, 15,3 % anketiranih ima diplomo 1. bolonjske stopnje in eden (7,7 %) znanstveni magisterij.

Med anketiranimi se jih je največ opredelilo za Slovence (osem oziroma 61,5 %), 23,1 % oziroma trije za Slovence in Madžare, eden za Madžara (7,7 %), en (7,7 %) anketiranec pa ni želel odgovoriti na vprašanje.

Med anketiranimi jih je 38,5 % (pet) navedlo, da je njihov materni jezik porabsko slovensko narečje. Večina anketiranih (štirje od petih) v tej skupini spada v starejšo starostno skupino. Slaba tretjina (30,8 % – štiri osebe) je navedla madžarščino, slaba četrtina (23,1 % – tri osebe) slovenščino in madžarščino in le eden slovenski knjižni jezik (graf 1).

Graf 1: Materni jezik anketiranih

Vir: Munda Hirnök 2021a.
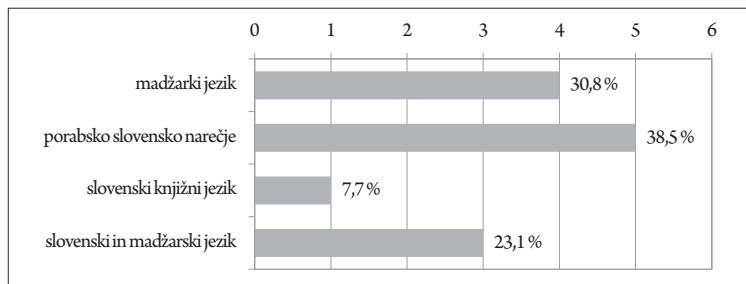
3.2 Analiza podatkov

V okviru raziskave nas je zanimalo, kje so anketiranci dobili informacije o možnostih študija oziroma štipendije v Sloveniji (graf 2). 38,9 % oz. sedem anketiranih je navedlo, da so informacije o možnostih študija oziroma štipendije v Sloveniji pridobili od študentov iz Porabja, ki so se izobraževali v Sloveniji. Slaba petina (16,7 %) je za študij izvedela na srednji šoli, prav tako slaba petina pa od učitelja slovenskega jezika in le eden od manjšinskih organizacij. Slaba četrtina (22,2 %) pa je navedla drugo.[13]

Graf 2: Odgovori anketiranih na vprašanje, kje so dobili informacije o možnostih študija oziroma štipendije v Sloveniji
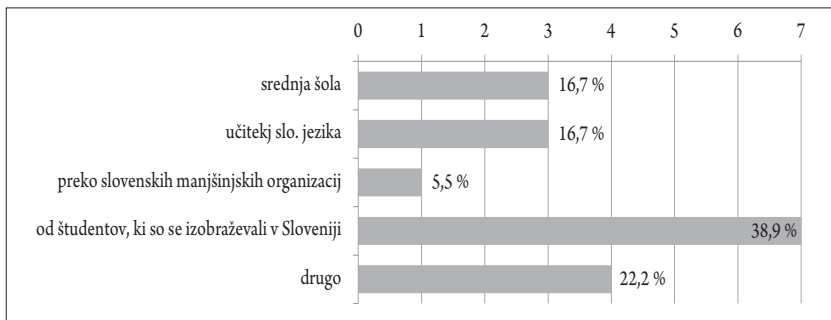
Vir: Munda Hirnök 2021a.

Na podlagi odgovorov anketirancev ugotavljamo, da sta prva dva štipendista, ki sta prišla študirat v Ljubljano v prvi polovici 70. let 20. stoletja, informacije o možnostih študija v Sloveniji dobila na Ministrstvu za šolstvo in od hrvaškega srednješolskega profesorja v Budimpešti. Od 80. let 20. stoletja dalje pa so štipendisti ustno prenašali informacije ostalim mladim. Šele po letu 2000 se pojavljajo bolj formalne oblike obveščanja (srednja šola, manjšinske organizacije).

Anketiranci so morali za pridobitev štipendije izpolnjevati določene pogoje. Generacija štipendistov, ki je študirala v Sloveniji v 70. in 80. letih 20. stoletja, je v svojih odgovorih izpostavila opravljen sprejemni izpit iz madžarskega in slovenskega jezika.

Za mlade iz Porabja, ki so se za študij v Sloveniji odločili po spremembi političnega sistema na Madžarskem, je bil pogoj za pridobitev štipendije potrdilo o zaključenem formalnem izobraževanju (srednješolska matura), vpis v eno izmed visokošolskih ustanov v Sloveniji, slovensko poreklo in potrdilo o aktivnem udejstvovanju na slovenskem področju (organizacije, društva).

Večina anketiranih je bila mnenja, da pogoji za pridobitev štipendije niso bili zahtevni, le dva anketiranca, ki sta prišla med prvimi v Slovenijo, sta navedla, da so bili pogoji zahtevni, isti kot za kandidate za univerzitetni študij madžarščine na Madžarskem.

Anketirance smo povprašali, zakaj so se odločili za študij v Sloveniji. Med razlogi za študij v Sloveniji prednjači želja anketirancev po usvojitvi slovenskega jezika na visoki ravni. Na drugem mestu so razlogi, kot so zanimanje za slovenstvo, slovensko kulturo. Sledijo še posamični razlogi, kot so mikavnost življenja v večjem mestu, štipendija, ki zagotavlja večjo mero samostojnosti in finančno razbremenitev staršev, možnost dobre kariere bodisi v Sloveniji ali na Madžarskem.

Zanimalo nas je tudi, kakšno je bilo znanje slovenskega jezika anketiranih ob začetku študija (graf 3). 41,7 % anketirancev je navedlo, da je bilo njihovo znanje slovenskega jezika srednje, četrtina (24,9 %) je svoje znanje ocenila kot zelo dobro oziroma dobro, ravno tako četrtina pa kot slabo oziroma zelo slabo, eden pa ni znal slovensko. Tukaj je treba omeniti, da imajo od leta 1987 študentje iz Porabja pravico do enoletne priprave na študij (izboljšanje znanja slovenskega jezika z izpitom).

Vprašalnik ni vključeval vprašanja o znanju slovenskega jezika skozi študijsko obdobje in ob koncu študija. Glede na področja zaposlitve porabskih štipendistov (izobraževanje, mediji itd.) je možno predvidevati, da so se dobro naučili slovenskega jezika.

Graf 3: Odgovori anketiranih na vprašanje, kakšno je bilo njihovo znanje slovenskega jezika ob začetku študija
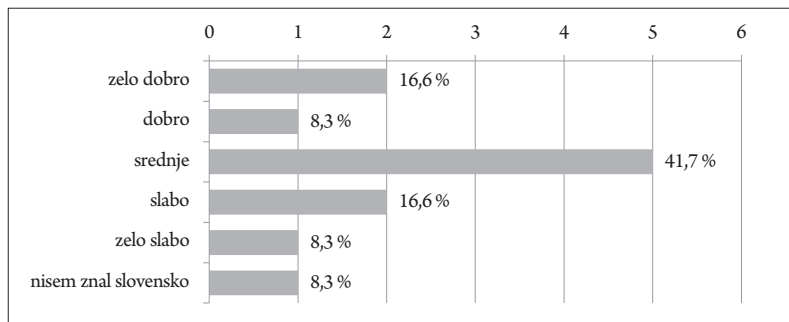
Vir: Munda Hirnök 2021a.

Rezultati kažejo, da je večina (92,3 %) anketiranih študirala v Ljubljani in le eden v Mariboru (v času anketiranja je bila oseba še v procesu izobraževanja). Izmed 13 anketirancev je le eden izbral študijsko smer s področja naravoslovja (v kombinaciji z družboslovjem). Slaba polovica (šest oz. 46,1 %) je študirala slovenski jezik kot enopredmetni oziroma dvopredmetni študij v kombinaciji z drugimi predmeti (v treh primerih je šlo za kombinacijo slovenistike na FF UL in novinarstva na FDV UL oziroma takratni FSPN, Fakulteti za sociologijo, politične vede in novinarstvo). Gre za skupino štipendistov, ki so študirali v 70. in v prvi polovici 80. let 20. stoletja. Takratno Ministrstvo za šolstvo na Madžarskem je za potrebe pridobitve kvalificiranega kadra štipendiste spodbujalo (če že ne

pogojevalo pridobitev štipendije) za študij slovenskega jezika (bodisi kot eno-predmetni ali dvopredmetni). To je sovpadalo s prvimi poskusi uveljavljanja dvojezičnega pouka pri nekaterih nejezikovnih predmetih v Porabju (Perger 2005, 74–76).

Časopisni članki, objavljeni v Narodnih novinah, tedniku DZJS v 80. letih 20. stoletja, pričajo o prizadevanjih pristojnih organov za pomoč štipendistom (usmerjanje štipendistov pri izbiri študijskih smeri, informiranje štipendistov o možnostih zaposlitve po končanem študiju ipd.). Tako sta npr. januarja leta 1982 Ministrstvo za prosveto in izvršni odbor Železne županije v Sombotelu or-ganizirala posvetovanje z v tujini (v SR Sloveniji in Nemški demokratični repub-liki) študirajočimi štipendisti iz Železne županije. Posvetovanja so se udeležili vsi pomembni politični akterji, odločevalci štipendijske politike na državni in županijski ravni (ministrski svetnik in namestnik načelnika oddelka za narodnos-ti prosvetnega ministrstva; članica centralnega komiteja Madžarske socialistične delavske partije in ravnateljica osnovne šole Gornji Senik; predstavnici DZJS; predstavnica Zveze komunistične mladine) ter seveda študentje, ki so bili še v procesu izobraževanja in tudi tisti štipendisti, ki so se po končanem študiju vrnili na Madžarsko. Po uvodnem informiranju štipendistov o položaju pripad-nikov slovenske in nemške manjšine v Železni županiji so študente seznanili z možnostmi zaposlitve po končanem študiju. Kot so poudarili, so jih čakale za-poslitvene možnosti na področju prosvete in šolstva (v Porabju je bila potreba po učiteljih na osnovnih šolah, kazale so se možnosti zaposlitve tudi na monoštrski gimnaziji po uvedbi fakultativnega pouka slovenskega jezika) ter na področju medijev (urejanje slovenske rubrike v Narodnih novinah). Poleg rednega dela so se imeli študentje možnost ukvarjati s prevajalstvom in tolmačenjem. Ministrski svetnik je poudaril, da bi bilo za slovensko manjšino koristno, če bi v naslednjih letih štipendisti poleg slovenščine študirali tudi druge stroke, zlasti ekonomijo, tehniko, medicino, farmacijo in gozdarstvo (Pavlič 1982, 8).

Tudi DZJS je bila organizatorka več srečanj s štipendisti. Leta 1984 je ta organizacija sklicala štipendiste v SFRJ in različne državne organe, pristojne za štipendiste. Na srečanju so razpravljali o stanju štipendiranja, o vlogi štipen-distov ter kaj se od njih pričakuje. Ugotovljeno je bilo tudi, da "iz Porabja že več let ni novih štipendistov" (Narodne novine 1984, 8). Leto kasneje je DZJS že drugič sklicala štipendiste v Ljubljani, Beogradu, Novem Sadu in Zagrebu, da bi se obojestransko informirali. Posvetovanje je bilo v prvi vrsti namenjeno štipendistom, ki začenjajo študij v SFRJ. Izpostavljeni so bili tudi problemi, kot npr. pomanjkanje koordinacije med bodočim delodajalcem in štipendistom. Dogajalo se je namreč, da nekaterim študentom ni uspelo končati študija v do-ločenem roku, delodajalci pa niso mogli čakati nanje in so delovna mesta prepu-stili drugim. Problematično je bilo tudi vračanje diplomantov. "Del štipendistov s svežo diplomi v roki" je ostal v Jugoslaviji (Narodne novine 1985, 8). Tukaj velja pripomniti, da porabski štipendisti niso nobena izjema, ko govorimo o

vračanju diplomantov. Izsledki naše raziskave so namreč pokazali, da se del an-
ketiranih (tri osebe – 23 %) ni vrnil v Porabje. Na vprašanje, zakaj so se odločili
ostati v Sloveniji, so navedli razloge, kot so: dobro počutje v Sloveniji in zaposlit-
vene možnosti ter ustvarjanje družine. Zaposlili so se na področjih javne uprave,
šole, en anketiranec pa je samozaposlen (dejavnost prevajanja in tolmačenja).

Nevračanje štipendistov, neusklajenost med izbiro študijskih smeri študentov
in dejanskimi kadrovskimi potrebami v lokalnem okolju, pomanjkljivo informi-
ranje o možnostih študija in pridobitve štipendije ipd. so bili značilni problemi
štipendijske stvarnosti tudi v 80. letih 20. stoletja. To potrjuje tudi članek Pogo-
vor z bodočimi študenti, objavljen v Narodnih novinah leta 1987:

> […] Ta pogovor z bodočimi študenti me je prepričal, da se stanje na tem področju ni
> spremenilo. Naši mladi ne vedo nič o kadrovskih potrebah v Porabju […]. O študiju
> v Ljubljani tudi bore malo vedo, pa bi verjetno imeli koga vprašati. Za nameček pa jih
> še uradno narobe informirajo. V uradnem razpisu za možnosti šolanja na visokošolski
> ravni 'Pályázati felhívás', ki ga je dobila vsaka srednja šola, piše, da je v Ljubljani
> možnost za študij novinarstva in etnologije. Druge možnosti po razpisu ni. Ne vem,
> kako si lahko ustanova dovoli, da daje take informacije, ki niso resnične. Pet novinarjev
> ne bi mogli zaposliti, etnologov pa imamo že tri in ne vem, če bi za majhno Porabje
> rabili še kakšnega […] mar je v Monoštru in v porabskih vaseh vsakemu vseeno za
> kakšno smer študija se odločajo mladi porabski Slovenci? (Bajzek 1987, 15).

Kljub boljši dostopnosti informacij o možnostih študija v Republiki Sloveniji
od 90. let 20. stoletja dalje in angažiranosti manjšinskih organizacij in ustanov
za spodbujanje mladih za študij v Sloveniji in za njihovo vrnitev, se štipendijska
problematika do danes ni bistveno spremenila.

To so potrdili tudi odgovori anketirancev, ki so se po končanem študiju vrnili
na Madžarsko. Na vprašanje, kaj menijo o štipendijski politiki Madžarske in Slo-
venije, je odgovorilo 88,8 % anketiranih (osem od devetih štipendistov, ki so se
vrnili na Madžarsko). Pridobljene odgovore smo smiselno združili v tri vsebinske
sklope. Trije anketiranci so štipendijsko politiko ocenili kot ustrezno, ravno tako
trije pa so bili mnenja (drugi sklop), da bi štipendije morali razpisati za določena
delovna mesta in po končanem študiju študente tudi zaposliti za najmanj toliko
časa, kolikor časa so prejemali štipendijo. Tretji sklop (dve osebi) pa problema-
tizira slabe možnosti zaposlitve po vrnitvi na Madžarsko s pridobljenim znanjem
v Sloveniji in razpisne pogoje za dodelitev štipendije:

> […] se mi zdi škoda, da je dodelitev štipendije za študij pogojena s starostjo pod
> 26. letom. Morda bi bile osebe v bolj zrelih letih bolj ciljno usmerjene in motivirane
> za študij in za čimprejšnje diplomiranje. Morda bi lahko bili pogoji za pridobitev
> štipendije za enoletni tečaj slovenščine strožji, npr. vezani na nadaljnjo študijsko
> namero ali na poklicni cilj (A 11).

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Ne glede na opisane težave podatki kažejo, da je od devetih anketirancev (69,2 % od vseh), ki so se po končanem študiju vrnili na Madžarsko, šest dobilo službo takoj, dva sorazmerno hitro (eden po nekaj tednih in drugi po treh mesecih), eden pa na vprašanje ni želel odgovoriti.

Podatki o trenutni zaposlitvi anketirancev kažejo, da sta dva zaposlena na področju (manjšinske) kulture, dva na področju medijev (eden v kombinaciji s šolo, zato smo ga navedli tudi tam), eden na področju šole in trije na gospodarskem področju (eden je zaposlen v manjšinski družbi). Dva anketiranca sta upokojena.

Na vprašanje, ali je bilo znanje slovenskega jezika prednost pri zaposlitvi, so razen enega anketiranca vsi odgovorili pritrdilno.

Zanimalo nas je tudi, če so se uresničila njihova pričakovanja oziroma želje glede zaposlitve. Vsi so odgovorili pritrdilno, en anketiranec je sicer navedel, da v prvih dveh desetletjih zaposlitve ni bil zadovoljen, ker je opravljal delo, ki ni bilo povezano s slovenstvom, v zadnjih dveh desetletjih pa so se njegova pričakovanja uresničila.

Eden izmed mlajših anketirancev je pri tem vprašanju navedel oziroma opisal značilnosti današnjega trga dela:

> […] je pa dandanes bolj redkost kot pravilo, da smo skozi celo delovno dobo zaposleni na enem (prvem) delovnem mestu. Tako da po prvi zaposlitvi pridejo še druge, ki pa mogoče niso več v skladu s pričakovanji, ali pa so celo bolj kot prva zaposlitev (A 11).

Anketiranci, ki so se vrnili na Madžarsko, so ob svojih službah dejavni tudi v slovenskih društvih, ustanovah in organizacijah tako v Porabju kot tudi v mestnih okoljih, kjer živijo (Sombotel, Budimpešta).

Ker smo pri našem raziskovanju izhajali iz trditve, da je znanje pomembno za razvoj vsake narodne skupnosti, smo o tem vprašali naše anketirance. Večina (sedem oseb – 77,7 %) je na vprašanje "Ali menite, da ste s svojim delom in znanjem pripomogli k razvoju slovenske narodne skupnosti?" odgovorila pritrdilno, 22,2 % (dve osebi) pa jih ni znalo oceniti lastnega doprinosa.

Nadalje smo anketirance vprašali, zakaj se jim zdi to pomembno.

> Ker govorim slovensko in s tem jezik ostane živ, aktivno se udeležujem slovenskih prireditev in s tem ohranjam slovensko kulturo (A 2).

> Informiranje porabske skupnosti o domači pokrajini in matični domovini, izobraževanje o slovenski, prekmurski, madžarski zgodovini, književnosti ter geografiji prek poljudno-znanstvenih serij člankov, prevajanje (A 5).

> Takoj po končanju visokošolskega študija sem se zaposlila pri ZSM. V tistih dveh letih, ko sem delala pri tej organizaciji, mislim, da sem pripomogla v zadostni meri k razvoju samega delovanja te organizacije (A 6).

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Prispeval sem po najboljših svojih močeh k ohranjanju slovenskega jezika in kulture na Madžarskem (A 7).

Prispevala sem k prepoznavnosti porabskih Slovencev v Sloveniji in na Madžarskem (A 8).

Pomembno je za ohranjanje slovenske identitete, jezika in kulture (A 9).

Pomembno je zaradi ohranjanja kulture, jezika in identitete (A 10).

Zelo pomembno vlogo pri motiviranju, obveščanju o štipendijah in vključevanju študentske populacije, predvsem štipendistov, ki študirajo v Sloveniji, v delovanje manjšinskih struktur, ima brez dvoma politika slovenske manjšine v Porabju (ZSM, uredništvo časopisa Porabje). Prav tako je pomembno kadrovsko načrtovanje, predvsem razmislek o študijskih smereh oziroma kako le-te ustrezajo potrebam v Porabju. O vsem tem smo želeli pridobiti mnenje anketirancev. Nadalje smo želeli izvedeti, na katerih področjih v Porabju primanjkuje strokovno usposobljenih kadrov z znanjem slovenskega jezika in ali je Porabje perspektivno okolje.

Podatki, ki so bili pridobljeni v intervjujih z vodjema manjšinskih organizacij in institucij kažejo, da ima ZSM redne stike z dijaki maturanti, ki imajo namen študirati v Sloveniji (jim pomaga pri sami prijavi, daje informacije o poteku štipendiranja, kako se jim zagotovi študentski dom oziroma kakšne možnosti imajo pri izbiri študijskih programov itd.). ZSM si v pogovorih z mladimi prizadeva, da bi izvedela za njihove namene, da bi jih seznanila, na katerih področjih primanjkuje strokovnega kadra oziroma kakšne so možnosti zaposlitve po končanem študiju (o tovrstnih srečanjih in tudi o informacijah o študiju v Sloveniji je redno poročal časopis Porabje[14]).

Po mnenju intervjuvanke 2 se v zadnjih nekaj letih bolj načrtno dela na tem, da se dijake seznani, kateri so deficitni poklici v Porabju. Rezultati teh prizadevanj bodo vidni šele čez tri ali pet let. Je pa težko nekoga nagovoriti, naj študira nekaj takega, česar ne želi, ker bi ga potrebovali v Porabju. Ker se porabski študentje lahko odločijo za vse programe, se tudi dogaja, da štipendisti po končanem študiju v Porabju ne najdejo zaposlitve ali se tja niti nočejo vrniti.

ZSM spodbuja študente, ki študirajo na univerzah v Sloveniji oziroma študirajo slovenski jezik na madžarskih univerzah in se aktivno vključujejo v življenje slovenske narodnostne skupnosti na Madžarskem, tudi s štipendijami. Za študijsko leto 2019/20 so dodelili štipendijo dvema študentkama, za šolsko leto 2020/21 pa enemu študentu, ki so študirali v Sloveniji (Zveza Slovencev na Madžarskem, b. d.).

Tukaj velja pripomniti, da tudi Madžarska s štipendijami spodbuja mlade pripadnike narodnih skupnosti. Tako se npr. od leta 2018 na pobudo parlamentarne Komisije za narodnosti zagotavlja štipendija pripadnikom narodnosti, ki študirajo za narodnostne vzgojitelje v vrtcih ali za narodnostne učitelje razrednega in predmetnega pouka na pedagoških fakultetah na Madžarskem. Namen

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podelitve štipendije je zagotavljanje kadrov za narodnostne šole in vrtce. V študijskem letu 2019/20 so omenjeno štipendijo prejele tri pripadnice slovenske narodnosti. V primeru študentke, ki je obiskovala pedagoško fakulteto Univerze v Sopronu, in sicer na smeri za vzgojiteljice, je komisija naredila izjemo, ker na Madžarskem ni nobene fakultete za vzgojiteljice v slovenščini (Sütő 2020, 5).

Populacija mladih (tudi štipendisti) je ena od ciljnih skupin Razvojnega programa Slovenskega Porabja (2021–2030), ki ga je izdelala ZSM. Med razvojnimi cilji in ukrepi so med drugim izdelava kadrovske politike s strani slovenskih organizacij, pridobivanje in izobraževanje novih kadrov, ki bodo delali v organizacijah in institucijah manjšine (redno ali honorarno), zaposlitev referenta za mladinske zadeve, spodbujanje čezmejnega sodelovanja med mladimi v obmejnem prostoru itd.

Zanimalo nas je tudi, kako anketiranci ocenjujejo angažiranost slovenske narodne skupnosti za promocijo študija v Sloveniji, zato smo v vprašalnik vključili tudi trditev, da slovenska skupnost v Porabju vlaga premalo truda v promocijo študija v Sloveniji. 38,5 % anketiranih se je s trditvijo popolnoma ali v glavnem strinjalo. Enak delež anketiranih je bil neopredeljenih (niti se strinjalo niti se ni strinjalo), 15,4 % pa se s trditvijo v glavnem ni strinjalo. Stališče anketiranih bi lahko služilo manjšinskim strukturam, da razmislijo o nadgradnji dosedanje prakse glede promocije študija v Sloveniji.

Pridobljeni podatki so tudi pokazali, da se Porabje sooča s pomanjkanjem usposobljenih strokovnjakov z znanjem slovenskega jezika na vseh področjih življenja. Tako intervjuvanki kot anketiranci so navedli številna področja, kot so: narodnostni mediji, vzgoja-izobraževanje, kultura, gospodarstvo (turizem, kmetijstvo), javna uprava in versko področje. Med področji, ki so jih navedli vprašani, nismo zasledili potrebe po kadrih na področju raziskovanja. Smo pa mnenja, da je lastna angažiranost, ko govorimo o raziskovanju porabskega prostora in njegovih prebivalcev, nujna za nadaljnji razvoj slovenske narodne skupnosti.

Prav tako nas je zanimalo stališče anketirancev o trditvi, da je Porabje prostor perspektive z veliko zaposlitvenimi možnostmi.

Podatki kažejo, da se večina (84,7 %) anketiranih ni strinjala s trditvijo. Njihovo dojemanje se sklada z izsledki prejšnjih raziskav, ki kažejo, da se porabski Slovenci še vedno spoprijemajo z dediščino obrobnosti svoje regije. V zadnjih dveh desetletjih je sicer v Porabju prišlo do številnih naložb s finančnimi sredstvi Slovenije, Madžarske in evropskih skladov (npr. izgradnja Slovenskega kulturno-informativnega centra v Monoštru, Slovenske vzorčne kmetije in Hiše jabolk – predelovalnice sadja na Gornjem Seniku itd.) ter raznovrstnih iniciativ za izboljšanje gospodarskega in splošnega položaja. Namen teh je ne le izboljšanje socialnega položaja prebivalstva, temveč tudi zmanjševanje izseljevanja, zlasti mladih (Munda Hirnök 2019, 23–26). Kot je poudarila intervjuvanka 1:

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[…] Slovensko govoreči mladi bodo ostali v Porabju v primeru, če jim ponudimo primerne življenjske pogoje: gospodarsko razvito območje, kjer so možnosti zaposlovanja. Izredno pomembno bi bilo, da bi pri zaposlovanju mladih dobilo težo znanje slovenskega jezika, torej, da slovenski jezik postane tudi ekonomski dejavnik.

Ali bodo omenjeni razvojni programi s strani večine in manjšine ter druge aktivnosti pripomogli k temu, da bo Porabje perspektiven prostor za mlade (tudi za štipendiste), bo pokazal čas.

4. Sklepne misli

Izsledki raziskave Porabski štipendisti so pokazali slabosti in prednosti štipendijske politike za študente iz porabske slovenske skupnosti v preteklosti in danes.

Anketiranci, ki so bili vključeni v raziskavo, predstavljajo le del evidentiranih (36 oseb) štipendistov, ki so študirali v Sloveniji, zato zaključkov ni moč posploševati na celotni položaj mladih štipendistov iz Porabja.

V anketi je bilo zajetih največ tistih oseb, ki so se po končanem študiju vrnili na Madžarsko (devet oseb). Večina anketiranih v tej skupini je zaposlena na področjih manjšinskih medijev, kulture in šolstva, so tudi aktivni člani različnih slovenskih društev, kar govori v prid izhodiščni predpostavki, da so porabski štipendisti dejansko nosilci ohranjanja in razvoja slovenske skupnosti.

Pridobljeni rezultati ankete in intervjujev so med drugim tudi pokazali, da zaradi gospodarske nerazvitosti obmejnega območja Porabje trenutno ne predstavlja perspektivnega okolja za mlade, čeprav bi si anketiranci to želeli. Ker so razvojni programi slovenskega Porabja, ki jih financirata Madžarska in Slovenija, v začetni fazi, ni moč oceniti, kakšni bodo njihovi učinki. Razvoj dejavnosti na kulturnem, gospodarskem, turističnem, obrtnem in kmetijskem področju bo brez dvoma odpiral delovna mesta, ki bodo zanimiva za izobražene pripadnike slovenske narodne skupnosti in bodo predvsem mladim omogočala razvijanje inovativnosti in tudi krepitev etnične identitete porabskih Slovencev. Na ta način se bo tudi na delovnem mestu krepila prisotnost slovenskega jezika, kar bo prispevalo k vitalnosti slovenske narodne skupnosti v Porabju. Mnogi raziskovalci (npr. Grenier & Vaillancourt 1983; Grin 1996) tudi potrjujejo, da ekonomske spremenljivke (delovno mesto, kjer je pogoj za zaposlitev znanje manjšinskega jezika) prispevajo k zaščiti in promociji manjšinskih jezikov ter vplivajo na strukturne spremenljivke etnolingvistične vitalnosti skupnosti, kot so jih opredelili Giles et al. (1977, 309).

In kot je zapisal Gosar že davnega leta 1921 (Gosar 1985, 117):

Notranja zveza med jezikovnim oziroma narodnim in gospodarskim vprašanjem je jasna in nobenega dvoma ni, da vodi jezikovna neenakopravnost k splošni narodni neenakopravnosti, iz katere izvira popolna gospodarska odvisnost in socialna zapostavljenost.

V zaključku lahko poudarimo, da se slovenska skupnost v Porabju zaveda pomanjkanja lastnih kadrov na različnih področjih ter da se zaveda pomena človeškega kapitala za razvoj in ohranjanje narodne skupnosti. Prav zato posebno pozornost posveča kadrovskemu načrtu (srednjeročnemu), ki je sestavni del strategije ZSM za slovensko Porabje.

Dejstvo pa je, da je epidemija covida-19 v letu 2020/21 že zaustavila oziroma upočasnila dejavnosti in načrte slovenske skupnosti na vseh področjih, tudi na gospodarskem (Munda Hirnök 2020; 2021b). Morebitno ponovno poslabšanje epidemioloških razmer bi lahko dodatno otežilo prizadevanja slovenske skupnosti. Kako se bodo Slovenci v Porabju spopadli z aktualnimi in prihodnjimi izzivi, bo pokazal čas. Zato je nujno nadaljnje spremljanje slovenske narodne skupnosti, tudi mladih štipendistov.

Intervjuvanki

Intervjuvanka 1 – predsednica Zveze Slovencev na Madžarskem.

Intervjuvanka 2 – glavna in odgovorna urednica časopisa Porabje.

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Opombe

[1] DZJS je v letih 1947–1990 zastopala kulturne in politične interese Slovencev na Madžarskem. Organizacija se je razvila iz Antifašistične fronte južnih Slovanov po drugi svetovni vojni. DZJS je bila predvsem forumsko združenje in ni imela individualnega članstva, njeni pripadniki in privrženci pa so se od konca 60. let 20. stoletja združevali v krajevnih in področnih klubih (Munda Hirnök & Vodopivec 2016, 837). Od leta 1972 so imeli Slovenci svojega referenta, med letoma 1986–1990 pa je delovala slovenska sekcija zveze v Monoštru (Mukič & Kozar 1982, 83). DZJS je izdajala tednik *Narodne novine*, kjer je leta 1970 začela izhajati slovenska rubrika; do takrat so se objavljali le posamezni prispevki v slovenščini. Od sredine 80. let 20. stoletja so imeli Slovenci v časopisu na razpolago eno stran, potem pa dve strani z naslovom Ljudski list.

[2] Prva konvencija med vlado SFRJ in LR Madžarsko je bila sprejeta leta 1963 in je bila temelj mnogih sprejetih programov sodelovanja. Že leto kasneje je bil podpisan madžarsko-jugoslovanski kulturni sporazum za leti 1964 in 1965, ki je zajemal izmenjavo znanstvenih delegacij in strokovnjakov, umetnikov, štipendistov itd. (Narodne novine 1964, 4).

[3] Glej Zakon o ratifikaciji sporazuma o sodelovanju na področju kulture, izobraževanja in znanosti med Republiko Slovenijo in Republiko Madžarsko (1993).

[4] Ministrstvo se je od leta 1973 pa do danes večkrat razdruževalo oziroma združevalo ter preimenovalo, od leta 2012 je Ministrstvo za človeške vire (madž. *Emberi Erőforrások Minisztériuma*).

[5] V skupnem južnoslovanskem časopisu *Narodne novine* se je pojavilo nekaj zanimivih člankov, ki opozarjajo na prepočasno odzivnost DZJS pri reševanju različnih problemov Slovencev (npr. Narodne novine 1989, 15).

[6] Raziskovalni projekt Mladi v slovenskem zamejstvu: družbeni in kulturni konteksti ter sodobni izzivi je potekal na Inštitutu za narodnostna vprašanja v letih 2013–2016, vodila ga je dr. Vera Kržišnik-Bukić.

[7] Po zatrtju madžarske vstaje je Madžarsko zapustilo več kot 200 tisoč ljudi. Na državni ravni je bil delež izseljencev najvišji prav v monoštrskem okraju (kamor je spadalo Porabje), od koder se je izselilo okrog 2100 ali 8,7 % prebivalcev (Kovács 2011, 78).

[8] V preteklosti je cerkev predstavljala pomembno domeno rabe porabskega narečja. V novejšem obdobju je slovenščina v porabskem verskem življenju navzoča v omejenem obsegu. Porabski

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Slovenci so od leta 2010 brez stalnega slovenskega duhovnika. Sedanji župnik si prizadeva, da bi bila slovenščina vsaj delno prisotna v bogoslužju, prav tako so v porabskih cerkvah (Gornji Senik, Števanovci, Monošter) slovenske maše, ki jih enkrat mesečno izvajajo duhovniki iz Prekmurja (več o tem glej Munda Hirnök & Medvešek 2017).

[9] Omenjeni zakon priznava 13 manjšin. Poleg Slovencev so to: Armenci, Bolgari, Hrvati, Nemci, Grki, Poljaki, Romi, Romuni, Rusi, Srbi, Slovaki in Ukrajinci.

[10] Razvojni program je madžarska vlada z vladnim odlokom potrdila oktobra leta 2019 (A Kormány 1618/2019. (X. 28.) Korm. Határozata), 15. julija 2020 pa sprejela sklep o izvajanju programa (1411/2020. (VII. 15.) Korm. határozat).

[11] V okviru raziskave je bilo opravljenih 60 anket v vsakem zamejstvu (Avstrija, Italija, Hrvaška, Madžarska). Anketiranci so bili uvrščeni v tri starostne kategorije (15–19 let, 20–24 let in 25–29 let). Več o metodologiji raziskave glej Kržišnik-Bukić (2017, 11–23).

[12] Zaradi slabe zastopanosti štipendistov, ki so še v procesu izobraževanja (ena oseba), podatki o poklicni usmeritvi in izbiri življenjskega okolja ne omogočajo zaključkov.

[13] V kategoriji "drugo" so anketiranci navedli: od staršev, sorodnikov in prijateljev, od hrvaškega srednješolskega profesorja v Budimpešti, na Ministrstvu za šolstvo v Budimpešti.

[14] Glej npr. Sukič (2007; 2021), Perger (2011; 2020) in Vajda (2009).

Financiranje

Tamás Hajnáczky

Execution of Forced "Gypsy" Assimilation Policy in Hungary during the Socialist Era

Following World War II, Hungary fell under the influence and surveillance of the Soviet Union. This resulted in the Hungarian Workers' Party assuming complete control over the nation. After the defeat of the 1956 Revolution, the ruling party re-formed as the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and after a few years of preparatory work, it composed its Roma policy of forced assimilation. This study presents the Roma policy of the single party state as carried out in the county of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén. This county had the largest Roma population and was simultaneously designated for major socialist industrialisation and social engineering. Following the transition to democracy in 1989/90, numerous sociological and anthropological studies were conducted in the region, and this location remains highly emphasised in Hungarian social sciences. In presenting the nationwide Roma policy, I have used my source publication, while in examining policy execution in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, I have relied on the county archives.

Keywords: Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Roma policy, forced assimilation, county policy execution, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County.

Izvajanje politike prisilne asimilacije Romov na Madžarskem v obdobju socializma

Po drugi svetovni vojni je Madžarska padla pod vpliv in nadzor Sovjetske zveze, s tem pa je popolno oblast nad državo prevzela Madžarska delavska stranka. Po porazu revolucije leta 1956 se je vladajoča stranka ponovno vzpostavila kot Madžarska socialistična delavska stranka in po nekaj letih pripravljalnih del oblikovala politiko prisilne asimilacije Romov. Namen članka je predstaviti politiko do Romov, ki jo je enopartijska država izvajala v županiji Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén. Županija, ki je beležila največje število romskega prebivalstva, je bila hkrati deležna tudi konkretne socialistične industrializacije in socialnega inženiringa. Po demokratični tranziciji v letih 1989/90 so bile v regiji opravljene številne sociološke in antropološke študije, območje pa se še vedno pogosto omenja v madžarskih družboslovnih znanostih. Predstavitev politike do Romov na državni ravni temelji na avtorjevi izvirni publikaciji, podatki o izvajanju politike v županiji Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén pa so pridobljeni iz županijskih arhivov.

Ključne besede: *Madžarska socialistična delavska stranka, romska politika, prisilna asimilacija, izvajanje županijske politike, županija Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén.*

Correspondence address: Tamás Hajnáczky, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary Kálvin Square 9, H-1091 Budapest; Archiepiscopal College of Veszprém, Jutasi Street 18/2, H-8200 Veszprém, e-mail: hajnaczkyt@gmail.com.

1. Introduction and Methodology

In my study, I aimed to explore the implementation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's Gypsy policy in Borsod-Abúj-Zemplén county (BAZ county for short) in the second half of the 20th century. At the same time, I tried to examine the impact of the socialist-era Gypsy policy on the Gypsy population living in the county. It should be noted that I did not intend to explore this period of the history of the Gypsies in BAZ county, but the measures taken by the local bureaucracy aimed at the Gypsy populace and documents recording Gypsy policy. Consequently, the sources have viewed the Gypsy populace as a social problem, as well as one of public health and law enforcement. In Hungary, this selected county was home to the largest number of Gypsies during the Kádár era (the historical period named after János Kádár, leader of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which lasted from 1956 to 1989 in Hungary), and it was also the county with the largest number of Gypsy settlements. The forced industrialisation and urbanisation that took place during the socialist era had a powerful impact on the county, which became the bastion of heavy industry. These developments also had an impact on the lives of the Gypsies living there, many of whom were employed as skilled or unskilled industrial workers, and some of whom moved from the villages to the cities. Currently, the county has the highest number and proportion of Gypsies in Hungary and is also noteworthy for its ghettoised villages and urban areas. Furthermore, following the collapse of socialist heavy industry, there is considerable unemployment in the county, especially among Gypsies (Kemény et al. 2004; Berey 1990).

Over the past decades, numerous source publications and source reports have appeared, which published documents on the Gypsy policy of the single-party state or sources related to its implementation in counties and cities (Binder 2014). However, the latter works were not written with a view to completeness, and they were not linked to nationwide decrees, resolutions and measures. This present work is based on many years of systematic archival research. In the National Archives of the National Archives of Hungary, I examined the strictly confidential documents belonging to some of the highest political organs (the Political Committee, the Agitation and Propaganda Committee, the Council of Ministers), which were published in my source publication It's Obvious That Gypsies Cannot Be Viewed as a Nationality: Documents Concerning the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's Gypsy Policy 1956–1989 (Hajnáczky 2019a). In the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County Archives of the National Archives of Hungary, I discovered documents from the County Council, the Executive Committee, and the County Party all relating to Gypsies. Both at the national and county level, I worked to include a comprehensive image of the given bodies. Together, these rich resource bases provided an opportunity for an in-depth

exploration of the single-party state's Gypsy policy and the interrelationships between the national and county levels.

It is important to write a few words on the bureaucratic set-up of the single party-state, whose documents I examined. In the socialist era, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party had absolute power, and this left its mark on the entire state apparatus. The party hierarchy and the state hierarchy were established in parallel and were connected through a number of formal and informal links. The party and its subordinate party organs had authoritative power over the state organs at a national and local level. Decision-making was the responsibility of the party hierarchy, while the role of state bodies was largely limited to implementation. All levels of the state hierarchy were dependent on the same or higher levels of the party hierarchy. The system was structured in this way at both a national and county level. To illustrate the above-mentioned bodies, the Political Committee and the Agitation and Propaganda Committee were responsible for decision-making as part of the party hierarchy, while the Council of Ministers was the state body responsible for implementation. In the BAZ county, the County Party played a role in decision-making as part of the party hierarchy, while the County Council and the Executive Committee were responsible for implementation (Kornai 1993, 69–71; Csanádi 1995, 28–44; Bihari 2005, 253–257).

To explore the past and examine the available sources, there are a number of methodologies and perspectives that are called postmodern, methods such as critical discourse analysis or the perspective of "historians of the present" (Gyáni 2020; Burke 2006b; Lorey et al. 2021, 93–127; Géring 2008a; 2008b; Cseh-Szombathy & Ferge 1975, 112–123). In this work, however, I inductively apply what is known as the "traditional" or "positivist" historiographical methodology, seeking a descriptive analysis of the sources in strict chronological order (Bertényi 2006). This is not to denigrate the methodological possibilities I have just mentioned but is justified by my choice of subject, while at the same time following the Annales school approach (Burke 2006a). The reasoning behind my choice was that this method is the best way to reconstruct the ideas of those in power and their concept of the Gypsies and their social situation, as well as the functioning of the national and county administrative bodies. The approaches mentioned above are more suited to exploring prejudices and exclusionary measures against Gypsies.

When analysing the sources, I did not seek to uncover their truthfulness or capture "reality" (Gyáni 2007), but to reconstruct as thoroughly as possible the bureaucracy's impression of the Gypsies at any given time, as this was the basis for its measures and decrees. I based this approach on Thomas's theorem (Merton 2002) and on Max Weber's approach to history based on his understanding of sociology (Takó 2020, 43–64). It is important to note that in interpreting the empirical data, I have taken Weber's epistemological approach as a guide

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(Weber 1998; 2020). The same approach was applied to the definition of Gypsy in historical documents; those who were classified as Gypsies by officials in their reports and decrees were also treated as Gypsies. I have used the word Gypsy consistently throughout the article, as it was the designation used by non-Gypsy functionaries during the period under investigation. I would like to make it clear that my research focused on the non-Gypsy bureaucracy, not on the history of the Gypsy population in Hungary.

With one exception, the word Roma did not appear in the archival material, and it was a reference to self-identification. The term Gypsy was used mainly to refer to Roma living in abject poverty, sometimes including non-Roma who had married into or lived in Roma settlements. It is worth noting here that when officials used the term Gypsy settlements, they meant impoverished settlements where most of the inhabitants were Roma. Gypsy settlements were sharply differentiated from, for example, cave dwellings or old barrack dwellings inhabited by non-Gypsies. In other words, the terms Gypsy and Gypsy settlement were understood to refer to a social problem that was predominantly Roma. There was practically no mention of Roma intelligentsia or Roma movements, which had been steadily growing during the socialist era, or of an integrated Roma population. Overall, I use the words Gypsy and Gypsy settlement because they more accurately express who the bureaucracy's documents were about and to whom its measures applied.

Finally, another term should be clarified; in this study, I use the word "nationality" in relation to the Hungarian Gypsies, because the term "ethnicity" was not in use at that time. It started to appear in documents sporadically from the second half of the 1970s. In the first decades of the socialist era, the main criterion for nationality was not whether a given minority had a mother country or not, but whether it had linguistic and cultural characteristics. The Roma in Hungary were not recognised as a nationality, not because they did not have a mother country, but because their language and culture were not considered uniform or mature enough to be treated as a nationality, and therefore their forced assimilation became a desired goal (Szesztay 2003; Balogh 2002).

2. The Execution of Sectorial Gypsy Policy (Antecedent)

After their complete takeover of power, the communist single-party state waited a decade before formulating their central Gypsy policy. The so-called Gypsy question remained defined as it had been during the Horthy period (the historical period named after Miklós Horthy, regal Governor/Regent of Hungary, which lasted from 1920 to 1944 in Hungary) as one of public health and public security. Without any central directives, the various ministries acted as they saw fit and maintained previous practices of exclusion. Despite the new communist regime's loud rejection of the Horthy period, it often continued policies

formulated during that period and executed them nationwide. Beginning in the 1940s, during the Horthy period, some townships issued Gypsy identification papers in order to help the work of the gendarmerie, and censuses of Gypsies by the authorities under the Ministry of the Interior were fairly regular; these were termed Gypsy raids (Balogh-Ebner 2015; Hajnáczky 2019b; 2020a; Karsai 1992). In 1950, the Ministry of the Interior introduced black identification cards for wandering Gypsies and ordered a Gypsy census. According to the Ministry of the Interior's 1953 census, there were 186 Gypsy settlements in BAZ county, where almost fourteen thousand Gypsies lived, yet they were unable to find even one wandering band of Gypsies in the whole county (Purcsi 2004, 256–259). In the 1958 county census, there was nomadic activity in most townships, but the amount of activity was deemed insignificant (Hajnáczky 2016a). Despite such public declarations, the plans to regularise the situation of the wandering Gypsies remained on the agenda of the northern Hungarian county councils. It was at such a meeting that thoughts reminiscent of the previous but at the same time maligned period, such as the following, were expressed:

> Wandering Gypsies need to be forced to do labour: This is the most serious problem, because radical administrative measures are needed. A camp needs to be made for them, where they have to work. This is especially important for the education of the young vagrants. Those committed to vagrancy need to be purged from the township (like Budapest did with its shady characters) (MNL BAZML XXIII-12a 1455/1958.).

> Any Gypsy still unable to ensure the proper living conditions for his family, still finding his freely chosen work hard to do, I would find it proper that such a slacker receive corrective educational punishment in appropriate custody and be forced to work, and thus be made to get used to work in addition to earning an appropriate wage for the work completed from which his family would have their needs met (MNL BAZML XXIII-12a 1455/1958.).

> Those incorrigible vagrants and wandering Gypsies need to be forced to do corrective and educational work through judicial and police means. This is to be used as an educational method. This can only be executed if a workplace for them is ensured, and if the employing companies do not definitively exclude them from employment, as has often happened in recent years (MNL BAZML XXIII-3/a 243/1962.).

The Ministry of Health, much like the Ministry of the Interior, continued the measures it had employed from the previous Horthy period, now much disparaged and held in contempt. Gypsy settlements were monitored as a health risk and a target for lice extermination and disinfection campaigns. Those in authority during the previous period had regularly neglected these steps, however in the new socialist era and in the latter half of the 1950s, regularised and enforced forced bathing were implemented and thought to have preventative effects (Bernáth 2002; Hajnáczky 2016b, 24–25). Wandering Gypsies were seen as a threat not only to public security but to public health in BAZ county:

The difficulty in ending the spread of lice is made very difficult by the wandering nomadic lifestyle of the Gypsies and their very low level of health culture. We ascertain that the influx of lice and its threat as an epidemic comes mainly from Gypsies who are always nomadic or wander in mainly from Szabolcs-Szatmár county but also Hajdú-Bihar county (MNL BAZML XXIII-3/a 243/1962.).

There were townships in the county where the public health authorities dis-infected the Gypsy settlements every two weeks (MNL BAZML XXIII-12a 1455/1958.). By the second half of the 1950s, lice ceased to be a problem in 31% of the 239 Gypsy settlements, in 47 % periodically, while in 22 % it was a permanent problem for some individuals. The director of the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County Public Health and Epidemiology Station stated in one of his reports towards the end of the 50s that owing to the measures taken "There are no lice ridden Gypsy settlements" (MNL BAZML XXIII-3/a 243/1962.).

The Political Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party first placed Gyp-sies on their agenda for discussion in December 1955. The party apparatus lacked any serious knowledge or statistics concerning the issue and therefore asked for reports from other central and county authorities. Not only did they ask for a report from the leadership of BAZ county, but they sent out a study committee from the Ministry of People's Education to survey the conditions in the county (Feitl 2008, 258–259). The BAZ county report was relatively short and its presentation of the social conditions of the Gypsy population living there and their internal stratification was far from extensive.

According to the county report, the almost 15,000 strong Gypsy population in BAZ county lived in Gypsy settlements, where "they lived their own peculiar lives, separated, and on the outer peripheries of towns and villages," making a poor existence from odd jobs, while most of their children did not attend school (MNL OL M-KS 276. f. 91/1956/85. ő. e.). Less than a quarter of the Gypsy populace had permanent employment at a company or factory, or had their chil-dren attending school, with only a few exceptions. In summary, the report con-cluded that it was this less than a quarter "who live in orderly conditions, and have their homes, lifestyle and dress in conformity with the requirements of our socialist lives" (MNL OL M-KS 276. f. 91/1956/85. ő. e.). The report presented those Gypsies living dispersed among the non-Gypsies, a small fraction of the Gypsy population, as the most positive, stressing that in terms of lifestyle and so-cial conditions, they do not differ from their environment, "their lifestyle and be-haviour, dress, meeting the requirements" (MNL OL M-KS 276. f. 91/1956/85. ő. e.).

After the reports from the authorities and data given by the counties called upon arrived, a proposal was drafted "for the ordering of the Gypsy question" (MNL OL M-KS 276. f. 91/1956/85. ő. e.). According to the draft, almost 130 thousand Gypsies lived in Hungary, 10 % of whom lived in the county in ques-

tion. The proposal overly emphasized the public order and public health aspects of the question and painted a dire picture of Hungary's Gypsies' housing, educational, and employment situation. It is important to note that they did comment on the stratification of the Gypsy population, even if this was limited to a few sentences. Similarly to the BAZ county report, integration was not understood to mean the complete abandonment of Gypsy culture, in fact the document stated that "public education organisations should support the Gypsies' valuable folk culture" (MNL OL M-KS 276. f. 91/1956/85. ő. e.). There was a change in the documentation of the central authorities in this area from 1957 onward, up until 1961, when Gypsy culture, traditions, and language were officially written off and condemned (Hajnáczky 2020b, 49–59; Sághy 2008, 288–301).

The proposal for the Political Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party formulated organizational directives for the Ministers' Council and for county, township, and settlement councils. The Ministers' Council was entrusted with the coordination of the question, and at the level of the county councils, there were to be so-called separate Gypsy groups to be formed within the executive committee in those counties with sizeable Gypsy populations; in the rest an official was to be tasked with the responsibility. For townships, the draft also recommended the previous organisational modification, while at the town level, there was to be an individual responsible within the respective executive committee. The proposal, though, never found its way onto the agenda of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party table (MNL OL M-KS 276. f. 91/1956/85. ő. e.), and so centrally-coordinated action and the necessary directives ordering new measures on the part of the counties did not materialise. That is to say that the various counties continued to act as they saw fit or did nothing to improve the impoverished conditions of the Gypsy populace (MNL OL XXVIII-M-8 1. d.).

Progress on the part of county councils was first made after the initiative by "comrades of Gypsy ancestry" and in the form of the Hungarian Gypsy Cultural Federation, formed in October 1957 (Szesztay 2003, 138–139). The newly formed association's statutes and rules of operation (Hajnáczky 2019a, 97–102) placed serious emphasis on effective cooperation with higher authorities and on having initiatives put into place at a county level in the interest of improving the living conditions of the Gypsy populace, as stated in the following:

> The Federation shall organise county Gypsy committees at various county seats where the state organs and popular organisations and Gypsies can delegate a representative each. This committee will work in close cooperation with the councils and the local popular organisations. It will organise the National Gypsy Council, whose members are the leaders of county, state, academic organs and the associations' committees (Hajnáczky 2019a, 102).

Only a fraction of the original ideas were put into practice, though a network of county coordinators was set up. However, these were unable to exert any influence whatsoever (Sághy 2008, 281). In April 1958, the Hungarian Gypsy Cultural Federation indicated to the BAZ county leadership that they would contact them at the beginning of May in order to confer on the situation of the county Gypsy populace. The county though had hardly any data concerning the question, and so the head of the County Council's Executive Committee immediately sent a directive to the councils of townships and cities with township status and all other competent organs to prepare a report, and they set the deadline for ten days later (MNL BAZML XXIII-12a 1455/1958.). The following quotation is an illustrative example of the haste and desperate urgency caused the head of the Executive Committee by the approach of a central organisation,

> I inform the above addressed comrades that in the near future the situation of the Gypsies in the county will be discussed at the county seat with the attendance of national organs. To the above we are in need of concrete data for each county, [...]. The report – for lack of time – is to be delivered to the address of our Secretariat by the given deadline (4 May 1958), without the expectation of any prompting (MNL BAZML XXIII-12a 1455/1958.).

The report was to be prepared by the functionaries based on the following points provided: to enumerate the population of the Gypsy populace and mention their housing, health, employment, and social conditions, and to provide a proposal for a solution to these issues. The BAZ County Council did have some information on the conditions of the Gypsies living in the county, but the issue never found its way onto the Council's agenda. Mária László, the first secretary of the Hungarian Gypsy Cultural Federation sent a letter in August 1958 to the county:

> Let me inquire concerning the Gypsy issue discussed when we were there in person, and which the Ex. Comm. was to discuss as a point of order as to what progress has been made. All counties as of this September will have discussed this issue as a point of order. We ask then – as so few counties remain – to take the initiative and have the county put this upon their agenda as a point of order and to invite the competent offices (education, health, employment) party organs, internal affairs and popular organs. Be so kind as to send the material of the debate beforehand (MNL BAZML XXIII-12a 1455/1958.).

Mária László's letter urging action was replied to negatively; the County Council's Executive Committee was unable to put the Gypsy issue on the agenda for debate as the individual responsible for the case was on vacation until the beginning of September (MNL BAZML XXIII-12a 1455/1958.). A dramatic change had taken place in the appraisal of the importance of the Hungarian Gypsy Cultural Association in the northern Hungarian county; in April 1958,

they were willing to do everything asked in the shortest of time. A few months later, someone's vacation time was enough for them to avoid any action and disregard any directive. Mária László had been losing authority and prestige within the single party state from the spring of 1958 onward, the reason being she was not leading the association in the same direction as the ideological trends among those in power seemed to be headed. And in November, after a long campaign to discredit her, she was removed from her post as first secretary and was replaced by individuals who would comply and execute fully the state directives (Hajnáczky 2019a, 67–96; Sághy 2008, 278–295). It is probable that the change in leadership personnel in the Association was a contributing factor to the higher official organs in BAZ county ignoring the situation of Gypsies at their meeting for years to come. There was though a relatively longer report sent to the Hungarian Gypsy Cultural Federation in August 1959, which did contain proposals and was mainly the summary of reports from townships and a few offices and cities. In the accompanying letter, they admitted to neglecting the debate on the situation of the Gypsies as a separate point of order, but made the excuse that from time to time the County Council's Executive Committee had dealt with the issue (MNL OL XXIII-M-8. 1. d.).

The Ministry of Education held a meeting in November 1959, at which Sándor Vendégh, the head of the National Minorities Office, gave a presentation titled Current Questions Concerning Timely Tasks Among Hungary's Gypsy Populace (MNL OL XXVIII-M-8. 1. d. 3. point). The meeting was held, with the participation of related ministries and social organisations, in the interest of formulating a central concept "related to the Gypsy question, still unsolved theoretical and practical questions". Sándor Vendégh began his speech by calling attention to the assertion that many view Gypsies as a separate nationality and hold the strengthening of Gypsy national identity as key. He went on to state that the Hungarian Gypsy Cultural Association began its work with just such an approach and argued for it and took measures towards reinforcing this idea (MNL OL XXVIII-M-8. 1. d. 3. point). Vendégh condemned these previous attitudes and dismissed them, stating that "these false directives are the reason why in some county council workers we still encounter this anti-marxist understanding of the Gypsy question" (MNL OL XXVIII-M-8. 1. d. 3. point). He did though praise the efforts of the county councils to date:

> The county councils have recognised the importance of this question and have analysed the situation of the Gypsy populace living in their county and are dealing with employment possibilities for them. They are preparing plans containing constructive suggestions (MNL OL XXVIII-M-8. 1. d. 3. point).

The head of the Nationalities Office detailed the burning daily concerns of the Gypsy populace and the necessary measures needed to solve them and referred

to the northern Hungarian county several times as a type of negative example. For example, he mentioned the far-above-average infant mortality and the instances of tuberculosis (MNL OL XXVIII-M-8. 1. d. 3. point).

This cited speech did not go unnoticed, in fact it was published in the Ministry of Education's magazine titled *Tájékoztató* (Informative) (Vendégh 1960). The significance of this was that after many years of silence, the single party state publicly clarified its position concerning the Gypsy question, not only to an elite confidential circle but disseminated so the wider public could learn the thinking of those in power. A few years later, several points and concepts became manifest in the wording of the first party resolutions relating to the Gypsies (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 5/1961/233. ő. e.). Furthermore, as it was sent to all county councils, it can be dated as the point in time when in effect the county councils began to deal with the situation of Gypsies according to central directives. Sándor Ferkovics, the head of the Hungarian Gypsy Cultural Association, sent the following letter, along with the script of the presentation by Vendégh, to the leadership of BAZ county:

> We ask that you help solve the Gypsy problem in your region accordingly, naturally taking into account the local particularities. We do not want to use a template for solving the problems, but it is necessary to use the whole spirit of the document as a starting point and begin to take measures to resolve this question (MNL BAZML XXIII-3/a 243/1962.).

Another positive outcome of the meeting held at the Ministry of Education was the establishment of a "national Gypsy committee" (MNL BAZML XXIII-3/a 243/1962.), in which the related ministries and social organisations took part. The committee was given the task of working out a draft proposal for the higher levels of decision making and to compile the necessary data for it. Sándor Ferkovics had sent a letter in January 1960 to, amongst others, BAZ county, in which he called upon the leading functionaries to write their opinions on the material sent the previous December. Furthermore, he asked for a report containing a survey of the county conditions and the effects of the measures taken by the County Council's Executive Committee. The northern Hungarian county was unable to comply with the request, as it had yet to grant the Gypsy populace a full point of order on its meeting agenda (MNL BAZML XXIII-3/a 243/1962.).

At the repeated behest of the central authorities, the county in question finally began to prepare its report in hopes that after years of ignoring the issue, the leadership of the county would put the situation of the Gypsy populace on its agenda for discussion and promulgate a resolution aimed at improving the situation. The report by the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County Public Health and Epidemiology Station stated that 23,500 Gypsies lived in 239 Gypsy settlements, often without the most basic of necessities. A portion of the Gypsy settlements

were located on swampland, many locations lacked outhouses and a supply of drinking water, and the removal of waste was mostly unsolved (MNL BAZML XXIII-3/a 243/1962.). For these reasons, the Construction and Transportation Office argued for the dispersal of the Gypsy populace and suggested the elimination of the Gypsy settlements:

> The first task would be the elimination of the separate settlements and the placement of every Gypsy family in an appropriate field of work, and at a distance from each other, so that they would be dependent on melting into their new environment and without the opportunity of continuing their old lives (MNL BAZML XXIII-3/a 243/1962.).

This was an example of the principles set forth by Sándor Vendégh, who in his presentation stated that in the future, Gypsies should not create new Gypsy settlements or Gypsy quarters but should be dispersed throughout the non-Gypsy populace. He explicitly mentioned and condemned the opinion in northern Hungarian counties that Gypsies need to be settled in one area (MNL OL XX-VIII-M-8. 1. d. 3. point).

The Workforce Allocation Office took a survey, completed in 1958, and appraised the number of Gypsies living in the county to be about 25 thousand, among whom almost 16 thousand were of working age, but only a small portion had permanent employment. According to the report, the main reason for this was that the factories and plants were not willing to employ Gypsies, citing their so-called wanton lifestyle. In addition to this, the attitude of the non-Gypsy workforce was mentioned:

> The rest of the workers are averse to having Gypsy workers, they do not accept them in their work brigades because of their weak performance. Their presence brings a large threat of uncleanliness and infection. No one wants to live with them in the common hostel (MNL BAZML XXIII-3/a 243/1962.).

This office saw the solution in ensuring work for Gypsies in line with their traditions and customs, in cottage industries or in the form of a cooperative, which was in line with the directive put forth by Sandor Vendégh (MNL BAZML XXIII-3/a 243/1962.).

The Ministry of Education noted their success in the schooling of Gypsy children, however it had to admit that the majority only completed the first three or four grades. Many were absent from school in the winter months, owing to a lack of adequate clothing, and because of the missed material they had to repeat the grade. In several schools, separate classes were formed for those students who were above average age for their grade level, though the reasons were not only ones of teaching methodology:

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> In several places, for the reasons that the hygiene of the Gypsy students poses serious problems, they have tried to create so-called over-aged classes, where they collect exclusively the Gypsy students. [...] Working parents in several locations rightfully point to the immoral speech of the over-aged Gypsy students, their neglected clothing, which has a detrimental effect on the raising of small children (MNL BAZML XXIII-3/a 243/1962.).

It is important to note that in the last lines of the report, the Educational Office agreed with Sándor Vendégh's opinion that the Hungarian Gypsy Cultural Federation was unable to produce any significant results, and that because of the Federation's existence, the work of county council organs in this area is very important (MNL BAZML XXIII-3/a 243/1962.).

Following a few years of preparatory work, the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee issued the resolution on "tasks related to the improvement of the situation of the Gypsy populace" on 20 June 1961 (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 5/1961/233. ő. e.). The aim of those composing the resolution was in part to lay the foundations for the single party state's Gypsy policy, one of forced assimilation, and to converge into one direction the various measures of county councils and organisations to this aim. The document judged the county initiatives of the previous years as follows:

> In the last years, the county executive committees have studied and debated the situation of the Gypsy populace living in their regions and have dealt with the possibility of their re-education and prepared plans containing numerous constructive proposals and measures. Yet – on some occasions – there have been inappropriate violent measures taken (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 5/1961/233. ő. e.).

The party resolution estimated the Gypsy population in Hungary to be above two hundred thousand, and in terms of housing and employment, classified them into three groups, creating the "integrated", the "in the process of integrating", and the "not integrated" categories (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 5/1961/233. ő. e.). They set the full employment of Gypsies as a goal, as well as raising their level of schooling and the earliest possible elimination of Gypsy settlements. The Political Committee's resolution decreed that the Gypsy populace of Hungary was not a nationality and any measures to that effect were deemed to be detrimental, as they prevented the "integration" of the Gypsy populace. It recognised the efforts of the Hungarian Gypsy Cultural Federation in mobilising county councils and social organisations as per this question but found it to be inadequate for the task of re-educating the Gypsy populace and condemned it to dissolution. It saw the main path forward for the forced assimilation of the Gypsy populace in the consistent prohibition of the traditional way of Gypsy existence and their incorporation into the work of heavy industry, as well as in the elimination of Gypsy settlements and the dispersal of the Gypsies among the non-Gypsy population (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 5/1961/233. ő. e.).

3. The Execution of Forced Assimilation Gypsy Policy

The vice-president of the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant government issued a decree in November 1961 – in accordance with the party resolution – in which he called the county councils' attention to the position the Political Committee had taken and the resolution it had promulgated relating to the situation of the Gypsies in Hungary. In the interest of the immediate execution of the directive, the vice-president defined measures to be taken in several fields by higher authorities. One of the most notable of these was the dissolution of the organisational units created previously and responsible for Gypsies. This task was given to the standing committee of the county's educational office. The vice-president's decree also prescribed that the educational committees prepare a report on the "future plans for the solution of the Gypsy question" by March 1962 and submit it to the Executive Committee; the presidents of the county councils were to take steps to ensure the lower levels of administration were informed and constantly supervised (Hajnáczky 2013, 245–247).

The Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County Council's Executive Committee's Education Office acted in accordance with the above directives and prepared a working document titled Long Term Plans for the Solution of Tasks Related to the Underdeveloped Levels of the Gypsy Populace. This draft was put on the agenda of the Executive Committee of March 1962 (MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 58/1962.). At the meeting, the vice-president of the County Council's Executive Committee – according to the official minutes – took the effort to call attention to the fact that the proposal had been prepared in accordance with the resolutions by the higher party authorities, and he suggested its supplementation:

> The report on the table before the Executive Committee was prepared on the basis of the Political Committee and the governments resolutions, its goal being progress towards the solutions of the problems of the estimated 28,000 member Gypsy population [...]. It suggests the draft be supplemented stating that the leadership of councils and the state corporations, state farms and local party and popular organisations handle the Gypsy question in accordance with the Political Committees and Governments resolutions (MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 58/1962.).

The long-term plan was based mainly on earlier reports and gave a relatively brief summary of the situation of the Gypsy population living in the county and drew the conclusion that difficulties were to be found in several areas: in employment, education, and housing (MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 58/1962.). Following this, the draft noted the measures the Executive Committee held as necessary, in "the spirit of the Party and Government resolutions". Regarding the elimination of Gypsy settlements, it held that in five years, 30 % were to be eliminated, and during this process access to free housing plots would be relied upon to a high degree. It prescribed that the health authorities increase their educational

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work in Gypsy settlements, create a council coordinating system, and take steps to decrease infant mortality. In the area of employment, the plan ordered companies "to accept in the spirit of the party decision the Gypsies applying for work, or directed to them" (MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 58/1962.). Furthermore, manpower agencies responsible for allotting work power were told to send Gypsies and non-Gypsies equally. The draft decreed that traditional Gypsy trades (e. g., pot repair, basket weaving, burning bricks) were to be put into cooperatives in the interest of stopping wandering. Ending illiteracy, which was very common among the Gypsy populace, was set as a goal in education, and the completion of elementary school by Gypsy children was another goal, even if it meant the creation of over-aged classes (MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 58/1962.).

In March 1963, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's Central Committee's Political Committee did its first review of the results of the Gypsy policy it had put into place a few years earlier, the execution of the party resolution, and the accompanying experience. The following summary and evaluation given of the county councils' work and measures towards the aims was tabled at the meeting:

> Since the resolution of the Political Committee the improvement of the situation of the Gypsy populace is dealt with primarily within the state apparatus. The county councils prepared long term plans, but their execution makes only halting progress because of limited financial and employment possibilities. In the relatively short time substantial change has not happened (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 5/1963/293. ő. e.).

As the report went through the various areas, it was only able to give account of little progress; the number of Gypsies with permanent employment had hardly increased, and children had been enrolled in school but there had not been any real progress in decreasing illiteracy. The most serious problems lay in the elimination of Gypsy settlements, and it was only at this point that the highest levels of party leadership learned that there was no opportunity for free housing plots and that those targeted could not meet the loan requirements of the OTP bank. Therefore, the Political Committee ordered the competent ministries and higher-level authorities to develop a plan for the soonest possible elimination of Gypsy settlements (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 5/1963/293. ő. e.). The Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government issued resolution 2014/1964, concerning the "elimination of settlements without acceptable social conditions" (MNL OL XIX-A-83-b 2014/1964 367. d.), and in this decree, laid the groundwork for the CS (lower value) housing program. This directive was accompanied by governmental resolution 3162/1964, marked as "confidential case file", which contained the higher authorities' instructions and ideological considerations. It is noteworthy that the Ministry of Construction was to prepare a survey of the "settlements without acceptable social conditions" that year

(MNL OL-XIX-A-83-b 3162/1964. 351. d.). The result of the nationwide examination of all settlements was to show that in the settlements falling under the jurisdiction of the resolution, almost 49 thousand of the homes could hardly be classified as constructed housing. More than 55 thousand families inhabited these dwellings, amounting to more than 220 thousand people. The survey went on to reveal that among the counties, BAZ had the most impoverished settlements, with 4792 dwellings housing 5514 families, equalling 25,631 individuals. The related ministries, together with other state organs, planned the elimination of these settlements, and created a timetable for doing so, which gave priority to the elimination of Gypsy settlements found in the vicinity of tourist locations, in order that they no longer be visible to tourists or the prying eyes of western journalists (Hajnáczky 2017; 2020b). The Ministry of Construction and the Finance Ministry issued a joint decree no. 2/1965 in February 1965 towards the aim of implementing the government's decision, in which they finalised the details of the CS (low value) housing program. Individuals with at least two years of continuous employment, with earnings exceeding 1000 forint per month, who were able to pay for at least 10 % of the construction costs, and who lived in the settlements under the jurisdiction of the resolution were eligible to participate in the CS housing program. The relevant council were to provide them with a free housing plot, and the architectural plans were also provided for free by the Ministry of Construction. Furthermore, those choosing the program received a 31-year interest free loan to be repaid in equal monthly instalments, and for those who maintained permanent employment up to 12 thousand forints of the debt could be cancelled. These measures were found in the co-resolution of the Ministry of Construction and Finance Ministry no. 5/1965. (II. 18.) on the elimination of settlements without adequate social conditions (Anon 1966, 368–371).

The Executive Committee of the Ministers' Council discussed the experiences of executing the Long-Term Plan and the growing number of difficulties became apparent at the meeting, including the lethargy of the council apparatus. The report tabled at the meeting concluded that no significant progress had been made towards the elimination of Gypsy settlements. The only thing that seemed to have taken place was the construction of toilets and garbage storage, or the council wiring electricity out to the settlement. The settlements continued to be as unfit for habitation as they had been previously, and the conditions just as bad for those living there.

> The number of lice-ridden settlements had decreased, but of the 379 settlements, vermin spreading infection can still be found in 140–150 settlements. [...] 8–10 % of the county's Gypsy populace suffer from incurable illnesses. There are many with tuberculosis and infectious diseases, which is due in part to the unhealthy environment and living conditions in the settlements (MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 71/1964.).

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The leadership of the county enthusiastically welcomed government resolution no. 2014/1964, as it saw it as the only solution to a hopeless situation. There was a decrease in infant mortality following the educational work and supervision of the health authorities in the Gypsy settlements. However, there were misunderstandings and differences of opinion that often led to violence and discord: "There are times when they commit acts that seriously threaten the physical wellbeing of the health workers" (MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 71/1964.). It is important to note that the Public Health and Epidemiology Station's workers were regularly accompanied by armed enforcement who ensured forced bathing; these functionaries were not averse to using violence and humiliating the inhabitants of the Gypsy settlements (Bernáth 2002; Bernáth & Polyák 2001). There was some progress in the area of employment, and the Gypsy populace reached 30 % permanent employment, while 25–30 % had temporary employment. Many were only able to find work far from their homes, and owing to a lack of education, were only used as unskilled laborers. They worked mostly in the construction industry, in industrial plants, and in farming; only a fraction were members of farming cooperatives. The main educational problem was no longer school enrolment but the high number of those having to repeat grades and the very small number who continued their education in secondary school or trade school. In order to help the illiterate adult population, courses were organised, but almost half of those enrolled did not complete the course (MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 71/1964.). In the light of these results, it is not surprising that the resolution reached at the end of the meeting cast serious doubt on the effectiveness of the measures taken to date:

> We establish the fact that the long-term plan adopted on 21 March 1962 for the improvement of the situation of the Gypsy populace is being successfully executed in several areas. [...] The progress though is far from satisfactory. There remains much to be done in the area of their employment, housing problems, and relating to their health and cultural situation (MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 71/1964.).

A few months after the Ministry of Construction and the Finance Ministry enacted co-directive no. 2/1965 and the housing program's tasks were assigned by the central authorities, the leadership of BAZ county made the method of eliminating settlements without acceptable social conditions a separate point on its agenda. The meeting was quick to discuss the county leadership's worries concerning the elimination of the Gypsy settlements; they felt the first problem was that the housing allowance slated for the county was small. The vice-president of the Executive Committee stated the following at the meeting:

> I am of the opinion the allowance numbers are only sufficient to solve 20–22 % of the problem. This is insufficient. He tells the Executive Committee that more than 10 % of

the country's Gypsy population lives in Borsod, and so it would be right if therefore 10% of the number of houses being built were guaranteed to Borsod county (MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 74/1965.).

They called upon the council president to appeal to the Ministry of Construction in the interest of increasing the amount of the allowance. The housing allowance for 1965 was 800 (Kovács 1974, 46), and of this amount 70 were allotted to the northern Hungarian county by the ministry. Most of these were to be used to eliminate the cave homes in Tibolddaróc. It is worth noting that in the following twenty years the elimination of cave dwellings occupied by non-Gypsy inhabitants was always a higher priority than the Gypsy settlements (Hajnáczky 2017). The other problem was that many living in the Gypsy settlements were unable to meet the conditions required by the CS housing program decree. Almost 250 families were not eligible for the program because they did not have permanent employment. The Employment Office was ordered to immediately prepare a survey of the unemployed families and to offer a proposal for their employment. Another problem was the CS housing program only providing loans for home construction, and so the added cost of extending utilities to the new houses fell upon the councils who did their best to avoid these (MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 74/1965.).

The county's execution of the 20 June 1965 resolution by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee's Political Committee was a subject for debate at the northern Hungarian county's May 1965 leadership meeting. The County Party's Executive Committee's report was prepared in the spirit of the party decision, and this was duly noted by one of the functionaries. For the most part, the report was a summary of the matter of previous meetings and did not provide new information on housing, employment or schooling of the Gypsies living in the county, nor the measures taken. According to the minutes of the meeting, the talk revolved about the single party state's new direction in this matter and acknowledgement of the party decision, without any words of criticism being uttered:

> The situation of the Gypsies is a serious social issue, and it is not an accident that our party is dealing with this problem. […] Since the Political Committee's resolution, significant changes have taken place. […] After the Central Committee's resolution, work progresses in the right direction (MNL BAZML XXXV-1 6. folder).

There were comments that revealed complaints from some participants at the meeting, such as someone mentioning that though company leaderships support and agree with the Political Committee's resolution, lower levels of administration do not take it into account and continue to discriminate against Gypsy

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workers. The council apparatus was blamed for either not knowing the party decision sufficiently or disregarding it:

> In my opinion, at the town level, the party organisation and the council did not take into regard nor deal with this question as something very important and a task awaiting a solution. They know that there is such a resolution, they know that they have to be integrated into society, but this approach is still a distant one for them (MNL BAZML XXXV-1 6. folder).

In response to the comments made, the township party committees were again ordered to reread the party decision and to begin to execute its directives, and the media was ordered to deal more with this question (MNL BAZML XXXV-1 6. folder).

In the second half of the 1960s, unlike BAZ county so far, there were national organisations and a few competent experts who argued for the modification of the 1961 party decision (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 41/1966/56. ő. e. MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 41/1966/57. ő. e.); the state's administrative bodies had their concerns over organisational questions, while the experts criticized the resolutions' ideological side (Anon 1969). After several discussions with higher authorities, the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasants' Government created the Interministerial Coordination Committee with resolution no. 3347/1968. Its task was to direct the work of the council bodies and help effective cooperation with social organisations (MNL OL XIX-A-83-b 3347/1968. 426. d.). After a few years, BAZ county created a County Coordination Committee based upon the model of the national organisation. It comprised all the offices of the County Council's Executive Committee, and the public prosecutor and armed authorities were also represented (MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 94/170.). In some locations, city and township executive committees created their own coordination committees to work alongside the County Coordination Committee (Füzes et al. 2005, 97–98).

Despite the initiatives having begun, keeping the question on the agenda seemed not to be a priority in BAZ county, as its higher levels of leadership neglected to meaningfully deal with Gypsies' situation for almost a decade after the mid 1960s. This was in part due to the County Coordination Committee becoming the main caretaker of the Gypsy question. In addition to this, the focus on both the county and the national level was turning to the elimination of the Gypsy settlements (Hajnáczky 2017; MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 86/1968.; MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 93/1970.; MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 95/1970.; MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 99/1971.). It can be assumed that in this period the overall direction was dictated by the state authorities, their resolutions, positions and the Future Plans, as well as the county resolutions.

When the Agitation and Propaganda Committee met in June 1974, it confronted the same problems it had previously:

> Though the situation of the Gypsy populace has improved, it can be ascertained that the pace of progress is not satisfactory, the problems have continued to grow in parallel to any progress, and their social effects have become considerable. The reason for this is that the rate of their reproduction is significantly greater that the effect of the measures aimed at improving their situation (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 41/1974/226. ő. e.).

Almost a decade and a half after the party issued its resolution in 1961, those in power reiterated that the Gypsies were not to be seen as a nationality, and there was to be no consideration given to a Gypsy federation, Gypsy press, Gypsy theatre, or education in the Gypsy language. The report by the Agitation and Propaganda Committee cited in part the Gypsy research by István Kemény and detailed at length the problems with employment, housing, and education, and then gave instructions to various organs (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 41/1974/226. ő. e.).

A few months after the Agitation and Propaganda Committee issued its report, the County Council dealt with the issue; the Council vice-president opened the agenda with the following words of worry and spoke of the changes to the living conditions of the Gypsy populace:

> The most visible consequence of the social and economic development is the extremely high level of differentiation that has taken place among the Gypsy populace. This is characteristic of the standard of living, the attitude towards work, the regional aspects. Their situation and living conditions are very different in industrial and non-industrial environments. [...] In terms of the county to national numerical ratio, despite the progress, they remain the source of a great amount of concern and tasks (MNL BAZML XXIII-1a 21/1974.).

It took almost two decades following the single party state definition of its Gypsy policy for the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee to compose a new resolution concerning the situation of the Gypsy populace. It was 18 April 1979 when they again conducted a comprehensive evaluation of the Gypsies' situation in Hungary and examined the past twenty years' developments. The report tabled at the meeting, at least according to the minutes, was prepared with much forethought and work. The suggestions gathered from competent authorities were based on asking several hundred questions, in addition to consulting with the Inter-Ministerial Coordination Committee and County Coordination Committees who reviewed the material. The report was able to give accounts of numerous positive developments, "however these did not equally affect the entire Gypsy populace" (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 5/1979/770. ő. e.), and newer difficulties had arisen, or existing problems had changed in nature. According to the report, since the 1961 party resolution, the number of Gypsy men with permanent employment had tripled and, in some places, had reached 90 %. Most of these workers, however, were

only able to find jobs as unskilled labourers, and so-called Gypsy jobs evolved, which meant especially hard, dirty work. The aversion to hiring Gypsies in certain fields stubbornly persisted, and the authorities impotently watched the high degree of unemployment among the Gypsy youth. In the area of education, the school enrolment of Gypsy children had succeeded, and those moving into the higher elementary grades had grown by a few percent, as had those finishing elementary school, but this growth was no more than 10–15 %. The percentage of the Gypsy populace living in Gypsy settlements had fallen to 25 %, and almost 16 thousand CS houses had been subsidised during the program; another 8 thousand families had been provided housing through other means. The elimination of Gypsy settlements far from progressed at the desired rate, owing to the significantly increasing construction costs exceeding the loan amounts, and a portion of the councils encumbering the elimination of these settlements. The recognition of the Gypsies as a nationality had still not taken place, though after long debates, they were classified as an ethnic group in the process of assimilation. Those researchers and Gypsy intelligentsia who argued for the recognition of Gypsies as a nationality were derided and accused of "neo-leftist demagogy and nationalism" (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 5/1979/770. ő. e.).

In accordance with the resolutions and directives of the higher authorities, the BAZ County Council made the Gypsies' situation a separate point of order in September 1979. Upon reading the report, the leading functionaries at the meeting were confronted with the same issues as those confronted by the Political Committee of the Central Committee. In summary, the material contained the following:

> Their social integration shows increasing differentiation and therefore new, previously unforeseen problems have appeared. The measures taken and the generally positive tendencies have not uniformly affected the Gypsy population of our county (MNL BAZML XXIII-1a 30/1979.).

The report primarily pointed out that about 17–18 % of the Gypsy population in Hungary lived in the one county – in total, more than sixty thousand individuals. That is to say, in almost twenty years, their numbers had doubled owing to the high rate of births, which had increased further in the Gypsy settlements, and to a smaller extent migration from other counties (MNL BAZML XXIII-1a 30/1979.).

The number of the Gypsy settlements had decreased from 318 to 190 since the 1961 party resolution. Almost twenty-two thousand Gypsies lived in these settlements. This was an improvement, but as the report indicated, there were new issues to deal with. The elimination of the settlements did not succeed in decreasing the degree of segregation. The CS-housing program homes were often built in a settlement-like grouping, and in the cities, Gypsy courtyards and

Gypsy stairwells evolved. Behind these new phenomena was the non-Gypsy populace's aversion towards the Gypsy inhabitants and the real or imagined conflicts of cohabitation. Home purchase with the help of the CS housing allowance did not meet expectations. The loan amounts were often only enough to purchase homes that were run down, which soon turned slum-like and became uninhabitable, or homes located in the county's remote towns, where the only job opportunities meant commuting. The elimination of the Gypsy settlements was still hindered by numerous factors, in some places, the local councils were unable to provide free housing plots for those applying or did not have enough funds to expand their public utilities infrastructure. Many Gypsy settlement inhabitants did not meet the required prerequisites for the CS housing program, and the high birth rate of the Gypsies in the settlements, and therefore the fast generational exchange, exceeded the capacity and pace of the local housing program and its parameters. The public health directives aimed at improving the conditions in the Gypsy settlements had remained almost ineffectual for the past twenty years. Public wells had been built, though often of bad quality, but latrines, waste disposal, and sewage remained unsolved issues (MNL BAZML XXIII-1a 30/1979.).

The bare statistics show significant progress in the area of employment following the 1961 party resolution and action taken by the county council, however new problems arose. At the beginning of the 1960s, almost 20 % of Gypsy men and an insignificant percentage of Gypsy women had permanent employment; by the second half of the 1970s, this had grown to 65 % of Gypsy men and 24 % of Gypsy women. It was a problem that Gypsies working in industry could only do jobs for unskilled labourers due in part to a lack of skill training; only 8–10 % were able to work as tradesmen and 15 % as trained workers. Most Gypsies employed as unskilled labourers were employed in jobs other workers did not want. So-called Gypsy trades evolved in certain fields (e. g., garbage collectors, street sweepers), and at that time one mainly found Gypsy workers employed for those tasks. In addition to frequent changes in places of employment, the employment of the next generation was becoming a burning issue, a solution to which were the military draft and the placement of young Gypsy men in work corps (MNL BAZML XXIII-1a 30/1979.).

The county leadership only had partial success in the area of education; the statistics again showed marked improvement, but this was far from the full truth of the situation. The enrolment of Gypsy children in the educational system increased but the dropout rate and the number of those given reprieve remained high. Gypsy children were not admitted to kindergartens because there was a lack of places, and this impeded their school progress. In the 365 towns in BAZ county, 196 lacked kindergartens. The complete lack of kindergartens could not be compensated for with the 192-hour school preparatory activities. The number of Gypsy classes grew considerably, and in the second half of the 1970s, there

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were 48 in the county. The official position was that after successfully completing grade four, the students could be placed in mixed classes. The report though fails to mention if this was carried out at a local level. The targeted rewarding of teachers often remained without effect, and in many places, the additional money was given to teachers without any expectations or extra work (MNL BAZML XXIII-1a 30/1979.).

It is important to note that in BAZ county, at least according to the report, the ideological directives of the Political Committee and the Agitation and Propaganda Committee were at odds with each other. The resolutions and position of the higher offices was that in no way was the segregation of Gypsies to be supported or initiated. Despite these instructions, the county, in its following central planning period, planned to experiment with the creation of a Gypsy student residence. In fact, Gypsy youth clubs, orchestras, and reading camps for Gypsy children were organised, in addition to presentations, cultural events, and balls exclusively for Gypsies (MNL BAZML XXIII-1a 30/1979.).

4. The Criticism of Forced Assimilation Gypsy Policy

The Agitation and Propaganda Committee, relying for the most part on the county reports, examined all the related issues and evaluated the situation of Gypsies in Hungary. The report tabled at the meeting was a strong reminder to the decision makers present of the partial failure of the Gypsy policy over past decades. The fact was that the Gypsy populace had been integrated into the "least qualified strata of society" (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 41/1984/434. ő. e.). In fact, it stated that the positive statistics show the standard of living of Gypsies rising, as had that of the non-Gypsy population, and so the gap between the two had hardly narrowed. The data related to employment were an excellent illustration of the problem, since just over 12 % of the entire population worked as unskilled labourers, among Gypsies this average was over 50 %. In the area of trained workers, the averages were almost the same. However, though almost 30 % of the entire population were tradesmen, only about 8 % of Gypsies found skilled trade jobs (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 41/1984/434. ő. e.). The most visible problem in the progress of Gypsy housing was the increasing degree of segregation; masses of ghettos evolved in towns and cities. In terms of the education of Gypsy children, they concluded that in many cases it only led to the recreation of the "least qualified strata". The report supported the previous assertions concerning the social situation of the Gypsy populace and recorded that almost one quarter of the Gypsy populace lived at an "average standard of living", almost half lived "around subsistence level" and the remaining quarter lived their daily lives in a "severely disadvantaged state" (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 41/1984/434. ő. e.). Those preparing this material warned that the integration of the Gypsy populace into society was not without dangers:

> The tasks awaiting the people's economy, the growing complexity of work is something all of society faces – the Gypsy populace, too – and requires higher standards. There is the danger that the Gypsy populace – due to the low level of qualifications and schooling, a weaker state of health etc. – will be less able to meet these standards than the whole population (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 41/1984/434. ő. e.).

The situation of the economy and its weakening at that time posed many threats, and one related to the fact that prejudice towards the Gypsy populace was becoming more deeply imbedded.

The Agitation and Propaganda Committee modified the 1979 party decision and changed the label for the Gypsy populace from "gradually assimilating ethnic group" to "a social and ethnic group with its own culture and traditions" (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 41/1984/434. ő. e.). That is to say that the emphasis changed from assimilation to the active support and recognition of Gypsy culture:

> The Gypsy populace may freely choose two modes of integration into our society: by upholding the value and traditions of Gypsy culture worth preserving and the preservation of their ethnic identity, or through voluntary assimilation (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 41/1984/434. ő. e.).

Nonetheless, researchers and Gypsy intelligentsia who held an opposing position to that which was official were still suppressed and their opinions labelled "incompatible with our principles", "mistaken" or "exaggerated" (MNL OL M-KS-288. f. 41/1984/434. ő. e.). Meanwhile, the ideological changes pushed for by the Agitation and Propaganda Committee's position suggested several measures to help preserve Gypsy culture, the most notable of which were directives for the establishment of a Gypsy museum, a Gypsy Federation, and a newspaper for Gypsies. The Ministers' Council followed suit, and in the interest of execution of the position of the Agitation and Propaganda Committee issued resolution no. 3223/1985 that dealt mainly with improving the educational, employment, and housing conditions, and included several directives aimed at this, in addition to mentioning its support for Gypsy culture. Around this time, some leading functionaries began to openly criticize the ideological basis for the previous decade's policy of forced assimilation and even went on to state that it in fact was incompatible with socialist principles. The Ministry of Education created the Hungarian Gypsy Cultural Federation in 1986, which in turn launched the *Cigány Újság* (Gypsy Newspaper), which published articles in a Gypsy language. Two years later, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party nullified the lines of the earlier party resolution that had rejected the Gypsies as a nationality (Hajnáczky 2020b, 75–81).

Despite the new centrally issued measures, everything continued as usual in BAZ county until the second half of the 1980s. It was then that the County

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Council's Executive Committee replicated the previously mentioned Ministers' Council resolution and issued directions for its execution. Here, too, there were a few lines concerning the support for Gypsy culture (MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 193/1985.). Another interesting development was the full-time occupation of family care workers "to help with the social integration of the Gypsy populace" in towns where the number of Gypsies necessitated it and where their social conditions were bad (MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 192/1985.; MNL BAZML XXIII-2a 196/1987.; MNL BAZML XXIII-1a 39/1987.).

In December 1989, that is to say in the weeks following the change of regime, the BAZ County Council held a comprehensive evaluation of the situation of the Gypsy populace for the last time. The coming political and economic changes, the press focus on the Miskolc ghetto case, and the urging of Council members made the question a point or order impossible to avoid. The Miskolc ghetto affair took place in Miskolc (the capital of BAZ county) in 1988–1989. The city government decided to evacuate the Gypsy population living in the slum-like city centre. The plan was to build a segregated settlement for Gypsies on the outskirts of the town in the floodplain of the Sajó river. The initiative provoked considerable protests and the creation of an anti-ghetto committee by civilians, which led to the city council's rejection of the plan (Havasi 2017, 68–71). The head of the council president's office introduced the topic at the meeting with the following pessimistic words:

> It is time to expose the true situation, without any false modesty. It has become doubly impossible for the Gypsy populace to remain both outside and inside. [...] The essence of the Gypsy question is that the customary folk order, lifestyle, existence, and folk behavioural patterning have become historically non-continuable and hard to progress beyond (MNL BAZML XXIII-1a 41/1989.).

The report established that the population of Gypsies living in the county had almost reached seventy-five thousand individuals and was thus approaching 10 % of the population. It likewise pointed out that the territorial dispersion of Gypsies was unequal, and that villages had evolved with a majority Gypsy population where nothing more than poverty could be counted on:

> Their proportion has significantly grown in those small villages, characterised by the non-Gypsy population moving away and aging (e. g., Csenyéte 72 %, Beret 54 %, Pusztaradvány 49 %, Kiscsécs 76 %, etc). These towns have few or no opportunities for employment, they are without schools or kindergartens in town, and they generally have bad housing conditions. These together make the advancement of the Gypsy population living in these towns difficult (MNL BAZML XXIII-1a 41/1989.).

Towards the end of the 1980s, less than 12 % of the Gypsy population lived in the 97 still existing Gypsy settlements. Nonetheless, the CS housing program

remained deeply flawed. The houses were for the most part built in groupings, in part due to protests by the non-Gypsy populace and in part due to the limited availability of housing plots. Most CS homes were built with one room and a kitchen and often became overcrowded while still under construction. Two other recurring problems were the shoddy workmanship of the small tradesmen involved in the construction and the irresponsibility of the councils. This report not only criticised the council apparatus and the non-Gypsy residents for the lack of success of the CS housing program, but also had harsh words for the Gypsy populace:

> The evolution of new Gypsy rows has been contributed to by a portion of the families being incapable of changing their lifestyle, made apparent by the dilapidated state of the homes built. The condition of purchased homes is even sadder. Homes bought 4–5 years ago have become life-threatening and uninhabitable. The families living in these homes-turned-slums are still burdened by OTP debts, and their housing situation has again become a problem (MNL BAZML XXIII-1a 41/1989.).

The CS housing program came to an end in January 1989. Thus, the housing solution of those remaining in slum-like settlements became hopeless, and the long running temporary solution to eliminate Gypsy settlements had failed to solve the problem (Rozgonyi-Horváth 2018).

The economic decline and the changes in employment policy were a harsh new reality in the everyday lives of Gypsy families, who were among the first affected. Their low level of education and lack of skill training meant the new job market had less and less of a need for them. Many lost their jobs, casting Gypsy families further into despair, made worse by the fact that the single paycheck family model was the most common among them. The growing unemployment among the Gypsy populace affected not only those living in small villages, but also those in industrial centres. Families remained without earnings and turned to the social benefit system in hopes of some income, but they were often disappointed.

> More than half of the 3,206 unemployed are Gypsies. Many among them do not meet the requirements of the regulations making them eligible for unemployment benefits (of the 900 individuals receiving unemployment benefits, about 40 % are Gypsies), and so families remain without any subsistence (MNL BAZML XXIII-1a 41/1989.).

Public works did provide some reprieve from complete destitution, but the report reflected on the problems associated with this, too, "90 % of those in public works are Gypsies. The employment policy tool can only reduce; it cannot be a long-term solution to the employment of those with a low level of schooling" (MNL BAZML XXIII-1a 41/1989.).

5. Conclusion

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The change in historic epochs was far from drastic in terms of measures taken concerning Gypsies, and in terms of approach, there was a kind of continuity on both a national and county level. What has been called Gypsy question remained one of public health and security. The developments in the second half of the 1950s did lead to some degree of change, and in BAZ county, they began to work upon the Gypsies' situation. The Gypsy population of the county lived mainly in Gypsy settlements, there were important advances in the school enrolment of Gypsy children, and the most significant improvements were in the area of employment during this period. A high degree of differentiation happened among the Gypsy populace; while a portion of Gypsy workers integrated into the job market, another much larger portion made their living from traditional Gypsy trades. That is to say that the integration of the Gypsy populace into heavy industry and the school enrolment of Gypsy children did not begin with the 1961 party resolution, but in earlier years.

The single party state laid the groundwork for forced assimilation in the early 1960s and then ordered the higher state authorities and county councils to conduct any measures promulgated along the official ideology. During the attempts to execute directives, the central authorities and those at county level were confronted with the difficulty of the tasks, especially the elimination of the settlements with inadequate social conditions. In the 1960s and 1970s, the various authorities at both the national and county level were faithful to the concepts set forth by the 1960 party resolution. The 1979 party resolution did not reject its predecessor and kept its fundamental theorem; the changes were attempted answers to the new problems that had arisen. The survey of the county's Gypsy populace at the end of the 1970s showed some gradual progress, not unlike the national tendencies. Nonetheless, this progress only affected a part of the Gypsy populace. The county leadership had to confront many new barriers to further progress, one of which was the appearance of segregation in many areas. Ghettos evolved in villages and in cities, and the CS housing projects were built in groupings and thus created a more modern Gypsy settlement. The creation of Gypsy classes in schools and Gypsy brigades at plants and companies were all accepted practice. Segregation appeared throughout BAZ county, despite the central resolutions specifically stating that this was to be avoided. This phenomenon was mainly the fault of local councils, schools and industry, and the county council, who almost without exception composed its directives and measures in accordance with the principles of the state Gypsy policy. Overall, the policy of forced assimilation was consistently followed until it reached the level where those non-Gypsies in positions of authority were personally affected by the measures and the customary patterns of coexistence were threatened.

By the 1980s, it had become apparent that the Gypsy policy of forced assimilation had failed and ending segregation had only been partially achieved. Thus, the central authorities began to gradually replace their former official ideological position concerning this question and allow for more ambition among Gypsies as a nationality; and to a smaller degree this did trickle down to the county level. Overall, it is important to note that in this investigated county during the decades of socialism, they very rarely chose to deal with this issue. It was in the second half of the 1980s that the first signs of regression in the Gypsy populace became evident, such as the decrease in their employment, which peaked after the change in regime. With the conclusion of the CS housing program, and despite its many drawbacks, the prospects of many still living in Gypsy settlements became even more hopeless. Though there was progress in education, the gap between the Gypsy and non-Gypsy population remained.

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Luisa Wirth

The Backpack of a Carinthian Slovene – Transmission of Transgenerational Trauma in Slovenes in Carinthia/Koroška

During the time of National Socialism, the Slovenes in Carinthia/Koroška were persecuted. The present study examines the transmission of transgenerational trauma in Carinthian Slovenes. Qualitative problem-centred interviews were conducted with second generation Carinthian Slovenes and analysed with psychoanalytic text interpretation. Even though there were no indications of trauma disorders in the present sample, there was clear evidence of mental burden linked to many of the respondents' family histories. The familial past was often experienced as a burden. The experiences of the first generation seemed to have a significant impact on the second generation. The study holds important implications for the psychotherapeutic treatment of the offspring of Holocaust survivors and highlights the societal responsibility to acknowledge the trauma of oppression and persecution.

Keywords: trauma, transmission of transgenerational trauma, Carinthian Slovenes, qualitative methodology, psychoanalytic text interpretation, photo elicitation method.

Breme koroškega Slovenca – medgeneracijski prenos travme pri Slovencih na Koroškem

Slovenci na Koroškem so bili v času nacionalsocializma izpostavljeni preganjanju. Na podlagi kvalitativnih, problemsko usmerjenih intervjujev s koroškimi Slovenci druge generacije, analiziranih s pomočjo psihoanalitične interpretacije besedila, članek proučuje medgeneracijski prenos travme pri koroških Slovencih. Čeprav vzorec ne izkazuje znakov travmatske motnje, je pri številnih anketiranih zaznati duševno breme, povezano z družinsko preteklostjo. Očitno je torej, da so izkušnje prve generacije močno zaznamovale drugo generacijo. Študija ponuja podlago za psihoterapevtsko obravnavo potomcev preživelih holokavsta in opozarja na družbeno odgovornost priznavanja travme zatiranja in pregona.

Ključne besede: *travma, medgeneracijski prenos travme, koroški Slovenci, kvalitativna metodologija, psihoanalitična interpretacija besedila, fotoelicitacija.*

Correspondence address: Luisa Wirth, Sigmund-Freud-Institut, Myliusstraße 20, D-60323 Frankfurt am Main,; e-mail: wirth@sigmund-freud-institut.de.

1. Introduction

The transgenerational transmission of trauma has been studied extensively, especially in the offspring of Holocaust survivors. The mental impact of the Nazi terror and persecution for the Holocaust victims was crucial for the development of theories and concepts of psychological trauma. The influence of parental trauma on the children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors led to hypotheses about possible ways and mechanisms for the transmission of transgenerational trauma. While much research has been conducted about the larger victim groups of the Holocaust, such as Jewish people, there is not much literature about Carinthian Slovenes, who represent a minority with a Slovene background in the Austrian state of Carinthia/Koroška. In a study by Wutti (2013a), the transmission of trauma is studied in three generations of three Carinthian Slovene families, and there is also a newer publication by Opetnik (2021), which focuses on the psychotherapeutic treatment of Carinthian Slovenes in regards to transgenerational traumatisation. With the aim of expanding our present knowledge about trauma transmission in Carinthian Slovenes, the present study focuses on the second generation of Slovenes. Since Wutti and Optnik are Carinthian Slovenes, and the researcher in this present study is not, this provides a new perspective on the topic from a researcher who stepped into the research field as an outsider without personal involvement. Having no prior involvement with the research topic and not being part of the societal conflict that is connected to the group of Carinthian Slovenes provides an outward perspective on the issue and can validate and support the findings of prior studies by people who are personally affected by the topic. It is not supposed to be expressed that personal involvement diminishes the value of research. In qualitative research, the variety of perspectives on a topic is valued, since the individual standpoint of the researcher is acknowledged to have an impact on the process of data production, analysis, and interpretation, which is not seen as a weakness, but as a strength. This paper begins with a brief overview of the theoretical background of the study. This is followed by an explanation of the methodology used to investigate the research questions. Following this, the interview sample of the study and the results are presented, and in the discussion chapter, the results are further explained and the advantages and limitations of the study are discussed. The study and its results are summarised in the conclusion.

2. Background

2.1 The History of the Slovenes in Carinthia/Koroška

Carinthian Slovenes are an autochthonous group in the southern state of Carinthia/Koroška in Austria, and they are the ethnic group with the longest history

of settlement in the country at over 1400 years (Vavti 2010a). During the 19th century, nationalism in Europe grew stronger, the search for ethnic identity became more important after the end of World War I (Bogataj 2008), and an anti-Slovene atmosphere emerged (Priestly 1997) and became stronger after the plebiscite of 1920, in which the population of Carinthia/Koroška decided that a large part of southern Carinthia/Koroška should belong to Austria instead of Yugoslavia (Bogataj 2008). During the time of the national socialist regime in Austria, the protection of minorities was declared irrelevant, and the Slovene language was meant to vanish from Carinthia/Koroška (Danglmaier & Koroschitz 2015). The land and homes of Carinthian Slovenes were confiscated, Slovene newspapers were forbidden (Danglmaier & Koroschitz 2015), and the persecution climaxed with the deportation of 1075 Carinthian Slovenes into forced labour and concentration camps in 1942 and 1944. The aim was to "Germanise" Carinthia/Koroška (Bogataj 2008). After the end of the national socialist regime in 1945, the anti-Slovene atmosphere did not disappear: the propaganda spread by the Nazis and the pressure to conform with societal rules resulted in lesser use of the Slovene language, while anti-Slovene stereotypes could not be eliminated overnight, and Carinthian politicians avoided openly sympathising in order not to lose support (Knight 2017). The persecution and expropriation of Carinthian Slovenes were denied, and survivors of the camps were accused of avoiding everyday life during the war (Danglmaier & Koroschitz 2015). The suffering of the Slovenes was not publicly recognized, and the rights of the minority were not fully implemented (Danglmaier & Koroschitz 2015). Carinthian Slovenes had to fight for the implementation of bilingual topographical signs (Ottomeyer 1997), which were erected in the beginning of the 1970s and were destroyed by the public within a few days (Bogataj 2008). Even in the last 20 years, the Kärntner Heimatdienst and right-wing politician Jörg Haider fought against the use of the Slovene language in Carinthia/Koroška (Klemenčič & Klemenčič 2010), and until recent years, bilingual signs were attacked, the Slavic roots of Carinthians were denied (Bogataj 2008), and the persecution of Slovenes was trivialized (Ottomeyer & Lackner 2009).

2.2 The Role of Silence Concerning the Past and Family Secrets

After the end of the Nazi regime, the Holocaust survivors and the ones who had experienced oppression often remained silent about their cruel experiences. Family secrets as "no-go zones" (Pickering 2012, 584) were being created, which Bar-On (1989) describes as a double-wall of silence. The processes of transference and countertransference in family relationships might be disrupted by silence because the listener has no access to the inner world of the one who remains silent (Orgad 2014). The silence creates a pathological connection be-

tween the survivors and their children (Grünberg 2002). Silence regarding the past can lead to holes in the familial system of meanings (Orgad 2015), which the offspring will likely fill with fantasies (Rosenthal 1999). Secrets lead to contradictions and unknown parts of the past, which can contribute to the transmission of trauma (Klütsch & Reich 2012). Survivors hide their past experiences from their children to protect them, but the memories have an impact on their behaviour that can make the silenced experiences even more powerful than the experiences about which they do speak (Wutti 2013b). Family secrets encompass not only unspoken experiences, but also feelings that are repressed over time (Tas 1995). The hidden experiences are transmitted on a subconscious and emotional level (Simsek 2017), and the impact of parental trauma is especially present in children whose parents do not talk about their traumatic past (Braga et al. 2012). Popov (2015, 70) postulates the risk of a "crippled mentality", a damaged psyche that is characterized by feelings of fear and threat as a consequence of silence. According to Reddemann (2015), both silence and sharing too much can have a negative impact.

2.3 The Traumatisation of Carinthian Slovenes

The deportations and imprisonment in concentration camps during the Holocaust are man-made traumas and can be classified as type II traumas, since the events took place over a longer time span and in most cases were likely accompanied by several traumatic experiences (Varvin & Beenen 2006). Carinthian Slovenes experienced their deportation as traumatic (Pittler & Verdel 1992). Being deported to a Nazi camp and being imprisoned can encompass fear of death, violence, hunger, powerlessness, humiliation, torture, and the death of loved ones (Niederland 1980). The isolation of traumatic experiences was a common occurrence in Holocaust survivors (Bohleber 2011), and it can be seen as a dissociation of the traumatic experience due to mental overload (Vavti 2010b) and the ambivalence of the need to talk and the resistance that is connected with talking (Loch 2008). Keilson's theory of sequential traumatisation (Keilson 1992, cited in Wutti 2017, 23) states that not only the traumatic period as such has an influence on whether an individual will be traumatized, but that the period after the trauma can also be crucial for the development of trauma disorders. Jurić-Pahor adapted Keilson's model of the various traumatic episodes to the Carinthian context as follows (Jurić-Pahor 2001, cited in Wutti 2013a, 24):
1. beginning: arrestment and deportation,
2. detention in the Nazi camps,
3. post-war time: difficulties of re-integration into Carinthian society.

The anti-Slovene atmosphere in post-war Carinthia could have been a retraumatising context (Wutti 2014), and recognition of the suffering of Carinthian

Slovenes did not occur for years (Danglmaier et al. 2017). Jurić-Pahor shows that parents and grandparents transmit their traumatic experiences to their children and that, with special focus on victims of Nazi-persecution and survivors of concentration camps, silence plays a crucial role on the subconscious level and has a strong influence on communication (Jurić-Pahor 2006). She emphasizes that when confronted with an extreme traumatic experience, the affected individual has the urge to fix the memory of it and to pass it on to subsequent generations (Jurić-Pahor 2008), and she describes the tension between the unpronounceable experience and "the need of survival and continuity of existence" (Jurić-Pahor 2008, 6).

2.4 Empirical Evidence for the Transgenerational Transmission of Traumatisation in Carinthian Slovenes

According to Wutti (2015), the trauma and the mental burden of the first generation does not remain unnoticed by the second generation. The second generation is still unconsciously trying to understand the first generation (Wutti 2015). The political battle for the existence of the Slovene language and culture in Carinthia/Koroška is still present, while the third generation is finding more emotional access to the life stories of their grandparents and has fewer inhibitions in asking about the time of the NS-regime (Wutti 2013b). Vavti (2010b) noticed a burden in the life narratives of young Carinthian Slovenes of the third generation, which is interpreted as an indication for unprocessed trauma. Members of the third generation report anxiety when visiting former concentration camps, fear of what could be left in the gas chambers, or panic at the idea of being locked in and poisoned in the chamber (Vavti 2010b).

3. Methodology

To investigate the subjective experience and to identify possible strains of the second generation resulting from the burdening history of the first generation, a qualitative research design was chosen (Mayring 1999). The main question was whether there were indications of transmitted trauma and burden in the second generation. This was followed by a question about the impact for the third generation. We were also interested in the way the first generation coped with the past, whether they talked about it or remained silent, and the relevance of Slovene identity. An interview manual for the research questions and the specific context of the study was developed, and it included the implementation of the photo elicitation method. The problem-centred interview, according to Witzel, was chosen as the interview method, and it entails all forms of open, half-structured interviews (Mayring 1999). The aim of a problem-centred interview is to investigate the research questions on the background of the subjective

meanings articulated by the interviewees (Mayring 1999). To add another method of narrating family history, the photo elicitation method was selected to complete the interview method. The participants were asked to bring old family photos, and they were asked about these at the beginning of the interview. Photos can lead to more detailed answers (Shaw 2013), can help bridge social and cultural distances (Cretin et al. 2017; Haaken 2011), and they can serve as an icebreaker (Shaw 2013). Further, photos give the participant a certain amount of control over the research process (Shaw 2013). In being able to decide which photos to bring, the participants can also decide what (not) to talk about during the interview. The use of visual elements does not require their analysis (Silver 2013), and since the focus was on the participants' subjective experiences, an analysis of the photos was not conducted. Scenic understanding was chosen as the method of analysing the interview transcripts. Psychoanalytic approaches to analyse and interpret text material stem from psychosocial studies and refer to psychoanalytic models and concepts (Willig & Stainton-Rogers 2017). Psychoanalytic interpretation can inform the interpretation of mental states and subjective meaning. According to psychoanalysis, the spoken word is influenced by unconscious processes and relational dynamics (Willig & Stainton-Rogers 2017), and psychoanalytic text interpretation is supposed to look beyond the text to identify underlying meanings and to connect the results to societal structures (Mayring 1999). Psychoanalytic text interpretation follows these five steps (Mayring 1999; Wieser 1994):

1. Logic understanding: the manifest content is analysed. Subjective reports are not tested on truth but are accepted as subjectivity.
2. Psychological understanding: the affective components of the text are registered and connected to the behaviour of the interviewee during the interview.
3. Scenic understanding: the meaning of the interactions during the interview is analysed and the atmosphere of the interview is taken into account.
4. Depth-hermeneutical understanding: capturing the unconscious meanings behind the text, registering cues of defence mechanisms etc.
5. Depth-hermeneutic reconstruction: reconstruction of repressed contents and understanding why the repression initially happened.

According to Ottomeyer and Reichmayr (2007), the term scenic understanding can also be used for the whole process of analysis. Scenic understanding and depth-hermeneutics, which are a crucial part of psychoanalytic text interpretation, are strongly influenced by Alfred Lorenzer (Ottomeyer & Reichmayr 2007). According to Lorenzer (2006), scenic understanding makes it possible to access the unconscious, the non-spoken, via the spoken word and connects the conscious with the depth of the unconscious. By engaging in interaction with the patient/interviewee, the analyst/researcher can use scenic understanding to

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interpret all the presented material; Lorenzer even calls the method "the royal road to the unconscious" (Lorenzer 2006, 36). It is the step wherein the first two steps are being integrated that leads to the depth-hermeneutical understanding. It integrates information of the earlier steps and allows us to detect certain patterns in the interaction between the researcher and the interviewee. This then allows a deeper analysis in the step of the depth-hermeneutical understanding (Ottomeyer & Reichmayr 2007). The results of text interpretation are influenced by the researcher(s). In order to have more objective interpretations, it is advised to let several people interpret the same material (Willig & Stainton-Rogers 2017). Owing to limited time and resources, this advice could not be followed in the present study, and the last step of the analysis, the depth-hermeneutic reconstruction, was not conducted. The goal was not to conduct a psychoanalytic text interpretation, to reconstruct repressed mental content, and to identify why this happened in the first place. This would have made it necessary to have much more time and support from other researchers, and it could not have been realised in the context of this study for a master's thesis. Since steps 1 to 4 were conducted, the analysis does not just encompass a content analysis, but is an analysis of scenic understanding that was later connected to psychoanalytic empirical results (cf. section 5).

The decision was made to interview members of the second generation because they are probably not as burdened as the first generation, they are the closest to the first generation, and they can report about the third generation (Kellermann 2001), so that transgenerational dynamics can be explored. Since people are the beginning and the purpose of research (Mayring 1999), they are the reason for the study, and they are not detached from the results; psychological research is not only supposed to benefit science and to inform common practice but should also hold benefits for the subjects. Talking about family history and connected psychological burden can create an opportunity to talk about it and help process one's own history and burdens (Loch 2008). The interviewees in this study were happy to be able to talk about the topic and they took the interview as an opportunity to work through the burdening family heritage and to take another step towards a deeper understanding of their own history. Since the identity of the researcher matters, especially in interviews, the perspective and position of the researcher must be reported (Mayring 1999). The author is not a Carinthian Slovene and not from Austria. Having moved to Carinthia two years before the beginning of the study, she approached the topic from an outward perspective, and her knowledge stems from literature and talking to Slovenes. She is from Germany, one of her grandfathers was a soldier in World War II, he was not a confirmed Nazi, but he was still a member of the side of the perpetrator, and she has no direct connection to groups that were persecuted in the Holocaust. When she approached the interviewees, there sometimes was a certain level of mistrust at the beginning, but after explaining that she had taken

part in a seminar by Daniel Wutti and Klaus Ottomeyer, the mistrust seemed to dissipate; it appeared that especially Daniel Wutti functioned as a gatekeeper whose connection made it easier for her to enter the field and build trust during the interviews. The motivation for her research was an interest in social dynamics and their impact on individuals who are members of a persecuted group. Her outsider position can also be seen as an advantage, since she is not affected and can therefore see the matter from a different perspective that is not guided by personal experience with the matter and is therefore possibly more open and freer of bias.

4. Sample

The author sent invitations via e-mail to Slovene organisations etc. to reach possible interviewees, and she also published a notification in the Slovene newspaper *Novice*. The interviewees contacted the researcher via e-mail, and appointments for the interviews were agreed upon. Eight interviews were conducted with nine people; one interview was conducted with a married couple. The interviews took place in September and October 2018 in the interviewees' homes, at their workplaces, or in a room at the University of Klagenfurt/Celovec, depending on the interviewees' wishes. The sample consisted of three women and six men between the age of 47 and 82. Seven were members of the second generation, one person was a member of the first generation, and one person could not be put in one generation alone, since their father belonged to the first generation, but their mother was a member of the second generation. Also, the member of the first generation did not feel associated to one generation alone: she was affected herself as first generation, but she also felt associated to the second generation, since she was the daughter of affected parents. These examples demonstrate that the concept of distinct generations does not always apply. The interviewees' professional backgrounds ranged from qualified jobs to academic careers. The educational level of the sample was above average with six people having studied at a university or college. Four of the nine participants were still working, the rest were retired. Eight of them had already lost one or even both parents. All participants had at least one child. In Table 1 the characteristics of the sample are displayed for a better overview.

Table 1: Sample. Overview of the biographical data according to the temporal definition

Sample	
N	9
Gender, n	
Women	3
Men	6

Age (range in years)	47–82 (36)
mean	63.89
Generation[1]	1st generation: 1 person
	2nd generation: 7 people
	2nd/3rd generation: 1 person
Number of participants with an academic degree	6
Retired	5
Parents: – Both dead – Both alive – One parent dead	6 1 2
People with children 1 child 2 children 3 children	9 – 2 – 4 – 3

Source: Own data.

5. Results

The participants did not select specific photos for the interview as they were asked, but they brought whole photo albums or showed pictures hung on their walls. One person forgot to bring photos but talked about an important carica-ture in the interview. In most interviews, the photos proved to be a good ice-breaker and helped in providing enriched information about the participants' family histories. The interviewees' reports showed many similarities to former research results about family secrets and transgenerational trauma transmission. Participant 9, the member of the first generation, who was imprisoned in a con-centration camp for over three years as a child, described deportation and the time spent in the camp as a shock to her feeling of security and as a loss of the innocence of her childhood (cf. Storolow 2001, cited in Bachhhofen 2007). For her the events were similar to a "break in the lifeline" (cf. Niederland 1980, 229). She reported strong feelings of anxiety for her and her mother after their time in the camp. Varvin and Beenen (2006) talk about overwhelming anxiety as a consequence of traumatic situations. Participant 9 also mentions her father's al-cohol abuse, which resonates with findings by Assion et al. (2011), who report a higher risk for anxieties and substance abuse for people with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Participant 4 talked about his mother's avoidant be-haviour, which is a typical symptom of PTSD (cf. Dilling & Freyberger 2013) and participants 4 and 6 talked about the silencing of the past in their families, which Wutti (2013b) also reported in his study of Carinthian Slovenes. The fa-ther of participant 3 experienced a dramatic change in personality after a surgical procedure: after he woke up from the anaesthesia, he became aggressive, and he

seemed to be set back into the past. This can be interpreted as a sign of dissociative defence; an important part of his memory seemed to have been cut off from his consciousness for many years and was brought back into his consciousness after the surgery. The trigger remains unclear. While she talks about her father's aggression, she cannot understand her own aggressive tendencies. This can be seen as a sign of a transmission of aggression. There were several signs of the transmission of unprocessed emotions and contents, and participant 3 talked about the unconscious transmission of secrets (cf. Simsek 2017). However, not only silence was reported: participant 7 talked about his mother's ongoing repetitions of narrations about the past – he became his mother's audience in her processing of the past (cf. Wutti 2013b). This can be seen as a sign of compulsive repetition (cf. Bohleber 2011), and it made him suffer (cf. Reddemann 2015). He said his mother had never arrived in the present, which could mean that she was overly attached to the past, which lead to a "present of the past" (Straub & Grünberg 2001, 8). While Grünberg (2002) was not able to report an adequate method for the second generation to deal with the past, participant 2 claimed his mother had found a good way to talk about it. In several interviews, there were dissonances between the content and the emotional expression, which is often seen as a sign of underlying trauma (Loch 2008). The ongoing anti-Slovene atmosphere after the end of the war was experienced as a burden, which supports the theory of sequential traumatisation of the first generation (Keilson 1992, cited in Wutti 2017, 23), and several members of the second generation experienced the time of the Ortstafelsturm (see above) as a "difficult time", which shows that the Slovenes have a shared narrative of the past (cf. Danglmaier et al. 2017). In the following, the core results for the four research questions are presented.

Participant 3 talked about the "backpack of a Carinthian Slovene (*Rucksack einer Kärntner Slowenin*) [...] that you take with you, whether you want to or not, which is given to you, which is put on your shoulders without asking 'is it too heavy or not?'" In order to explain the analytic procedure, the conducted steps are demonstrated.

1. Logic understanding: Participant 3 talked about the "backpack of a Carinthian Slovene", which is obviously a metaphor for the burden of the familial Carinthian Slovene heritage and not an actual backpack.
2. Psychological understanding: On the affective dimension one can interpret the metaphor as an expression of feeling helpless and powerless in having to face that burden. In the interview, she talked slowly, carefully choosing her words; it seemed important to her to convey the influence on the Carinthian Slovene identity on her individual experience.
3. Scenic understanding: In the interview, it appeared to the author that the participant thought about what she wanted to say, and she wanted to convey the core essence of how her family history and identity had affected her life.

Her slow and controlled way of talking could demonstrate that it was not easy or free of pain for her to talk to the author about what it meant for her having to carry her family heritage.
4. Depth-hermeneutical understanding: One could interpret the backpack as expressing the unconscious feeling of having been forced to take over an identity that is burdened and crushing, and that the unasked question of whether it is too heavy or not conceals the wish of having been asked or having been able to choose whether to take on the family burden or not.

5.1 Transmission of Trauma from the First to the Second Generation

Ruptures, breaks, avoidances, weakness, and sadness could be witnessed many times in the participants' voices during the interviews, and these were interpreted as signs of burden in the second generation. Swallowing and audible exhaling were interpreted as signs of emotional attachment to the topics. Abstract and intellectualised reports were understood as possible avoidance. Contradictions between the content and the emotional expression were interpreted as signs of repressed burden and emotion, for example laughter during the report of horrible experiences. These remarks might seem general, but at the same time it is important to capture these impressions and to highlight that in many interviews the interviewees seemed to be experiencing emotional turmoil. Further clues for the transmission of emotions were irrational and incomprehensible emotions, such as participant 3's aggression, which seemed strange to her, or participant 1's fear of people in uniforms even though they had never had a bad experience with police officers or other people in uniforms. Several times, the participants' family histories did not seem to be fully processed: some people had an immense urge to talk about and own their history, and sometimes their psychological burden could not be judged. It likely takes a long time to process a burdened family history and familial trauma; it is possible that this process is never-ending. The fact that all of the participants who clearly belonged to the second generation displayed signs of burden speaks for a continuing effect of the parental trauma and a transgenerational transmission of mental burden. The youngest person who belonged to the second and third generations did not seem to be burdened, which could be explained by their distance from the first generation. All participants talked about their own discriminatory experiences, which could have fed into the transmitted burden from the parents in the affected individuals. The first generation participant assessed her younger siblings and her children, who belong to the second generation, as strongly affected by the history of the first generation.

5.2 Transmission from the Second to the Third Generation

The second generation often talked about the conscious transmission of the Slovene language and culture and teaching their children an adequate way of handling family history, but they did not discuss the psychological burden that could stem from family history. One adequate way of handling the topic that they mentioned was not remaining silent about family history, but also not sharing too much and sharing age-appropriate topics for children. It seemed to be crucial that parents themselves were at peace with it when discussing it with their children. The effect of family history on the third generation was still perceived but could not always be described as their own burden. In contrast to that, some people reported a more flexible way of handling the past, a better method of processing the family past, e.g., by talking about it in psychotherapy (granddaughter of participant 9) and seeing the Slovene language as a valuable resource and gaining a more self-confident identity as a Carinthian Slovene from their children.

5.3 The Effects of the First Generation's Handling of the Past on the Second Generation

The interviewees reported that the way the first generation dealt with the past also influenced them. In some families, silence dominated, and the participants reported that the fact that they could not entirely piece together their family history was a burden and that it still occupied their minds today. When their questions were not answered or certain topics were avoided, they felt that something had remained untold, and their family history was partly still a puzzle to them. Participant 6 said that she always knew that there was something behind the silence, but she interpreted the silence as intended to protect the second generation, and participants 3 and 4 were still trying to understand their family histories at the time of the interviews. In contrast, participant 7 talked about his mother's excessive reports about the traumatic past, which overwhelmed him and made him leave Carinthia/Koroška as a young adult. In both cases, there seemed to be an imbalance and a burden that the parents were not at peace with and about which they were unable to adequately teach their children. Participant 5, the youngest person, claimed that the narrations of his grandmother were very interesting to him, but did not burden him. Participant 2 reported his mother having a forgiving attitude towards the aggressors who killed her parents and that she was at peace with her trauma, which seemed to be an adequate handling of the past for him; given that he was the only one in the second generation. The fact that he was in some way surprised that he did not feel hate towards the aggressors could be understood as a sign of the hate not being absent, but rather it was not talked about and might have been repressed. The first generation's method of dealing with the past seemed to have a detrimental impact on the

psyche of the second generation: silence still made them try to understand the past, constant talking was unbearable, and an adequate handling helped them find peace with the past.

5.4 The Relevance of Identity as a Carinthian Slovene

All the participants attributed great importance to their Slovene identity, and they all described themselves as conscious Carinthian Slovenes, even though participant 5 did not like the label Carinthian Slovene. The conscious transmission of Slovene culture and language and their own experiences of discrimination made them even more self-confident in their identities as Carinthian Slovenes. Several participants talked about being active in the preservation of the Slovene language and culture in Carinthia/Koroška, and some even had their professional life entangled with the topic of the Slovenes. Some of their families had been conscious Carinthian Slovenes even before the time of the NS-regime, but the history of repression and persecution by the Nazis seemed to strengthen the perceived importance of the topic for the participants, as did their own experiences of being discriminated as members of the minority. Participant 3 described the legacy of being a Carinthian Slovene as a backpack that she as a Carinthian Slovene must carry her whole life without having given consent. Carrying the backpack is a lifelong task of responsibility and dealing with the past, which is burdening on the one hand, but also positive on the other hand. The image of the backpack portrays the burden of family heritage and sums up the ambivalence of being a Carinthian Slovene. The observation that identifying as a Carinthian Slovene was very important for all the interviewees could be interpreted as a coping mechanism to handle the family history of discrimination as a family with a Slovene background or as a resource that strengthens their self-confidence as people with Slovene heritage, but this cannot be judged based on the analysis, since it was not part of the central research questions.

5.5 Mechanisms of Transmission and Transmission Dynamics

Often, the narrations of the interviewee's parents about the past were reported to be very emotionally loaded, and the children listening to these narratives likely not only remember the content of the stories, but have also internalised the emotions connected to them. Unexplainable feelings and strong feelings of responsibility could be transmitted through unconscious processes, e.g., the parent's irrational anxiety is also felt by the child and is adopted. This is a process that could be explained with the concept of projective identification: on a subconscious level, a person wants to free the self from their own unwanted mental aspects, e.g., emotions, which threaten to damage the self, and therefore transfers those into another person. The transferred emotions are evoked in the other per-

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son who now has to deal with these feelings (Ogden 1979). This stands in line with Volkan and Ast's (2002, cited in Freyberger & Freyberger 2011) assumption that children sometimes become "containers" for their parents' emotions and they continue processing the emotional baggage in the present time. This connects to the hypothesis that grief is also transmitted to the second generation (Rosenthal 1999), which was visible in participants 4 and 6 who felt overwhelmed when discussing family history or visiting a concentration camp. In several interviews, there was evidence of identification with a parent, most of the time with the likely more traumatised parent (participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9) which is supported by Kogan's (2009, cited in Freyberger & Freyberger 2011) observation that offspring of Holocaust survivors identify with the traumatised parent. Participant 5 was not burdened by the past, from the reports by participant 6 we identified no identification, and participant 7 did not identify with his mother, but rather fled from her depression to protect himself. He listed character flaws, which could have resulted from his family history, as a possible way of burdening his own children, but could not name any specific consequences for them. Participant 8 exhibited defensive behaviour when asked about psychological burden or trauma; whether he had taken on the defence mechanisms of his father rather than the burden remains a matter of speculation. Participant 9, who herself had to live in a concentration camp for over three years, showed similar anxieties to her mother and became coequal to her parents after the war, even though she was only a child of nine.

The heritage of being a Carinthian Slovene was described by participant 3 as a burdening backpack that you inevitably adopt, which shows that the first generation did not consciously give the burden to the second generation, and the second generation did not consciously take it on. When parents are emotionally burdened, this affects their children, since they are very dependent and strongly connected to them: they might be the person their parents unconsciously dispose their unwanted and unprocessed emotions in and who then have the pressure to act according to the projected fantasy and deal with the mental load of their parents, since it has become their own (Ogden 1979). According to the telescoping of generations (Faimberg 2005, cited in Salberg 2015, 23), which describes the dynamic of identification in a family across generations and is based on the assumption that it takes three generations to process severe trauma, the question remains open as to whether it could also affect more than three generations, but this cannot be answered in the present study. The difference between the generations could result from the following dynamic: the first generation is unable to talk because of an "inability to remember, to mourn and to symbolise the trauma" (Klütsch & Reich 2012, 578), which could explain the silence of the first generation under which the second generation suffers and decides to break the silence, leading to the third generation learning differently about the history and dealing with it. Participant 3's quote: "that, what I did not under-

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stand, I adopted" shows that the second generation also has an active part in the transgenerational trauma dynamic. This is also important when it comes to highlighting the possibly traumatizing impact of discrimination, which not only directly affects the first, but also affected and still affects the second generation. Its members are therefore not entirely passive victims of the transmission, while this term implies a passive role, but they are also actively adopting the heritage of their family history and the connected burden and resources. While these processes mainly happen on an unconscious level and it is not a conscious choice in children to take on the emotional burden of their parents, I still want to make it clear that the unconscious dynamics of the recipient play an active part in the transmission of trauma. Participant 3 said that she adopted what she did not understand, which was explained above. In order to highlight this, I wish to suggest the term **transgenerational adoption of trauma.**

6. Discussion

In the interviews conducted for this study, the aim was not to diagnose or not diagnose the interviewees with a trauma disorder. None of the interviewees showed indications of a manifest trauma disorder (e.g., by naming typical symptoms for such disorders), but there was evidence of psychological burden due to family history in eight of the nine participants. So even if the members of the second generation in this study did not seem to suffer from a clinically defined trauma disorder, all but one (who was the youngest) showed indications of significant psychological burden, and it became clear that the second generation was all but separated from the suffering of the first generation. That assumption was not only based on the manifest reports of the interviewees, but also on paraverbal signs and emotional impression from the interview situation as explained at the beginning of paragraph 5.1. This stands in line with the research findings cited above. In all the interviewees, an identification with their Slovene background was obvious, and all were interested in protecting the Slovene language and culture in Carinthia/Koroška. All participants reported their own experiences of individual and/or structural discrimination, which was a crucial part of their psychological reality and must be considered when reading the results. Since only ethnically identified Carinthian Slovenes who practice the Slovene language, identify strongly with their Slovene heritage, and often work to keep it alive in Carinthia took part in the study, the results are not representative for the diverse Slovene group in Carinthia. Carinthian Slovenes who do not identify strongly with their Slovene background might put less emphasis on their Slovene family heritage and the Slovene language and therefore might handle the possibly traumatic family history differently and experience discrimination less often. This could be seen as a flaw in the study, but since it would not have been realistic to expect people who do not want to identify as Slovene to take

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part in an interview for this study, it could not have been avoided. The present sample was still diverse, and the insight into several different family histories and dynamics can show important aspects of transgenerational trauma dynamics in Carinthian Slovenes. Since the primary aim of qualitative studies is not to create a representative sample but to shed light on subjective and intersubjective psychological processes, the study can be seen as successful. Even though nobody fulfilled the task of selecting a few photos for the interview, the integration of photography into the interview process proved to make sense, since it was a useful icebreaker and a good way for the participants to reveal something very personal. When analysing the interviews, the researcher realized that a question about siblings and how they deal with their family history would have been useful, so maybe this could be integrated into future interviews with the second generation. The psychoanalytic text interpretation proved to be a good method of investigating the given research questions. The relatively high degree of subjectivity is often named as a disadvantage of this method, but since the research of subjectivity can only be analysed intersubjectively, it is not only inevitable, but rather a strength and not a disadvantage of qualitative methodology, which does not have the aim to remain on a superficial and objective level, but to go deeper to explore individual experiences.

7. Conclusion

In several interviews, there was clear evidence of transgenerational transmission of psychological burden caused by family history. The main mechanisms of transmission seemed to be the transfer of unprocessed emotions and grief from the first to the second generation and the identification of the child with their more traumatized parent. The first can be seen as the unconscious but active part of the first generation to use their children as containers for their own unbearable burden. The second one can be seen as the unconscious but active part of the second generation adopting the first generation's burden. The phenomenon of transgenerational trauma transmission is the subject of scientific debates and there is a discrepancy between the observation of many psychotherapists that psychological injuries are inevitably transmitted in survivor families and the doubt of scientists about the specificity of the symptoms in the second generation who even postulate that the trauma could have benefits for the family (Kellermann 2001). Since many studies investigate the topic with quantitative methods and the family dynamics seem to be too complex to break down the transgenerational effects on isolated symptoms, the author argues that quantitative approaches are likely inadequate in investigating such a complex and subjective matter. Wutti (2013a) mentions in his study with the first, second and third generations that the burden of the first traumatized generation turns more and more into a resource in the third generation. The hypothesis that there can also

be a positive dimension to trauma transmission cannot be fully denied either, since participant 3 described her heritage as ambivalent and not entirely negative, but what the positive aspects were exactly remained unclear in her report. She stated that her backpack as a Carinthian Slovene was a burden that one had to carry, whether one was willing to or not, but the backpack also symbolized the heritage of her family. This heritage is connected to the lifelong task of breaking the big rock she has to carry into small bits; in other words, to bear the burden and work on it day by day. The contradiction between the battle with the burden on the one side and the thankfulness for family heritage on the other side seemed to be a core element of her identity.

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