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MIGRATION STUDIES

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R A Z P R A V E O I Z S E L J E N S T V U

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R A Z P R A V E I N Č L A N K I

E S S A Y S A N D A R T I C L E S

SLOVENE IMMIGRATION TO ARGENTINA FROM A COMMUNICATIONS PERSPECTIVE: THE SLOVENE MUTUAL ASSOCIATION OF CÓRDOBA

Julia CANDELLERO^I, Soledad Ayelén HORST^{II}, Leandro Rossano SUKICH^{III}

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ABSTRACT

Slovene Immigration to Argentina from a Communications Perspective: The Slovene Mutual Association of Córdoba

This article presents Slovene immigration to Córdoba, Argentina in the twentieth century, its phases and the institutions created under a mutualistic paradigm. However, the main objective of the article consists of introducing a case study which emerged from the problematization of the relation between the organizational culture and internal communication within the Slovene Mutual Association of Córdoba. This institution, established in 1940, was a late expression of ethnic mutualism and it has been maintained over the time with the primary objective of preserving Slovene identity. This relation among the subsystems has created a strong but conservative and dysfunctional organizational culture.

KEY WORDS: Slovene immigration, Argentina, ethnic mutualism, organizational culture, internal communication

IZVLEČEK

Slovensko izseljevanje v Argentino v komunikološki perspektivi:

Slovensko podporno društvo v Cordobi

Avtorji v članku obravnavajo slovensko imigracijo v argentinsko Cordobo v 20. stoletju ter razvoj pod takratno mutualistično paradigmo ustanovljenih institucij. Predstavijo študijo odnosa med organizacijsko kulturo ter notranjo komunikacijo Slovenskega podpornega društva iz Cordobe, leta 1940 ustanovljenega iz želje po etničnem mutualizmu s ciljem ohranitve slovenske identitete. Diagnoza odnosov je pokazala vpliv političnih sprememb na doseganje korporativnih ciljev. Odnos med podsistemi je vzpostavil močno, a hkrati konservativno ter disfunkcionalno organizacijsko kulturo.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Slovenska imigracija, Argentina, etnični mutualizem, organizacijska kultura, interna komunikacija

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INTRODUCTION

Slovene immigration to Córdoba began in the early twentieth century, when the country witnessed the formation of an urban proletariat closely connected with the arrival of immigrants (Romero 2002). The city of Córdoba was not immune to this double process of influx of immigrants and expansion of the working class. Indeed, in the early years of the past century the city experienced substantial economic growth and urban development, which attracted immigrants (Misetich, Quinteros 1996). Once settled in Córdoba, Slovenes started to establish various organizations for the purpose of mutual aid and gathering. These first institutions included not just Slovenes but also other Yugoslavs. The first attempts at association failed until the creation of the Slovene Mutual Association of Córdoba (SMAC) in 1940.

In this article we undertook research of a descriptive nature. We registered, analysed and interpreted the current state of the SMAC and the historical facts that affected the organization. The approach of this work was from a qualitative perspective, which is closely linked to phenomenological sociology and symbolic interactionism. This view emphasizes the qualitative description and analysis of social phenomena, understanding that social reality is constituted by the meanings, symbols and interpretations built by actors in their interactions. We conducted a communication inquiry¹ following the guidelines proposed by Uranga, Moreno and Villamayor (1997: 2). For this purpose the methodological strategies that were applied included content analysis of primary data (such as the organization's articles of association), content analysis of secondary data (bibliography to complement the theoretical background), open and semi-structured observation carried out at the different events held at the headquarters of the organization and semi-structured interviews conducted among its members.

SLOVENE IMMIGRATION TO CÓRDOBA, ARGENTINA

The arrival of Slovenes in the province of Córdoba began in the late nineteenth century. According to Misetich and Quinteros (1996: 27), although some Slovenes came to Córdoba with Austrian passports before 1919, their arrival in the province increased over time, and occurred in two stages. These phases correspond to different expulsion factors that shaped the specific characteristics of each migratory flow.

The first wave of immigration came to Córdoba in the period 1919–1939 and was characterized by the arrival of Slovenes from Trieste and Gorizia, cities that were controlled by Italy. Many Slovenes entered Argentina with passports of various nations such as Italian or Austrian. The peak period occurred between 1927 and 1930,

1 The diagnostic stage of the analysis was conducted at the headquarters of the SMAC for a year between October 2010 and October 2011.

when 128 Slovenes arrived in Córdoba. These first Slovenes began to settle in the Alberdi neighbourhood, where they lived with other immigrants such as Ukrainians, and where they founded Slovene institutions (ibid.). These Slovenes were economic migrants who came to the province of Córdoba when it was an attractive and growing metropolis for those that were seeking employment. According to their descendants, many found jobs in the city, mainly at the Electric Tram Company, at the Cervecería Córdoba brewery, at the railways and on state works such as the construction of the Arco de Córdoba. Others found jobs in nearby locations such as at the quarries in Malagueño and La Calera, in Dumesnil, in Río Segundo at the local brewery and in the rural areas of Colonia Caroya.

The second wave of Slovene immigration to Córdoba took place at the end of World War II, between 1946 and 1959, upon the formation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which involved the expulsion of many Slovenes (ibid.: 29). These new families were political migrants, who socialized among themselves, establishing a network for the preservation of cultural patterns outside the institution created in 1940. Some churches in the city of Córdoba and also in the hills of the province operated as meeting points for these families and their children through outdoor activities such as picnics in Colonia San Esteban, organized by Slovene priest Rudolf Hanželič.

The first Slovene institutions and cultural centres in Argentina were established in the 1920s. Even then they were divided by political and ideological differences. According to Rado Genorio (1987: 40) three groups were created: the Ljudski Oder [People's Stage] Cultural Association, which adhered to Marxist ideology, the Christian-democrat group Slovenski Dom [Slovene Home], which was supported by the Church, and a third group which had an intermediate position, such as the organizations Naš Dom [Our Home] and Kranjsko Društvo [the Carniolan Society]. Ljudski Oder, which was originally created in Trieste in 1905 and then moved to Buenos Aires in 1925, was the organization that had the most influence over the Slovenes of Córdoba.

According to the research of Missetich and Quinteros (1996), the first organization was created in 1928 in Córdoba by Slovenes together with other Yugoslavs, and was called the "Yugoslav Society and Library of Mutual Aid", although this institution was soon affected by the economic crisis. In 1930 a second institution was established only by Slovenes, the "Slovenian Cultural Society Spark" (Slovensko Kulturno Društvo Iskra), and later renamed the "Workers Cultural Society Spark" (Delavsko Kulturno Društvo Iskra) in 1934, showing a socialistic orientation and thus becoming a branch of the Ljudski Oder Cultural Association in Buenos Aires (ibid.).

Both these organizations (the Yugoslav Society and Iskra) faced continuous financial difficulties until their members decided to unite on 25th August 1940 under the name "Slovene Workers Mutual Society Unity" (Slovensko Delavsko Podporno Društvo Edinost), without a political or religious orientation. Soon with the members' donations the society bought land and started to build the first rooms of its

headquarters.² Meanwhile, under the mutualistic paradigm this institution started to offer some benefits to its members such as health care services and life insurance. However, as time went by these services began to decrease and finally disappeared. Following Slovene independence, in 1997 this institution changed its name to the “Slovene Mutual Association of Córdoba” (Slovensko Podporno Društvo iz Córdoba), which it continues to use today.

MUTUAL SOCIETIES IN ARGENTINA: FROM EMERGENCE TO DECLINE

Understanding the history of the SMAC requires understanding both the emergence and decline of the mutual societies in the country. Mass immigration, a phenomenon that was characteristic of the demographic makeup of Argentina, brought about the emergence of civil society organizations created by immigrants to meet various needs. In this sense the flood of immigrants helped boost the ties of solidarity between fellow countrymen and was one of the factors that favoured the expansion of what is now understood as the “third sector” or social economy. In the beginning, these institutions grew in parallel with the state and helped to channel the demands and respond to the diverse needs of the immigrants.

Mutualism was developed in Argentina in a close relation with immigrants, mainly Europeans. Between the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century several civil associations emerged in the country, which can be divided into those that took into account the national/regional origin of the members and those that were related to their professional activity (Moirano 2007: 1–11).

Mutual societies began to spread throughout the country, even among native Argentines, because during part of the twentieth century workers (with some exceptions such as state employees) did not have any social protection and were left to their own luck. In the case of the ethnic mutual societies, they met two objectives. On the one hand, they sought to meet the demands for the social protection and health of the immigrants, and on the other they sought to preserve their own cultural patterns of their community of origin. “The truth is that many immigrants looked there for protection against disease, old age and unemployment, and certainly a space for cultural and recreational sociability for themselves and their families. How much more they looked for and how much they found are pending questions difficult to answer” (Sabato 2002: 108).

These institutions faced multiple and diverse issues from the outset. The emergence of mutual associations forced the Argentine government to provide them with a legal framework. While regulating these organizations, the state legitimated them, because they satisfied welfarist needs and provided health benefits that the state itself could not guarantee in the beginning. In this way, the SMAC obtained its

2 The SMAC headquarters consist of 461 m² of built structures on a parcel measuring 1320 m².

status as a legal entity in 1950. The importance of mutual associations at the beginning was to channel and meet the demands of social protection and health of the population, creating some order and balance in society, and providing a sense of containment to a society transformed by immigration.

However, in their historical development, these organizations were modified in the face of new contexts, ever-changing and complex. Many ethnic mutual societies faced problems from the outset arising from a lack of resources to provide benefits to their members.

Mutual aid societies entered a first stage of crisis in 1920 and began to show problems of economic sustainability over time due to the mismatch which had manifested by then between the services offered and the increasingly scarce and defaulting money contributions. Faced with this deficit, the associations proposed leasing social spaces, or increasing the number of partners by giving up their identity, or rather their cultural homogeneity, allowing the entry of anyone. (Sabatella 2009: 421)

In the case of the SMAC, its old infrastructure is a clear reflection of the different projects carried out over the years by the various executive committees, who saw the institution, its direction and activities in different ways. In this sense, the infrastructure still shows evidence of various survival strategies: artistic and cultural activities for children evidenced in the concrete stage built in the backyard, the kitchen linked to the balls and concerts, the construction of the main hall for social gatherings, the practice of sports reflected in the basketball court, etc.

These organizations continued to face obstacles throughout the twentieth century. Gradually they became to be seriously affected by the establishment of social policies outlined under the welfare state model.

Indeed the debacle of the mutual societies reflects the generational change, and their inability to deal with the new social problems. Those problems [...] that could be solved in the new Argentine welfare state, with a labour market that offered full employment and at the same time covered basic needs with its remarkable endowment of hospitals and public schools operating at full capacity. (Sabatella 2009: 423)

In parallel, during the inter-war period the dynamism of the ethnic mutual societies began to decline, which was related to the gradual Argentinization of society. According to Romero "the ethnic or national mutual societies that were consolidated remained, but the initiative was not renewed. Instead those that grouped workers either by community of office or type of employment grew" (Romero 2002: 182).

In an Argentina where the labour movement began to take on increasing importance, the development of mutual associations was also affected by the enactment of Law 18.610 of compulsory enrolment trade union-run medical insurance programmes because:

[...] it was with the state rule 18.610 on trade union-run medical insurance that the mutual societies operating in the field of health care – the largest ones – had big problems and many (such as Española and Obrera) disappeared. It happened that people could not pay both the compulsory contribution for trade union-run medical insurance and the voluntary membership dues of the mutual society. (Moirano 2007: 8)

Thereby, the national organization of the health care system and the emergence of the trade union-run medical insurance programmes worked to the detriment of the mutual societies. The outlook for the following years, between the repressive state and neoliberal policies, continued to be even more daunting for ethnic mutualism.

Since then, some ethnic mutual societies have succumbed, some have opened to the community and continue to provide health benefits, while others have changed their role by becoming spaces of sociability and identity such as the SMAC. According to Alfredo Moirano (2007) of the Social Economy Research Centre (in Spanish Centro de Investigaciones de la Economía Social – CIESO) the number of registered mutual societies in Argentina is around 4000. However, according to the author that figure does not mean that all of them are actually active. Moreover, he points out that the wide variety of services and activities that mutual societies offer makes it almost impossible to list and consider all the services without committing omissions.

THE SMAC AS A SYSTEM AFFECTED BY SOCIO-HISTORICAL CHANGES

The SMAC was analysed from a systemic perspective as a whole, considering the historic changes that have affected its evolution. In order to approach the organization as a complex whole consisting of interrelated components (Arnold, Osorio 1998), it was necessary to make a cross-section of the institutional structure and distinguish analytically the subsystems that comprise it. Thus, the research focused on the internal environment of the organization and the changes that occurred in it over time, specifically those that affected internal communication and organizational culture, following the theory of Horacio Antonio Andrade Rodríguez de San Miguel (2002).

A systemic perspective that understands organizations as open systems, complex and unique (Arnold, Osorio 1998), was chosen in order to link the institutional life and communication processes within it, both affected by variations in the environment. Thus, among the most important changes in the conditions that had a direct effect on the SMAC we find:

In the national context:

- Progress concerning social security and health benefits in the twentieth century. Contributions for trade union-run medical insurance

programmes became compulsory for workers, so many could not keep paying the membership dues of the mutual societies.

- The generational change in society which had begun to integrate the children of Slovenian immigrants born in Argentina. Gradually the new members of the organization were Argentines of Slovene origin, many of whom could not speak Slovene.
- Argentine economic crises and dictatorships. The members of the SMAC were mainly workers, who not only suffered periods of economic crisis, but also several dictatorships which discouraged participation in civil society associations, which were occasionally perceived as dangerous. This is especially relevant considering the organizations were only funded through membership dues and fundraising events, without receiving financial support from either Argentina or Slovenia.

In the international context:

- The difference between the push factors of the first stream of Slovene immigration to Córdoba and the second stream after World War II. The first stream were the founders of the SMAC, while the second stream did not join the organization with some exceptions. Instead they gathered in their own houses or at church, leaving the teaching of the Slovene language as a private task “to be done at home”, which contributed to the shelving of plans to create a school of Slovene language at the SMAC.
- The independence of Slovenia from Yugoslavia. Many non-Slovene members left the SMAC after Slovenia became independent, and Slovene started to be taught in the organization after 1991. This led to a decrease in the institution’s revenues.

The SMAC was affected by all these changes, but could not adapt to them. It was able to survive through the years, but could not provide new answers to a whole new scenario. It has lost many members since the independence of the Republic of Slovenia and has ceased to provide mutualistic services as the organization should according to its articles of association. On paper, the SMAC is a mutual society, but it actually does not provide any of these benefits to its members. The mutual services the SMAC provides according to its articles of association include medical assistance, pharmacy, funeral services, tourism, cultural production and loans. However, its articles of association are more intended to give the organization a legal framework that allows it to exist under Argentine law rather than to set real objectives about preserving Slovene culture in Córdoba. According to our analysis the main objective of the SMAC nowadays is to preserve Slovene identity in Córdoba, and

that is the reason why members³ join it, to in order discover, preserve and feel close to the culture of their ancestors. However, many of them said that the organization has problems in achieving this, and that it is also difficult to introduce new ideas and participate more actively. The objectives of the organization, which are now purely cultural, are actually in conflict with the institution's organizational culture.

Currently most of the institutional life at the SMAC is spent on meetings of the executive committee, which take place weekly or fortnightly depending on the importance of the issues to be addressed. In these meetings many aspects such as paying taxes, assemblies, the budget and how to meet the requirements imposed by both the INAES (National Institute of Cooperatives and Social Economy) and the Department of Cooperative Development and Mutual Societies of the Province of Córdoba are discussed and resolved. During the meetings the board also proposes the creation of fundraising events in order to improve or maintain the building infrastructure. The members of the committee work on a voluntary basis and are the only ones attending these meetings, where everything discussed is reflected in the minutes following the formalities imposed by law.

There are four events per year which are open to all the members and held at the headquarters of the SMAC at 267 Mariano Castex street in the Alberdi neighbourhood in Córdoba. A tea in April, a lunch commemorating the independence of Slovenia at the end of June, a celebration commemorating the anniversary of the establishment of the organization in August and a dinner in December to close the year. The same events are held each year. These occasions are the only events open to all the members of the institution, which includes about 90 people⁴ ranging from 7 to 80 years old, together with the Slovene language lessons taught once a week by Graciela Mravlje.

THE INTERNAL COMMUNICATION AND ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE SUBSYSTEMS

The research addressed internal communication as: "A set of activities carried out by an organization for the creation and maintenance of good relations with and among its members through the use of various media to keep them informed, integrated and motivated to contribute their work in order to achieve the organizational objectives" (Andrade Rodríguez de San Miguel 2005: 23). In this way, communication was seen as a key subsystem to achieve corporate goals and for the survival of the organization.

3 In the last few years, especially following the accession of Slovenia to the EU, new members joined the SMAC after reading of its existence on the internet. Many of them are second or third-generation Slovenes born in Argentina whose ancestors had never had contact with the organization.

4 The number of members of the SMAC was approximately 90 at the time of the research. In many cases only one member of a family participates in the institution, which leads us to assume that the Slovene community in Córdoba is larger than the number of members of the institution.

It was noticed that the SMAC has no explicit objectives concerning internal communication; there is no special department for communication nor a person responsible for planning and carrying out the different communications tasks. Communication in this institution is presented as a tool for the simple transmission of information without thinking of it as a fundamental element to strengthen the various organizational areas and meet the objectives.

In its institutional operations the SMAC uses on the one hand highly formalized means/channels of communication that correlate with compliance with legal requirements, such as the minutes, but on the other hand, the use of other means of communication are neither planned nor monitored. So basically each member of the executive board can inform the rest of the members through various means such as phone calls or e-mails, providing inaccurate information that affects participation. This is related to the fact that the organization has no information and communication technologies (ICTs) of its own, nor a proper member database. The information is provided according to the good will of the members of the board, who always receive more information than the rest of the members because of their taking part in the weekly meetings.

The other subsystem considered was the organizational culture, which “[...] provides a common framework that allows a more or less homogeneous conception of reality and therefore, a similar pattern of behaviour when it comes to acting in specific situations” (Andrade Rodríguez de San Miguel 1996).

According to Andrade Rodríguez de San Miguel (2002: 109), the way in which the members of a group act is reflected in its organizational culture, which has its origin in a shared set of beliefs and values. The values and beliefs of the members of the organization are reflected in cultural manifestations, understood as an expression of the cultural system. These manifestations feed and enrich that culture. In other words, the relation between the organizational culture and the cultural manifestations is one of dynamic interdependence.

A STRONGLY DYSFUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE VS. THE PRESERVATION OF SLOVENE IDENTITY

The SMAC was established as a mutual association that responded to the demands of a specific group of immigrants, however, its ultimate goal was no other than the preservation of the ethnic and cultural identity of the Slovenes in the society (Žigon 2001). Thus, against the backdrop of the cessation of various services, the institution continued throughout the years to develop various survival strategies that allowed it to obtain the necessary resources for it to survive. In this sense, the resources were always used for the improvement and maintenance of the headquarters in Alberdi, the neighbourhood where the first Slovenes settled (Misetich, Quinteros 1996). The

conservation of the building acquired a paramount importance for the members of the organization.

The importance of preserving the building as both a meeting place and a place of identification in the city pushed the SMAC to deploy certain strategies to obtain resources, but these strategies failed to crystallize into activities that would reinforce identity. Unlike other Slovene institutions in Argentina, the SMAC has failed to establish a school for the teaching of the language, a dance group or a choir, as an expression of the Slovene identity. It was only with the arrival of Graciela Mravlje after Slovenia's independence that the organization started to teach Slovene language lessons. This means that the position of the SMAC is slightly asymmetrical and isolated when compared to the Slovene institutions in Buenos Aires, which have had larger numbers of both members and resources (Jevnikar 1996). In addition, there is a problem of lack of cooperation among the Slovene institutions:

[...] there are many Slovenian clubs and associations functioning by themselves, with no connection to other Slovenian clubs – because of the lack of information, or because of personal or maybe still even political disputes. The consequence is that Slovenian identity and its presence in the world is losing its strength, many do not know how to represent the whole ethnic community to the dominant/majority society. (Žigon 2001)

All of these aspects suggest that the organizational culture of the SMAC should be understood as strongly dysfunctional, because in this organization "... there are shared meanings, but they do not provide a guide for action in situations of crisis, because the organization is no longer able to get the expected results. A culture which is deeply rooted in tradition generates a great disorientation and resistance to change" (Andrade Rodríguez de San Miguel 1996).

Communication at the SMAC tends to instruct, inform and order. It is considered as a tool for linear transmission of information. The same message is transmitted in the same way to all members without discriminating between target audiences. Moreover, this communication does not have the form of a dialogue, nor does it call for participation. It does not seek to form or exchange ideas. This communication style has accompanied over time the organization's need for stability and balance.

These features that characterize the communication are linked to a particular organizational culture. In this sense, communication at the SMAC corresponds to a strongly dysfunctional type of organizational culture. The analysis of the communication subsystem enabled us to identify the interaction of many manifestations – conceptual-symbolic, behavioural, structural and material – which all together make up the organizational culture as the set of beliefs and values (Andrade Rodríguez de San Miguel 2002).

Over the years, the strongly dysfunctional organizational culture has operated inside the SMAC as a force of resistance to change by generating uncertainty among

its members when deciding how to respond to new scenarios. This organization possesses a deeply rooted traditional culture, in which there are shared meanings, but they do not provide a guide to resolve crisis situations. That is to say, these shared meanings are not conducive to the meeting of institutional objectives.

The SMAC essentially presents a conservative structure (Schlemenson 1998: 138–155). In its historical development, despite modifications and changes in context, the organization has not shown a substantial alteration of its forms. That is, it has not adapted its qualitative aspects to the current environment in which it is operating. Its objectives, mission, values and power structure remained intact although in practice some signs of change can be noticed. The morphostatic structure of the SMAC means that the changes that do arise are predominantly quantitative, for example fluctuations in the number of members (*ibid.*).

From the analysis we can see that the trend of the organization to maintain the status quo is part of its survival strategy, but at the same time the same strategy leads to stagnation and not to achieving the full realization of its institutional goals. This conservative practice does not allow the SMAC to evolve, leading to a loss of variety in its responses (*ibid.*). “Always the same things are done.” In this way, through conservative and centralist practices, the SMAC has defined its institutional style, which has become its survival strategy.

Furthermore, if we think of any institution as functioning within a macro system, i.e. society, the events which occur throughout history will unavoidably affect it. In this way, abrupt changes in the national and international context together with the SMAC's inability to adapt have created an institutional crisis with unresolved implications.

CONCLUSION

The current situation which the SMAC is facing is presenting it with new demands that its old structure cannot address. While we can notice that the association is beginning to open up to changes, it has not yet made any substantial shift. The teaching of the Slovene language is evidence of change, of an understanding that the social component of the organization is no longer the same and that it is now a must to incorporate new strategies. Nonetheless, this is not a well-attended activity; it is not inclusive and fails to be a binder of the entire mass of members. There new projects that take into account the characteristics of the various members and their interests. This is a clear reflection of the lack of variety and diversity in the organization when responding to the needs of the members, who demand more participation, exchange and cultural projects.

The organizational culture of the SMAC is closely related to the way it perceives and reacts to changing environments. That is why in a crisis the organizational culture will condition the way in which the institution reacts. In other words, we can

say that any change that the organization undergoes due to fluctuations in the socio-historical context affects the components of the internal environment such as communication and organizational culture. This speaks of the existence of an interdependence between the communication style and organizational culture that directly or indirectly preserves the status quo.

The SMAC is now facing a period of change which is different from the previous ones. The organization is being seen by its members in a different way. Its conservative nature, which was tacitly accepted in the past, is being questioned, especially by the newest members. To them it is no longer enough that the organization only strives for self-preservation. It is a stage on which the activities proposed by the institution fail to fully satisfy the achievement of the corporate goals and meet the new demands of the members who join it in order to explore Slovenianness as a central element of their identity. This requires that the institution analyse firstly which elements of the organizational culture are necessary to preserve, and secondly which ones should be left out allowing the incorporation of new activities leading to the comprehensive achievement of the corporate goals. Communication is of utmost importance in any process of transition and integration of traditional and new. A strategic plan of corporate communication could help the SMAC move from a communication strategy based in instructing, transmitting and ordering into a new communication strategy focused on participating, including and communicating.

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POVZETEK

SLOVENSKO IZSELJEVANJE V ARGENTINO V KOMUNIKOLOŠKI PERSPEKTIVI: SLOVENSKO PODPORNO DRUŠTVO V CORDOBI

Julia CANDELLERO, Soledad Ayelén HORST, Leandro Rossano SUKICH

Članek raziskuje imigracijo Slovencev v argentinsko Cordobo s posebnim poudarkom na njihovih društvenih dejavnostih. Avtorji najprej predstavijo značilnosti posameznih zgodovinskih migracijskih faz ter pod drobnogled vzamejo institucije, nastale po prvem valu slovenskih migracij iz Gorice v Cordobo. Po kratkem zgodovinskem pregledu institucij, ki so jih ustanovili slovenski priseljenci, se raziskava osredotoči na leta 1940 ustanovljeno Slovensko podporno društvo iz Cordobe oz. na njegove zgodovinske spremembe in razvoj.

Institucionalno krizo, s katero se trenutno sooča Društvo, je povzročilo več dejavnikov. Med notranjimi dejavniki izstopajo argentinska ekonomska kriza in diktatura, postopni padec mutualistične paradigme zaradi izboljšanja socialne varnosti, menjava generacij in »argentinizacija« novih članov. Iz zunanje oziroma mednarodne perspektive pa je opazna razlika med potisnimi faktorji prvega migracijskega vala izpred druge svetovne vojne in drugimi povojnimi faktorji ter osamosvajanje Slovenije.

Z leti je Društvo opustilo večino vzajemnih storitev ter se omejilo na ohranitev slovenske identitete. Kljub temu pa strategija, ki naj bi zagotovila zadostna sredstva ter podporo za okrepitev slovenske identitete, ni uspela, pri čemer delovanje Društva v primerjavi z institucijami v Buenos Airesu, ki v zadnjem času beležijo večje število sredstev in članov, lahko označimo kot asimetrično in izolacijsko.

Slovensko podporno društvo je trenutno na prelomnici, saj se z njegovo konservativno politiko ne strinjajo predvsem mladi člani, ki zahtevajo bolj odprto in kulturno bolj aktivno ustanovo. Iz raziskav je razvidna nesposobnost društva za prilaganje spremembam, kar upravičuje močno, vendar konservativno ter disfunkcionalno organizacijsko kulturo. Prav ta Društvu ne dopušča udejanjanja korporativnih ciljev ter lažjega sodelovanja.

INTEGRATION OF SLOVENES FROM ARGENTINA INTO THE NOSTALGIC ANCESTORS' LAND AND THE SLOVENE WORKING ENVIRONMENT

Judita PETERLIN¹

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ABSTRACT

Integration of Slovenes from Argentina into the Nostalgic Ancestors' Land and the Slovene Working Environment

This article identifies the key challenges that people of Slovenian origin encounter in the field of personal and professional life upon moving to Slovenia. The aim of the article is to identify the key problematic areas when Argentinian Slovenes enter the labour market in Slovenia and the advantages that their integration into the Slovene working environment brings to the Slovenian economy. The article presents the results of a qualitative research approach. The article makes recommendations for creating more effective synergies between Argentinian Slovenes and employers in Slovenia.

KEY WORDS: Slovenes, labour market, organizational culture, migration, change management

IZVLEČEK

Integracija Slovencev iz Argentine v nostalgичno deželno prednikov in slovensko delovno okolje

Avtorica v članku, ki je utemeljen na kvalitativni raziskovalni metodi, identificira ključne izzive, s katerimi se ljudje slovenskih korenin po nastanitvi v Sloveniji soočajo tako na osebni kot profesionalni ravni. Še zlasti se posveča njihovim težavam pri zaposlovanju in na delovnih mestih, utemelji pa tudi prednosti, ki jih njihova integracija vnaša v slovensko delovno okolje. Na koncu podaja priporočila za ustvarjanje učinkovitih sinergij med argentinskimi Slovenci in slovenskimi zaposlovalci.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Slovenci, trg dela, kultura organizacije, migracija, management sprememb

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INTRODUCTION

The working environment is challenging, and even more so when faced with the additional component of a cultural shift. Benson (2015) argues for the need to research how lifestyle migration research is connected to other areas of the social science research. In this article I am therefore interested to find out what kind of specifics Slovenes coming from Argentina experience in the Slovene working environment. Migration policy remains under the jurisdiction of national policies and at the level of EU countries which have set guidelines (Lukšič Hacin 2005). Migration studies are interdisciplinary and there is a trend towards making them an independent scientific subject (Lukšič Hacin 2010).

Cultural differences often serve as an argument for rejecting the co-existence or mixing of different ethnical groups or individuals (Kralj 2008). Slovene media and political representatives used discriminatory discursive practices (ibid.) in the period of the so-called immigration crisis in 2000 and 2001, where the dominant thesis was one in which "Slovenianness" was threatened by the arrival of foreigners (i.e. "illegal" immigrants). The period between 2000–2003 was also the time when around 150 families of Slovene origin came from Argentina (Kocmur 2017b). Slovenia has provisions on repatriation in its Act which formally regulates the relations of Slovenia and its diaspora.

When people of Slovene origin come to Slovenia from abroad they perceive new experiences differently than foreigners do. They are familiar with Slovene customs; however, experiences gained abroad build identity and can cause adjustment challenges. Valentinčič (2016b) identified micro cases from the USA and Canada in which people were returning to their Slovene roots as personal projects in the context of the global trend of individualization.

My research aim is to investigate how Slovenes from Argentina are integrated into the Slovene working environment. Therefore, Slovenes from Argentina are a unique group of individuals to be researched, as migration studies usually research foreigners arriving in a new environment, whereas in the case of Slovenes from Argentina, they have experienced both the Argentinian and Slovene environments. Specifics appear if they come after studying or working abroad.

The research questions of this article examine migration studies at a micro level and also connect economic and sociological perspectives in its research aim firstly by researching what happens after people arrive in a new environment (Lukšič Hacin 2010: 9; Genov 2015: 18), i.e. what do Slovenes from Argentina experience when they integrate into the Slovene working environment?, and secondly by researching why people decide to migrate and under what conditions (Lukšič Hacin 2010: 9), i.e. why did people decide to come to Slovenia after years in Argentina, and how did they search for and obtain employment in the Slovene working environment?

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Migration (Klinar in Lukšič Hacin 2010: 11) entails rational and emotional elements that need to be considered when researching migrations. There are several factors of attraction (ibid.: 10): economic prosperity, raising of living standards, higher income, professional promotion, appropriate employment and education. The main reason for moving is an imbalance between the existing state and an individual's aspirations. The larger the imbalance, the higher the probability for migration (ibid.: 11). Three intensive waves of return migration were identified (Lukšič Hacin 2002): at the end of the seventies, in the nineties, and at present.

There were also three main waves of Slovene emigration to Argentina: the first one, in the second half of the 19th century, was relatively small, just a couple hundred people. Between the years 1920–1930 about 30,000 Slovenes moved to Argentina (mostly from Primorska, but also from Prekmurje and Bela Krajina). About 6,000 people emigrated to Argentina after the Second World War (Repič 2012). A lot of people from the Friuli region (Kalc, Predan and Petricig 2011: 9) left for Argentina, Brazil and other South American countries. They moved to Argentina between the wars and after the Second World War because of the anti-Slovenian polices in that region and economic underdevelopment (Banchig 2013: 344). But most of these people did not join Slovenian societies in Argentina, due to their complex and unclear identities (Valentinčič 2016a). Those that returned did not move to Slovenia but to the Veneto or Resia regions in Italy. According to the data of the "Slovenska kronika 20. stoletja" [Slovene Chronicle of the 20th Century] in the magazine *Nova revija*, 25,000 Slovenes moved to Argentina before the Second World War, 22,000 of whom were from the Primorska region (Vogel 2005: 6). On the basis of various estimates and documentation in different periods from 1950 on, approximately 30,000 people (Žigon 1999: 21) moved to Argentina from a Slovene ethnic environment. There is above-average preservation of ethnic identity among Slovene political emigrants in Argentina (Žigon 2001a). The ethnic identity of Argentinian Slovenes is in decline due to the loss of Slovene language amongst the younger generation of Argentinian Slovenes (Rihar 2017). The decline is much more visible now because this community has preserved its Slovene identity much more than any other Slovene diaspora. Most of the descendants of Slovene emigrants from the 19th century and between the two world wars lost the Slovene language years ago and are much more assimilated.

An exhibition at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana (Vogel 2005) presented the people who came to Slovenia from Argentina and identified three main themes, the first of which was the moving of the Faculty of Theology to Ljubljana. Until 1948, priests and students at the Faculty of Theology together with certain members of the intellectual elite moved out of Slovenia and lived in Europe and then in Argentina, first in San Luis and then in Adroque. The Christian seminary functioned there until 1959 and educated around 70 priests. Amongst the last priests educated there were Edo Škulj, PhD (musicologist) and Marjan Bečan (working among

Slovenes in Munich). When it stopped functioning, future priests studied in Ljubljana, such as Poznič, Burja, Bidovec, Cukjati, Jan, Opeka, Novak etc. In 1991 the Faculty of Theology again became a part of the University of Ljubljana as a founding member that was expelled from public education after the war (Rihar 2017).

The two other factors identified as giving impetus to the return to Slovenia were Slovenia's gaining of independence and the economic crisis in Argentina (Vogel 2005: 6; Valentinčič 2017). The exhibition focused on the preservation of the stereotypical representation of Slovenia in the memories of many Slovenes in Argentina and its transferral to the younger generations (Vogel 2005: 6).

After Slovenia gained independence, the "Slovene political emigrants came into 'contact' with the homeland as it was before they were 'cut off' (self-isolated) from the native country" (Žigon 2001b: 37). During the crisis in Argentina, the people who returned to Slovenia were not "cultural pillars" of the Slovene community in Argentina (Valentinčič 2017). However nowadays he sees the trend of returning Argentinian Slovenes who helped build the cultural environment in the Slovene community in Argentina. This is why an emphasis is placed on conducting research within the community of people coming to Slovenia from Argentina. In every society (diaspora) there are people who do not get involved in the life of the community and others who deactivate at some period of their life. Global trends (globalization, fluidity of societies, individualization etc.) have a major influence on diaspora communities. Individualization in particular has a major influence on the possibilities to return to the "home country" – since individualization (Beck, Beck Gernsheim 2002) is closely connected with de-traditionalization and community spirit (both can also cause the opposite changes within an individual).

Researchers of remigration, as well as Slovene political and public discourse, have explored various aspects of returning from abroad (Toplak 2004). However, in most cases they have avoided problematizing the life of individuals after their return to the country of origin. The first and only valid research of remigration of Slovenes was conducted in the second half of the nineteen-seventies (ibid.). Remigration is also associated with difficulties that an individual needs to overcome with the support of the remigration policy (ibid.). Due to stereotypes and negative perceptions of immigrants among Slovenes, there is a tendency to blend into the dominant cultural patterns and hide one's uniqueness (Žitnik 2006a).

METHODOLOGY

Qualitative analysis (Bryman 2004; Colville, Brown, Pye 2011; Frankfort-Nachmias, Nachmias 2008; Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill 2009) of empirical data was carried out on data gathered in 2015 through a survey consisting of open-ended questions on a sample of Slovenes from Argentina, as well as expert interviews carried out in 2017. I introduce the results gathered through the survey (Čikić 2002) where the

Government Office for Slovenians Abroad, European Parliament Information Office in Slovenia, the Rafael and Slovenia in the World societies helped in identifying the key participants. The questionnaire was specifically focused on reaching Slovenes from Argentina.

In order to triangulate the data I also carried out 3 expert interviews (with Boštjan Kocmur, president of the Slovenia in the World society; legal expert Dejan Valentinčič, PhD candidate in migration studies; and Lenart Rihar, president of the Rafael Society)¹ in 2017. I also conducted a survey of articles dealing with Slovenes in Argentina and coming from Argentina to Slovenia in the magazines *Slovenija.svet* and *Moja Slovenija* from 2005 onwards. In doing so I wanted to get hands-on experience of the people who supported their integration into the working environment. The article focuses on the perspective of the people who moved from Argentina to Slovenia as well as the perspective of the people who assisted them in their process.

The benefits of process-oriented qualitative research lie in the acknowledging of the interpretative nature of the understanding of the meaning and providing insight into the context of a phenomenon (Maxwell 2004: 8). I have undertaken a qualitative research approach (Creswell 1998; Creswell 2003) in order to answer the research questions and grasp the perspectives and meanings of research participants as authentically as possible. The qualitative findings are tied to the specific context (Patton in Boeije 2010), and therefore I focused my attention on understanding and highlighting important cases instead of generalizing from the sample to the population.

The field of economics has traditionally approached research questions on migration with an intention to explain the tendency to migrate and what the effects are on migrations through hypotheses focusing on human capital (Lukšič Hacin 2010: 22). I expand this focus by adding social capital (consideration of the sociological perspective), because I consider the topic of (re)integration to be interdisciplinary in nature.

In order to understand remigration experiences, (Lukšič Hacin 2006) a combination of written sources and life stories (Mlekuž 2006) offers insight into individual remigration experiences from different perspectives (Milharčič Hladnik 2005). I have analyzed the archives of the magazines *Moja Slovenija* and *Slovenija.svet* from 2005 onwards in order to investigate the topic of Argentinians with Slovene roots coming

1 Expert interviews conducted: 1) Kocmur, Boštjan (2017a). Supporting Slovenes from Argentina in finding a job in Slovenia through the Slovenia in the World society (expert phone interview). Faculty of Economics University of Ljubljana: 30 January 2017; 2) Kocmur, Boštjan (2017b). Supporting Slovenes from Argentina in finding a job in Slovenia through the Slovenia in the World society \ (expert interview). *Slovenija v svetu*, Štula 23, 1210 Ljubljana Šentvid: 2 February 2017; 3) Rihar, Lenart (2017). Triangulation of the findings (expert interview). Kapitelj Gallery: 9 February 2017; and 4) Valentinčič, Dejan (2017). Legal perspective on integration into the working environment: researching challenges and benefits for Slovenia and Slovene Argentinians (expert interview via Skype). University of Ljubljana Faculty of Economics: 2 February 2017.

to Slovenia. My aim was to complement the primary sources and triangulate them with an analysis of the secondary sources. This way, individuals are no longer considered as a uniform group but instead as individuals who make different personal decisions in various circumstances (Milharčič Hladnik 2005). The demographic data of the survey sample (number of participants: 11) that was conducted via the survey platform 1ka through snowball sampling in 2015 is presented in Table 1. I targeted societies where Argentinians with Slovene roots were part of the community

Sample	Gender	Work status	Education	Age
	5 Males; 6 Females	10 active; 1 pregnant and writing diploma thesis	Higher education level: 7; Master's level: 4	21–40: 7; 41–60: 4

RESULTS

The Argentinian community of Slovenes from the third wave of Slovene emigration to Argentina (and their descendants) is very strong in terms of preserving their ethnic identity from the Slovenian cultural point of view. However, these cultural patterns have remained quite rigid:

These kids stumble into kindergarten and school with hardly any Spanish words and almost know more about Slovenia than Argentina. And yet, they might actually never have seen, felt or smelt this country called Slovenia. They grew up in a culture that is not present around them – actually it is nowhere to be found any more as it is composed of patterns which their parents brought with them and which remained preserved for many decades. (Žigon 1998: 10)

Contact of the Argentinian community of Slovenes from the third wave of Slovene emigration to Argentina (and their descendants) with Slovenia has increased since Slovenia gained independence, and the wish to see and experience Slovenia has risen among younger generations of Slovenes raised in Argentina: "I would love to go to Slovenia to personally see and experience the country which I so far have only seen photos of, heard stories about life there or read about it. Yes, there over the sea is my second homeland, Slovenia" (Sandra Jerončič in Žigon 1998: 221). A secondary-school student from Bariloche (Eiletz 2010: 3) described her experience of visiting Slovenia for the first time: "This experience helped me to know the culture from a different viewpoint and see how people actually live. [...] I am sure that I will come back again to the land where my great-grandparents lived." The question that arises is: How can people who never left return? (Milharčič Hladnik, 23 Jan. 2017,

personal email communication) An emotional connection with Slovenia was permanently present in the Slovene community in Argentina and concern for Slovenia was stronger than for Argentina (Kocmur 2017b).

The children of the people who moved from Argentina to Slovenia experience that their parents who came to Slovenia from Argentina are different. "You are Argentinian. This is different in Slovenia than what you think" (ibid.). Many assumptions are tested when people of Slovenian origin actually come to Slovenia from Slovene communities in Argentina. Many of the old traditions are no longer in place, and this represents a shift of the core identity of what is Slovenia and "who am I?" People who moved from Argentina to Slovenia noticed that they had arrived in a different "home" space and they needed time to become acclimatized all over again. It should be mentioned that there were also cases of Slovenes coming from Argentina who did not succeed in integrating into the Slovene labour market and returned to Argentina. There are also returnees from other countries who have had difficulties with reintegration after their return to Slovenia, and that is why they have founded the Lastovka [Swallow] society to help them with integration.

When asked about the Slovene community in Cordoba (Argentina), Anton Govednik stated that "We cannot speak of brilliant successes today anymore, with the exception of the fact that we achieved the main purpose of the Edinost [Unity] society, which was to remain Slovenes in our far away new homeland" (Rogelj 2009: 20). Slovenes lived in Argentina with Slovenia at their side (Rihar 2017).

Some Argentinian Slovenes, however, decided to move to Slovenia permanently, and this article presents their main experiential perceptions of their arrival and adaptation to the labour market in Slovenia. The idea to move to Slovenia permanently grew for a long time and was strengthened by visits to Argentina by relatives and friends from Slovenia, who also became their main sources of help and support upon their arrival in Slovenia (Batagelj in Jakin 2006a: 27).

The economic situation in Slovenia in 2000–2003 was open to newcomers, as there were jobs available, and Argentinian Slovenes were also prepared to start working in different sectors, therefore they found employment quite quickly (Kocmur 2017b). The most common obstacles in the first years of immigration to Slovenia from Argentina were long waiting lines for arranging documents, recognition of diplomas, documentation of permanent residence and obtaining scholarships for Slovene citizens older than 26 (Kocmur in Jakin 2006c: 7).

The Slovenia in the World society provided people who had returned from Argentina to Slovenia with legal advice and cultural adjustment. In the years 2001, 2002 and 2003 the main streams of people moving from Argentina to Slovenia due to the economic crisis in Argentina tried to solve their existential situation by seeking jobs in Slovenia. As quite a lot of these people were in mixed marriages, Mr Kocmur (30 January 2017a) stated that finding a job was not the main issue, as their spouses and children first needed to learn Slovene and it was difficult in those years to find the resources to organize Slovene language courses. This is why they organized a course

in the early stage with the help of supporters and donors. Now there are European funds available since Slovenia is in the European Union.

Both women and men sought employment; only women with large families stayed at home. Also, finding accommodations represented a challenge. This was expressed by Emil Urbančič, (Jakin 2006b: 27) who stated that the decision to come to Slovenia was not easy, especially as his wife Tantely had to wait five months to get permission to enter Slovenia and also had difficulties with the Slovene language in the beginning.²

Argentinian Slovenes value the following characteristics the most about the Slovene working environment: order, reliability and knowing what to expect in the working environment. I analyzed the reasons for seeking employment and based on their responses found the following main themes as causes for their return:

Because of the crisis in Argentina in 2001. It repeats every decade. I did not want to experience such economic crises any more. / I've created a family. / My life evolved like this. / When I moved to Slovenia I was still underage. / I am an entrepreneur, I was not looking for jobs. / Because I wanted to stay here for a little longer, and to understand life in Slovenia better. / Because I am a Slovene, born in Argentina. I moved when Slovenia gained independence. / I didn't come to Slovenia for a job, but because of the desire to live in the land of my ancestors. Since I moved to Slovenia, I had to find a job in order to earn a living. / I have Slovene roots. / Due to the desire to return to the homeland of my ancestors and due to the current crime situation in Argentina. / I came to Slovenia to study, which is why employment in Slovenia at the end of my studies was a logical consequence. It was not my intention to return to Argentina.

The reasons to move to Slovenia from Argentina can be broken down as follows: 1) returning to one's "roots"; 2) seeking a safe environment for raising a family; 3) seeking a better quality of life; and 4) seeking business opportunities. Based on the answers received, it can be summarized that the reasons for returning are mainly connected to the personal, social dimension of human existence, which is closely connected with finding employment and which affects the duration and satisfaction with one's decision to stay in a certain country.

I was curious to understand the process of adjustment and integration of people who had entered the Slovene working environment once they had settled in Slovenia. I based my findings on the following quotations from the research participants:

The adaption process was very brief, because I came at a time when the company has the most work. My colleagues were all willing to help when I needed anything,

2 Beck, Beck Gernsheim (2002: 92) state that bi-national or bicultural couples have increased considerably in recent times due to migration of labour, political upheavals, mass tourism and foreign travel for education or business.

so I felt accepted. / I work in education. I also worked in education in Argentina. I lacked some technical terminology and of course I needed to adapt to different situations and habits. / I was lucky. Before I graduated I sent a request to the company where I am currently employed. They invited me for an interview and I passed it successfully. Now I have been working for four years. I had no problems adapting in cultural terms. The problems I had were probably unconnected with the fact that I am from Argentina, but more due to personal reasons. / Somehow I always remain a stranger, thinking differently, perceiving others differently. For many people around me, it is often too different. Adaptation is still ongoing. / Although I went to a couple of job interviews, I didn't get a job through ads, but through an acquaintance. At the interviews the people were surprised that I spoke Slovene. They were worried that since I was not educated in Slovenia I do not know the laws, regulations, etc. I got my job through an acquaintance, who introduced me to an acquaintance of his. They told me that they would like to see what I can do and told me to come the next day. They gave me a few things to do and were satisfied with my work. During the integration process my biggest help were great bosses that saw potential in me and also others in the organization. They created a supportive and good working atmosphere. / I was underage upon arrival. / The process was fast: my colleagues all accepted me positively. The adaptation process has been long (in spite of my knowledge of the Slovene language, I needed some time to express exactly what I think, and I did not have the professional vocabulary). This was my first year. Today, after 12 years, it is still noticeable that I am a foreigner. / They accepted me quickly, only one interview was needed. Adapting took a couple of weeks through conversation with colleagues, their advice, observations. / I wasn't looking for a job. / I had no problems. / They accepted me well, probably because I am a foreigner and because I did not criticize their way of employing (they accepted me only as an independent contractor with an 8-hour working time). They avoid employing people full time as they state directly that this is a major cost for them. I do not feel appreciated. During the integration process what helped me the most was the fact that I had student status, and the friendliness of the staff.

The adaptation process did not present any major systematic challenges to the research participants. Among the challenging adaptation factors they noted the necessity to become accustomed to different working habits and also personal adaptation challenges.

Slovenia is represented in the minds of Argentinian Slovenes in many different layers (Rihar 2017). The younger generation has knowledge about Slovenia but they do not have in-depth knowledge about what brought their ancestors from Slovenia to Argentina. People with Slovene roots in Argentina know things about Slovenia in terms of its integration into the European Union and the European mentality, and expect to experience life as it is represented on television about Western Europe,

but Slovenia is below the EU average in terms of development, although it is still economically more stable than Argentina (ibid.). People with Slovene roots who come from Argentina appreciate the following values in the Slovene working environment: 1) being on time; 2) tidiness, relaxedness; 3) In Slovenia, people still work quite hard. Diligence has not disappeared from the Slovene character, even if the Yugoslavian spirit did influence it. I perceive less laziness than in Argentina. In Slovenia formal processes are quite common and prevalent: order is important which is not the case in Argentina. I think German countries have an even larger emphasis on formalities and processes. 4) punctuality, seriousness; 5) hard work, reliability; 6) order, discipline; 7) stability; 8) diligence, accuracy, responsibility; 9) diligence, honesty (in some); 10) conscientiousness; 11) well-organized work. The findings support the fact that (re)migration is composed of complex family decisions and is much more than just a consequence of socio-economic and legal circumstances (Milharčič Hladnik 2007).

We can speak of concentric circles of the Slovene community in Argentina (Rihar 2017). Usually the people who move to Slovenia are from the outer circles. The people in the centre of the Slovene community in Argentina mostly did not return as they did not want to leave behind what they built. Some Argentinian Slovenes intentionally work on sending their children to Slovenia (ibid.). Slovenes in Argentina are often entrepreneurial, which is unusual for their local setting in Argentina (ibid.). They are and were hard-working and what they bring to the Slovene working environment is honesty and integrity in combination with pride (ibid.). Key differences between Slovene and foreign work environment were identified in terms of: (1) collegial (Argentina) – formal (Slovenia) relationships; (2) reliability (Slovenia) – unreliability (Argentina); (3) creativity at work (Argentina) – sticking to the boss's orders (Slovenia); and (4) easier cooperation (Argentina) – limited willingness to cooperate (Slovenia). The key differences are highlighted in the following quotations:

Argentinian employees are more resourceful, looking beyond, outside the box. They are therefore less reliable, they are more likely to cheat. A (typical) Slovene keeps his word, is reliable, sturdy in a good way. / Slovenes are more reliable, stick to their word. They are also more hypocritical and dispute the truth. Argentines are more open, easier to cooperate with. But they are also increasingly unreliable. / Working with the Slovenes is more orderly. The relationship is limited to the working environment – as a co-worker. It is hard to establish a bond with your co-workers outside of the working setting. You mostly talk about work. Slovenes are very closed. You cannot get close to them. Working with Argentinians is more relaxed. We also develop friendships. After office hours are traditional (coffee, drinks). / Slovenes are more reliable, but also more competitive. / Slovenes smoke a lot and lose a lot of time on cigarette and coffee breaks. In Argentina, people don't even think about that during working hours. Slovenes stick to the schedule (arrival at work) and to the tasks that they have been assigned. Argentineans are not prompt regarding arrival

to work (strikes, long journeys to work, congestion) but they will remain at work after hours if needed, without protest. Slovenes are obedient and good. They carry out what they are ordered without any (direct) complaining. But usually, they complain at home or with colleagues, secretly. Argentineans directly show and tell with strong temperament when they do not like something and give their opinion (which can be positive criticism or a new idea). / The average Slovene: reliable, seeks to stick to agreements, does not steal, is trustworthy. The average Argentinean: the contrary. / Slovenes are more prompt, timely, responsible, and therefore perhaps a little more impatient. Argentines are more resourceful, especially when it seems that there is no solution. Argentines know how to be more collegial, and Slovenes, if they are, become real friends.

CONCLUSION

Place memory and place expectation include an individual's past experience and future expectation(s) of attachment to a certain place (Chen, Dwyer and Firth 2014a; 2014b). "Attachment has been defined as an affectional bond or tie between an individual and an attachment figure, which is a basic human need for security" (Bowlby in Chen, Dwyer, Firth 2014b: 829). In the case of Argentinian Slovenes it was demonstrated that the generation returning to Slovenia experiences Slovenia firstly through the memories of their grandparents and parents. Argentinian Slovenes demonstrate a large place attachment to Slovenia, are sometimes nostalgic for the past and how things were, but also demonstrated an enormous love for the country and the development of Slovenia.

"Memorable or life-changing events can also lead to an attachment to a place" (Chen, Dwyer, Firth 2014b: 829), which is especially relevant for our discussion as Argentinian Slovenes have place memory – memories of interaction associated with a place (ibid.) are strongly connected through relatives in Slovenia, ancestors' storytelling and their own experiences during short visits. "Place expectation – an individual's expectation of the future experiences perceived as likely to occur in a place" (ibid.) is an important dimension for the analysis of the results. Argentinian Slovenes often have expectations of Slovenia that are very high, mixed with nostalgic stories of their ancestors. This dimension plays an important role when deciding to return to Slovenia. For every Argentinian with Slovene roots, moving to Slovenia represents a new beginning. People who have gone through this process recommend a trial visit to Slovenia before the final permanent move to Slovenia (Batagelj in Jakin 2006a: 27).

In terms of typology of the relationship to place (Chen 2015), Argentinian Slovenes share narrative, dependence (on work), spirituality (storytelling from their ancestors), and ideological relationship to place. In terms of place attachment as the degree of the bond (Chen 2015), Argentinian Slovenes display place identity (ancestors' origin), place dependence (finding a way of better living), affective attachment

(fondness for the place and history), social bonding (being Slovene is a higher-order value) and natural bonding (admiring the natural beauty of the country). Finding a job is an important dimension in place expectation, and by gaining access to a job in Slovenia, Argentinian Slovenes are able to strengthen their degree of place attachment to Slovenia.

Theoretical implications: The article states the implicit employment theories of Argentinian Slovenes upon their arrival in and adjustment to Slovenia. Practical implications: The article empowers Slovenes living in Argentina with recent data about professional development in Slovenia by highlighting certain examples in order to gain the benefit of their ideas and creativity and to establish a learning community of stakeholders.

It would be advisable to incorporate modules on work-related legislation and the economic environment in Slovenia into the study visits of secondary-school students, so that young people could be informed of the real economic situation in Slovenia and provided with possibilities for collaboration with or within the Slovene business community. This would have synergetic effects for both Argentinian Slovenes and the Slovene business community. Upon the completion of secondary school this is usually the first real contact with Slovenia for many Argentinian Slovenes, as until then they had mostly only heard about Slovenia. A methodological recommendation would be to support the reading of autobiographies (Čebulj Sajko 2001). Čebulj Sajko noted that they are an essential source of personal interpretation of historical truth and vitally connected with the identity of the storyteller.

For future research I recommend a study conducted with in-depth interviews and the reading of the autobiographies of Slovenes who have returned to Slovenia from different countries. Another interesting research project would be to investigate the involvement of Slovenes returning from abroad in Slovene cultural life (Žitnik 2006b). We also offer a practical recommendation which is in line with research conducted by Lukšič Hacin (2002), as our research also demonstrates the necessity of thinking about an active state policy that would encourage exchanges between nations and integrate Slovenes around the globe in important social and economic projects with the help of the modern technology (Batič 2003).

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POVZETEK

INTEGRACIJA SLOVENCEV IZ ARGENTINE V NOSTALGIČNO DEŽELO PREDNIKOV IN SLOVENSKO DELOVNO OKOLJE

Judita PETERLIN

Avtorica v članku, ki je utemeljen na kvalitativni raziskovalni metodi, identificira ključne izzive, s katerimi se ljudje slovenskih korenin po nastanitvi v Sloveniji soočajo tako na osebni kot profesionalni ravni. Še zlasti se posveča njihovim težavam pri zaposlovanju in na delovnih mestih, utemelji pa tudi prednosti, ki jih njihova integracija vnaša v slovensko delovno okolje.

Po prihodu ljudi slovenskih korenin iz Argentine v Slovenijo so se številne njihove predpostavke znašle pod vprašajem. Ker večina tradicionalnih običajev v Sloveniji ne obstaja več, to zanje pomeni premik identitetnega jedra. Ljudje se morajo zaradi vrnitve v drugačen »dom« prilagoditi in udomačiti. Ekonomska situacija v Sloveniji je bila v obdobju 2000–2003 zaradi dobrih možnosti za zaposlitev odprta za prišleke, pa tudi argentinski Slovenci so bili pripravljeni delati v različnih sektorjih, zato je večina hitro našla zaposlitev. Argentinski Slovenci v slovenskem delovnem okolju najbolj cenijo red, zanesljivost in to, da vedo, kaj lahko pričakujejo. Razloge za njihov prihod v Slovenijo lahko združimo v štiri ključne teme: 1) vrnitev h »koreninam«; 2) iskanje varnega okolja za vzgojo otrok; 3) iskanje boljše kakovosti življenja; in 4) iskanje poslovnih priložnosti.

Proces prilagajanja za sodelujoče v raziskavi ni bil večji sistemski izziv. Med največje izzive so umestili osebne prilagoditvene izzive in prilagoditve različnim delovnim navadam. Na koncu članka so podana priporočila za ustvarjanje učinkovitih sinergij med argentinskimi Slovenci in slovenskimi zaposlovalci.

“PROBASHI” IN ITALY. NEW DESTINATIONS: TRENDS, ORIGINS AND PROFILES OF BANGLADESHI MIGRANTS IN PADOVA AND CADONEGHE

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ABSTRACT

“Probashi”¹ in Italy. New Destinations: Trends, Origins and Profiles of Bangladeshi Migrants in Padova and Cadoneghe

Most of the studies on Bangladeshi migration to Italy have been conducted in cities and towns that already have a relatively long tradition of hosting Bangladeshi communities, such as Rome, Vicenza and Venice. This article focuses on two recent local contexts of Bangladeshi migration to Italy: Padova and Cadoneghe in the Veneto region. The study attempts to answer the following research questions: What are the trends, channels and motivations behind Bangladeshi migration to Padova and Cadoneghe, from which Bangladeshi regions do the migrants originate and what are their cultural, socio-demographic and economic profiles?

KEY WORDS: Bangladeshi migrants, migration trends, motivations for migration, migrant profiles, migration to Italy

IZVLEČEK

»Probashiji«² v Italiji. Nove destinacije: Trendi, izvori in profili bangladeških migrantov v Padovi in Cadonegheju

Avtorja v članku ugotavljata, da se večina znanih objavljenih raziskav o migracijah iz Bangladeša v Italijo osredotoča na mesta z dolgoletnimi izkušnjami z bangladeškimi skupnostmi, na primer Rim, Vicenza in Benetke. Za svojo raziskavo sta zato izbrala dve lokalni skupnosti, kamor se bangladeški migranti priseljujejo v zadnjem času, in sicer mesti Padova in Cadoneghe v Benečiji. S pomočjo podatkov, pridobljenih z vprašalniki in s številnimi intervjuji, odgovarjata na zastavljena vprašanja o trendih, kanalih in motivacijah, ki bangladeške migrante v zadnjem času usmerjajo v Padovo in Cadoneghe, zanimajo pa ju tudi izvor migrantov in njihov kulturni, sociodemografski in ekonomski profil.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: migranti iz Bangladeša, migracijski trendi, motivacije za migracijo, migracija v Italijo, profili migrantov

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¹ *Probashi* is the Bangladeshi term for expatriate.

² *Probashi* je bangladeška beseda za izseljenca.

INTRODUCTION

Approximately 0.6 to 0.7 million Bangladeshis leave their country of origin and migrate to various destinations across the globe every year (ILO 2014). International migration has been growing rapidly since 1976, when the Bangladesh government started promoting international migration as a part of their overall development plan by establishing a government agency called the Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training (BMET) (Rahman 2012). It has been estimated that about 10.5 million Bangladeshi migrants were working in 157 countries between 1976 and 2016 (BMET 2016). Among them, as Siddiqui (2004) estimated, almost 1.2 million reside as citizens, residents or holders of other valid documents in several countries of Europe and North America, and also in Australia. An ever-growing Bangladeshi diaspora is spreading transnational ties across the world and contributing to the development of their homeland in several ways.

In Europe, the UK was traditionally and still is recognized as a top destination for Bangladeshi migrants (Morad et al. 2014). Italy however has recently emerged as one of their major destinations (Knights 1996a, 1996b; Zeitlyn 2006; Morad, Gombač 2015). This is also a consequence of the Mediterranean route, which leads through Italy and other Mediterranean countries, being one of the most important routes to the European Union. The statistics regarding Italy tell an interesting story: in 1995 there were 5,541 Bangladeshis officially present in Italy (Knights, King 1998), but recent data from the Italian government statistics website (for 31 December 2016) show that Bangladeshis are already the 5th-largest non-European community in Italy, with 122,428 members (Istat 2016a). Italy also hosts many undocumented Bangladeshi migrants. It was estimated that there were about 74,000 living in Italy in 2009 (Rahman, Kabir 2012).

Most of the studies have been conducted in large cities that have a relatively long tradition of hosting Bangladeshi communities, such as Rome, Vicenza, and Venice. In his seminal study, Knights (1996b: 105) argued that the majority of Bangladeshis in Italy lived in Rome. However, the data show that in recent years their presence can also be documented and observed in southern, central, north-eastern and north-western Italy (Della Puppa 2014, 2015; Priori 2012; Quattrocchi et al. 2003). As this is a relatively new development it comes as no surprise that there was little or no research being done about Bangladeshi communities in smaller Italian cities and towns (Della Puppa, Gelati 2015). Therefore, this article focuses on two recent local contexts of Bangladeshi migration, namely Padova and Cadoneghe in the Veneto region. The following research questions were posed: what are the trends, channels and motivations behind Bangladeshi migration to Padova and Cadoneghe, from which regions of Bangladesh do the migrants originate and what are their cultural, socio-demographic and economic profiles?

This paper begins by outlining the data and the methodology. It then goes on to a brief overview of the context of the study. The subsequent sections present the empirical findings regarding the migration history, migration channels, motivations,

regional origin in Bangladesh and their cultural, socio-demographic and economic profiles. The final section presents the concluding remarks.

DATA AND METHODS

The study was based on a mixed-method approach in which qualitative and quantitative methods were combined. With the help of snowball sampling, a sample of 100 Bangladeshi migrants from Padova and Cadoneghe was identified and a survey was conducted between December 2012 and March 2013. Among these respondents, more than half (56 migrants) were found to be permanent residence holders, 26 migrants had temporary residence, nine had Italian citizenship and nine were undocumented. The survey covered a wide range of issues concerning their migration experiences: year of arrival, migration trajectory, motivation for migrating, geographical origin in Bangladesh, socio-economic background, age, gender, religion, education, marital status, profession and income. Certain survey topics were further explored using qualitative methods in order to obtain a deeper insight. In-depth interviews were conducted with 12 migrants and five of their non-migrant family members in Bangladesh. Participant observation in public places with a high concentration of migrants such as parks, restaurants, bars, mosques, ethnic shops and cultural centres also served as additional sources of data.

RESEARCH CONTEXT

Padova and Cadoneghe are two municipalities in the Province of Padova, which is situated in northern Italy and is a part of the Veneto region. Because of its industrial development and economic growth, the Veneto region has been one of the most important destinations for migrants since the 1970s (Luongo 2011). These days the region has the highest percentage of foreigners in Italy. In 2016 there were 5,047,028 migrants living in Italy and nearly 10 percent of them were living in Veneto (Istat 2016a).

In 2016, there were nearly 4.9 million inhabitants living in Veneto, of whom almost 1.2 million were migrants (Istat 2016). Bangladeshis were the third-largest non-European migrant community in the region, numbering 15,852, after Moroccans and Chinese. Among the seven provinces of Veneto – Belluno, Padova, Rovigo, Treviso, Verona and Vicenza – Padova is the second most populous (936,274 inhabitants) and there were 93,268 migrants living there in 2016, of whom 1,655 originated from Bangladesh.

Seventy-two percent of all Bangladeshis residing in this province live in the municipality of Padova, while 7 percent live in Cadoneghe. They represent 3.7 percent of the total migrant population in the municipality of Padova and 62 percent of total migrants in Cadoneghe (Istat 2016).

HISTORY AND TRENDS OF MIGRATION TO ITALY

Bangladeshi migration to Italy has a relatively short history. While migration to the UK, the main destination for Bangladeshis in Europe, has its roots in British Colonialism (Siddiqui 2003, 2004; Gardner 1995, 2010; Morad et al. 2014) migration to Italy has been described as a symptom of the new globalization of migration processes, since little or no geographical closeness, colonial affiliation, religious, linguistic or other relationships exist between these two countries (Knights 1996b; Knights, King 1998). But as some of the other European countries – such as Germany, France and the Netherlands – have tightened their migration policies, reducing the opportunity for legal entry and residence, Italy's flexible migration policy as well as periodic regularization procedures have encouraged Bangladeshis to move to Italy as they saw the prospect of becoming permanent residents of the EU (Della Puppa 2013, 2014; Priori 2012; Knights 1996a, 1996b). In fact, Italy is still perceived as a country with a relatively inclusive labour market and "instrumentally lax" migration policies (Della Puppa 2014). In this regard, the amnesties that allowed irregular migrants to regularize their status – especially the ones in 1986, 1990 and 1998 – had the effect of accelerating Bangladeshi migration to Italy (Knights 1996b; Knights, King 1998).

As research has shown, Bangladeshi migrants started to arrive in Italy in the late 1980s, but the numbers increased from the early 1990s on (Knights, King 1998; Zeitlyn 2006, 2007). Once Bangladeshi migrants successfully obtained their residence permits and settled in major Italian cities such as Rome and Milan, some of them started to move to other urban centres. The industrial development in the northern part of the country in particular stimulated this "internal" migration towards better social conditions, employment and expected income (Zeitlyn 2006, 2007; Della Puppa 2013). Several "Bangla towns" have been established in different areas of the country (Della Puppa 2015).

The establishment of the Bangladeshi community in Padova began in the mid-1980s. Interviews indicated that three Bangladeshi migrants who arrived from Rome played the pioneering role in establishing the Bangladeshi community. As mentioned by one of them: "In 1986 three Bangladeshis, myself from Comilla, another two from Sylhet and Faridpur, came here from Rome in search of work. Later, we brought our relatives, family, and friends from Bangladesh. We grew here day by day and now we are a big community" (Interview 6, 7. 1. 2013).

The numbers have been growing since 1998, the largest number of people migrating there in the 2000s.¹ Most of the Bangladeshi migrants who came to Italy in the 1980s and even the 1990s came from other parts of Europe by taking various statuses such as refugees, students, short-term trainees, and some as undocumented migrants. (Knights 1996a, 1996b; Della Puppa 2014; Priori 2012). However in the case

1 Overall, the average period of stay in Padova was 12.6 years, with the highest being 28 years and the lowest 1 year.

of Padova and Cadoneghe, they also came from the Middle East: 13 respondents came from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

MIGRATION CHANNELS

It comes as no surprise that Bangladeshi migrants have used both legal and irregular migration channels in order to reach Italy. Regular channels were used by 66 respondents: 21 of them migrated on work visas and others on short-term permits such as seasonal labour visas, tourist visas, Schengen visas from other EU countries and training visas, and then overstayed the visa expiration date because they had the opportunity to work in the shadow economy and hoped to be able to regularize their status via the periodic legalization of irregular migrants in Italy. In addition, family reunification visas, which were used by 17 respondents, have also become a popular channel since 1998.

As Italy is ringed by a long coastline, 'ease of entry' has potentiated irregular migratory flows (King, Rybaczuk 1993; Delicato 2004). It is also close to sending and transit regions such as North Africa and Albania. Bangladeshi migration to Italy during the 1980s and 1990s was mostly irregular (Knights 1996b; Knights, King 1998). The results of the survey showed that the majority of the Bangladeshis who entered Italy before 2000 (26 out of 37 respondents) were irregular migrants, especially those that entered Italy in the period between 1986 and 1997. After this period the flow of undocumented migrants diminished but did not disappear: 44 respondents followed irregular channels but did not consider their entry as irregular. They rather stated that they entered Italy by using "Tarzan" visas.² Qualitative interviews also revealed the fact that, similar to the case of Rome (Knights, King 1998), respondents in Padova and Cadoneghe usually used more than one irregular route, a combination of 'air and land' or 'air and sea', or 'air, sea, and land' routes.

With regard to the air and land route, the study shows that Eastern Europe was an important area for this transit migration. The in-depth interviews revealed that a number of Bangladeshis first travelled to Eastern European countries on a tourist visa for one or three weeks and later came to Italy as undocumented migrants. As one of the Bangladeshis stated: "I first came to Hungary from Dubai with a tourist visa for three weeks and from there I came to Italy in 1992 by road using Slovenia" (interview 5, 6. 1. 2013). In a similar way, another respondent said: "I worked in Dubai for two years. Later I obtained a tourist visa for Austria and I entered Italy in 1994" (interview 11, 26. 1. 2013).

Other Bangladeshis in Padova and Cadoneghe who used the Eastern European route mentioned Romania, Hungary, Austria, and Bulgaria as their transit countries.

2 Not an official visa, it was called a Tarzan visa by their recruiting agents. They had to travel through jungles and hills in order to reach Italy.

More specifically, the entry points were on the Italian borders with France, Switzerland, Austria and Slovenia. As Padova is very close to Slovene-Italian border, most of them entered Italy through Trieste and Gorizia. Nevertheless, several Bangladeshis mentioned that this route has become less and less used in the recent years as the air and sea routes to Italy have become more popular. In this regard, the interviews confirm that Bangladeshis have mainly managed to obtain tourist visas for Middle Eastern countries and then move to North African countries, especially Libya.³ They reach Italy by crossing the Sicilian Channel on the Mediterranean Sea along with other migrants from Africa. For instance, one of the respondents stated: "At first, I came to Libya from Bangladesh in 1992 on a tourist visa. I was there one week, later we took a ship, we were 25 in the boat, and arrived in Sicily ..." (interview 4, 5. 2013). According to our survey data, of the Bangladeshis who moved to Italy illegally since 2000 (24 migrants out of 100), a major portion (15 migrants) used the Central Mediterranean route via Libya. In this case, some of the respondents also mentioned that they used Turkey and Malta as their transit points for entering Italy via the Mediterranean.

Some irregular migrants looked for several possible routes during their transit to Italy, a combination of air, land, and sea routes. In this regard, Turkey, Russia, Greece and Malta were the most frequently mentioned transit countries. One of the Bangladeshi migrants who now holds Italian citizenship described his experience as follows:

In 1992 I started my journey from Bangladesh with a Russian tourist visa. I had been there for a long nine months while I was always searching for a way to reach Italy. Later I came to Romania and I was there about one year. Then I came to Turkey illegally but I was arrested by the police and sent to Turkish jail for two months. After that, I was in a refugee camp for four months from where I ran away one day and entered Greece by boat. But I was arrested in Athens and sent to jail. When I was released after three months, I entered Italy by using several Balkan countries. (Interview 10, 14. 1. 2013)

MOTIVATION FOR MIGRATING

Europe has traditionally been perceived as a favourable destination for Bangladeshi migrants compared to the Middle-Eastern and South-East Asian industrial countries,⁴ particularly for those who had the aspiration of settling abroad as long-term migrants. Siddiqui (2003) found in her research that Bangladeshi long-term migrants

3 Bangladeshis migrants working in Middle Eastern countries with short-term contracts also used this route to reach Italy.

4 In the case of short-term migration, the main destinations are Middle-Eastern countries such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, and some other Gulf countries. In addition, South-East Asian countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Republic of Korea, Brunei, Dar es Salaam and other places also emerged as popular destinations for short-term migration of Bangladeshi people (BMET 2016).

were pulled towards Europe and North America because of access to specialized jobs, better health care systems, wider opportunities for 'self-actualization' and better educational opportunities for their children. At the same time, they were pushed from their country because of political turmoil, violence, insecurity and corruption in Bangladesh.

These findings are highly concordant with the findings of the survey in Padova and Cadoneghe. The majority of the participants (68 out of 100 migrants) highlighted the already mentioned pull factors such as having better employment and income in Italy, being reunited with their families, better human rights situation etc. In contrast, 34 migrants pointed to unemployment and lack of job prospects, poor economic conditions and political uncertainty as push factors in Bangladesh.

With the help of qualitative interviews, we tried to further explore the details of these aspects. The findings indicated that the respondents' migration decisions were influenced by several factors: First of all, migration was a part of a family strategy for ensuring the standard of living of their families by providing health care and educational support to their members along with fulfilling other daily needs. This often became necessary when the breadwinner of the family became ill or died. It was well explained by an employee of the Bangladesh Central Bank whose four brothers live in Padova:

My father was a government employee, but when he became ill, our family fell into a deep economic crisis [...] my father was having problems bearing the cost of education for our eight siblings [four brothers and four sisters] along with our family expenditures. Thus, my father sent my elder brother first to Italy, after that my three other brothers migrated year after year to Italy in order to help the others, and later their families also joined them. (Interview 15, 11. 3. 2013)

However, many interviewees in Padova and Cadoneghe and their non-migrant family members in Bangladesh stressed that, just as with Della Puppa's (2013) findings in Alte Ceccato in the Province of Vicenza, global inequality (Cohen 1987) put Bangladesh in a subordinate position relative to Europe. Migration to Italy, therefore, offered them the possibility of better employment with higher salaries compared to Bangladesh. For instance, speaking of his brother, who had worked in Padova and Cadoneghe for eight years, one non-migrant respondent in Bangladesh said:

[...] they have the opportunity to have better income compared to Bangladesh. Suppose I had been serving in the Bangladesh Police with the rank of Havildar, where my monthly salary would only be fifteen thousand Takas [approx. 150 Euros], after taking care of my family expenses I would not be able to save anything, I would even have problems paying for my children's education. That's why we send them to Italy, in order to have a better income and a better life [...] (Interview 14, 9. 3. 2013)

Bangladeshi households use various migration strategies to achieve a more stable life and enhance their social status and prestige. A rice wholesaler in the Dhaka whose two sons live in Padova said: "It was my plan to send at least one of my sons to Europe so that he has a better life and European citizenship, which would also increase our family's status here in my country" (interview 16, 17. 3. 2013).

Several interviewees also brought up various negative factors that influenced their decision to migrate. As one respondent stated: "In Bangladesh, an honest man cannot live his life honestly and also there is a lack of security in life that influenced me to migrate" (interview 3, 3. 1. 2013). Another respondent said: "I could not tolerate many things in my country when I was in Bangladesh; it was not possible to express your opinion freely, the political situation is bad, and the human rights situation is absolutely in danger. Basically, these are the reasons why I migrated to Italy" (interview 4, 5. 1. 2013). As these two statements reveal, some of the respondents considered Europe as a safe destination, in contrast to Bangladesh where they experienced or witnessed insecurity, political vulnerability, and a poor human rights situation.

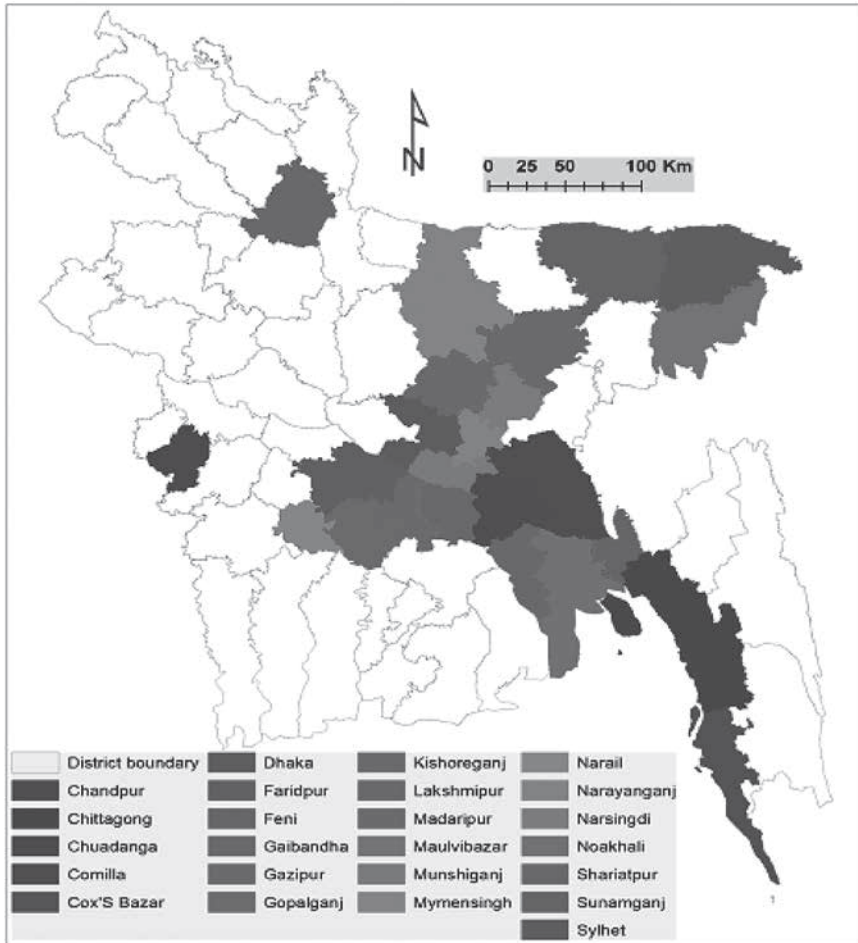
Our interview findings show that migration decisions were also influenced by the migrants' social networks (Boyd 1989; Ambrosini 2006; Ryan et al. 2008). Such social relationships and contacts were also vital in the case of the migration decisions made by the Bangladeshi migrants in Padova and Cadoneghe. It was common that when one of the family members or relatives migrated to Italy, he helped other members to move there. As one of the respondents stated: "My older brother first came here to Padova in 1994 and I came here four years later" (interview 11, 26. 1. 2013). Another respondent said: "One of my mother's brothers lived in Italy. My family asked my uncle and he arranged my visa. Then I came to Italy in 2000" (interview 12, 2. 2. 2013).

Semi-structured interviews with irregular Bangladeshi migrants revealed another interesting issue. They often provided important information about their current situation in the destination country, served as info-points for various travel, employment and integration information and sometimes helped to finance the migration for potential migrants. (Ambrosini 2006). In this regard, some of them emphasised that they chose Italy, specifically Padova, because they were motivated by the information that irregular migrants can easily access the labour market in this Italian province. For instance, one respondent who arrived in Padova in 1990 said: "I chose to come here to Padova because my brother told me that I could earn money principally and honestly by selling flowers in the street. This is not allowed in all cities in Italy. I think that is the reason why most of the Bangladeshis used to come to Padova" (interview 11, 26. 1. 2013).

REGION OF ORIGIN

Bangladeshi respondents in Padova and Cadoneghe come from different Bangladeshi provinces and according to the research are much more heterogeneous than

Figure 1: Regional origin of Bangladeshi Migrants in Padova by district



Source: Authors' field survey 2012–2013

those from some other destinations.⁵ They originate from five divisions (out of seven). In terms of distribution by district [Figure 1], the respondents migrated from 24 districts in Bangladesh. The districts represented most strongly in Padova and Cadoneghe are Comilla, Sylhet, Dhaka, Shariatpur, Madaripur and Narayanganj. They also originate from 46 *upazilas*. As it has already been mentioned, the three Bangladeshi migrants who arrived first in Padova and Cadoneghe came from three *upazilas*

5 We analyzed the regional origin of Bangladeshi migrants in Padova, Italy on the basis of three different administrative levels – Division, District, and Upazila. Bangladesh is divided into seven divisions (Barisal, Chittagong, Dhaka, Khulna, Rajshahi, Rangpur, and Sylhet) that are the country's major administrative regions. The divisional headquarters are located in the major cities of the country. The divisions are further divided into 64 districts and these districts again subdivided into 493 upazilas, i.e. sub-districts (BBS 2011).

– Kanaighat in the Sylhet district, Debidwar in Comilla, and Naira in the Shariatpur district. So it comes as no surprise that the majority of our respondents originate from these three local administrative centres due to their widespread and effective migration networks.

In general, this regional origin indicates the gradual development of international migration from several other corners of Bangladesh rather than just from Sylhet, the district from which most of the migration to the UK took place (Garbin 2008; Gardner 1995, 2010) or the Noakhali and Chittagong regions, from where most Bangladeshi migrants in the Middle East originate (Knights 1996b).

It has already been well reported that in the case of the first generation of Bangladeshi migrants in the UK, the majority of them had rural agricultural backgrounds and originated from the Sylhet region (Zeitlyn 2006). Similarly, our research indicates that majority of the respondents in Padova and Cadoneghe also migrated from rural areas and have an agricultural background. For instance, among the 100 participants in our survey, only 20 originated from urban areas, mostly from the Dhaka district.

CULTURAL, SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC PROFILES OF BANGLADESHI MIGRANTS IN PADOVA AND CADONEGHE

Cultural and socio-demographic profiles

Most of our Bangladeshi respondents (97 out of 100) were Muslims, and the others were Hindus. All of them are involved in religious and cultural activities in mosques and various cultural associations.

Also, official sources show that Bangladeshi migrants in Italy are mostly male (72 percent male, 28 percent female) (Istat 2016). The same source also indicates that in 2015, over 63 percent (1,051 individuals) of the 1,661 Bangladeshi residents in the Province of Padova and Cadoneghe were male. The majority of the respondents in our survey were male (89 respondents) and married (83 respondents). Only one third (30 out of 100) stated that their partners lived with them in Padova and Cadoneghe. The interview findings show that female migrants in Padova and Cadoneghe mostly joined their husbands on family reunification visas from the late 1990s on. However, most of the interviewees considered the family visa procedures to be complicated, lengthy and costly.

Over 50 percent of the respondents in Padova and Cadoneghe were young, most of them between the ages of 18 and 35. Only eight percent of the respondents were over 50 years old. The average age was 35, the youngest being 20 and the oldest 58.

As some of the studies indicate, many of the first-generation migrants from Bangladesh to the UK were mostly illiterate, and those who migrated later also had no or lower levels of formal education (Gardner 1995). In the case of migration to the

Middle East, Osmani (1986) reveals that 83 percent of Bangladeshi migrants had not finished secondary school, while only 7 percent of Bangladeshi workers in Singapore had university degrees (Rahman 2010). By contrast, our findings show that 25 of our respondents had graduated or held postgraduate degrees even before migrating to Italy. 54 percent of them had secondary-level education (college or high school certificates). Also, most of the Bangladeshi community leaders in Padova and Cadoneghe have backgrounds in higher education. For example, among the 12 community leaders that we interviewed, seven had bachelor's degrees and two had Master's degrees.

Economic profile

Different studies show that most of the Bangladeshi migrants who came to Italy in the 1990s belonged to the upper middle class. They mostly came from families of landowners, entrepreneurs, lawyers, teachers, civil servants, military officers, and managers (Della Puppa 2013). However, they still mostly found work as unskilled labourers (*ibid.*). Our findings indicate that Bangladeshi migrants in Padova and Cadoneghe participate in the Italian economy in three ways: as employees, as street hawkers, and as entrepreneurs.

Most of our respondents were employed as factory workers (49 out of 100), ten of them were restaurant waiters and four sold fruit and vegetables at market stalls. Street hawkers (8 of the respondents) are also a prominent feature in Padova and Cadoneghe. They sell flowers, toys, jewellery, souvenirs, handbags, umbrellas and tourism materials on the streets. These street merchants are mostly undocumented, which indicates that it is possible for irregular migrants in Italy to work without the required documents (Reyneri 2001). One of the interviewed Bangladeshi community leaders pointed this out:

I would say 60 percent of these street hawkers are undocumented. Most of them arrive legally as seasonal workers for 8 to 9 months. But when their contract period ends, they usually do not go back to Bangladesh. They are illegal, they have no way to officially hold any job, so they start selling flowers, umbrellas, toys etc. on the street, where they can earn their livelihood. (Interview 11, 26. 1. 2013)

On the other hand, 11 of the respondents were entrepreneurs. Many of them are owners of clothing, vegetable and fruit shops. Bangladeshi-owned clothing shops are mostly located in the Piazza dei Signoi and vegetable and fruit shops are located in the Piazza Cavour in the city centre. A number of the respondents also run pizza and *kebab* shops. Some of the respondents also opened Bangla food shops. Bangladeshi spices, vegetables, fish, fruits, sweets, snacks, halal meat and some other necessary ethnic food items are readily available in these shops. This is a relatively new development as these "ethnic" goods were not available before 2000 as one of the respondents noted:

The most important thing I would like to say is that when I first arrived in Padova, there were no Bangla shops. In Vicenza and Mestre, there were some Bangla shops. We had to get some other Bangla food in Rome. For instance, all leafy vegetables and green chilis were only available in Rome [...] But now this has changed; there are 7 Bangla grocery shops in this city and you can find all of the items that you need. (Interview 12, 2. 2. 2013)

Some of the Bangladeshis also started small gardens and farms and were cultivating various Bangladeshi leafy vegetables such as *Pui Shak* (Indian spinach), *Mula Shak* (Radish leaf), *Lal Shak* (Red Spinach), *Palong Shak* (Spinach), *Pat shak* (Jute leaves) and also non-leafy vegetables such as *Dherosh* (Ladyfinger), *Misti Kumra* (Sweet Gourd), *Lau* (Bottle Gourd), *Chichinga* (Snake Gourd) and so on.

Our research shows that the group with highest income are the entrepreneurs, especially those who run clothing businesses, pizza and *kebab shops and Bangla food shops*. The majority of them make roughly 3000–4000 Euros per month and some even more. The second important income group are the factory workers, the majority of them earning between 1500 and 2500 and some of them 2000–2500 Euros per month. *Street hawkers earn between 500 to 1000 and other employees* – waiters, market stall assistants – around 1000–1500 Euros per month. All of the female respondents in the survey (10 out of 100) have no income as they are mostly dependent on their partners. Overall, the study showed that the *average monthly income of our respondents was around 1300 Euros*.

The results of the analysis also clearly indicate that the respondents' education level has little or no bearing on their current occupation or activities. Those with higher education are mainly found in the blue collar sector, working in factories, restaurants, supermarkets and as farmers. Those with university degrees in most cases earn as much as those with secondary level education. Similarly to Zeitlyn's (2006) study of Bangladeshi migrants in Madrid, some of the interviewees pointed out that they have the feeling of 'stepping down' in their occupations and activities compared to their situation in Bangladesh. They stated that they "were running their own business in their country of origin, but they are working now for someone else as manual labourers".

The qualitative interviews suggest that some of the earlier migrants to Padova were very successful in setting up businesses or finding relatively permanent jobs in the factories. However, now most of the workers in the factories, shops, stalls and restaurants are in a more precarious position. As the number of migrants is growing day by day it is very difficult for newcomers to establish themselves and find a good and stable job in order to be able to fulfil their migration aspirations. Street vending, which was traditionally considered one of the possible survival strategies by Bangladeshi migrants, has also become very competitive due to the growing number of newcomers and unemployed.

Our interviews also suggest that many of the respondents with permanent residence permits are considering migrating to other EU countries after obtaining their

citizenship, while some citizens have decided to leave towards several new destinations, mainly to the UK. However, it seems that since the Brexit referendum some of them are in a hurry and others are considering changing their migration strategy.

CONCLUSION

Probashi in Italy are not only targeting big cities like Rome and Milan as their possible migration destinations, as their strong presence has also been observed in several smaller cities and towns throughout Italy. The research has shown that the Bangla community in Padova and Cadoneghe was formed by a few Bangladeshis who first arrived in Rome and later moved to the Province of Veneto during the late 1980s. In 30 years, they have become one of the largest non-European migrant communities in this region. By using regular and irregular channels and with the help of migration networks, they managed to cross Italian border from different European and Middle Eastern countries and Bangladesh.

Our empirical evidence suggests that whereas Bangladeshi migration to the Middle East and Asia is mostly linked to unemployment and poverty (Zeitlin 2007), the motivation for migration to Italy is mainly aimed at ensuring a higher standard of living for migrants and their families, the possibility of having better paid employment or a more successful business, upward social mobility, as well as upgrading social status and prestige along with a more stable life situation. Their migration decision is also heavily influenced by their social networks with their family members and relatives that already live in Italy.

Our findings related to the geographic distribution of migrants in Bangladesh shows the gradual development of migration trajectories from this country to Italy. Migrants who live in Padova and Cadoneghe originate from several parts of Bangladesh, and different divisions, districts and upazilas. A significant number of them are well-educated, as they hold degrees from secondary schools and universities. However, education clearly has little or no influence on their occupation and wages, as most of them have a feeling of 'stepping down' with respect to their previous positions in their country of origin. Even though it is evident that some migrants are successful, others still feel that they have yet to fulfil their migration aspirations. This study further indicates that most of the respondents have plans for further movement towards a new destination; especially those who have obtained Italian citizenship or are long-term residence permit holders. Most of them aspire to go to the UK, but after the Brexit referendum they are reconsidering their decisions and directions. In this regard, further research should be carried out to explore their onward migration plans.

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POVZETEK

»PROBASHIJI« V ITALIJI. NOVE DESTINACIJE: TRENDI, IZVORI IN PROFILI BANGLADEŠKIH MIGRANTOV V PADOVI IN CADONEGHEJU

Mohammad MORAD, Jure GOMBAČ

Avtorja v članku ugotavljata, da se večina znanih do sedaj objavljenih raziskav o migracijah iz Bangladeša v Italijo osredotoča na mesta z dolgoletnimi izkušnjami z bangladeškimi skupnostmi, kot so na primer Rim, Vicenza in Benetke. Vendar pa za t. i. »probašije«, bangladeške migrante, ki se priseljujejo v Italijo, kot zanimiva destinacija vedno pomembnejša postajajo tudi manjša mesta in občine, kjer iščejo možnosti in priložnosti za delo in življenje. Ker je bilo v zadnjem času na zemljevid italijanskega polotoka, zlasti na industrijsko bolj razvitem severu, dodanih kar nekaj novih t. i. »Bangla-mest«, se v svojem članku osredotočata na mesti Padova in Cadoneghe v Benečiji. Raziskave sta se lotila s pomočjo anketnih vprašalnikov in številnih intervjujev z bangladeškimi migranti ter s pridobljenimi podatki sestavila zanimivo sliko bangladeških skupnosti v obeh mestih. Zanimalo ju je, kakšni so trendi, kanali in motivacije za selitev v Padovo in Cadoneghe, iz katerih bangladeških regij in krajev ti migranti prihajajo in kakšno je njihovo kulturno, družbeno in ekonomsko ozadje.

Odgovori na v raziskavi postavljena vprašanja o tej aktualni temi, ki je v zadnjih letih pomembno zaznamovala politiko te transnacionalne skupnosti, dajejo zanimivo podobo današnjih migracij v Evropsko unijo. Analiza podatkov namreč kaže, da naslavlja številne migracijske teme in rušijo stereotipe o nevarnih, lenih, neizobraženih migrantih, ki ogrožajo naše meje, kulture in države blaginje.

THE DYNAMICS OF OTHERING IN ACTIVISM AS PART OF GERMANY'S POST-2015 "WILLKOMMENSKULTUR"

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ABSTRACT

The Dynamics of Othering in Activism as Part of Germany's Post-2015 "Willkommenskultur"

The article critically evaluates the involvement of activists in the country's often praised *Willkommenskultur* (culture of welcome). Using humanitarianism as a starting point, it investigates the ways activists otherise refugees in spite or because of seemingly good intentions. The analysis of interviews conducted with activists in Northern Germany showed that Othering among activists takes different forms, depending on their form of involvement and individual characteristics, such as their (lack of a) personal flight history. Exclusionary Othering is predominantly used by activists who are not sensitised to power hierarchies, while other activists often employ inclusive Othering when attempting to connect on an equal level.

KEY WORDS: Othering, *Willkommenskultur*, activism, humanitarianism, refugees

IZVLEČEK

Dinamika drugačenja v aktivizmu kot del nemške »Willkommenskultur« po letu 2015

Članek kritično obravnava sodelovanje aktivistov v močno hvaljeni nemški *Willkommenskultur* ('kulturi dobrodošlice'). Z izhodiščem v humanitarnem delu proučuje različne načine drugačenja beguncev s strani aktivistov kljub na videz dobrim namenom ali prav zaradi njih. Analiza intervjujev z aktivisti iz severne Nemčije je pokazala, da so različne oblike drugačenja odvisne od njihove angažiranosti in osebnostnih lastnosti, kot je na primer odsotnost njihove osebne begunske izkušnje. Izključevalno drugačenje večinoma uporabljajo aktivisti, ki se ne zavedajo hierarhične moči, medtem ko vključevalno drugačenje uporabljajo predvsem aktivisti, ki se poskušajo z begunci bolj enakopravno povezovati.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: drugačenje, *Willkommenskultur*, aktivizem, humanitarizem, begunci

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INTRODUCTION¹

Following the *summer of refugees*, in which 441,899 first time applications for asylum were submitted in Germany (BAMF 2016: 20) and in which the country's *Willkommenskultur* (culture of welcome),² which was symbolised by German chancellor Angela Merkel's statement of 4 September 2015 enabling asylum seekers from Hungary to come to Germany but which was mainly supported through the involvement of civil society, received international and national praise (e.g. Joffe 2015), numerous activists continue to be involved with refugees. In this context, this article critically reflects on the nature and the effects of activism. While various scholars have addressed the negative consequences of international humanitarianism (e.g. Barnett 2013), the effects of humanitarianism at an individual and local level are under-researched.

Although activists who partake in *Willkommenskultur* may be driven by the seemingly good intention to help, their involvement risks reinforcing a perception of the recipients of their aid not as individuals, but as mere representatives of a vulnerable group. Hence, this article aims to evaluate to what extent and in what ways activists in humanitarianism otherise refugees. In particular, it examines how the former perceive themselves and the beneficiaries of their activities. While the results of the research primarily reflect tendencies of Othering by the interviewees and cannot strictly be generalised, they can offer some initial indications of tendencies which can be analysed in further research.

This article is by no means intended to be a wholesale condemnation of activism with refugees, but rather to critically evaluate its impacts. Due to the involvement of many researchers in activism with refugees, this research also places a value on self-awareness. In the first section, the concept of *Willkommenskultur* is introduced and related to the concepts of humanitarianism and Othering. Subsequently, the methodology is described and the main findings derived from the interviews with eight activists are presented.

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- 1 This article resulted from a larger research project, which also included a visual analysis, and was conducted with the contributions of Jasmin Remlinger and Silke Adams in autumn 2016. We would like to thank Jan Kühnemund for his valuable supervision and the two anonymous reviewers for their comments to an earlier version of this article.
 - 2 Since the term *Willkommenskultur* has taken on a specific importance in the German context, it is used from here on in its German original.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Willkommenskultur

The term *Willkommenskultur* first arose in connection with skills shortages in Germany and other countries in the 1970s, and was therefore mainly used as a technical term referring to the first step in the desired integration of qualified migrants (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2012). However, the usage of the term has shifted in subsequent years, and is now mostly employed with regard to the reception of refugees in 2015 (e.g. Joffe 2015: 1; Fischhaber 2015: 1). In this context, *Willkommenskultur* refers to the welcoming of refugees regardless of their background. This can take various forms and has been accompanied by the large-scale involvement of civil society from 2015 onwards. Heckmann conceptualises *Willkommenskultur* as follows:

The culture of welcome can, generally speaking, be understood as a certain attitude of openness and acceptance towards migrants – and of course towards other people – but further also as a designation for practices in different organisations and institutional contexts, in which barriers to integration are dismantled and ways of inclusion are found; these include regulations from a formal point of view, but also go beyond them. (Heckmann 2014: 1)

This article most notably uses Heckmann's analytical differentiation of the term *Willkommenskultur* into four layers: individual, interpersonal, organisational and macrosocial (ibid.: 2f.). Analysing the personal commitment of activists, the focus of this research lies on the individual and the interpersonal layer. The individual layer of *Willkommenskultur*, according to Heckmann, is characterised by open-mindedness and prejudice-free action towards different people (ibid.: 2). On the level of interpersonal relations, it includes openness and the willingness to approach each other on an equal level (ibid.).

This article applies a broad definition of activism, combining three authors' definitions of the concept and embracing a multitude of people and actions, and therefore various forms of commitment in the context of *Willkommenskultur*. In this way, activists are understood as persons who have "a variety of different orientations and use a wide range of strategies and tactics in their practices" (Harrebye 2016: 6). Acting individually or collectively, activists "are involved in inculcating change that favors their world view" (Fuad Luke 2009: 5f.). If activists successfully reach their goal, it "can yield substantial improvements to existing systems and even result in a new equilibrium" (Martin, Osberg 2007: 37f.). In this broad understanding, activism in the context of *Willkommenskultur* is not only limited to political engagement, but also encompasses volunteers or people working with refugees.

Humanitarianism

Based on our observations that people active in the context of *Willkommenskultur* frequently adopt a humanitarian discourse, we used the concept of humanitarianism as a starting point for examining the effects of activism with refugees in the context of *Willkommenskultur*. Although some activists openly reject humanitarianism and its effects, the interest of this research was to analyse if and how humanitarianism was of an omnipresent character.

While a comprehensive body of literature on international humanitarianism and its pitfalls exists, the corpus on the nature and consequences of humanitarianism at an individual and interpersonal level is less developed. The interactions between providers of humanitarian aid and refugees at the micro-level are thought of as being able to serve as a “microcosm for the ill-starred relations between (western) humanitarian ‘charity’ and its target populations. What goes wrong at this level both reflects and affects (infects) what is wrong at the macro level” (Garling, cited by Harrel Bond 2002: 53). In this article, the existing literature, mainly on the “macrocosm” of humanitarianism, is conversely applied to the individual and interpersonal level.

Barnett distinguishes between narrow and broad definitions of humanitarianism. While the former constitute a charity-driven approach, which is concerned with alleviating the symptoms of victims suffering from conflict and natural disasters (Calhoun 2010: 37), the latter encompass addressing the causes of suffering and thus also political action (Barnett 2013: 382).

While traditionally the positive impact of humanitarian governance has been stressed in the literature (ibid.: 380), humanitarianism has become increasingly contested in recent years. Barnett calls for a shift away from the literature focusing on the efficiency of humanitarianism towards a focus on the effects, which might be both “intended and desirable” and “unintended and harmful” (ibid.: 382). In the same line of argument, Agier states that “humanitarian action is always deeply ambiguous” (Agier 2011: 5). Furthermore, it has been increasingly acknowledged that humanitarianism is always embedded in unequal power relations (e.g. Pallister Wilkins 2015: 59). Not only are power differences between the provider and the recipient of humanitarian aid the starting point of the relationship, but the initial power differences might even be reinforced by humanitarianism, partially due to the creation of clear subject positions. These power inequalities correspond to a variety of phenomena: control and paternalism, a focus on the suffering and the vulnerability of the recipients of humanitarian aid, as well as infantilisation. Although these phenomena are deeply entangled, they shall, for analytical purposes, be described separately below.

Agier’s statement that “[t]here is no care without control” (Agier 2011: 5) has been frequently cited in scholarship on humanitarianism. Although this statement was initially linked to his studies of refugee camps, it remains valid for humanitarianism in other contexts since similar mechanisms might be at play in

the contexts of the control exercised in refugee camps and activism with refugees in Germany's *Willkommenskultur*. Control might, for example, take the form of paternalism, which Dworkin defines as the "interference with a person's liberty of action justified by reasons referring exclusively to the welfare, good, happiness, needs, interests or values of the person being coerced" (Dworkin 1972: 65).

Many authors argue that the recipients of humanitarian aid have, in order to become eligible to receive it, to "fit within a frame of vulnerability" (Mead 2015: 20). Therefore the latter are not "recognized as bearers of rights, but as victims in need of compassionate assistance" (ibid.). Barnett argues that humanitarianism contributes to creating "a world of saviors and victims, with the assumption that anyone who is ensnared by a humanitarian emergency must be helpless, indigent, powerless, and unable to exercise genuine agency" (Barnett 2013: 384). This focus on the suffering may not only deprive the latter of the capacity to also have joyful experiences in the eyes of the providers of humanitarian aid, but may equally reduce them to a homogeneous group on the common grounds of the suffering.

In a similar line of thought, Harrel Bond argues that help is commonly provided in an "infantilizing mode" (Harrel Bond 2002: 60). This is illustrated in the introduction of Mamdani's book *From Citizen to Refugee* (1973):

Contrary to what I believed in Uganda [before being expelled], a refugee is not just a person who has been displaced and has lost all or most of his possessions. A refugee is in fact more akin to a child: helpless, devoid of initiative, somebody on whom any kind of charity can be practised, in short a totally malleable creature. (Mamdani 1973, cited by Harrel Bond 2002: 60)

It was shown in this section that humanitarianism needs to be scrutinized since it can reinforce power inequalities. Nevertheless, humanitarian commitment is, as Agier stated, not always "naive and poorly informed about its own effects and issues" (Agier 2011: 207). However, according to Foucault, it is "the real political task in a society such as ours [...] to criticize the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticize them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight them" (Foucault, cited by Harrel Bond 2002: 53).

Othering

All of the above tendencies are closely linked to Othering. The categorisation of human beings into in- and out-groups, i.e. into the Self and the Other, is part of human nature (Krumer Nevo, Sidi 2012: 300). Humans simplify their complex surroundings by grouping others according to certain characteristics. These categories are then used to decide on how to react to seemingly (dis)similar people (Aronson et al. 2014: 495f.).

This psychological dimension of Othering has to be linked to sociological definitions, which place Othering in the frame of constructed and unequal power relations. According to Hall, people or groups who are different from the perceived Self are often represented through binary extremes which are linked to certain meanings (Hall 2013: 229). Based on the assumption that power relations are part of this kind of binary representation, Othering could be described as a

discursive process by which powerful groups, who may or may not make up a numerical majority, define subordinate groups into existence in a reductionist way which ascribe problematic and/or inferior characteristics to these subordinate groups. Such discursive processes affirm the legitimacy and superiority of the powerful and condition identity formation among the subordinate (Jensen 2011: 65).

The ascription of problematic and inferior characteristics might, however, also occur in a less evident way. This takes on particular importance in the context of humanitarianism, in which the intention to help is often the driving force. This explicitly or implicitly includes the attribution of a certain helplessness to the recipients of the aid. Howe argues that Othering can be a “damaging” process, since the creation and especially the representation of the Other might be a way to silence people or groups and therefore also a means of exerting dominance (Howe 2015: 20).

Nevertheless, Othering does not always have to take these extreme forms. Canales thus distinguishes between exclusionary and inclusionary Othering. Exclusionary Othering is a process of stigmatisation, i.e. the labelling of persons perceived as different from the social norm, which constructs the Otherness. It can therefore be closely linked to Jensen’s definition of Othering and results in the reinforcement of initial power inequalities. Inclusionary Othering, in contrast, is defined as an “attempt to use power to create transformative relationships in which the consequences are consciousness raising, sense of community, shared power and inclusion” (Canales 2000: 25). The main difference between exclusionary and inclusionary Othering is therefore the usage of power by the agents. Possible strategies that could be applied as part of the latter process, in which the actors strive to connect through difference, are role-taking or connecting as allies (ibid.: 25f.). Role-taking is closely linked to empathy and is described as the process of seeing the world from the Other’s point of view. When people are connecting as allies, difference is not seen as a reason to move away from each other but as a means to connect. To summarise, Canales describes inclusionary Othering as a process of constructing Others as valuable and contributing members of a society rather than along the lines of their needs and levels of vulnerability (ibid.: 28).

Othering in humanitarianism

Disregarding whether it takes exclusionary or inclusionary forms, the involvement of Othering in the aforementioned dynamics within humanitarianism is irrefutable. This applies both to the level of states or international organisations and to individuals: states often justify their alleged altruistic humanitarianism in form of support for refugees by constructing *the refugee* as someone vulnerable, helpless, and lacking individual agency. This kind of Othering, namely the ascription of the group status *refugee* to a large number of people, further isolates a very diverse group (Olsen et al. 2016: 61). In the same way as on the macro-level, the Othering of *the refugee* might equally be at play in order to justify one's individual work as an activist.

One certainly also has to acknowledge that the line between exclusionary and inclusionary Othering is not clear-cut: Canales lists empathy and attempts to adopt the perspective of the Other as prerequisites for inclusionary Othering. However, these can also be harmful, as they are also embedded in unequal power relations. In that sense, empathy might in some instances lead to a focus on the suffering of the recipients of humanitarian assistance. In the same way, attempts to take the perspective of the Other can result in patronising tendencies, since the provider of the aid might, by trying to take the perspective of the recipient of the help, assume that he or she knows what is best for the recipient.

METHODOLOGY

Semi-structured interviews and qualitative content analysis

In order to analyse to what extent and in what ways the interviewed activists otherise refugees in the context of German *Willkommenskultur*, qualitative semi-structured interviews were conducted and analysed using Philipp Mayring's method of qualitative content analysis, which is a set of processes to analyse textual or verbal data in a systematic way that follows transparent rules (Mayring 2015). The analysis can be conducted in a combination of deductive and inductive working modes. The above-described dynamics of humanitarianism were used as deductive categories,³ while further tendencies encountered during the analysis are introduced in the chapter on results.

Although, according to Flick, semi-structured interviews are not suitable to find out about research participants' unconsciousness (Flick 2009: 161), we argue that a detailed analysis of the wording of interviewees when, for instance, talking about their motivations and their perceptions, can be very telling with regard to implicit and partly hidden attitudes and processes of Othering. This argument can

3 Infantilisation, paternalism, victimisation in the case of exclusionary Othering; connecting as allies and role-taking in the case of inclusionary Othering.

be supported by Hadley's account of Othering, as done in an intentional or unconscious way and as being very present in the language and the wording itself (Hadley 2013).

The interviews were divided into three parts, comprising the collection of personal data, questions regarding the participant's definition and view of *Willkommenskultur* and his or her personal involvement and perceptions. They were conducted in German, although not all respondents were native speakers, which may have caused some shortcomings in the communication process. The transcripts and translations were done without changes to any linguistic mistakes.

Access to the field and sampling

As the research project was conducted in the context of the city of Oldenburg in Northern Germany, contact with the research participants was established through various local organisations, in an attempt to access as diverse a range of research participants as possible. Due to Germany's *Willkommenskultur* being the context of the analysis of the dynamics of Othering in humanitarianism, one decisive prerequisite for the participation of the informants in the research was their self-perception as being part of the post-2015 German *Willkommenskultur*, leaving the term itself however relatively open.

The group of respondents was composed of eight male and female research participants ranging from age 23 to 67, with varying educational and professional profiles and both with and without migratory background and flight experience.⁴ They were all active with refugees in different ways at the time of the study, ranging from the organisation of free time activities to political and professional activities.

RESULTS

The following section presents the main results of this research: first the extent to which the respondents understood themselves to be part of *Willkommenskultur*, second how much they used Othering, and third which form the Othering took.

“Willkommenskultur” and humanitarianism

The variety of understandings of the term *Willkommenskultur* was reflected in the different definitions given by the respondents, who however all considered themselves to be part of it with respect to their own understanding of the term. A major distinction could be observed concerning the question of towards whom the

4 The details concerning the research participants have been anonymised in order to protect their identity.

Willkommenskultur is directed: Some referred explicitly to refugees and employed a notion of *Willkommenskultur* as mediated in 2015: "I would say that a culture of welcome is something that we experienced last year, just to give the people the feeling that they are welcome here and to help them to find their way in our society" (Klaus, on the summer of 2015). Others criticised the mediated image of *Willkommenskultur* and embraced a broader understanding directed at humans in general: "It means good thinking, good talking and good acting towards other people who you don't know" (Max).

Although activists were also driven by self-interest and patriotic motives, the primary motivation to engage in activism in Germany's *Willkommenskultur* appears to be twofold. Some respondents focused on the symptoms of the "suffering" and followed a charity-driven approach, while others based their actions on a desire to improve the world system which they perceived as unequal, thus corresponding to the broad definition of humanitarianism. The latter group called for the work with refugees to necessarily be connected to political actions: "And therefore, I find that it is partly our task, to do a bit of redistribution, so to say. And that is not only a commitment, but also something like a responsibility that we have" (Jill).

This illustrates that although some of the respondents did not fit into the narrow definition of humanitarianism, sometimes even openly criticising it, they can still be classified as humanitarians in the broad understanding of the term. The results of this project might consequently be applied to the broader context of humanitarianism, extending beyond *Willkommenskultur* as the specific context of this research.

Othering in "Willkommenskultur"

All respondents otherised in one form or the other. However, the created Other was not necessarily embodied by the refugees. Instead, the respondents sometimes constructed a different Other, such as political opponents or the group of Germans. Since this article's focus lies on the creation of the refugee Other, those forms of Othering are not analysed in further detail.

The omnipresent character of Othering can partly be linked to the nature of language, which relies on categories based on difference and thereby prevents one from grasping and expressing the complexity of the social world, as has been noted elsewhere (Harrel Bond 2002: 60). This can also explain why respondents who showed a high degree of self-awareness relied equally on binaries in their speech, even though this differed in extent and explicitness: "that natives are also in contact with refugees, that they are not only *refugees*, but that they see they are individual humans, like you and me" (Kim).

In this example, the respondent first creates a clear binary between natives and refugees before stressing that all people have to be seen as individuals. This shows that despite her attempt to circumvent generalisations she relies on binaries.

All respondents used both inclusionary and exclusionary Othering, often simultaneously. The interviewees frequently stressed, for instance, the importance of communicating on an equal level, while at the same time using exclusionary Othering: “No, for me it’s a human. Doesn’t matter where come from, which skin colour. Is a human, who now in this time they were somebody once, but are nobody anymore. And they need help” (Amina). Although in this example the respondent first acknowledges that all people belong to a common humanity, she then differentiates between those who need help and those who do not.⁵

The form of Othering predominantly used partly depended on certain characteristics of the research participants. Those who had been made aware of topics such as anti-racism or power relations at their workplace, during their engagement or elsewhere, were more aware of their own situation and privileges and applied exclusionary Othering less extensively. Some of the respondents also referred to a collective Self. Whether they used Othering in relation to refugees or identified with them via the creation of a collective Self also depended on certain criteria, such as flight experience and the formation of political collectives. Research participants with personal experiences of displacement tended to identify themselves in a collective Self with the refugees targeted by their actions: “So many Germans, they are afraid of us refugees” (Mohammed).

When non-refugee respondents formed a political collective in which refugees took part on equal terms, a common identity was created on the basis of the group’s political goals: “When I thought ‘wow, now we can make it’. That was, sitting with 80 people at the [community centre] and translating into 10 languages, those were great experiences. So for me, but I think also mutually” (Jill). Evidently other forms of connecting through commonalities might exist. The crucial criteria seem to be having a common ground, e.g. in the form of a common aim, as well as a common Other.

Exclusionary Othering

The most frequently used means of exclusionary Othering was related to victimisation and a focus on the suffering of the people targeted by the activists’ commitment. This was mainly achieved by perceiving or portraying the Other as being in need, sometimes even in need of the Self, which corresponds to the narrow definition of humanitarianism: “There I can see that they need my help” (Amina).

Respondents who adopted the broad definition of humanitarianism focused on the suffering to a lesser extent than other participants. Some also explicitly made reference to the circumstances of flight as creating the suffering, and therefore *the*

5 This example also shows that exclusionary and inclusionary Othering present a continuum rather than a binary. In this example the assumption that some people need help is firstly mitigated by the explanations made before, which seem to make the need of help a situation rather than an innate quality, and secondly shows the difficulty in circumventing certain forms of Othering when justifying one’s actions in humanitarianism.

being in need, of the Other. Thus, these respondents acknowledged that there is no general condition of suffering surrounding the Other, but a very specific situation creating the situation of being in need. Furthermore, processes of infantilisation were identified, specifically linked to the fast learning process of the Other: "Yes, I perceive them as being very committed and also eager to learn and especially open minded, if they are here" (Klaus).

Those processes can be closely linked to paternalistic tendencies, which were also very present in the research participants' speech patterns. German society was frequently portrayed as taking care of and seemingly knowing what is best for refugees: "Therefore freedom of religion, and what it means and democracy, say, press freedom and so on, they can only learn that from us" (Klaus). Since the majority of the deductive categories concerning exclusionary Othering were confirmed, it can be concluded that dynamics identified at a macro level in the literature review are also visible on a more individual and interpersonal level in the context of *Willkommenskultur* and presumably in humanitarianism in general.

Additionally, further ways of exclusionary Othering could be identified, namely culturalisation, a distinction between allegedly *good* and *bad* refugees, and objectification. All research participants ascribed major importance to culture and clearly differentiated between German culture and the cultures of refugees. The explanation of the Other's difference through his or her ethnicity or culture is referred to in the academic literature as culturalisation (Brossard Børhaug 2016: 2), which Tezcan defines as a supposed causal connection between a social group constructed as coherent and the social behaviour of its members. On the basis of their presumed culture, difference is ascribed to these members and serves as justification for special treatment (Tezcan 2011: 357). This process neglects or even denies differences at the intra-group and inter-individual level and over-emphasises inter-group differences (Brossard Børhaug 2016: 2). All participants referred to cultural differences between the Self and the Other, commenting on the assumed characteristics of the Other's culture in a mostly stereotyped and/or pejorative way.

The refugee Other was often perceived as Muslim, who Attia describes as being subject to essentialisation and as being constructed as the ultimate Other (Attia 2015). In line with this, Islam was sometimes linked to intolerance and patriarchal attitudes by the respondents: "Therefore I don't know how for example a younger woman would be taken in, right, or somebody like you, how seriously somebody or the person, the woman would then be taken by the refugees, by Muslims or so" (Greta). Some emphasised the regional differences of culture in a stereotypical way, especially through ascribing a certain culture to North Africans. Others referred to a supposed *culture of taking* of the refugees:

people are normally very, very thankful. Most of them I would say. There are really, really a lot who constantly show their thankfulness. You only need to get there once and drink a cup of tea and they are super thankful and happy and invite again. But

there are also some who, and that's something which gets on my nerves, since it is a totally different culture, then it is simply the culture to say "yes, I'll be in touch if I need something". This is natural for them and they do only call if they want something. This is their culture. (Klaus)

Culturalisation was not only directed towards the Other but also towards the Self, partly through extreme binaries: "of *us* Germans to be so hospitable and to also react to *foreigners*, the *Others* so positively first" (Kim). Furthermore, the respondents frequently juxtaposed whom they perceived to be *good* and *bad* refugees⁶ and attributed them specific characteristics: *good* refugees were perceived as willing to integrate and as seeking asylum for a justified reason: "So generally speaking, there are reasons for flight which I understand well" (Klaus). *Bad* refugees, on the other hand, were portrayed as unwilling to integrate, patriarchal, criminals, abusers of the system and a potential threat: "I think that if we do not somehow try to give these people a secure home, there is a danger that they radicalise themselves and will, at some point, lay a bomb under the pillow of my children themselves. And that is something that I would like to prevent" (Klaus). The distinction between *good* and *bad* refugees has already been noted by Harrel Bond:

While images of the "good" refugee who is starving and helpless may motivate people to become helpers, there is an alternative stereotype of "bad" refugees as thankless, ungrateful, cheating, conniving, aggressive, demanding, manipulative, and even dangerous persons who are out to subvert the aid system. (Harrel Bond 2002: 58)

A further observation was that refugees targeted by the aid system were frequently objectified. In that sense, they were often described as being of "use" to society: "That they let themselves be educated, then also can better help this country" (Amina). Although the concept of objectification is mainly linked to its usage introduced by Dworkin and MacKinnon in the context of sexual objectification (Nussbaum 1995: 249), the literature on this phenomenon is also partly applicable to the Othering of refugees in humanitarianism. Nussbaum describes objectification in a general way as "the seeing and/or treating of someone as an object" (ibid.: 251) and links it to certain characteristics such as the instrumentalising of the "object", the denial of the "object's" autonomy and self-determination, the denial of the "object's" subjectivity and the assumption of the interchangeability of the "object" (ibid.: 257). All of these are tendencies that were present in some of the activists' talking about refugees.

6 Although this parallels to a certain extent occasions in which the research participants emphasised that the group of refugees was composed of individuals like any other group, the specificity here was that a clear binary was created.

Inclusionary Othering

One of the research participants' statements corresponds very closely to the definition of inclusionary Othering as a means of "connecting through difference" (Canales 2000: 26): "But the question is, how do you deal with this superiority? Do you transform it into dominance? Or do you transform it into support" (Max)? The strategies of inclusionary Othering as highlighted by Canales could be confirmed. Role-taking was a strategy applied by a number of the interviewees: "When somebody did such a thing, we say why they did such a thing. But I think why he did so. I try to understand him. Maybe he has a problem. Maybe he has an exhausting or stressful time. I try to approach him calmly and [incomprehensible]. That is the way to do it" (Mohammed).

The respondents also frequently connected as allies with the refugees they worked with. This was recurrently linked to their own experiences of being foreign in another context, be it due to flight, travel or other. Further forms of inclusionary Othering could be identified, namely a consciousness of the position of the Self and the Other, a rejection of exclusionary Othering, and the attempt to communicate on equal terms. Some of the respondents were very conscious of the power inequalities between themselves and the refugees with whom they worked. They perceived the Self as privileged, White,⁷ and a bearer of stereotypes, and acknowledged that the Other was in a less privileged situation. They frequently rejected exclusionary Othering, be it the homogenisation of the Other, paternalism, culturalisation, the distinction of *good* and *bad* refugees or the expectation of gratitude:

So I think everything with which, I would say, one would want to make our guests to do something. That one talks them, what do I know, into going to the church service or to say there is a mosque, just go there. (Greta on the question of which kind of actions in the context of *Willkommenskultur* she would not approve of.)

The rejection of paternalism was often linked to an emphasis on wanting to communicate and connect on equal terms with the recipients of the aid. Communication on an equal level was frequently stated as the ideal. Important elements of this were private and close relationships between the recipient and the provider of the aid, friendship being an attempt to overcome power hierarchies. Equally linked to this was a value-based approach of equal relationships, referring to the common humanity through which equality should be achieved. The following quotation illustrates the transition from a relationship marked by unequal power relations to a more equal relationship in the form of a friendship:

⁷ In this context, White is not regarded as a skin colour, but as part of socio-historically developed power relations.

Of course, I perceive myself as dominant, but I very clearly try to transform this into support. And try to use the privileges I have to maybe help the people to arrive there, somehow. But, in addition to this, I perceive myself, once this level is passed, simply as totally equal partner. (Max)

This desire to transform unequal power relations into support as part of inclusionary Othering can be closely connected to the will of fighting against prejudices and therefore according to Heckmann be seen as a way to promote *Willkommenskultur*. To summarise, it can be noted that Othering towards refugees is very present in the context of *Willkommenskultur* and takes both exclusionary and inclusionary forms. Although most respondents stressed the need to encounter each other on an equal level, they all otherised in exclusionary ways, which confirms the omnipresent character of Othering. However, it has to be acknowledged that, in some instances, a collective Self was created between the people active in the context of *Willkommenskultur* and refugees. Clearly this does not imply that Othering does not take place: rather than being constructed as *a refugee*, the Other is incorporated, in the case of the respondents, as *a German* or a political opponent. A further tendency was that people adopting a broad definition of humanitarianism used exclusionary Othering to a lesser extent than those using a narrow definition. It certainly needs to be acknowledged that the list of dynamics of inclusionary and exclusionary Othering is not complete and that further forms of Othering are conceivable.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, it has to be stated that Othering is omnipresent as a human activity and therefore equally existent in various forms in the context of activism in Germany's and more specifically Oldenburg's *Willkommenskultur*. Similar dynamics to those described in the literature for humanitarianism at a macro-level were identified at the micro-level of attitudes and interactions between activists in Oldenburg and refugees. This corresponds to the individual and interpersonal layer of *Willkommenskultur* as defined by Heckmann.

Exclusionary and inclusionary Othering as well as the creation of a collective Self could be identified. The theory-driven dynamics of Othering, such as paternalism, infantilisation, a focus on suffering and control in the case of exclusionary Othering as well as role-taking and connecting as allies in the case of inclusionary Othering could be confirmed. Moreover, further dynamics could be identified: culturalisation, objectification and the creation of a distinction between *good* and *bad* refugees in the case of exclusionary Othering and the consciousness of one's own position, the rejection of exclusionary Othering and communication on equal terms in the case of inclusionary Othering.

Here, the distinction between inclusionary and exclusionary Othering provides a valuable tool: aiming not at stigmatising the Other but rather at connecting with the Other through difference, it can be assumed that by adopting strategies of inclusionary Othering the power inequalities at the basis of the relationship between recipients and providers of humanitarian aid can be reduced instead of being cemented or increased. This assumption, linked to the fact that inclusionary Othering was predominantly applied by people who had a broad conception of humanitarianism and showed a high level of self-awareness and/or people who either had a personal flight experience or made reference to the experience of having been welcomed somewhere, results in two recommendations:

Firstly, in self-awareness training for activists might increase their awareness of their own privileges. Secondly, it would be of advantage to create more opportunities for refugees to become involved in activism. This would not only decrease power inequalities and Othering between refugees and non-refugee activists, but also provide an intermediate stage between activists and aid recipients. Moreover, it would allow for the binary which is often created around refugees and non-refugees to become more fluid.

A constant effort towards self-awareness has to be made, which applies not only to activists, but also to researchers and all other actors in the field. In this sense, more literature on *Willkommenskultur* as well as studies critically reflecting on the Self, be they in the form of activism, state regulations or other, are needed. This approach may represent a step towards reducing the amount of exclusionary Othering in the social sciences themselves.

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POVZETEK

DINAMIKA DRUGAČENJA V AKTIVIZMU KOT DEL NEMŠKE »WILLKOMMENSKULTUR« PO LETU 2015

Linda BECHT, Laura BOUCSEIN, Katharina MAYR

Članek v kontekstu nemške *Willkommenskultur* ('kulture dobrodošlice') in posledic velikodušnega sprejemanja beguncev v Nemčijo kritično ocenjuje delo aktivistov z begunci in se še zlasti osredotoča na obseg in načine njihovega drugačenja beguncev, za katere so odgovorni.

S temi nameni članek humanitarizem in drugačenje obravnava kot konceptualizacijo dobronamerne pomoči. Izhajajoč iz Canalesa razlikuje med izključevalnim in vključevalnim drugačenjem, pri čemer prvo pomeni proces stigmatizacije drugačnosti, drugo pa poskus povezovanja z drugačnostjo skozi razliko. Analiza osmih polstrukturiranih intervjujev s heterogeno skupino begunskih in nebegunskih aktivistov, vpletenih v nemško *Willkommenskultur*, je pokazala, da je bilo drugačenje splošna značilnost govornega vzorca aktivistov in da so ti uporabljali tako izključevalno kot vključevalno drugačenje. Izključevalno drugačenje se je kazalo v obliki infantilizacije, viktimizacije, paternalizma, razlikovanja med dobrimi in slabimi begunci, objektivizacije in kulturalizacije. Aktivisti, ki so sami doživeli begunsko izkušnjo in so bili ozaveščeni o hierarhiji moči, so se bolj nagibali k vključevalnemu drugačenju, kar pomeni, da so se do beguncev vedli kot zavezniki in jih obravnavali na enakovredni ravni, da so privzemali njihove vloge, se zavedali njihovega položaja in odklanjali izključevalno drugačenje. Poleg tega je bilo mogoče zaznati oblikovanje dvojnega jaza kot sredstva za prelom z razlikovanjem med begunci in nebegunci.

Navedene ugotovitve vodijo k zaključku, da bi trening ozaveščanja aktivistov in intenzivnejše vključevanje aktivistov z begunsko izkušnjo lahko pripomogla tako k ukinitvi razlikovanja kot zmanjšanju izključevalnega drugačenja in njegovega vpliva na neenakopravne odnose moči. Ne le aktivisti, katerih dela članek ne želi kritizirati, tudi raziskovalna skupnost mora stremeti k večji ozaveščenosti o begunski problematiki.

RESEARCHING SLOVENIAN EMIGRATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF GENDERED MIGRATION

Mirjam MILHARČIČ HLADNIK¹

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ABSTRACT

Researching Slovenian Emigration from the Perspective of Gendered Migration

The article presents how Slovenian women emigrants and women immigrants to Slovenia have become an important part of migration studies in Slovenia. The research has focused on gendered migration and revealed different ways of structuring power relationships, social practices and institutions organized according to the gender principle. The article also focuses on methodological development and emphasises the narrative and autobiographical approaches, which brought the voices of women migrants from the past and the present to the analysis of migration, thus enriching various disciplines with personal experiences, individual interpretations and the variety of emotions of women on the move.

KEY WORDS: gender, migration, Slovenian women migrants, methodology

IZVLEČEK

Raziskovanje slovenskega izseljenstva v luči spolno obeleženih migracij

Članek predstavlja, kako so izseljenke iz Slovenije in priseljenke v Slovenijo postale pomemben del migracijskih raziskav Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije ter drugih institucij. Raziskave spolno obeleženih migracij so namreč razkrile tako različne načine strukturiranja razmerij moči, družbenih praks in institucij, organiziranih po spolnem načelu, kot subjektivne procese konstrukcije identitet v kontekstu migracij. Članek pri osredotočanju na metodološki razvoj poudarja narativni in avtobiografski pristop, ki je v analizo migracij vnesel glasove nekdanjih in sedanjih migrantk ter različne discipline obogatil z osebnimi izkušnjami, individualnimi interpretacijami in s paleto čustev žensk na poti.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: spol, migracija, slovenske migrantke, metodologija

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INTRODUCTION¹

In understanding and studying the historical and contemporary aspects of migration, women for a long time existed merely as passive companions of migrants or as the ones that stayed at home. In discussing migrant labour and the migrant economy, women and children were presented exclusively as dependent family members separated from the sphere of wage labour. Although Ernst G. Ravenstein pointed out the differences in the gender composition of migrations as early as 1885, and even claimed that women are more migratory than men, especially when it comes to shorter distances (Ravenstein 1885: 196), precisely a hundred years would pass before women would become the topic of migration studies. The scientific study of women migrants and female wage labour in the context of migration began only a little more than three decades ago. The turning point was "Women in Migration", a 1984 special issue of *International Migration Review*, which was devoted to female migration, and the global appeal to researchers in various disciplines to begin studying migration as a gendered phenomenon. After thirty years, we can say that this appeal had an effect on numerous researchers in various disciplines: political science, anthropology, geography, history, law, psychology, sociology, ethnology and women's studies all over the world. With the crystallisation of the female or gender perspective, migrations were presented through complicated structures of family decisions, intimate considerations and tightly knit personal and family ties of both genders. In particular, it turned out that the proportion of women migrants was and still is quite high and that in numerous cases women are the main breadwinners. The new trends in migration and its feminisation are part of the global and transnational processes. Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie R. Hochschild (2003: 5) cite the following data:

From 1950 to 1970, for example, men predominated in labour migration to northern Europe from Turkey, Greece, and North Africa. Since then, women have been replacing men. In 1946, women were fewer than 3 percent of the Algerians and Moroccans living in France; by 1990, they were more than 40 percent. Overall, half of the world's 120 million legal and illegal migrants are now believed to be women. Patterns of international migration vary from region to region, but women migrants from a surprising number of sending countries actually outnumber men, sometimes by a large margin.

The feminisation of migration has become a concept without which we cannot discuss global migration. It refers to the high proportion of women among all migrants and also the greater visibility of female migrants, who, like women in general, have been a historically overlooked, ignored and invisible category. Studies have shown

1 This article is an updated version of a chapter in the book *Raziskovanje slovenskega izseljenstva: vidiki, pristopi, vsebine / Slovenian emigration research: aspects, approaches, substance* (eds. Janja Žitnik Serafin, Aleksej Kalc 2017, 67–83).

that there was a high level of female migration in the past and that women were in fact predominant in some migration flows, periods and regions, while men predominated in others – a rule that also holds today (Donato, Gabaccia 2015). The characteristics of gendered migration change constantly, depending on socio-economic and political circumstances, conditions on the labour market, migrant social and communications networks and the visibility and invisibility of (female) labour. In addition to the changed view on the gender composition of migration in the past and the present that shows women as mass actors, research conducted over the last thirty years has presented various aspects of migration and broadened the very understanding of migration and migration phenomena.

In their research of gendered migration, numerous research projects focused on the following topics: wage labour of women migrants and its consequences for the traditional gender division of labour; the subjective experiences of women migrants and their interpretations of migration processes, integration processes and discrimination; social constructions of identities and subjectivities; the role of women in migrant communities and diasporas, refugee centres and temporary accommodation; engagement in self-organised structures, social and support networks; the complex roles of women migrants in the processes of transnational motherhood and parenthood and the survival and emotional strategies of women on both sides of the migration process – the women that leave and the women that stay behind; discrimination practices at the intersection of gender, ethnicity, religion and class; the analysis of victimisation discourse, in which women migrants are presented and studied exclusively as victims of human trafficking, the sex industry and family and structural violence; the role of women migrants in preserving and changing ethnic, religious and cultural identities; and more.

The process of discovering the historical and contemporary presence of women in migration and taking into account gender as a social generator of power relations and discrimination has contributed to the enrichment of numerous disciplines and the development of many interdisciplinary relations and methodological approaches. Below, I will first outline the characteristics of female migration in the Slovenian ethnic territory that have been studied to date and then present the methods used to study Slovenian female emigrants and gendered migration in Slovenia.

WOMEN MIGRANTS IN THE SLOVENIAN ETHNIC TERRITORY AND SLOVENIAN RESEARCH

The presence of women in Slovenian emigration is visible both in the mass emigration which took place before 1940 and later. For the period before 1940, Marjan Drnovšek collected some interesting examples to show how the diversity and intensity of women's migration should be seen in the different regional and time contexts (Drnovšek 2003: 31–33). While approximately 35 percent of the migrants

in the Austrian migration wave taken as a whole were women, for some parts of the Slovenian ethnic territory the figures are quite different. For example, in 1892 women accounted for 21 percent of migrants from Carniola but 31 percent from the Kočevje region. In Germany, nearly 30 percent of migrants who declared Slovene as their mother tongue in 1900 were women, but in 1939 they accounted for 45 percent of Slovenian migrants. In seasonal migration from the Prekmurje region in eastern Slovenia, Drnovšek estimated that women accounted for 29 percent of migrants in 1929, 36 percent in 1930 and 41 percent in 1931. There were regions with less women migrants and parts of regions with very high numbers, like a cluster of villages in the Goriška region and the town of Domžale with its neighbouring villages.

This approximate estimation refers to various phenomena and development stages of individual migration flows in different political and administrative frameworks. It also has to be understood in the context of the absence of women in state-conducted statistical and other bureaucratic surveys of female labour, due to which there are and can be no data. Sheila Rowbotham (2001: xvi) explains why the type of wage labour that has always been performed by the largest number of women was always left out of historical, statistical and demographic surveys:

One reason for the lack of visibility has been the nature of female migrants' occupations. In many cases they went into domestic service or served as wet nurses – activities which have never been regarded within the prevailing definitions of "work" or the "economy" and have thus defied statistical reckoning. This is a gendered obscurity in a double sense. The women leave no traces because they are female and because the framework of who is to be seen has been biased towards the male.

Despite this, we know that in the Slovenian ethnic territory there were distinctly female migrant flows in which women migrated for work and were often also the breadwinners. In the period before 1940, three types of wage labour or occupations stand out: female servants and care workers from the entire territory who migrated to cities near and far, such as Zagreb, Belgrade, Skopje, Rome, Udine, or Milan, or to far-away countries such as the US, Germany, France and England (Kalc 2004; Drnovšek 2001; Mlekuž 2004); they included the least known and researched straw hat makers from the area of Domžale and Mengeš, who worked as seasonal migrants across the entire Habsburg Monarchy and emigrated to USA cities, while some of the returnees owned straw hat factories and workshops in Domžale² (Roškar 2014); and the best known and literarily represented *Aleksandrinke* (Alexandrian women), who worked as nannies, cooks, companions, wet nurses and house servants, and migrated from the Goriška region to Egypt, where they stayed a year or two or even

2 Despite being less studied, the topic of women in straw hat making is represented at the local level, since it is included in the permanent collection of the Straw Hat Museum in Domžale, where they also provide presentations about female straw hat makers from Domžale in New York.

several decades (Makuc 1994; Barbič, Miklavčič Brezigar 1999; Koprivec 2013; Milharčič Hladnik 2015).

There are no such estimates for the period after 1945. Women were part of the mass emigration for “temporary work abroad” or temporary migrant work, which was the official term for economic migration to Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden and other Northern European countries after 1968. We have no detailed data on the gender composition of temporary migrant work, but we do know that, after family reunification, one’s “temporary residence abroad” often changed into a permanent one.³ According to the available data, today’s care workers are mostly commuters who perform paid domestic or care work in the border towns of Italy and Austria (Hrženjak 2014). This exclusively female activity, which is an interesting continuation of the historical activities in border areas, is conducted by female pensioners, college students and younger women. The highly educated female migrants today include the so-called “Eurocrats” who work in EU institutions (Bajuk Senčar 2014), researchers and experts. According to a study by Milena Bevc, in the period between 1995 and 2009, 43 percent of all highly educated emigrants were women, who mostly emigrated to the US, Germany, Austria and the Netherlands (Bevc 2013).

Researching gender and the experiences of women migrants in Slovenian emigration

How did the awareness about and research of Slovenian women emigrants and gendered migration develop? I have found that we did not substantially lag behind the world trends in terms of when we began to study female migration and the significance of gender as an important factor in migration processes, only the funding and consequently the scope of the studies were and are significantly smaller. At the Slovenian Migration Institute at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU), we began our initial research focusing exclusively on Slovenian women emigrants in 2001. The research project entitled “The Role and the Significance of Women in the Preservation of Cultural Tradition among Emigrants” was a three-year basic research project funded by the Slovenian Research Agency.⁴ The results of studying women in Slovenian emigration and migration were copious and multifaceted. The research project included various activities ranging from fieldwork in various thematic and geographical areas to the analysis of archival material and personal “documents of life”⁵ and the first public scientific discussion addressing

3 The 1971 census recorded 48,000 temporary migrant workers from Slovenia, which is 2.8 percent of the population. Ten years later, the number decreased by 10,000, while the number of family members increased. The largest number of temporary migrant workers went to German-speaking European countries (Statistical Yearbook of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia 1972–1989).

4 The project leader was Marina Lukšič Hacin.

5 This is a term that Plummer (2001) used to illustratively name research sources such as diaries, correspondence, testimonies, life stories etc.

the role of women in Slovenian emigration. A conference entitled “Women in Minority Communities: The Significance and the Role of Women in Preserving Cultural Tradition” was held in Ljubljana in June 2002 (Lukšič Hacin 2002).

The conference showed that a few researchers had already studied female migration two decades earlier. Their efforts were extraordinary since no funding was available for studying either women or female migrations, but especially because they were entirely absent from historical and other scientific books, textbooks, exhibitions and review works. The pioneering work in the research of Slovenian female migration was conducted by Dorica Makuc, who published a book on the Alexandrian women in 1994, and Inge Miklavčič Brezigar, who continued Makuc’s work as a curator and researcher (Barbič, Miklavčič Brezigar 1999). During the 1990s, Aleksej Kalc had researched the mass migration of women to Trieste in the 18th and 19th centuries and, at the conference, pointed out the structural determinants of gendered migration and the need to take into account the various complex temporal and geographical factors, trends and regional specifics in view of which male and female migration is different even when the destination is the same, in this case, Trieste (Kalc in Lukšič Hacin 2002: 153–154)

In view of the depth, breadth and exceptional relevance of his findings, Marjan Drnovšek, a historian at the Slovenian Migration Institute, stands out among the pioneers in the research of female migration in the context of Slovenian emigration. He joined the global trends of studying gendered migration and the proportion of women in migration processes at the very beginning, in the mid-1980s. Drnovšek studied Slovenian women emigrants in various temporal and geographical contexts, for example, Slovenian women emigrants in the Spanish Civil War (1988), in the US (1997) and in Egypt, but also many other cases, which I will discuss below. At the 2002 conference, he placed the consideration of female migration in the broadest social, political and ideological framework, emphasising that it does not involve merely the studying of the gender composition of migration, but also the examination of broader social issues and gender as an important analytical category within the research of Slovenian emigration and migrations:

In addition, I am interested in the woman (emigrant) question also in view of the attitudes of various authorities towards emigration in general and, in our context, the emigration of women. What I have in mind is the attitude of the state, the Church and political parties, taking into account various world views and ideological and political perspectives. [...] It is precisely in relation to the emigration of women that we encounter an interesting phenomenon related especially to Catholic wives, i.e. religious women or families, namely the “philosophy” that the husband is the head of the family, while the wife is its heart. (Drnovšek in Lukšič Hacin 2002: 175)

Drnovšek continued by pointing out the need to study (female) migration as family migration with the help of personal documents and intimate stories and also the

need to focus research on migrant children: "Emigrant letters are exceptionally significant from all perspectives because they show precisely these family relations. Today, we are emphasising women, but I believe that we should discuss all this more in the context of families, that we generally talk little about children of both sexes, who are the most marginalised, including in the study of emigration issues" (ibid.). In the years that followed, the research of subjective experiences of migration processes based on narrations, testimonies, correspondence and other personal materials became one of the key conceptual and methodological orientations of the research conducted at the Slovenian Migration Institute, the Peace Institute and other institutions.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES AND CHALLENGES

In the period after the publication of "Women in Migration" in 1984, two often intertwined approaches developed in the research of migration and gender, and female migration. The first involves determining the gender composition of migration and researching the structural, systemic determinants of female and male migration or the differences in the typologies of migration. The majority of studies from this period first focused on historically overlooked and unknown female migration processes and exclusively female experiences of migration. Studies in which women were the subject of the research while men were often overlooked as women had been in previous studies predominated. The second approach takes into account the view that migrations are a gendered phenomenon requiring more sophisticated conceptual and theoretical tools for the analysis of gendered power relations. It foregrounds the difference between sex and gender as a relational, fluid category that develops in the subjective process of identity construction, a category that was formed at the end of the 20th century (Donato et al. 2006: 5). Gender is a way of structuring social power in all human relations, including between people in migration processes. It is related to other socially significant determinants of the hierarchy of power and discrimination, especially class and ethnicity or race, but also religion, education, age and sexual orientation. Gender should be understood as a structure of institutionalised social relations within which power and authority are organised, but at the same time also as a process of identification, "wherein gender identities, relations and ideologies are fluid, not fixed" (Pessar, Mahler 2003: 813).

The studies of female migration in Slovenia followed global trends, and gender became an important concept in migration research. In addition to historical research of typical female migrations and the gender composition of migration, researchers also took up the research of gendered migration in which gender was understood as a series of social relations that have an impact on migration processes and patterns. At the beginning of his research of female migration, Marjan Drnovšek studied it in the context of the hierarchy of control and domination of the

Catholic Church and other political centres of power. He studied the political, ideological and social conditions of emigration in view of the impact that the relation between the sexes and the category of gender had on the migrations in the Slovenian ethnic territory in various political, state, administrative, economic and cultural contexts. He devoted his attention particularly to the attitude of the public towards female emigrants and suggested ways of researching this dynamic topic:

In short, the attitude towards female emigrants and their role in public life has to be considered in the context of the attitude towards women in emigrant and immigrant communities in general, taking into account the local/regional particularities and the time under consideration. In various periods, the attitude towards them, that is, towards their emigration or immigration, reflects – as we already mentioned – the attitude towards women in Slovenia in general, which could be encapsulated by the saying: “A wife should stay at home and wait for her husband.” Catholic traditionalism in the views on family was also manifested in emigration in all periods (before World War One, between the two world wars and in the 1960s and 70s), as well as the present. (Drnovšek 2004: 385)

In the title of his 1997 article “America: A Paradise for Women”,⁶ Drnovšek pointed out the significance of migrations in the structural changing of sexual roles and the hierarchy of power. He described a rule that was later observed by numerous researchers of female migration: he noted a key characteristic of migration processes as a gendered process in the past, which still holds true today, i.e. the fundamental law that migrations transform, reorganise and restructure gender roles. To explain this phenomenon, Suzanne Sinke uses the concept of “social reproduction”, which she defines as a “framework to describe a variety of roles in re-creating families, network, and communities” – the roles women in migration contexts had and still have (Sinke 2002: 6). In her historical analysis of Dutch female emigrants to “America”, she found that social reproduction is the function of women who nourish, care, nurse and cherish their families, communities and ties, but they do not do this the old way, which they learned “on the other side”. This activity is subject to constant considerations about changing and preserving, adapting and not adapting, conservativeness and innovation, which depend on numerous circumstances and personal needs. In the past, migration also brought women a greater variability of their roles compared to their original environment, especially if they migrated to the US. Donna Gabaccia notes that for the female migrants “the main challenge of migration was to claim new forms of power – whether in the form of an individual wage, the choice of a

6 In his paper on Slovenian female emigrants at the 32nd Assembly of the Historical Association of Slovenia on the topic of women through history (Drnovšek 2004), Drnovšek cited this article and the following quotation from the newspaper *Slovenka* (Slovenian Woman) from 1900: “When our Slovenian girls begin to breathe the free American spirit, they too change.”

spouse, or leisure time – without losing older female modes of influence within community and kinship networks” (Gabaccia 1994: 134).

The studies that present today’s female migrants in Europe as active (Passerini et al. 2007; Slany et al. 2010; Pajnik, Anthias 2014) also share the finding that, within the heterogeneity of female migration waves, the only common characteristic of women is that they can no longer be perceived as passive victims of circumstance, but are to be perceived as active in making the decision to change their life and to a large extent also their family’s life. For women, migration has not been negative for a long time, and even though there are still conditions in which we cannot see any positive changes in the position of women, there are numerous circumstances in which women migrants gain in power, influence, significance, autonomy over their bodies, work and income and above all freedom they could not even imagine in their original environment (Anthias, Lazaridis 2000).

In the context of Slovenian women emigrants, Jernej Mlekuž and Marina Lukšič Hacin have intensively studied gender ideologies and hierarchies of power and discrimination. The latter placed Slovenian female emigrants in the context of the patriarchal social order and sex dichotomy (Lukšič Hacin 2003; 2009). In this context, she analysed the place of the Alexandrian women in the national collective memory (2015). Mlekuž presented gender in his discursive analysis of the press that, in different periods and places, covered the hired girls from Slavia Friulana and their “slave labour” in Italian towns (2009), the traditionally limited roles of women in the Slovenian diaspora in Argentina (2009a) and the public shaming of the Alexandrian women in the local environment on the western border of the Slovenian ethnic territory (2016). Some female historians also took up research of female migration from the perspective of gender as an analytical category (Strle 2009, Škrlič 2009). Marta Verginella (2011: 156) used the case of the Alexandrian women to illustrate the complexity of female migration and the changes in socially-prescribed gender roles which they inevitably lead to:

The first to write about women crossing social and national borders were travellers who visited Egypt, priests worried about the moral life of female emigrants, and later also politicians and municipal administrators dealing with the economic and administrative consequences of female emigration to Alexandria and Cairo. For nationalistic men who supported the image of a “loving and caring wife and mother”, the wet nurses from Primorska in particular were a source of great shame because they had left their own children to feed foreign ones. From the viewpoint of the defenders of national interests, the women who had left for Egypt crippled the “nation’s defensive power”. In the absence of family and village supervision, the foreigners could seduce and dishonour them. Abroad, even the most virtuous girls and wives could become women of ill repute.

Of all the Slovenian female emigrants, the Alexandrian women are doubtlessly the most thoroughly researched phenomenon. Intensive research began in 2005 with the foundation of the Society for the Preservation of the Cultural Heritage of the Alexandrian Women and the Museum of Alexandrian Women in Prvačina a year later. From the local environment, where an affirmative commemoration of the Alexandrian women emerged in the form of collecting tangible and intangible heritage and organising exhibitions, performances and events, the interest spread to the state level. The phenomenon of the Alexandrian women was taken up by Daša Koprivec, a curator at the Slovenian Ethnographic Museum, who provided professional and research assistance to everyone who began studying their families' stories in the local environment. In her research, publications and a scientific monograph, Koprivec managed, at the last possible moment, to collect the testimonies and memories of personal, family and collective experiences of female migration from Goriška to North Africa (Koprivec 2006; 2013).

Early on, the research of female migration began using the method of oral history or the biographical method. The "documents of life" such as diaries, letters, postcards, life stories, testimonies and memories became an important source for the research of the subjective experiences of migration processes not only among the female emigrants themselves, but also their family members. The already mentioned first project of the Slovenian Migration Institute, "The Role and the Significance of Women in the Preservation of Cultural Tradition among Emigrants" was based on this methodology. With the subsequent projects of studying memories and identity, the researchers produced a few key works on female migration and the significance of gender in researching Slovenian emigration, such as *Krila migracij* (a double entendre meaning both "The Wings of Migration" and "The Skirts of Migration", Milharčič Hladnik, Mlekuž 2009), which includes individual life stories and gender analyses in the migration context of female emigrants (Pepica in the US, Stanka in Canada, an Alexandrian woman in Egypt), a wife and mother who stayed at home when her husband left for Belgium to work in the mines there and female immigrants (Bosniak women in Slovenia, immigrants from the former Soviet Union and refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina); *Go Girls! When Slovenian Women Left Home* (Lukšič Hacin 2009); and *Going Places, Slovenian Women's Stories on Migration* (Milharčič Hladnik, Mlekuž 2014). Using the biographical method, the research results presented Slovenian women emigrants as a heterogeneous category and Slovenian female emigration as a kaleidoscope of individual, diverse, dynamic and changing life stories about the construction of national, ethnic and gender identities (Milharčič Hladnik 2004); complex family decisions and everyday negotiations in transnational networks of support and maintaining contacts; and the emotional dynamics of departing, returning or living in a foreign world, which in most cases was much more respectful towards and considerate of Slovenian women emigrants than the Slovenian patriarchal environment, with its high degree of church and family control and the suppression of women's ambitions and desires for change (Škrlić 2009). But,

above all, the selected methodology made it possible for the numerous texts, books and presentations of research results to bring out the voices, stories and experiences of women who until then had not existed in the collective memory and the scientific arsenal of the study of national and transnational history.

In the context of Slovenian female emigration, the public image of women emigrants in Slovenia and their activity in emigrant communities, many authors have analysed gender as a relational, fluid category that develops in a subjective process of identity construction. In addition to Daša Koprivec and the editors of the above-mentioned books, Marjan Drnovšek also examined individual stories of women emigrants with the help of personal documents and testimonies and thus, among others, presented the fate of Liza, a cook in New York (2001), and the letter of Apolonija Noč from St. Joseph, Minnesota (1855) (2003a); Irena Gantar Godina (2009) researched the migrant paths of educated Slovenian women; Breda Čebulj Sajko (2005) presented the life of Mariza Ličen, while Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik (2007) traced the activities and thoughts of Marie Prisland, the founder of the Slovenian Women's Union of America, to mention only a few.

EMIGRATION IN VIEW OF IMMIGRATION

In the last four decades, Slovenia, like many other European countries, has changed from a country of emigration to a country of immigration, which is also reflected in the studies of gendered migrations. The feminisation of migrations, sex work and the trafficking of women was researched by Mojca Pajnik (2008), one of the leading researchers of gendered migration, who together with her colleague Veronika Bajt co-authored important texts on female migration in the context of transnationalism (Pajnik, Bajt 2012), the labour market in Slovenia (2013) and the use of the biographical method in studying women's experiences of migration (Pajnik, Bajt 2009).⁷ In the last decade, we have seen several studies use biographical methods to research gendered migrations in Slovenia, refugees and the position of the descendants of immigrants and asylum seekers. Špela Razpotnik studied the identity constructions of young women immigrants (Razpotnik 2004), while Sanja Cukut Krilič (2009)⁸ analysed the personal experiences of women migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Soviet Union in Slovenia before and after 1991 based on collected life stories. Milica Antić Gaber (2011) edited *Na poti do lastne sobe* (On the Way to a Room of One's Own), a collection of life stories of women immigrants (and their descendents) living in Slovenia in various periods since the mid-20th century. Tjaša Učakar critically reviewed

7 Both researchers work at the Peace Institute, which has carried out several basic research projects on gendered migration in Slovenia.

8 Sanja Cukut Krilič has also made a detailed survey of the works and studies that deal with gendered migrations from the emigration and immigration perspectives and were published in Slovenia (Cukut Krilič 2009: 76–81).

these numerous and diverse research efforts as follows: "A few studies on female migration have already been carried out in Slovenia although some used gender merely as a separate category and not as an explanatory concept with a broader influence on other social factors" (Učakar 2014: 173). She assessed the research on women migrants that has been conducted in Slovenia to date in the framework of the latest fundamental research project on the specific topic of female migration, which was funded by the Slovenian Research Agency (2011–2014).⁹ Just as in the last few decades the research of subjective experiences of migration processes based on narration, testimonies, correspondences and other personal material has become one of the key conceptual and methodological directions in the research of female migration and women migrants conducted at various institutions, this research too focuses on personal experiences, subjective perceptions and intimate stories of female emigrants and immigrants. Ksenija Vidmar Horvat (2014: 11–12) described this key connection between emigrant and immigrant aspects of female migration in the Slovenian ethnic territory as

a specific case study: experiences shared by Slovene female migrants in many ways formed a culturally specific migrant biography, i.e., a biography that is defined by a particular cultural, mental and physical geography of (forced and voluntary) travel across the border of a historically concrete national collective. At the same time, this biography entwines with the broader global experience of women as migrants who, in addition to (or in parallel with) the national, also challenge, disturb and destabilize other social geographies, such as those of gender, generation, emotions, economy, ethno-racial categories etc. Here we witness the formation of a biography of a female migrant whose fate is determined less by national and more by transnational positioning within structures of power and belonging; and who is more than by moralistic discourses of her home society affected by Orientalist and economic (neoliberal) discourses of globalised host, foreign nations.

In the context of gendered migration processes, in the future we hope to see even more research approaches that understand the inseparability of the emigration and immigration aspects of migrations and that conceptually connect the stories and the experiences of those that leave and those that come. In this sense, the particular aspect of forced migration deserves more research attention. In recent years there have been some attempts to historically and conceptually evaluate Slovenian women's forced migration, deportation, relocation and refugee experiences during the First and Second World Wars (Verginella 2013, Strle 2013; 2016). These findings and analyses should be included in all research projects and books on Slovenian emigration in order to finally bring different aspects of the forced migration of Slove-

9 The project entitled "The role of Migration and Female Migrants in the Construction of Slovene National Identity from the National to the Post-National Era" was headed by Ksenija Vidmar Horvat of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Ljubljana.

nian women to scholarly and wider public attention. However, in the wake of the contemporary refugees who are seeking safety in Slovenia and Europe there is also an urgent need to pay attention to the gender dimension in forced migration to Slovenia in historical and contemporary perspective. Some researchers have already done important work on previous women refugee experiences, especially during the 1990s (Cukut Krilič 2009) but there are new challenges with the latest “refugee crisis” in Europe and Slovenia that require a prompt response in research attempts to record the experiences of women refugees and to analyse the gender dimension of their social and cultural trajectories.

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POVZETEK

RAZISKOVANJE SLOVENSKEGA IZSELJENSTVA V LUČI SPOLNO OBELEŽENIH MIGRACIJ

Mirjam MILHARČIČ HLADNIK

Članek opisuje do zdaj raziskane značilnosti ženskih migracij ter poti raziskovanja slovenskih izseljenk oziroma spolno obeleženih migracij. Prikazuje, kako so se v procesu odkrivanja zgodovinske in sodobne prisotnosti žensk v migracijah ter z upoštevanjem spola kot družbenega generatorja razmerij moči in diskriminacije tako v svetu kot pri nas številne discipline obogatile, izoblikovali pa so se tudi številni interdisciplinarni metodološki pristopi in povezave. Avtorica ugotavlja, da začetki raziskovanja ženskih migracij ter pomena spola kot dejavnika migracijskih procesov pri nas niso zaostajali za svetovnimi trendi, le financiranje in posledično obseg raziskav sta (bila) bistveno manjša. Navaja vodilne raziskovalce in raziskovalke ter kompleksnost raziskovalnih tematik, ki so jih zastavljali že v osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, in se osredotoča na tiste metodološke pristope, ki so pomenili odločilen zasuk v raziskovanju ženskih migracij in migracij nasploh. Raziskovanje subjektivnih izkušenj migracijskega procesa na podlagi pripovedi, pričevanj, korespondenc in drugih osebnih gradiv je na Inštitutu za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije ZRC SAZU, Mirovnem inštitutu, Filozofski fakulteti in tudi drugih institucijah postalo eno ključnih konceptualnih in metodoloških raziskovalnih usmeritev. Pomemben premik v razvoju migracijskih študij pri nas je prinesla – tako z zgodovinskega kot s sodobnega stališča – tudi konceptualna združitev raziskovanja izseljevanja iz Slovenije in priseljevanja v Slovenijo. Raziskovalne pristope, ki upoštevajo nerazdružljivost izseljenskih in priseljenskih vidikov migracij in ki konceptualno povezujejo zgodbe in izkušnje tistih, ki odhajajo, in tistih, ki prihajajo, je treba v kontekstu spolno obeleženih migracijskih procesov dopolniti z raziskavami prisilnih migracij, prebežništva in begunstva. To je še zlasti pomembno v času po t. i. »begunski krizi« 2015–2016, ko je poznavanje lastne zgodovine begunstva in prebežništva postalo temelj za razumevanje sodobnih fenomenov prisilnih migracij.

DEVELOPING INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

Developing Intercultural Education

The paper discusses the role of teachers in the inclusion of migrant students and provides some suggestions for the active engagement of teachers in developing intercultural education, with examples from Slovenia. To support teachers who develop intercultural competence among all students, it is important to include concrete learning objectives in the syllabuses, in the framework of which teachers will be able to teach about social diversity. It will also be necessary to introduce content about multiethnic, multilingual, and multireligious society into the academic programmes, so that (future) teachers are more prepared for a diverse school environment and the development of an intercultural society.

KEY WORDS: immigrant children, refugees, economic migrants, prejudices, active citizenship, integration, inclusion, teachers

IZVLEČEK

Razvoj medkulturne vzgoje in izobraževanja

Prispevek odpira vprašanje o vlogi učiteljev pri vključevanju učencev priseljencev ter navaja predloge za aktivno delovanje učiteljev pri razvoju medkulturne vzgoje in izobraževanja (s primeri iz Slovenije). Da bi bil šolski sistem v podporo učiteljem, ki razvijajo medkulturno zmožnost med vsemi učenci, je treba v učne načrte dodati konkretne učne cilje, v okviru katerih bodo učitelji znotraj učnih vsebin lahko poučevali o raznoliki družbi. Vsebine o večetnični, večjezični, večverski družbi bi bilo nujno vnesti tudi v študijske programe, da bodo (bodoči) učitelji boljše pripravljeni na raznoliko šolsko realnost in soustvarjanje medkulturne družbe.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: otroci priseljenci, begunci, ekonomski migranti, predsodki, aktivno državljanstvo, vključevanje, učitelji

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INTRODUCTION

Although a lot of projects have been carried out and some changes have been made in the past few years in the area of inclusion of migrant children in Slovenia, there are still many issues to be addressed. These include how to define intercultural education or intercultural competence as one of its important criteria, knowing that “the implementation of intercultural education in practice requires teachers with intercultural competence. However, there seems to be no standard definition of this concept” (Bešter, Medvešek 2016: 30), and “a global understanding of intercultural competence does not yet exist” Boecker (2008: 12).¹ But instead of trying to find the best definition of intercultural competence, this paper highlights some perspectives on the roles different stakeholders should play in order to develop intercultural education. It employs statistical data on the number of children of economic migrants and refugees who have come to Slovenia in the last few years and introduces some new intercultural approaches that schools in Slovenia have developed for better inclusion. It also makes some recommendations on what teachers can do by themselves until more specific intercultural guidelines are introduced in school curricula.

THE NEED FOR INTERCULTURALITY IN SYLLABUSES

In order for the school system to support teachers in developing intercultural competence among all students, it is important to add concrete learning goals to the syllabuses, in the framework of which teachers can teach about social diversity, overcoming prejudices and intercultural dialogue. We have to improve the case “that a teacher’s intercultural competence is mostly the result of the individual’s education, training, openness and efforts rather than of specific systematic incentives and support” (Bešter, Medvešek 2016: 42–43). This is not only a task for teachers, but especially for universities which train future teachers, the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, which is responsible for life-long learning among already employed teachers, and the commissions tasked with revamping the syllabuses.

The emphasis is on intercultural education as a part of the regular curriculum, where interculturality is a principle and not a special pedagogic discipline. Klara Skubic Ermenc (2007: 129; 2010: 272–273) understands interculturality as a pedagogical-didactic principle. This means that the aforementioned principle is applied to the planning, implementation and evaluation of education in such a way that it supports

1 Romana Bešter and Mojca Medvešek (2016: 30–32), drawing from a model introduced by Darla K. Deardorff and upgraded by Malte C. Boecker, describe intercultural competence as consisting of four dimensions: 1) attitudes towards others/those who are different; 2) knowledge and understanding as well as specific skills; 3) intercultural reflection (which represents the desired internal outcome) and 4) constructive interaction (which represents the desired external outcome). For more about intercultural competence(s) see Vrečer 2011, Huber 2012 etc.

a change in the existing hierarchical relations between the dominant ethnic/cultural majority and the subordinate ethnic/cultural minority groups in the education system. In this way, it enhances the equity of real opportunities for education, the maintaining of various identities, and the development of solidarity towards ethnic and cultural minorities. Interculturality as a pedagogical-didactic principle encourages the following: the development of a (more pronounced) attitude of equality with regard to other cultures/ethnic groups, an attitude towards the other as an equal and not as a deficient citizen, trailblazing with a pedagogical process which enables higher achievements in minority groups, and the development of common values. It is interesting to note that interculturality is a principle and not a separate pedagogic discipline. In pedagogy, a principle is a guideline for teaching which directs the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the class, which means that it permeates the entire educational process. In order for the principle of interculturality to truly come to life, it must become part of the so-called "real school curriculum", which means the connection of the formal (official) curriculum (legislation, rules, educational programmes, curricula, textbooks, pedagogical-didactic guidelines, etc.) to the entire practice of pedagogy, including human relations, as well as the selection and interpretation of school knowledge (the so-called "hidden curriculum"), because only "several similar measures provide more opportunity for reaching the goal. The less the measures are unified, the less there is a possibility for them to become effective" (Skubic Ermenc 2007: 129). The *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue* (2008) also pointed out how significant it is that such contents are included in syllabuses to provide a basis on which teachers can actually teach:²

Teacher-training curricula need to teach educational strategies and working methods to prepare teachers to manage the new situations arising from diversity, discrimination, racism, xenophobia, sexism and marginalisation and to resolve conflicts peacefully, as well as to foster a global approach to institutional life on the basis of democracy and human rights and create a community of students, taking account of individual unspoken assumptions, school atmosphere and informal aspects of education. (*White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue* 2008: 32)

In Slovenia, the current syllabuses are being analysed in order to identify the discriminatory practices they include. The results of this analysis should be taken into account in the new syllabuses. Ksenija Šabec (2016: 140) has found that the Slovenian geography textbooks "contribute to legitimizing the ethnic and 'racial' status quo permeated with ethnocentric stereotypes, negative representations and racist perceptions of the 'other'." Mojca Peček and Irena Lesar (2006: 187) draw attention to the fact that Slovenian teaching materials do not take into account the characteristics

2 If content about migration, refugees, prejudices, intercultural dialogue etc. are not present in syllabuses, then only teachers with intercultural competence and who perceive the need to acquaint their pupils with these topics will include them in their teaching.

and distinctiveness of minority communities and that primary-school syllabuses include practically no content related to immigrants. This has also been evidenced by an analysis of the materials for teaching Slovenian language and literature. Janja Žitnik Serafin (2014) discovered that “they include no representatives of various ethnic groups in Slovenia and immigrant authors” (Žitnik Serafin 2014: 223). Similar analyses should be conducted for all syllabuses, preferably in cooperation with immigrants (Vižintin 2016). In addition to the revamping of syllabuses, it is necessary to include content on multicultural society, multilingualism, multiethnicity and multireligiosity in the academic programmes of the faculties of education and arts. This will allow future teachers to be better prepared for a school environment in which pupils speak different mother tongues.

With their knowledge and attitude, teachers have a substantial influence on the successful inclusion of immigrant and refugee children, but are insufficiently aware of this (Peček Čuk, Lesar 2006; Nieto, Bode 2008). Teachers need additional training in the areas of inclusion of immigrant and refugee children, intercultural education (Grant, Sleeter 2007; Skubic Ermenc 2010; Portera 2011; Vižintin 2014, 2017) and the development of (their own) intercultural competence. In the 21st century the inclusion of immigrant and refugee children is still perceived as something extraordinary and new – unrelated to the historical experiences of Slovenian refugees in the 20th century and the continual Slovenian economic migrations³ from the mid-19th century on (Drnovšek 2012; Milharčič Hladnik 2015; Žitnik Serafin 2015; Žitnik Serafin, Kalc 2017). Furthermore, Slovenia is already a multicultural, multilingual and multireligious country in which Slovenian citizens live together with members of the Italian, Hungarian and Romani minorities, numerous ethnicities from the territory of former Yugoslavia (Žitnik Serafin 2012; Dimkowska 2014; Kržišnik Bukič, Josipović 2014) and other immigrants. Migrations were and are part of the European experience. “European societies are not bipartite, consisting of indigenous and immigrant people, but constitute complex networks with multidimensional identities, sharing differences and similarities” (Rey-von Allmen 2011: 43). Europe changed from a continent of emigration (more than 40–50 million people emigrated from Europe between the mid-19th century and the mid-20th century) to a continent of immigration in the second half of the 20th century (Castles, Miller 2009; Scheffer 2011), moving from an

3 Slovenians have always been and still are economic migrants. In the last five years, 14,000 people a year emigrated from Slovenia and approximately the same number of people immigrated to Slovenia. Data for 2014: 14,300 people emigrated from Slovenia, of whom 8,100 were Slovenian citizens and 6,200 were foreign citizens. 74% of Slovenian citizens moved to other EU-28 countries, most of them to Austria (28%) and Germany (20%), followed by Switzerland, Croatia and the UK. In 2014, 13,846 people immigrated to Slovenia. Although the emigration of tertiary educated Slovenians is emphasised, statistical data show that most of the emigrants are secondary-school graduates and that the education of emigrants and immigrants in 2013 was similar: more than half of the emigrants from Slovenia and immigrants to Slovenia were secondary-school graduates, only 21% of emigrants and 15% of immigrants had tertiary education, the rest had primary education (*Socioeconomic Characteristics of International Migrants, 2013; Migration Changes, 2014*).

assimilatory to an integrative concept of including immigrants in society, in which numerous culturally mixed people with hyphenated identity coexist (Sedmak 2015; Milharčič Hladnik 2015).

But although “migration is an ancient phenomenon, the question of peaceful co-existence remains as yet unresolved. The word ‘foreign’ is commonly associated with negative or even threatening aspects” (Portera 2011: 15). The obstacles hindering inclusion include prejudices (Ule 2005; Šabec 2006), Eurocentric syllabuses (Skubic Ermenc 2007; Šabec 2015) and insufficient connection with parents or organisations in the local community that can offer the school support (Vižintin 2015). Immigrant children are included in classes but are passive, not active enough (Budinoska 2013). Teachers are insufficiently aware of the possibility of developing intercultural competence within the teaching process, for example in all language and literature classes (Vižintin 2014, 2017; Mikolič 2016), and other school subjects such as history, geography, etc. Teachers are also not sufficiently aware that every teacher is responsible for the acquisition of the specialised language in their class (Bešter Turk 2011). But every teacher has an impact on the successful inclusion of immigrant children and developing intercultural education.

CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES IN SLOVENIA

In the 2010/11–2014/15 school years, around a thousand immigrant children were enrolled in Slovenian primary schools (6–14 age group) for the first time, and around 300–400 were enrolled in secondary schools (15–18 age group). In the 2010/11–2014/15 school years they mostly (81%) came from the countries of former Yugoslavia (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia) (Banjac 2015). In the 21st century, their parents came to Slovenia mostly for employment, and the children consequently on the basis of family reunification. By April of the 2015/16 school year, these children were joined by refugee children, around 40 primary and 20 secondary school pupils according to the data of the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport of the Republic of Slovenia. Refugee children live in the asylum centre (if accompanied) or in crisis centres around Slovenia (if unaccompanied). In the framework of the EU refugee relocation scheme, Slovenia is supposed to take in around 600 people, including children. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 19,889 asylum applications were filed and 393 applicants were granted asylum in Slovenia in the period 1995–2015, which means that in 21 years the Republic of Slovenia granted asylum to 1.97% of applicants (*Statistični podatki o tujcih v Sloveniji 2015, 2016*). In 2015 and 2016, around half a million refugees crossed Slovenia, fleeing the war in Syria, the overcrowded refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey and the ethnic, religious and sexual violence in Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and other Middle-Eastern and African countries. According to the data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 141 of the 277 applications in 2015 were filed by refugees who came

to Slovenia along the so-called Balkan route. In 2015, Slovenia granted asylum to 45 persons (or 16.2% of 277 seekers). In 2016, Slovenia granted asylum to 170 persons (or 13% of 1,308 seekers)⁴ (Ibid).

In the second half of the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century, the strongest prejudices in Slovenia were directed against the largest group of immigrants, those from Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁵ Prejudices against groups of immigrant children are associated with lower teacher expectations (Peček Čuk, Lesar 2006). "Lower teacher expectations for particular racial or ethnic groups are based on negative racial or ethnic prejudices. Teachers, like all people, often are not aware of their prejudices; thus they may not be aware of their lower expectations for some students" (Bennett 2011: 22–23). Prejudices are preserved and intensified most

when they are not discussed, even less problematised, but in order to deconstruct and eliminate prejudices as micro-ideologies of the everyday world, which are usually firmly entrenched in the existing mechanisms of power, we need to do more than only critically reflect on them. Although this is doubtlessly the first step towards abolishing the power of prejudices, we have to reveal, challenge and criticise the mechanisms of their emergence and operation and on the collective level establish the competencies of a critical distance to one's own perceptions about other people, while at the same time develop means for their elimination on the formal legal level. (Šabec 2006: 21)

There has been an increase in intolerance and a strengthening of the prejudices against Albanian-speaking children and their parents coming to Slovenia in the 21st century mostly from Kosovo, Macedonia, occasionally Montenegro, and a very small number from Albania. The intolerance towards Albanian-speaking immigrants is probably a consequence of an increased number of Albanian-speaking children enrolling in Slovenian schools, unfamiliarity with the Albanian language, the new immigrants not speaking an intermediary language (which means that teachers cannot draw on Serbo-Croatian or other foreign languages), and a feeling of powerlessness due to insufficient professional knowledge about the inclusion of immigrant children.

4 Of the 277 asylum seekers in 2015, 231 were male and 46 female. Most of them came from Afghanistan (48 or 17.3%), Iraq (43 or 15.5%), and less from Iran (35), Kosovo (28), Pakistan (25), Syria (17), Ukraine (14) etc. In 2016, 1,308 persons applied for asylum in Slovenia, 1,085 men and 223 women; 1,184 refugees came during the so-called refugee wave. The largest share of asylum seekers came from Afghanistan (419 or 32%), Syria (281 or 21.4%), Iraq (120 or 9%) and Pakistan (104 or 8%). Less than 80 people came from Iran (78), Turkey (60), Morocco (39), Algeria (42), Eritrea (28), Serbia (21), Kosovo (18), Libya (17), Tunisia (11) etc. (*Statistični podatki o tujcih v Sloveniji* [Statistical Data on Foreign Nationals in Slovenia] 2015, 2016).

5 Some examples of prejudices: immigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina, also called "Southerners", are supposedly "lazy and are bleeding the developed Republic of Slovenia dry" (Kentrič 2015: [46]); "stupid because their parents hit them over the head" (Pašić in Merkeš 2014: 6); while Albanian-speaking pupils are supposed to be "unmotivated, disruptive" (Vižintin 2017: 122–126).

Refugees, people fleeing war and violence, also divided Slovenia in 2015 and 2016: on the one hand, a lot of volunteers worked at the refugee accommodation centres (Dobova, Šentilj, Vrhnika) and individual journalists (Gorazd Rečnik, Boštjan Videmšek, Ervin Milharčič Hladnik) tried to relate people's tragic life stories, while, on the other hand, the media mostly reported on the refugee wave and the politicians talked about the security question (and surrounded the country with a razor-wire fence, the so-called "technical barrier"). There was a series of protests against the settlement of refugees (in Kranj, Ljubljana, Vrhnika, Lenart, Lendava and Logatec in February 2016 and in Škofije in March 2017 etc.), sometimes countered by simultaneous protests in support of their settlement; and hate speech intensified and spread. At the same time, a series of round table discussions and conferences were held in support of the refugees (among others, at the Kranj Library, the Education Trade Union, the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, ZRC SAZU etc.) and scientific analyses of media responses (Luthar 2017, Pajnik 2017 etc.).

With the increased number of refugees, some people in Slovenia have become more intolerant towards and fearful of refugees. Prejudices have been spreading, and teachers feel increasingly stressed due to the lack of knowledge on how to include refugee children into the existing school system. In 2016, there were widespread reports in Slovenia on the first enrolments or accommodation of refugee children being met with non-acceptance and rejection: in Logatec, the town council adopted a decision that children cannot be included in a kindergarten or a school until they learn to speak Slovene; at the student dormitory in Kranj they refused to accommodate unaccompanied refugee children because some parents were against it; in the same town, 24 teachers at a secondary school signed a statement saying that they were also against the accommodation of unaccompanied refugee children. These events showed ignorance of Slovenian legislation, since the decision adopted by the Logatec town council is contrary to law, ignorance of the Slovenian education system, which is based on an inclusive approach and enables every child to enter a Slovenian primary school regardless of the parents' status (temporary residence, permanent residence, asylum seekers, citizens), prejudices and open expressions of intolerance, a lack of competence among educational employees for the inclusion of refugee children, and the unpreparedness of the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, which gave in to the parents' pressure and refused to accommodate unaccompanied refugee children in Kranj.

In the case of primary schools, the Slovenian Ministry of Education, Science and Sport decided on the direct inclusion of both immigrant and refugee children in classes and the simultaneous training of teachers. In practice, this means that children are included in classes immediately after they are enrolled. Direct inclusion in classes – without knowledge of the language used for instruction – is a challenge both for the teachers and the pupils. It was noted immediately upon the enrolment of the immigrant children that the teachers feel insufficiently competent for this task, with some of them suggesting that the children should attend an intensive

course in Slovene for a few months before/when they come to school (Knez 2012; Vižintin 2017: 179–180). With the increased enrolment of refugee children, their distress or need for additional training has only intensified. Immigrant children are also directly enrolled in secondary school. Asylum seekers aged between 15 and 18 are first enrolled in a 300-hour (+100) programme that they have to complete before enrolling in regular school (*Izobraževalni programi. Opismenjevanje ... 2016; Poročilo za opismenjevanje za mladoletnike brez spremstva 2017*). Due to the economic circumstances and the political and economic destabilisation of countries including Syria and its neighbourhood and many African countries, the continuous influx of refugees will only increase. Teachers need to be prepared and trained for this. The asylum procedures should also be improved. According to Mateja Sedmak and Zorana Medarić (2017: 67), the “transition through the international protection procedures clearly shows the absence of a child-friendly approach as well as a lack of respect for the implementation of the best interest of the child principle. There is a lack of information regarding the border and possible return procedures.”

SEARCHING FOR NEW INTERCULTURAL APPROACHES IN SCHOOLS

Neva Šlibar (2006) points out the harmfulness of not reacting in cases of expressed intolerance, non-acceptance or refusal of support, since “false tolerance, i.e. carelessness, indifference and passivity, [...] also kills” (Šlibar 2006: 23). Mojca Peček and Klara Skubic Ermenc (2016) note that: “if we want to see more radical changes, we cannot ignore attitudes, stereotypes and prejudices – either those of learners or those of teachers” (Peček, Skubic Ermenc 2016: 21). Combating racism, sexism and all forms of prejudice and discrimination is an important goal of a multicultural curriculum (Bennett 2011: 30–33), in addition to understanding multiple historical perspectives, developing cultural consciousness, intercultural competence, raising awareness of the state of the planet and global dynamics, and developing social action skills.

In the inclusion of refugee children, some Slovenian schools have drawn on their experiences gained in the inclusion of (economic) immigrant children and at the same time sought new approaches. One example of a primary school where they are aware that education is a dynamic and continuous process that demands changes in established habits, teacher training, a response to the new needs and the development of new approaches is the Koper Primary School. For several years, they have been testing different ways of achieving a more successful inclusion of immigrant children and have found that the inclusion process presents many challenges both for the children and the teachers: children need time to integrate into the new environment and support during the school year; there are various possibilities for learning the language; and teachers require continuous training in the field of intercultural education. Koper Primary School is also a (co)leader of national projects, such as *Challenges of Intercultural Co-Existence 2016–2021*.

At the Livada Primary School in Ljubljana they have added new flags to their “citizenship stew” and proudly state that pupils from 32 different countries are enrolled there. For the 27 new refugee children in the 2015/16 school year, they obtained financial support, established a network of volunteers and introduced a new way of teaching Slovene, every day for one period before the start of the school day and during the first two periods, after which the children attend regular classes with their classmates (Petrovčič 2016a; Gruden 2016). At the 8 Talcev Primary School in Logatec they published papers written by their refugee children in different languages in addition to papers by other children in their 2016/17 school newspaper, and, in line with the need to communicate with Arabic-speaking pupils, they published the *Slovenian-English-Arabic Dictionary for School Use* (Al Dolejmi 2017). At the Bojan Ilich Primary School in Maribor, teachers, pupils and parents prepared for the arrival of three unaccompanied refugee children by learning about Afghanistan (and the wars being waged in this destabilised country due to the interference of other countries), reading *In the Sea There Are Crocodiles* (Geda 2012) and *I Am Malala* (Yousafzai, Lamb 2013), making contact with a local association which promotes intercultural understanding, Društvo Odnos, and obtaining funding for one-to-one tuition.⁶ As Michele Rey-von Allmen (2011: 36) stresses: “intercultural relations do not concern foreigners alone or any single group of people”. This is why these schools have been successful in the inclusion of immigrant and refugee children. The workshops, projects and other activities are conducted with all the children and their parents, and not just the immigrants. Goran Popovič, the principal of the Livada Primary School in Ljubljana, is adamant: “A teacher must help a child no matter what. Because when you get such a young being, this being is not responsible for the wars or the politics or their parents’ actions. Are we human beings or not?” (Petrovčič 2016: 41)

Despite the examples of good practice, teachers in Slovenia still have numerous questions about how to integrate immigrant children. A model of intercultural education (Vižintin 2014, 2017) was developed to make the inclusion of immigrant and refugee children more effective and successful for both the children and the teachers. It includes all the stakeholders involved in the integration process: pupils and parents (both immigrants and natives), educational employees (including those who have experience of emigrating themselves), the immigrants and their organisations, the local community and governmental organisations that influence the educational process and participate in the creation of an inclusive society. It does not focus merely on one particular field of inclusion (e.g., assessment, teaching Slovene as a second language), but with its seven criteria offers a comprehensive approach to inclusion: 1. interculturality as a pedagogical-didactic

6 The school’s principal Štefan Muraus talked about this experience at a round table discussion entitled *An Intercultural Approach to Including Migrant Children*, which was part of the Conference on the Linguistic Inclusion of Immigrants into Kindergartens and Schools organised by the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport (Ljubljana, 23 September 2016).

principle, 2. systemic support for the successful inclusion of immigrant children, 3. development of teachers' intercultural competence, 4. increasing the awareness of a multicultural society in all school subjects, 5. development of intercultural dialogue in schools, 6. cooperation with immigrants (parents), 7. cooperation with the local community (Vižintin 2014, 2017). The Ministry of Education, Science and Sport has also addressed the need for additional teacher training related to the inclusion of immigrant children, for example in the project *Only (With) Others Are We*,⁷ conducted by ZRC SAZU, the Slovenian Migration Institute and the Educational Research Institute.

What can teachers do themselves?

As active citizens, teachers should respond to prejudices and discrimination in their (school) environments, and through their knowledge and activities promote the development of intercultural education. A significant part of this involves the development of intercultural dialogue at their educational institution and in the local community, in line with genuine diversity (multilingualism, multiethnicity, multireligiosity) and, importantly, together with the immigrants. Those teachers who develop their intercultural competence (all their life) will be most successful in fostering it in their pupils. Teachers should constantly participate in training courses and projects, and exchange examples of good practice; they should be aware of the influence of their views and expectations and the fact that it takes several years to learn the language of the new environment and integrate into it. As Malte C. Boecker (2008: 7) explains: "The more positive the attitude, the more knowledge and skills developed and the more often intercultural situations are reflected or handled constructively, the more likely it is that a higher degree of intercultural competence is achieved."

Active teachers take part in changing the existing hierarchical relations, which means that, in their (school) environment, they identify cases of (systemic, latent) discrimination, make themselves and their pupils aware of prejudices and stereotypes, endeavour to overcome them and openly oppose them. With their knowledge and actions, they, as active citizens, contribute to the changes that enable the development of an actually equal relation between different cultural, ethnical, linguistic and other communities, with the awareness that too much emphasis "is placed on the fact that people are different from each other, while forgetting the

7 The aim of the project *Only (With) Others Are We* (Le z drugimi smo 2016–2021) is to train professionals and leaders in all fields of education from preschool to adult education. The project provides the following five free-of-charge 16-hour professional training courses: 1) *Living the Diversity: Immigrant Inclusion, Slovene Language and Intercultural Dialogue*; 2) *Zero Tolerance for Violence: Challenges and Issues*; 3) *Respectful Communication and Conflict Management*; 4) *The Challenges of Modern Society in Education*; 5) *Intercultural Relations and Integration in Education Practice*. The *Only (With) Others Are We* project is led by Marina Lukšič Hacin and coordinated by Marianca Ajša Vižintin.

basic assumption [...] – that we are first and foremost similar to each other” (Lukšič Hacin 2016: 89). In view of the growing intolerance and publically expressed prejudices, it is important that teachers respond to the racism and xenophobia in educational institutions (and their local communities). I suggest three types of activities: 1) self-study, 2) teaching students (sometimes including parents and local community), 3) dissemination of activities.

The first activity, self-study, consists of information seeking and learning. I suggest that teachers obtain as much information as possible about migration as a constant process, about prejudices and their characteristics, the reasons for the arrival of the children of economic migrants and refugees and the conditions in the countries that their pupils come from, and about Slovenians abroad (Slovenians as emigrants and refugees), etc. They can do that on their own or they can search for additional training courses dedicated to those goals, for example *Only (With) Others Are We*. In the process of learning and obtaining as much authentic information as possible, it is useful to find the existing materials about these topics, which will help the teachers conduct workshops and carry out other activities with children (and sometimes with their parents). Carl A. Grant and Christine E. Sleeter (2007) suggest the following resources for teachers: books for children and young people, internet resources, local resources and the pupils themselves. I also suggest participation in public events (conferences, round table discussions, readings) that present the topics of migration, refugees, practices of inclusion and exclusion, discrimination or people’s life stories and personal experiences.

Good teachers choose and use resources thoughtfully rather than overrelying on them. In addition, the best teachers are not only ongoing learners themselves, but also inveterate collectors. Over time, their classrooms become well stocked with materials, and usually they have become active in community or professional activities. Also, they seek out other teachers and librarians with whom to share resources, and varied venues where they can locate new resources. They assume that good resources exist and can be found. (Grant, Sleeter 2007: 182)

The second activity is teaching students. It includes active engagement in educational processes, since there are only a few intercultural goals in the school curricula. It is important to transfer knowledge to pupils (and sometimes to their parents and the local organisations) and at the same time to learn from them and their experiences. There are different ways to teach about diversity and develop intercultural competence: one of the possibilities is conducting intercultural workshops with the pupils in class, if possible in the framework of the educational process, during school time, in order to raise awareness about the processes of migration, refugees and prejudices. The next possibility is conducting public intercultural events at the educational institutions, to which all pupils, teachers and parents are invited. The focus here should be on positive examples and overcoming prejudices, and not

on their reinforcement.⁸ It is important to cooperate with the immigrants as active participants in and creators of intercultural lessons or intercultural events. When teachers obtain enough knowledge and experience, they can also organise talks or round table discussions with people who have a migrant or refugee experience (in a smaller group). Let us give immigrant parents, both men and women, the opportunity to show us what they know, what they do for a living, how they spend their free time; in addition to cooks and housewives, their ranks undoubtedly also include literature and other arts experts, sports fans, scientists, researchers, doctors, nurses, entrepreneurs etc., of both sexes. The time has come to overcome

today's imposed hegemonic discourse about the image of migrant women who, as passive victims of familial and cultural circumstances, need above all protection and care, and present their experiences, choices and activities within social hierarchies, differentiations and control as relevant and significant for everybody, not just them. (Milharčič Hladnik 2016: 44)

In Slovenia, there are many people with refugee experience, people who fled the war and ethnic violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 1990s and in Kosovo at the beginning of the 21st century. They live among us and some are prepared to talk about their refugee experience. There are even more economic migrants who are prepared to share their experience of migrating and integration – this is not a one-time event that ends with settlement in the receiving country, but a long process that can take years. Through these (and other) suggested activities, pupils also learn how to be active citizens from their teachers: “Educators at all levels play an essential role in fostering intercultural dialogue and in preparing future generations for dialogue. Through their commitment and by practising with their pupils and students what they teach, educators serve as important role models” (*White paper on Intercultural Dialogue* 2008: 32).

Lastly, it is important that the pupils are active; that they themselves seek information under the teacher's mentorship and based on their encouragement. Under the teacher's mentorship, pupils can seek information in their school or local community, identify people with immigrant experience, including among their relatives who migrated from Slovenia abroad, conduct interviews with them, write a paper about their activities, invite them to present their life experience in class etc. As Vesna Mikolič says, students

8 Migrants very often only present their cuisine or folklore in the name of multi- or interculturality at schools, and in this way we actually reinforce the entrenched stereotypes and prejudices – however, during the lessons, they rarely speak about the cultural, economic, scientific and other achievements which the members of migrant communities contributed to the development of humanity or in local communities (Vižintin 2015: 128).

should be involved in the cultural reality of their surroundings instead of learning about abstract intercultural values. During classwork, students should independently explore new sources of information about different cultural backgrounds, gather information, compare materials, discuss similarities and differences, and validate their opinions about various cultures through projects. (Vesna Mikolič 2016: 90)

The last activity is dissemination. It is important that teachers write and report about their experiences and that that information is spread and exchanged. Other teachers can learn from the published results, use their experiences and build on them in accordance with the experiences and needs in their local community. Teachers can report on their active engagement in local newspapers, on the local radio, and in professional and scientific journals. It is important that information about the active engagement of teachers who contribute to a respectful and intercultural society is spread.

CONCLUSION

This paper gives various examples from Slovenian schools that have found new approaches to intercultural education. At the Koper Primary School, teachers receive continuous training in the field of intercultural education and they participate in or lead national projects. At the Livada Primary School in Ljubljana, they have enrolled pupils from different 32 countries. At the 8 Talcev Primary School in Logatec, they published papers by refugee children in different languages in addition to papers by other children in their 2016/17 school newspaper, and, in line with the need to communicate with Arabic-speaking pupils, they published the Slovenian-English-Arabic Dictionary for School Use (Al Dolejmi 2017). At the Bojan Ilich Primary School in Maribor, teachers, pupils and their parents prepared for the arrival of three unaccompanied refugee children by learning about Afghanistan, reading novels about children's refugee experiences and getting support in the local community. At these schools, they understand that we need to consciously overcome our prejudices and that all the inhabitants of Slovenia need to develop intercultural competences (citizens and those who do not have citizenship (yet), natives and immigrants). There are also three suggested activities for teachers to help them respond to the growing intolerance and the intensification of prejudices against immigrant children (including both economic migrants and asylum seekers) in the educational process: 1) self-study (seeking information and training teachers about migration as a continuous process, prejudices, the conditions in the countries the children come from and Slovenians around the world), 2) teaching students (intercultural lessons, intercultural events, sometimes in cooperation with parents and local organizations, together with the migrants themselves), and 3) dissemination of activities so that information about the active engagement of teachers contributing to an intercultural society is spread,

exchanged and developed. Teachers need knowledge about how to overcome prejudices, how to include and how to teach in a truly diverse society so they can participate as active citizens in their work environment.

Teachers can gain a lot of knowledge about the development of intercultural education on their own or for example through the project Only (With) Others Are We – but we will achieve greater effectiveness if they receive support from the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport with full-time employed teachers who support the inclusion of migrant children, instead of temporary projects, and content included in academic programmes, multiperspective syllabuses and teaching materials (multiperspective curricula) in which concrete learning objectives and teaching content would encourage them to tackle such topics in the educational process.

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POVZETEK

RAZVOJ MEDKULTURNE VZGOJE IN IZOBRAŽEVANJA

Marijanca Ajša VIŽINTIN

Avtorica v prispevku navaja nekaj primerov dobrih praks iz slovenskih šol na področju razvoja medkulture vzgoje in izobraževanja ter predlaga dejavnosti za aktivno delovanje učiteljev: 1) samoučenje (o migracijah kot stalnem procesu, predsodkih, Slovencih po svetu, o razmerah v državah, iz katerih prihajajo otroci); 2) poučevanje učencev (medkulture ure, medkulture prireditve v sodelovanju s priseljenci), vključujoč v posamezne dejavnosti starše in lokalno skupnost; ter 3) diseminacijo dejavnosti. Tudi slednja dejavnost je pomembna, da se informacije o aktivnem delovanju učiteljev, ki prispevajo k medkulturni družbi, širijo, izmenjujejo in nadgrajujejo. Učitelji bi bili pri svojem delu uspešnejši in bolj strokovno usposobljeni, če bi vsebine o raznoliki družbi in poučevanju v njej vnesli tudi v učne načrte, v učno gradivo ter v študijske programe na pedagoških in filozofskih fakultetah.

IZSELJEVANJE IZ BENEŠKE SLOVENIJE V SEVERNO AMERIKO NA ZAČETKU 20. STOLETJA NA PODLAGI LADIJSKIH POTNIŠKIH SEZNAMOV

Aleksej KALC¹

COBISS 1.01

IZVLEČEK

Izseljevanje iz Beneške Slovenije v Severno Ameriko na začetku 20. stoletja na podlagi ladijskih potniških seznamov

Avtor izseljevanje iz Beneške Slovenije v ZDA v prvih desetletjih 20. stoletja analizira na podlagi seznamov ladijskih potnikov, ki so jih v vstopnih pristaniščih sestavljale ameriške oblasti. Razpravlja o dinamičnih in strukturnih vidikih ter pomenu preusmerjanja od kontinentalnih k atlantskim delovnim migracijam, ki so delno ohranjale začasno naravo in konzervativno ekonomsko vlogo, večinoma pa prehajale v trajno naselitev izseljencev v Ameriki. Opozarja na prelomni značaj pojava, s katerim se je začelo stalno izseljevanje iz beneškoslovenskih dolin in prikazuje logistična in socialna stališča ter vlogo družbenih mrež, ki so delovale kot oporni sistem izseljevanja in ohranjanja čezoceanskih vezi.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Beneška Slovenija, Furlanija, izseljevanje, Amerika, potniški seznam

ABSTRACT

Emigration from Venetian Slovenia to North America at the Beginning of the 20th Century on the Basis of Passenger Lists

The paper discusses emigration from Venetian Slovenia to the USA in the early decades of the 20th century on the basis of passenger lists compiled by the US immigration authorities. It illustrates the dynamic and structural characteristics of the movements and the typological change from seasonal continental to transatlantic labour migration. The overseas migration was also intended to be temporary and was part of the conservative socio-economic strategies of the rural communities. However, in many cases it led to the permanent settling of the emigrants in the USA. This marked the beginning of permanent emigration from Venetian Slovenia and introduced the process of depopulation of the region. The logistical aspects and the role of social networks in the migration and settlement process are discussed as well.

KEY WORDS: Venetian Slovenia, Friuli, emigration, America, passenger lists

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BENEŠKA SLOVENIJA V FURLANSKEM KONTEKSTU

V desetletjih pred prvo svetovno vojno so prebivalci Beneške Slovenije od pomladi do jeseni množično odhajali na sezonsko delo. Tovrstna delovna migracija je bila značilna za celotno Furlanijo, od koder se je iz leta v leto odpravljalo na pot v Avstrijo, na Ogrsko in v Nemčijo do 50.000 migrantov (Cosattini 1903: 16–24). Zaposlovali so se kot poklicni in navadni delavci v gradbeništvu, pri gradnji in vzdrževanju prometnih in drugih infrastrukturnih objektov, stanovanjskih hiš, v opekarnah in kmetijstvu. Na začetku 20. stoletja se je v Beneški Sloveniji nenadoma razmahnilo tudi izseljevanje v Severno Ameriko. V primerjavi s sezonsko se je ta migracija izraziteje pojavila samo še v nekaj drugih okrajih Furlanije in je zato pritegnila posebno pozornost sočasnih opazovalcev selitvenih gibanj in družbenoekonomskih razmer. Nanjo je leta 1909 opozorila anketa furlanskega inšpektorata za delo (Picotti 1909), kot posebnost Beneške Slovenije jo je geograf Francesco Musoni obravnaval v svojem znamenitem vodiču po Julijskih Predalпах (Musoni 1912: 133), medtem ko je duhovnik Luigi Ridolfi v knjigi o Furlanijah v Severni Ameriki omenil beneškoslovenske kolonije v Clevelandu, Detroitu, Čikagu in drugod po ZDA ter v Kanadi (Ridolfi 1921). To pa je tudi vse, kar je bilo takrat napisanega o tem pojavu, ki je prav poldrugo desetletje pred prvo svetovno vojno v Vzhodni in Jugovzhodni Evropi dosegel svoj vrhunec. Tudi po drugi svetovni vojni, ko so selitvena gibanja postala osrednja tema preučevanja zgodovinskih in aktualnih vprašanj Beneške Slovenije, je bil pojav čezoceanskega izseljevanja pred prvo svetovno vojno deležen v glavnem le omemb (Kalc, Kodrič 1992). Z minevanjem generacij in s pretrganjem sorodstvenih vezi je tako zgodovinski spomin na čezoceanski tok in beneškoslovensko prisotnost v Severni Ameriki skoraj popolnoma zbledel.

Namen pričujočega prispevka je zapolniti omenjeno vrzel in osvetliti potek, strukturne značilnosti in nekatera druga stališča množičnega izseljevanja iz Beneške Slovenije v Severno Ameriko v dobi t. i. »velikega izseljevanja«. Prikaz temelji na podatkih s 'seznamov ladijskih potnikov' (*Passenger Lists*), ki jih je v vstopnih pristaniščih sestavljala uprava za priseljevanje v ZDA. Tu so prišleke registrirali in preverili njihovo zdravstveno stanje ter druge pogoje, preden so jih pustili v državo ali pa jih zavrnilo in poslali v njihove domovine. Sezname ladijskih potnikov so kot zgodovinski vir za preučevanje čezoceanskih migracij uporabile že mnoge študije. Nekatere, nanašajoče se na Avstro-Ogrsko, so primerjalno z drugimi etničnimi skupinami zajele tudi izseljence s slovenskega ozemlja (Steidl 2009, 2014). Pričujoča razprava se prvič posveča samo slovenskim priseljencem. V nasprotju z drugimi, ki obravnavajo skupine ladijskih potnikov iz posameznih let, obravnava priseljevanje in priseljence z ožjega geografskega območja, in to tudi v diahroni perspektivi. S tem ponuja vpogled v nekatere značilnosti čezoceanskega izseljevanja v obravnavanem časovnem loku na Slovenskem, ki še niso bila deležna podrobnejših empiričnih preučevanj, in prispeva k razpravi o obravnavani problematiki.

»PASSENGER LISTS« KOT VIR ZA ZGODOVINO ČEZOCEANSKIH MIGRACIJ

Seznami ladijskih potnikov so največji korpus individualnih podatkov o priseljevanju v ZDA. Uvedli so jih leta 1819 z Zakonom o regulaciji pomorskega prevoza in jih nato prilagajali potrebam identifikacije, nadzоровanja in selekcije priseljencev v skladu s priseljsko in z varnostno politiko. Do devetdesetih let 19. stoletja so jih vodili v okviru carinske službe, od leta 1892 pa organi za priseljevanje in naturalizacijo. V svoji končni obliki, od leta 1907, sezname (s polnim imenom *List or Manifest of Alien Passengers for the United States Immigration Officer at Port of Arrival*) obsegajo 29 rubrik in še nekatere podatke. Na enem samem mestu torej prinašajo izredno število informacij tako o vsakem posamezniku kot tudi podrobno skupinsko sliko migrantov. Poleg imena pristanišča, imena ladje in ladjarske družbe, datuma odhoda iz Evrope in prihoda v Ameriko vsebujejo ime in priimek priseljencev, starost, stan, poklic, stopnjo izobrazbe, državljanstvo, rasno pripadnost, telesne karakteristike, podatke o zdravstvenem stanju, moralne in politične oznake, državo in kraj rojstva ter državo in kraj, v katerega je bil priseljenec namenjen. Nadalje vsebujejo državo in kraj zadnjega bivališča, kraj, čas in trajanje prejšnjih bivanj v ZDA, ime, priimek, sorodstveno razmerje in naslov priseljenčevega sorodnika v izvornem kraju, priimek in naslov kontaktne osebe v Ameriki, nazadnje pa še vsoto denarja, ki jo je prišlek prinašal s seboj (Kalc 1996: 52–55). Na voljo so torej tudi podatki, iz katerih je mogoče sklepati o oblikah in načinih izseljevanja, ter informacije o zvezah med ljudmi v starem kraju in novem svetu. Sosledje oseb v seznamih, njihov krajevni izvor in sorodstvena razmerja govorijo o načinih potovanja in fazah priseljevanja. Ladijski sezname potnikov dopuščajo več analitičnih pristopov in kvantitativno preučevanje tematskih vidikov, ki so drugače predmet mikroraziskav o individualnih primerih na podlagi kvalitativnih virov.

Raba tega serijskega vira, ki ga hranijo v nacionalnem arhivu v Washingtonu in New Yorku, ni ne tehnično ne metodološko preprosta. Podatke je treba izpisati, še prej pa je treba izbrati sezname, ki ustrezajo ciljem raziskave, glede na to, da je ob takem obsegu gradiva nujen vzorčni pristop. V osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja so nastale prve elektronske podatkovne baze s segmenti tega gradiva (Glazier 1984). Hkrati je stekla sistematična informatizacija seznamov, ki sta jo spodbudila zanimanje »iskalcev družinskih korenin« in tržna vrednost vsebovanih podatkov. Informatizirani podatki in elektronske kopije izvornih seznamov so danes na voljo na rodoslovnih spletnih straneh. Te so prilagojene za iskanje posameznih oseb na podlagi priimka in imena in ne dopuščajo izbora po kraju izvora ali drugih klasifikacijah. Nabor priseljencev iz Beneške Slovenije je bilo mogoče izvesti s pomočjo beneškoslovenskih priimkov, ki so lahko razpoznavni in tipični za to geografsko območje. Z vnašanjem priimkov v rodoslovni brskalnik Winfamily.com so bili evidentirani sezname, v katerih se pojavljajo potniki iz Beneške Slovenije. Z njimi je bila ustvarjena baza s podatki o 2.170 prihodih v ZDA od začetka stoletja do konca tridesetih let. Dejanskih priseljencev je bilo manj, ker jih je nekaj prišlo v Ameriko po večkrat. Podatkovna zbirka

tudi ne vsebuje vseh prihodov iz Beneške Slovenije, ker manj razširjeni priimki niso bili upoštevani, nekaterih primerov pa iskalnik ne izvrže zaradi napačnega prepisa v iskalni sistem rodoslovne elektronske baze. V analizo je bilo zajetih 2.031 prihodov, ker smo izločili državljane in priseljence s stalnim bivališčem v ZDA, ki so se vračali z obiskov v starem kraju. V bazi podatkov je po naši presoji zastopanih kakih 80 odstotkov prihodov iz Beneške Slovenije, ki dovolj reprezentativno odražajo dinamične in strukturne značilnosti čezoceanskega migracijskega pojava. Razen če ni posebej navedeno, se izrazi Beneški Slovenci, prekooceanski priseljenci oziroma izseljenci iz Beneške Slovenije nanašajo na primere, zabeležene v opisani podatkovni bazi.

IZ BENEČIJE V AMERIKO

Izseljevanje iz Benečije v Severno Ameriko se je pojavilo in nenadno razbohotilo med začetkom stoletja in prvo svetovno vojno (Grafikon 1). V tem obdobju je bilo na Ellis Islandu v New Yorku registriranih 80 odstotkov vseh primerov iz podatkovne baze. To so bila leta največjega priseljevanja iz Vzhodne in Jugovzhodne Evrope v Severno Ameriko, pri čemer so po obsegu izseljenskih kontingentov prednjačile Avstro-Ogrska, Rusija in Italija. V Ameriki so temu priseljevanju, da so ga razlikovali od 'stare migracije' (*old immigration*), ki je prihajala iz zahodnih in severnih evropskih držav, rekli 'nova migracija' (*new immigration*) Nova imigracija je začela naraščati v sedemdesetih letih in je v osemdesetih številčno že preseгла staro.

Grafikon 1: Število priseljencev iz Beneške Slovenije v ZDA 1901–1940

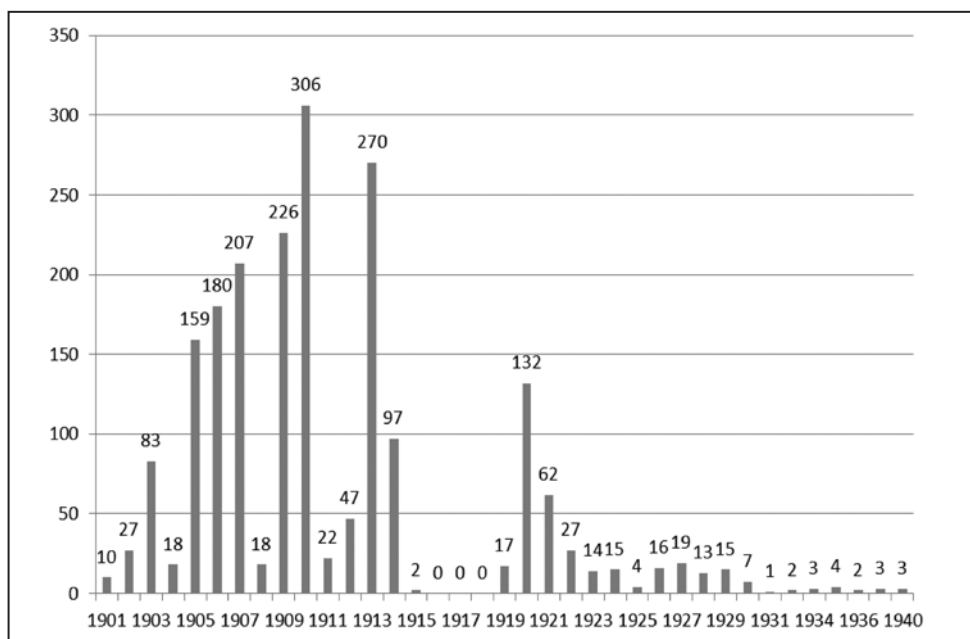


Tabela 1: Priseljenci iz Beneške Slovenije v ZDA po spolu in število vnovič priseljenih 1901–1940

Leto	Število				Odstotki			
	Moški	Ženske	Skupno	Vnovič priseljeni	Moški	Ženske	Skupno	Vnovič priseljeni
1901	10		10		0,6	0,0	0,5	
1902	23	4	27		1,3	1,4	1,3	
1903	81	2	83		4,6	0,7	4,1	
1904	18		18		1,0	0,0	0,9	
1905	156	3	159	9	9,0	1,0	7,8	5,7
1906	171	9	180	6	9,8	3,1	8,9	3,3
1907	197	10	207	5	11,3	3,5	10,2	2,4
1908	9	9	18	5	0,5	3,1	0,9	27,8
1909	215	11	226	67	12,3	3,8	11,1	29,6
1910	290	16	306	57	16,6	5,5	15,1	18,6
1911	19	3	22	5	1,1	1,0	1,1	22,7
1912	35	12	47	9	2,0	4,2	2,3	19,1
1913	251	19	270	71	14,4	6,6	13,3	26,3
1914	78	19	97	19	4,5	6,6	4,8	19,6
1915		2	2		0,0	0,7	0,1	
1916								
1917								
1918								
1919	8	9	17	5	0,5	3,1	0,8	29,4
1920	89	43	132	12	5,1	14,9	6,5	9,1
1921	37	25	62	6	2,1	8,7	3,1	9,7
1922	11	16	27	4	0,6	5,5	1,3	14,8
1923	10	4	14	2	0,6	1,4	0,7	14,3
1924	5	10	15	3	0,3	3,5	0,7	20,0
1925	1	3	4	1	0,1	1,0	0,2	25,0
1926	6	10	16	4	0,3	3,5	0,8	25,0
1927	8	11	19	3	0,5	3,8	0,9	15,8
1928	3	10	13	2	0,2	3,5	0,6	15,4
1929	2	13	15	1	0,1	4,5	0,7	6,7
1930	4	3	7		0,2	1,0	0,3	
1931		1	1			0,3	0,0	
1932		2	2	1	0,0	0,7	0,1	50,0
1933					0,0	0,0	0,0	
1934	2	1	3	2	0,1	0,3	0,1	66,7
1935	1	3	4		0,1	1,0	0,2	
1936		2	2	1	0,0	0,7	0,1	50,0
1937	1	2	3		0,1	0,7	0,1	
1938								
1939								
1940	1	2	3		0,1	0,7	0,1	
Skupno	1742	289	2031	300	100	100	100	

Časovni zamik, s katerim se je v Beneški Sloveniji čezoceansko izseljevanje začelo tudi v primerjavi s preostalim slovenskim izseljevanjem, ki se je v množični obliki odvijalo že v devetdesetih letih (Drnovšek 1999: 417), sovпада z regionalnimi tendencami italijanskega izseljevanja. Medtem ko je bilo z juga in iz srednjega dela polotoka to usmerjeno predvsem v Severno Ameriko, je v severnih italijanskih deželah čezoceanske tokove pritegnila predvsem Južna Amerika. V vseh deželah alpskega loka pa so prevladovale sezonske kontinentalne migracije. Šele ko je italijansko čezoceansko izseljevanje na začetku 20. stoletja doseglo višek, se je odhajanje v Severno Ameriko močneje razširilo tudi na severu polotoka. To se je ujemale s ciklusi ekonomskega razvoja v Italiji in ZDA in s tipološko preobrazbo severnoameriškega trga dela ter načinov proizvodnje, ki je zaposlovala vse več nižje kvalificiranih in nekvalificiranih delavcev (Sori 1979: 19–65). Pomembna spodbuda sta bila tudi višja vrednost ameriških mezd in ugodno razmerje med zaslužkom in stroški čezoceanskega potovanja (Keeling 2012: 7). Tudi v Beneški Sloveniji je bila sezonska migracija že tradicionalno vgrajena v gospodarski sistem in je v zadnjih desetletjih 19. stoletja postajala vse pomembnejši vir družinskega dohodka (Kalc, Kodrič 1992). Preusmeritev v Severno Ameriko je pomenila preklon s tradicionalnega na alternativni, atlantski trg dela.

Prvih deset priseljencev iz nabora podatkov je pripotovalo v ZDA 19. oktobra 1901 in nadaljevalo pot v industrijsko mesto Indianapolis v zvezni državi Indiani. Niso bili prvi priseljenci iz Benečije, saj sta jih v tem mestu čakala dva sovaščana. Podobno so se na nekatere že priseljene rojake, ki jih prek rodoslovnega iskalnika ni bilo mogoče najti, sklicevali prišleki iz let 1902 in 1903, namenjeni v Čikago in Cleveland. Ti predhodni priseljenci, ki v ZDA najbrž niso prišli veliko prej, so odprli pot verižnemu procesu, ki se je sprožil leta 1903, ko se je število prihodov že potrojilo. Priseljenci iz leta 1902 so bili iz vasi Srednje in Sveti Lenart, iz leta 1903 pa že iz vseh občin v Nadiških dolinah in nekateri iz Terske doline. Usmerili so se tudi v Pensilvanijo, Minnesoto, Washington in New York, nekaj pa jih je šlo v kanadsko državo British Columbij, točneje v rudarsko mesto Nanaimo. V tukajšnjih premogovnikih so nekateri delali že na začetku devetdesetih let 19. stoletja (Specogna 2009).

Izseljevanje je nihalo, saj so se ob prihodih v Ameriko vrstili tudi povratki v stari kraj. Priseljenskemu valu do leta 1903 je sledil mnogo večji med letoma 1905 in 1907, ko je iz Benečije prišlo 27 odstotkov vseh priseljencev. Nizko število prihodov leta 1908 je povezano s finančno in z gospodarsko krizo, zaradi katere je priseljevanje v ZDA močno upadlo in se je zaradi pomanjkanja dela povečal povratni tok v Evropo. S koncem krize je dotok ljudi iz Evrope znova narasel in v letih 1909 in 1910 je iz Beneške Slovenije dopotovalo v ZDA dobrih 26 odstotkov vseh evidentiranih priseljencev. Leta 1910 je pojav z več kot 300 prihodi dosegel višek. Spet je sledilo krizno obdobje, dokler ni leta 1913 priseljevanje ponovno oživel in se približalo obsegu iz leta 1910. Nihanja priseljenskega procesa so bila odvisna od kriz in ponovnih izboljšanj ekonomskih razmer. Skoraj četrtina (23,3 odstotka) priseljenih iz Benečije v letih 1909 in 1910 je bila povratnikov, ki so se vrnil v domovino med krizo, točneje,

58,2 odstotka leta 1908, 22,7 odstotka pa že leta 1907. Tudi med priseljenimi leta 1913 je bila več kot četrtina takih, ki so bili že prej v Ameriki, od katerih se je dobra polovica (54,9 odstotka) vrnila v letih 1911 in 1912.

Zaradi izbruha vojne je v drugi polovici leta 1914 izseljevanje upadlo, saj so vojskujoče države omejile svobodo gibanja in človeške vire podredile potrebam vojskovanja in vojne ekonomije. Zadnji priseljenci iz Benečije so prispeli v ZDA leta 1915, hkrati so se tega leta nekateri vrnili v Italijo. Sklepati smemo, da se je vrnilo malo vojaških obveznikov, saj je bil odziv italijanskih izseljencev iz čezoceanskih dežel na vojaško mobilizacijo v Italiji zelo skromen. Ne samo zato, ker jim ni bilo do vojskovanja. V Ameriki so ostajali zaradi ekonomskih potreb njihovih družin, zadrževale pa so jih tudi ugodne razmere v ameriški industriji in mezde, ki so naraščale s proizvodnjo za potrebe vojskujočih držav. Italija je bila v glavnem prizanesljiva do tovrstnega dezerterstva, da bi si izseljencev ne odtujila in s tem zmanjšala priliv njihovih denarnih pošilk v domovino. Leta 1919 je vprašanje rešila z amnestijo, na katero so mnogi izseljenci čakali že od samega začetka in so se zato lahko nemoteno vrnili v Italijo (Salveti 1987).

Po vojni so zaradi poslabšanja gospodarskih razmer iz Benečije spet začeli odhajati v ZDA (Pagani 1968, 394). Prvi so šli na pot povratniki, nato so jim sledili še drugi. Da bi lajšala brezposelnost, je italijanska država izseljevanje spodbujala in povratnikom nudila celo brezplačen prevoz v Ameriko (Salveti 1987: 291–293). Že v naslednjih letih pa so ZDA začele restriktivno priseljsko politiko in s sistemom kvot močno omejile možnosti vstopa italijanskih državljanov. S tem je bilo konec tudi množičnega izseljevanja iz Beneške Slovenije. V Ameriko so odhajali le še posamezniki, ki so jih k sebi na podlagi pravice o združevanju družin poklicali že ustaljeni priseljenci. Izseljencem iz Beneške Slovenije so se v povojnih letih ponudile dobre priložnosti zaposlovanja v Evropi, zlasti v Franciji, Italiji in Nemčiji. Nekateri so odšli v Argentino in sredi tridesetih let tudi v italijanske afriške kolonije (Kalc 2000: 197–198). Z začetkom avtarkične ekonomske politike leta 1927, s katero si je prizadevala zmanjšati gospodarsko odvisnost od drugih držav, je Italija tudi sama omejila izseljevanje in ga podredila meddržavnim dogovorom o napotitvi delovne sile.

SPOL, STAROST IN STAN

Furlanske in z njimi beneškoslovenske sezonske migracije so imele izredno poudarjen moški značaj. Leta 1900 je bilo na primer med 43.000 sezonci iz Furlanije samo pet odstotkov žensk (Cosattini 1903: 134). Ta razkorak je bil povezan z delitvijo spolnih vlog v družinski ekonomiji, ki je temeljila na kombinaciji agrarnih virov in dohodkov od sezonskega dela. Med odsotnostjo moških so domača kmečka opravila v veliki meri padla na ženska ramena. Sicer so se ženske ukvarjale še z drugimi dejavnostmi in mnoge so se odločile za druge oblike delovne migracije. Zlasti dekleta so pred poroko hodila služiti k mestnim družinam, med njimi tudi beneškoslovenske

»dikle«. Tudi v Severno Ameriko so se izseljevali pretežno moški, saj je bilo žensk v skupnem seštevku le 16 odstotkov, če upoštevamo tudi v drugo priseljene, pa 14 odstotkov. Starostna struktura se je nekoliko razlikovala od strukture sezonskih kontinentalnih migrantov. Sezonsko delo je bilo stalna sestavina družinskega dohodka, tako da so se moški podajali na pot, vse dokler so jim to dopuščala leta. Za ZDA pa so se odločale predvsem mlajše generacije, saj je bilo več kot 54 odstotkov priseljencev ob prvem prihodu v Ameriko starih od 20 do 30 let, dobrih 11 odstotkov pa od 15 do 20 let (Tabela 2). Večina priseljencev je bila samskih fantov, ki so najpogosteje šli na pot med 20. in 25. letom. Poročenih je bilo več tudi v višji starosti, ker so mnogi odhajali v Ameriko po večkrat (Tabela 3). Vnovič priseljeni so bili namreč v 70 odstotkih poročeni. Število samskih je bolj nihalo in izraziteje naraščalo v letih najmočnejšega izseljevanja.

Tabela 2: Priseljenci po spolu in starosti (v odstotkih)

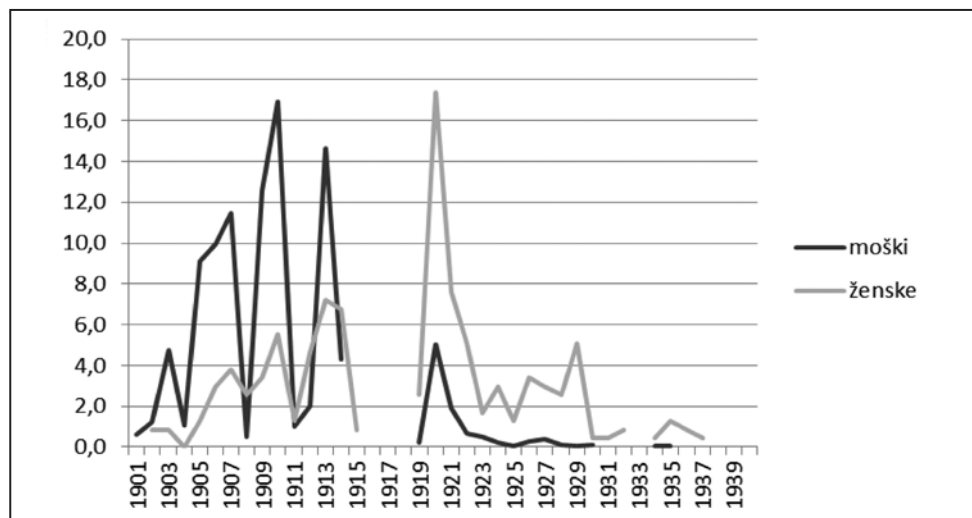
Starost	Moški		Ženske	
	Vsi	Brez vnovič priseljenih	Vse	Brez vnovič priseljenih
0–04	0,7	0,9	5,9	6,1
05–09	0,9	1,1	8,3	8,6
10–14	0,6	0,8	3,1	3,2
15–19	9,6	11,5	10,7	10,7
20–24	25,7	29,2	35,3	36,1
25–29	24,5	24,9	17,3	16,8
30–34	14,6	12,5	10,4	10,4
34–39	11,3	9,1	3,8	3,9
40–44	7,7	6,4	2,8	2,5
45–49	3,3	2,8	0,3	0,0
50–54	0,8	0,8	1,0	0,7
55–60	0,2	0,1	0,7	0,7
60–64	0,1	0,1	0,3	0,4
Skupno	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Število	1742	1451	289	280

Tabela 3: Priseljenci in priseljenke po stanu in starosti (v odstotkih, starost >15 let)

Leta	Samski*	Poročeni*	Samski	Poročeni	Samske	Poročene
15–19	18,3	0,2	16,6	0,1	23,2	4,0
20–24	42,2	8,0	40,8	6,0	56,3	30,6
25–29	26,2	24,1	26,9	22,3	17,0	25,0
30–34	7,3	22,9	8,1	24,7	2,7	21,8
34–39	3,8	19,5	4,5	21,4		8,9
40–44	1,3	16,1	1,8	16,5	0,9	5,6
45–49	0,8	6,8	1,1	6,5		0,8
50–54	0,1	2,0	0,1	1,8		2,4
55–60		0,2		0,4		0,8
60–64		0,2		0,1		
Skupno	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Samski/ poročeni	64,3	35,7	58,5	41,5	47,5	52,5

(* brez vnovič priseljenih)

Grafikon 2: Dinamika moškega in ženskega priseljevanja (v odstotkih, starost >15 let)



Žensko in moško priseljevanje sta sledila različnim dinamikam (Grafikon 2). Do vojne je iz Beneške Slovenije v Ameriko prišlo vsega samo 40 odstotkov priseljenk, medtem ko se je v istem obdobju zvrstilo skoraj 90 odstotkov vseh moških prihodov. Največ priseljenk je pripotovalo v začetku dvajsetih let. To je bilo povezano tako s težkimi gospodarskimi razmerami v Benečiji kot tudi s prelomnim zgodovinskim trenutkom, ko so se mnogi izseljenci odločili, da se ustalijo v ZDA in so k sebi poklicali družinske

člane. Več kot polovica priseljenk je bila poročenih, in so pripotovale z otroki, od dojenčkov do najstnikov. Njihov dotok je bil v letih precej enakomeren. Samske ženske so se podobno kot moški pojavljale v vrhuncih priseljenke dinamike, predvsem pa po vojni. Takrat jih je v treh letih prišla več kot polovica, samo leta 1920 dobrih 30 odstotkov. Priseljenke so se pridružile soprogom, zaročencem ali drugim članom družine in sorodstva, ki so se odločili za trajno ali daljše bivanje v Ameriki. V vseh primerih je žensko doseljavanje odražalo stabilizacijski trenutek v priseljenkem procesu. Na to opozarjajo maloštevilni primeri povratnic med priseljenkami, ki jih je bilo samo devet ali tri odstotke. Narava ženskega priseljevanja in stabilizacijska vloga priseljenk v migracijskih načrtih družin ter v procesu oblikovanja priseljenških skupnosti v Ameriki sta v ladijskih seznamih eksplicitno izpričani v rubriki, ki je spraševala, koliko časa se bo prišlek zadržal v ZDA. Velika večina priseljenk je izjavila, da prihaja za stalno.

Številčno nesorazmerje med spoloma in prevlada moških sta bila značilna bolj ali manj za vsa takratna transnacionalna migracijska gibanja (Donato, Gabaccia 2015). Spolni sestav čezoceanskih tokov se je razlikoval glede na tipologijo izseljevanja, razmere v izvorni in sprejemni deželi kot tudi po posameznih fazah selitvenega procesa. Med priseljenci iz Ogrske, na primer, je število žensk na prelomu stoletja hitro naraščalo in je pred prvo svetovno vojno celo presevalo število moških (Puskas 1991: 221). Med Čehi, avstrijskimi Nemci in avstrijskimi Judi je bilo leta 1910 žensk nad 40 odstotkov, med Ukrajinci in Poljaki nad 30 odstotkov (Steidl 2009: 215). Med izseljenci iz južnoslovanskih dežel je bil ženski delež najmanjši. Med slovenskimi in hrvaškimi priseljenci, ki jih je ameriška statistika vodila skupaj, je moška komponenta v prvih sedmih letih 20. stoletja prevladovala s kar 86 odstotki, šele v naslednjem obdobju do prve vojne se je število priseljenk povečalo na 25 odstotkov (Willcox 1929). Annemarie Steidl povezuje to značilnost s pretežno začasno naravo izseljevanja in s tem, da so moški delali v rudarskih revirjih in središčih težke industrije, kjer za ženske ni bilo primernih priložnosti zaposlovanja in prijaznih življenjskih razmer (Steidl 2009: 216).

V primeru Benečije je treba spolne značilnosti ameriškega toka brati tudi z upoštevanjem strukturnega položaja migracij v gospodarskem sistemu tega območja. Sezonska migracija je v kombinaciji s tradicionalno agrarno ekonomijo kljub nezadostnim krajevnim gospodarskim virom družinam in vaškim skupnostim omogočala ohranitev v izvornih krajih. Tudi čezoceansko izseljevanje je imelo v številnih primerih podobno vlogo, in izseljenci so odhajali z namenom, da se po nekaj letih vrnejo. Sčasoma pa jih je vse več ostajalo v Ameriki. Na to odločitev sta vplivala tudi vojna in povojni kvotni sistem, ki je povratnikom skrajno omejil možnosti ponovnega vstopa v ZDA. Ker se je izseljevanje začelo šele na začetku stoletja, v beneškoslovenskih priseljenških vrstah v ZDA niso dozorele družbene razmere za večje število žensk, ki bi se jim pridružile. Po prvi svetovni vojni so se ženske migracije v Benečiji okrepile, pretežno pa so sledile samostojnim potem in se zaposlovale na trgu hišnega dela v italijanskih mestih. Tako je bilo ob ljudskem štetju leta 1931 80 odstotkov začasno odsotnih žensk iz občine Sovodnje v drugih italijanskih občinah, kjer so mnoge

ostale in si ustvarile družine (Meneghel, Battigelli 1977: 141). Učinki prehajanja od sezonskega tipa k trajnejšim oblikam izseljevanja so se po prvi vojni začeli odražati tudi v razvoju prebivalstva Beneške Slovenije, ki je po 50 letih neprestane rasti začelo številčno upadati (Clavora, Ruttar 1990: 60). To tendenco, značilno za celotno hribovito Furlanijo (Gortani, Pittoni 1938), je v Benečijo prineslo izseljevanje v Ameriko.

IZVOR, CILJI IN POT V AMERIKO

Beneškoslovensko izseljevanje v Severno Ameriko je imelo svoj epicenter v Nadiških dolinah (87 odstotkov primerov). Delno je zajelo Tersko dolino in nekatera sosednja območja, manjše število izseljencev pa je razpršeno izviralo še od drugod v Furlaniji. Število odhodov iz Nadiških občin je bilo enako desetim odstotkom prebivalstva, naštetega ob popisu leta 1911. Prednjačile so občine Sveti Lenart, Sovodnje in Špeter, z nekoliko manjšim številom so sledile občine Srednje, Grmek in nato še Podbonesec in Dreka. Tudi v primerjavi s številom prebivalstva je pojav najbolj izstopal v občinah Sveti Lenart in zlasti v Sovodnjah, močan pa je bil tudi v občinah Grmek, Srednje in Dreka. V letih pred prvo svetovno vojno so te občine sodile med najbolj izrazita območja izseljevanja v Furlaniji, saj je bilo leta 1909 število čezoceanskih in kontinentalnih izseljencev v Svetem Lenartu enako 18 odstotkom prebivalstva, v občini Grmek več kot 31 odstotkom, povprečje špeterskega okraja, ki je obsegal vse omenjene občine, pa je bilo 12 odstotkov (Picotti 1909). Izseljevanje je bilo najbolj intenzivno v višjih predelih, kjer se je agrarno gospodarstvo soočalo z najtežjimi razmerami.

Tabela 4: Izseljenci po občinah izvora in v razmerju s številom prebivalstva 1911

Občina	Število	Odstotek	Odstotkov preb.
Dreka	151	7,6	10,6
Grmek	212	10,6	12,6
Podbonesec	180	9,0	4,5
Sveti Lenart	363	18,2	13,8
Sovodnje	315	15,8	15,5
Srednje	232	11,6	11,6
Špeter	297	14,9	8,4
Nadiške doline	1750	87,6	10,1
Bardo	41	2,1	1,4
Čenta	39	2,0	1,4
Praprotno	63	3,2	2,8
Tavorjana	34	1,7	1,0
Terske doline	177	8,9	1,5
Drugo	70	3,5	-

Čezoceanski izseljenci so se že v prvem valu usmerili proti različnim ciljem v ZDA. Njihove poti so se z leti tako razvejale, da so držale v kar 21 zveznih držav. Glavni (81 odstotkov) je bila namenjena v zvezne države Illinois, Pensilvanija, Indiana in Ohio, kjer se je osredotočila na nekatera specifična območja. V zvezni državi Illinois (43 odstotkov) je bil skoraj izključni cilj Čikago, ki je v ZDA veljal za nekakšno beneškoslovensko prestolnico, kjer so priseljenci ustanovili svoje društvo. V Pensilvaniji, kamor je odšlo 18 odstotkov priseljencev, so izstopali premogovniški in industrijski kraji okrog Pittsburga, predvsem mesteci Indiana in Iselin. V Indiani (14 odstotkov) se je večina priseljevala v Indianapolis, v državi Ohio (7 odstotkov) pa v železarski Cleveland. Med drugimi so omembe vredna mesteca Chisholm in Hibbing v rudarskem okrožju Iron range v Minnesoti, New York, Seattle in Spokane v državi Washington, v Kanadi pa že omenjeni Nanaimo na območju Vancouvra. Glavni priseljenjski kraji v ZDA so bili tudi cilji priseljevanja iz Slovenije, predvsem Čikago, rudarski centri okrog Pittsburga in v Minnesoti ter Cleveland, največje »slovensko« mesto v Ameriki.

Italijanski izseljenci so lahko v Ameriko z italijanskimi ladjami in v spremstvu državnih inšpektorjev, ki so skrbeli za spoštovanje pravnega reda na ladjah, odpotovali iz Genove, Neaplja in drugih domačih pristanišč. Iz severnoevropskih pristanišč so večinoma odhajali izseljenci iz Srednje in Vzhodne Evrope. Med temi so bili tudi beneški izseljenci, ki so v glavnem uporabljali proge iz francoskega Le Havra v Zgornji Normandiji. Tu se je do prve svetovne vojne vkrvalo 77,8 odstotka, skupno pa 64,5 odstotka vseh izseljencev in Benečije, ki so tja skozi švicarski Buchs in Pariz pripotovali z železnico. Za tem je stala agenturna zveza, ki je izseljencem nudila potrebno zaslonbo. Po vojni se ta kanal ni več obnovil in tok se je preusmeril proti italijanskim pristaniščem, zlasti Genovi. Od tod je odpotovalo 16,8 odstotka predvojnih izseljencev, po vojni pa 65,7 odstotka. Preostali so pred vojno večinoma potovali skozi Cherbourg v Spodnji Normandiji, Neapelj in angleški Southampton. Tržaške proge za ZDA, ki so jih vzpostavili leta 1904, so začeli uporabljati šele po prvi svetovni vojni, ko se je čezoceanski potniški promet na novo organiziral in so prišla bolj do izraza nacionalna pristanišča.

POKLICNI PROFIL IZSELJENCEV, SOCIALNE MREŽE IN USTALITEV V ZDA

Med beneškoslovenskim priseljevanjem so bile ZDA že med najbolj industrializiranimi državami. Rast njihovega gospodarstva je bila odvisna od množičnega priliva delovnih rok. Vzporedno z gospodarsko ekspanzijo sta potekali pospešena urbanizacija in modernizacija proizvodnih procesov. 'Novi priseljenci' (*new immigrants*) so večinoma izvirali iz kmečkega sveta in so prihajali prodajat svojo delovno silo na trg, ki je zaradi tehničnega in organizacijskega razvoja ter delitve dela ob kvalificiranih poklicih vse bolj vključeval tudi množico delovne sile brez posebnih strokovnih znanj. To je veljalo predvsem v določenih sektorjih, kot so energetske, gradbeno-infrastrukturne in prehranbeno-predelovalne, ki se jih je ameriško delavstvo zaradi

težkih delovnih razmer in nižjih mezd izogibalo. Pri beneškoslovenskih izseljencih je jasno izražena poklicna struktura, značilna za »novo imigracijo« (Tabela 5). Podatki so strnjeni v nekaj širših klasifikacijah in se nanašajo na priseljence, ob prvem vstopu v ZDA starejše od 15 let.

Tabela 5: Poklicni sestav priseljencev in priseljenk

	Moški		Ženske	
	Število	Odstotek	Število	Odstotek
Poklicno opredeljeni	146	10,5		
<i>Gradbeni delavci</i>	84	6,0		
<i>Rudarji</i>	20	1,4		
<i>Drugi</i>	42	2,6		
Kmetje in agrarni delavci	223	16,0	36	16,2
Splošni delavci	1.028	73,6		
Gospodinje			132	59,5
Šivilje			14	6,3
Služkinje			40	18,0
Skupno	1.397	100,0	222	100,0

Samo deset odstotkov priseljencev je bilo poklicno opredeljenih, največ v gradbenem sektorju. Zidarstvo je bil tradicionalen in najbolj razširjen poklic v Beneški Sloveniji. V potniških seznamih so zidarje registrirali z izrazom *mason*, drugič priseljene tudi z *bricklayer*, kar kaže na specializacijo v ameriškem načinu gradnje z neometano opeko. Zidarji, tesarji in kamnoseki so spadali med kvalificirane delavce in so med beneškoslovenskimi izseljenci veljali za nekakšno delovno elito. Druga specializirana skupina so bili rudarji, drugi priseljenci s poklicem pa so bili mizarji, krojači, nekaj pekov in čevljarjev, kak mehanik in nekaj trgovcev. Preostalih 90 odstotkov moških priseljencev ni imelo poklicnih kvalifikacij in so sodili med najpreprostejši proletariat. Izjavljali so se za 'kmečke posestnike' (*farmer*, 6,4 odstotka), predvsem pa za 'agrarne in splošne mezdne delavce' (*farm laborer, laborer, worker, dailyman*). Poročene priseljenke so označene kot gospodinje in le izjemoma s poklicem ali z dejavnostjo. Pogosteje so gospodarske vloge navedene pri neporočenih ženskah, med katerimi so bile poleg kmetic in agrarnih dninark šivilje in predvsem služkinje.

Benečani, ki so se odpravljali v Ameriko, so imeli bogate selitvene izkušnje. Navajeni so bili potovanj in večši organizacije, povezane z delovno mobilnostjo. Življenje družin in vaških skupnosti v Beneški Sloveniji je bilo usklajeno s ponavljajočim odhajanjem na sezonsko delo. Vključevanje na atlantski delovni trg pa je

bil v marsičem drugačen proces, ki je terjal na novo zamišljene selitvene načrte, prilagajanje namenom in drugačnim delovnim razmeram kot tudi reorganizacijo dela ter življenja družin. Sezonska migracija se je ponavljala v točno določenih mesecih, sledila je utečenim potem, ki so izseljence vodile v znane kraje. Temeljila je na dogovorih ali vnaprej sklenjenih pogodbah z delodajalci (Picotti 1909), potekala je prosto v skladu z delovno zakonodajo in večinoma brez specifičnih regulativov. Amerika je bila na drugi strani oceana, tja se je odhajalo za dalj časa in brez zanesljivega datuma vrnitve. Pot je bila neprimerno dražja, vstop v državo ni bil številčno omejen, a prišleka niso sprejeli, če ni izkazoval predpisanih pogojev. Na trgu dela so veljala drugačna pravila, predvsem prepoved pogodbenih zavez delavcev z delodajalci pred prihodom v Ameriko, pravilo, ki so ga na zahtevo sindikatov sprejeli že v osemdesetih letih. Priseljenci si zato niso mogli vnaprej priskrbeti dela. Kljub utečeni organizaciji in posebni zakonski zaščiti so se med potovanjem lahko zapletli v vrsto pasti raznih dobičkarjev. Težavnejša je bila tudi vrnitev v primeru brezposelnosti in pomanjkanja sredstev za potovanje. Zaradi vsega tega so pri poteku in usmerjanju priseljevanja igrala pomembno vlogo poznanstva in družbene mreže. Odhodi so bili pogosto dogovorjeni s predhodniki, ki so iz Amerike poročali o delovnih razmerah, pomagali novim prišlekom do zaposlitve in stanovanja ter še kako drugače lajšali njihovo vključevanje v priseljsko okolje, včasih pa jim tudi posodili denar za čezoceansko pot. Usklajevanje je potekalo preko korespondence, ki je bila najpomembnejši vir informacij in s tem dejavnik uravnavanja priseljevanja. Osebni kontakti, ki so jih prišleki navedli ob vstopu v državo, so pred ameriškimi oblastmi veljali tudi kot jamstvo, da bodo pri prvih korakih v ZDA deležni pomoči (Steidl 2007: 87).

Tabela 6: Razmerje priseljencev s kontaktno osebo v Ameriki (starost >15 let)

Kontaktna oseba	Moški		Ženske	
	Število	Odstotki	Število	Odstotki
Bratranec/sestrična	427	26,2	16	7,0
Brat/sestra	277	17,0	43	18,9
Svak/svakinja	151	9,3	18	7,9
Stric/teta	55	3,4	10	4,4
Oče	26	1,6	13	5,7
Mož			95	41,7
Drugi sorodnik	30	1,8	4	1,8
Prijatelj/prijateljica	621	38,1	8	3,5
Zaročenec			21	9,2
Nihče	45	2,8		
Skupno	1.632	100,0	228	100,0

Rubrika, ki je v potniških seznamih spraševala, h komu je priseljenc namenjen in o njegovem razmerju z navedeno osebo, odpira vpogled v mrežo družbenih vezi, ki je nudila oporo verižnemu procesu priseljevanja. Skoraj vsi priseljenci iz Benečije

so razpolagali z zaslombo v Ameriki (Tabela 6). Mreža kontaktov se ni omejevala na družinsko in sorodstveno sfero in se je razlikovala glede na spol. 38 odstotkov priseljencev se je oprlo na prijatelje, preostali pa na sorodnike, zlasti bratrance in brate. Pri priseljenkah je bil kontakt skoraj izključno znotraj sorodstva. Zaradi maloštevilčnosti žensk je bila manjša tudi njihova posredniška vloga do trga dela.

Struktura oporne mreže je, kot kažejo primerjave med priseljskimi skupinami iz raznih evropskih območij, izraz tipologije oziroma razvojne stopnje procesa priseljevanja. Skupnosti z dolgo tradicijo priseljevanja, večjim deležem celih družin in bolj uravnoteženo sorodstveno strukturo izkazujejo v oporni mreži v obravnavanem obdobju več članov ožjega in širšega sorodstva. Pri skupinah, ki so se začele priseljevati pozneje in še niso imele večgeneracijskih korenin v ZDA, so prevladovale vezi izvirne družine in bližjega sorodstva. Struktura vezi se je razlikovala tudi glede na narodnost in veroizpoved ter s tem povezanimi kulturnimi specifikami, družinsko tipologijo ter razmerji med sorodstvom (Steidl 2007: 89). Beneškoslovenski priseljenci odstopajo od nakazane sheme zaradi primarne vloge bratrancev, ki so pri drugih sočasnih priseljskih skupinah šele na tretjem mestu po svakih in bratih (prav tam: 90), in predvsem prijateljev. To lahko pripišemo dejstvu, da je bilo priseljevanje v začetni fazi, in mehanizmom dostopa do delovnega trga. Pot do zaposlovanja ni vodila nujno prek naveze s sorodniki, zlasti če so priseljenci prihajali z namenom, da se po določenem času vrnejo domov. V teh primerih so bile pomembnejše vezi v krajih zaposlovanja. Pri priseljenkah se kažeta dve težnji. Poročene in zaročene so sledile svojim soprogom in zaročencem, druge so se naslanjale na člane izvirne družine (brate, sestre, očete), svake in veliko manj kot moški na bratrance. S tem se spet kaže, kako je bilo žensko priseljevanje povezano bolj z združevanjem družin, s stabilizacijo priseljencev v Ameriki in z navezanostjo ženske mobilnosti na zaščitene družinske ali sorodstvene okvire.

Tabela 7: Razmerje priseljencev s kontaktno osebo po obdobjih (v odstotkih, starost >15 let)

Kontaktna oseba	Moški			Ženske		
	-1910	1911-15	1919-	-1910	1911-15	1919-
Bratranec/sestrična	27,4	23,2	24,3	10,2	10,6	4,5
Brat/sestra	14,9	17,3	31,6	20,4	25,5	15,9
Svak/svakinja	8,6	9,8	12,5	10,2	12,8	5,3
Stric/teta	3,1	2,5	7,2	6,1	2,1	4,5
Oče	0,9	1,7	6,6	2,0	4,3	7,6
Mož				32,7	36,2	47,0
Drug sorodnik	1,4	1,1	6,6		2,1	2,3
Prijatelj	40,6	41,6	11,2	12,2		1,5
Zaročenec				6,1	6,4	11,4
Nihče	3,1	2,8				
Skupno	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Izseljevanje iz Beneške Slovenije v Ameriko je povezovalo izseljence s celotnega območja v vzajemen sistem družinskih in širših relacij. Te so bile lahko tesne ali ohlapne, vsekakor pa funkcionalne pri vključevanju v delovno in življenjsko okolje. Družbeni *network* odraža v časovni perspektivi še dodatne vidike povezovanja in samega migracijskega procesa (Tabela 7). Dokler je bil proces v polnem teku, so v oporni družbeni mreži igrali pomembno vlogo prijatelji in vsi v neposrednem stiku z možnostmi zaposlitve. Ko se je po vojni narava izseljevanja spremenila, je v poštev prišlo večinoma samo še pridruževanje sorodnikom. Medtem se je struktura družin in sorodstva v Ameriki razširila in okreplila. Oporna vloga bratrancev je že pred vojno upadla, medtem ko je naraščala vloga članov nuklearne družine (bratov, očetov) in najbližjih sorodstvenih vej. Pri ženskah sta razlika med predvojno in povojno fazo ter učinek trajnega naseljevanja v ZDA še bolj poudarjena: po vojni se je med navedenimi kontakti znatno povečal delež soprogov, zaročencev in očetov, upadel pa delež bratrancev, bratov, stricov in svakov. Skratka, povečal se je proces združevanja družin.

Še nekaj vprašanj. Prvič, koliko izseljencev iz Benečije se je iz Amerike vrnilo v rodne doline in koliko jih je tam ostalo? O tem lahko indikativno sklepamo s pomočjo registrov prebivalstva občine Sovodnje, v katerih so zabeleženi stalno odsotni občani. Med temi jih je na začetku tridesetih let v Severni Ameriki živelo 156 (Kalc 2000: 199). To število odgovarja 60 odstotkom izseljencev iz te občine, evidentiranih na ladijskih seznamih potnikov. Povratništvo naj bi se torej v grobem gibalo okrog 40 odstotkov, kar se je skladalo s splošnimi težnjami vračanja v letih pred prvo svetovno vojno. Sklepati smemo, da je podobno veljalo tudi za druge občine. Drugo vprašanje se nanaša na soprisotnost tradicionalne sezonske oziroma kontinentalne migracije in čezoceanskega izseljevanja. Študije kažejo, da so prve zmanjševale verjetnost razvoja drugih in da so se druge pojavljale bolj na območjih, kjer niso bile utečene migracije krajšega trajanja (Steidl idr. 2007: 86). To je nedvomno veljalo za Furlanijo, ne pa za Beneško Slovenijo. Kakšno je bilo potemtakem v Benečiji razmerje med tradicionalnim sezonskim in čezoceanskim izseljevanjem? V kolikšni meri sta se obliki izključevali oziroma dopolnjevali v prizadevanju za zagotavljanje obstoja v izvornem kraju? Katere so bile diskriminante te kombinacije oziroma diferenciacije? To vprašanje se tiče tako vaških skupnosti, ki so se včasih občutno razlikovale tako po stopnji in vrsti selitev kot vrsti družin. Nekaj elementov k tej razpravi ponujajo podatki o položaju izseljencev iz občine Sovodnje v njihovih izvornih družinah. Med stalnimi izseljenci so s 40 odstotki prednjačili bratje družinskega poglavarja, ki so bili skoraj izključno samski. 26 odstotkov je bilo sinov in osem odstotkov hčera, ki so se delno še kot otroci izselili s starši, delno pa že kot odrasli samski ali poročeni; 24 odstotkov je bilo družinskih poglavarjev, osem odstotkov soproga, medtem ko je bilo sester le štiri odstotke, svakov pa tri (Kalc 2000: 199). Izseljenska erozija je torej v obravnavanem obdobju prizadela predvsem tiste člene skupnosti in družin, ki so bili v tradicionalnem, na kmetijski podlagi slonečem družbenoekonomskem kontekstu v podrejenem položaju. Imeli so slabša izhodišča za dosego gospodarske samostojnosti in družinske reprodukcije. To pomeni tudi več motivacij za dolgoročnejšo

zapustitev domačega kraja in iskanje priložnosti za realizacijo življenjskih načrtov v drugih okoljih. Ker se čezoceanske vezi niso pretrgale in so pogosto vsaj še določen čas prispevale ekonomske vire izvornim krajem, to ni nujno pomenilo definitivnega odklopa iz sistema. Vključitev v atlantski tok delovnih migracij pa je bila nedvomno prelomno dejanje v srečevanju Beneške Slovenije z izzivi modernizacije.

SKLEP

Glede na uporabljeni dokumentarni vir se je izseljevanje iz Beneške Slovenije v ZDA pokazalo v svojih dinamičnih in strukturnih značilnostih. Rekonstrukcija diahrona podatkovne vrste je omogočila opazovanje pojava vzdolž njegovega celotnega poteka v povezavi s širšim kontekstom migracijskega dogajanja in družbenoekonomskega položaja Beneške Slovenije v času pred prvo svetovno vojno in takoj po njej. Do izraza so prišli elementi, ki opozarjajo na kompleksnost migracijskega procesa, in statistično težje zaznavni dejavniki, kot so družbene mreže, ki so delovale kot opora priseljevanju in ohranjanju čezoceanskih vezi. Pokazala pa so se predvsem vprašanja o relacijah med različnimi migracijskimi tipologijami in izbirami. Preklop iz tradicionalnega sezonskega in kontinentalnega migracijskega sistema na atlantski migracijski sistem je spremenil odnos do družbenoekonomske tradicije. Ta je temeljila na izpiljenem usklajevanju krajevnih ter zunanjih virov dohodka, ki so jih zagotavljale delovne migracije. ZDA so bile po eni strani alternativna varianta za premagovanje neravnovesja med potrebami vse številčnejšega prebivalstva in njegovimi krajevnimi gospodarskimi viri. Za tiste, ki so se ustalili na ameriških tleh, pa je čezoceansko izseljevanje pomenilo rez s konservativno logiko in sprijaznjenim vztrajanjem ohranjanja gospodarske in socialne tradicije. To je bila množična reakcija na vse večjo marginalizacijo hribovitih območij in znanilka dramatičnega depopulacijskega procesa, ki je zajel Beneško Slovenijo po drugi svetovni vojni.

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SUMMARY

EMIGRATION FROM VENETIAN SLOVENIA TO NORTH AMERICA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY ON THE BASIS OF PASSENGER LISTS

Aleksej KALC

The paper examines the little-known phenomenon of emigration from Venetian Slovenia to the USA from the beginning of the 20th century to the 1930s. The analysis is based on passenger lists compiled by the US immigration authorities. The dynamic and structural characteristics of the overseas migration are presented in comparison with the seasonal labour migrations prevailing in Friuli and in Venetian Slovenia at the time. The overseas migrants were predominantly men heading to mining and industrial centres. Apart from ten percent of skilled workers, mainly masons, the emigrants were unskilled labourers. They commuted from the European seasonal labour market to the longer-lasting and often repeated labour periods in the USA. Most of them, however, settled in America permanently, which coincided with the immigration of women (16%), especially wives and other members of the nuclear family, whose arrivals were concentrated in the years after WWI. The emigration to the USA was a turning point in Venetian Slovenia's migration history, as it marked a deviation from the seasonal tradition and the conservative socio-economic strategies of the rural communities. This was the first significant permanent emigration from the area and resulted in a loss of residents in the post-WWI period.

MED POSLOM IN DOMOLJUBJEM: ETNIČNA EKONOMIJA IN SLOVENCİ ZUNAJ REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE

Zvone ŽIGON¹

COBISS 1.02

IZVLEČEK

Med poslom in domoljubjem: Etnična ekonomija in Slovenci zunaj Republike Slovenije
Avtor v članku najprej opiše različne pojavne oblike in značilnosti etničnih ekonomij, nato pa se osredotoči na slovenske skupnosti v zamejstvu in po svetu. Ugotavlja, da so posamezne etnične ekonomije odvisne od socialne in izobrazbene strukture pripadnikov etničnih skupnosti in od zgodovinskega in politično-geografskega konteksta njihovega nastanka. Na podlagi izkušenj sklene, da slovensko ekonomijo in politiko čakajo še številni koraki v smeri spodbujanja razvoja in »implementacije« slovenskega modela etnične ekonomije. Opaža spremembe pojma »slovenski izseljenec«, saj ta danes pomeni nekaj drugega kot v preteklosti, to so namreč lahko študent, ki v tujini pridobiva izkušnje, strokovnjak ali pogumni podjetnik.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: slovensko izseljenstvo, etnična ekonomija, etnična identiteta

ABSTRACT

Between Business and Patriotism: The Ethnic Economy and Slovenians Outside Slovenia

The article describes various forms and characteristics of ethnic economies, and then focuses on the Slovenian expatriate ethnic community. The author finds that individual ethnic economies have their own specifics depending on their social and educational structure and their historical and political-geographic context. There is a long list of things to do in the Slovenian economy and politics in order to promote the development and implementation of the Slovenian ethnic economy model. However, the term "Slovenian emigrant" is gaining different connotations, as nowadays it can refer to students gaining experience abroad, professionals and daring entrepreneurs.

KEY WORDS: Slovenian emigration, ethnic economy, ethnic identity

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UVOD

Vprašanje »etnične ekonomije« (v njenem najširšem pomenu) se tako v politiki kot znanosti najpogosteje pojavlja med ekonomskimi in socialnimi krizami v izvornih državah. Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije ZRC SAZU v projektu »Etnična ekonomija – izziv ali ovira za gospodarstvo v Sloveniji in EU« izraz »etnična ekonomija« (2012) aplicira predvsem na slovensko okolje. Govori o:

ustanavljanju podjetij delovnih migrantov, ki iščejo niše v obstoječi gospodarski situaciji in so velikokrat povezani z njihovimi socialnimi mrežami ter z njihovimi kulturnimi vzorci, ki so jih prinesli s seboj in se zdaj mešajo s kulturo družbe, kamor so se preselili. Pri prehodu iz družbe v družbo in pri srečevanju z drugačnimi kulturami morajo delovni migranti pokazati veliko mero kreativnosti in inovativnosti, da ostanejo, preživijo, se uveljavijo in tam tudi zaživijo. Poleg tega je pomembno vprašanje, kako tovrstno gospodarstvo vpliva na že obstoječe gospodarske panoge v Republiki Sloveniji. Gre za izziv ali oviro? Temeljno raziskovalno vprašanje je torej, kako migranti z etničnim podjetništvom prispevajo k nastanku in razvoju inovativnih struktur v slovenskem okolju in kako doprinašajo k razvoju in mednarodnemu povezovanju slovenskega gospodarstva.¹

Enake značilnosti lahko pripišemo tudi slovenskim in vsem drugim migrantom kjerkoli v svetu. Tudi oni so se medsebojno povezovali, v nove kulture prinašali svoje kulturne vzorce in delovne navade ter z njimi – skupaj z drugimi migranti – sooblikovali ali preoblikovali večinsko kulturo. Čeprav so prevladujoče teme o slovenskem izseljenstvu v strokovni literaturi pogosto povezane s socialo, kulturo, šolstvom (ohranjanje jezika) in z umetnostjo, pa se številni raziskovalci v svojih delih dotaknejo tudi ekonomskih oziroma socialnoekonomskih tem. V zadnjem obdobju se etnični ekonomiji na primeru slovenske skupnosti posveča vedno več avtorjev, pri čemer naj – na primeru slovenske skupnosti v Kanadi – v uvodu omenim Mitjo Durnika (2012; 2017).

Besedilo se teme loteva še iz nekega drugega, pravzaprav nasprotnega zornega kota. Etnično ekonomijo oziroma poslovanje na temelju etnične pripadnosti namreč lahko razumemo kot eno od oblik ohranjanja izvirne, primarne etnične identitete. V primeru slovenske diaspore nas torej zanimajo medsebojna vzročnost, povezanost pa tudi oblike poslovnega povezovanja na temelju etnične pripadnosti, oziroma vsebinska kulturnoantropološka zasnova paradigme »etnične ekonomije«. V nadaljevanju se v manjši meri dotaknem tudi primerov, povezanih s slovensko narodno skupnostjo v sosednjih državah. »Slovenski model« se je v zgodovini vsekakor spreminjal, kar se

1 Iz prijave projekta ISIM ZRC SAZU, spletna stran ISIM. Na to vprašanje v članku odgovarjam z opisom različnih pojavnih oblik slovenske etnične ekonomije.

mu s hitrimi spremembami v oblikah komunikacije ter v socialni in izobrazbeni strukturi slovenskega izseljenstva (pospešeno!) dogaja tudi danes.

Članek v veliki meri temelji na metodologiji »opazovanja z udeležbo«, saj sem avtor – v vlogi strokovnega delavca na Uradu za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu – skoraj vsakodnevno ali vsaj tedensko v stiku s slovenskimi poslovnimi subjekti zunaj meja Republike Slovenije in jim pomagam definirati cilje in načine njihovega uresničevanja, jih seznanjam z možnostmi finančne pomoči za njihovo organizirano delovanje, jih povezujem z gospodarskimi subjekti v Sloveniji, organiziram poslovne konference z osrednjim ciljem njihovega povezovanja z gospodarstvom v matični domovini idr. Ob pomanjkanju širšega nabora literature in virov deskriptivnih podatkov² je moja vpetost v procese ne le spremljanja, ampak celo sooblikovanja slovenskega modela etnične ekonomije ključnega pomena za verodostojnost besedila.

Članek je obenem lahko tudi nastavek za širšo in bolj poglobljeno analizo pričujoče teme. Besedilo se, predvsem zaradi mojih v zadnjih dveh letih močno okrepljenih stikov, nekoliko podrobneje dotika zgolj primera kanadske slovenske gospodarske skupnosti; vendar pa ne gre za sistematični prikaz njenega delovanja (več o njej Durnik 2017). Prav vsak od v nadaljevanju na kratko opisanih primerov (slovenske »etnične ekonomije« zunaj meja RS) je namreč lahko predmet samostojne strokovno-znanstvene obdelave in orisa.

KAJ JE ZA KOGA »ETNIČNA EKONOMIJA«

Že sama definicija »etnične ekonomije« je izrazito kompleksna in težko ulovljiva. Lahko bi ostali pri eni najbolj temeljnih razlag avtorjev Lighta in Golda (2000), da je etnična ekonomija sestavljena iz skupnosti samozaposlenega oziroma delodajalca, njegovega zaposlenega ter drugih zaposlenih, ki pripadajo isti etnični skupnosti (Durnik, Gombač 2012: 123). Nekateri drugi raziskovalci (Reitz 1980) poudarjajo pomen jezika, ki se uporablja na delovnem mestu, in pa veliko koncentracijo pripadnikov iste etnične skupnosti v določeni industrijski panogi (Zhou, Logan 1989) ali na določenem ozemlju (Sanders, Nee 1987), veliko je tudi razlikovanj med etničnimi podjetniki, poslovneži, inovatorji itd. (Fong, Ooka 2002: 127).

Ob vsej raznolikosti poskusov definiranja lahko kot skupni imenovalac »etnične ekonomije« pod črto zapišemo zgolj pripadnost isti etnični skupini v povezavi z ekonomskimi procesi v različnih družbenopolitičnih in socialnoekonomskih kontekstih. Kljub temu naj se še nekoliko pomudim pri orisih različnih modelov etničnih ekonomij. Light in Gold (Durnik, Gombač 2012: 123) etnično ekonomijo delita na tri kategorije: etnično lastniško ekonomijo, etnično »enklave« ekonomijo in etnično nadzorovano ekonomijo. V prvem primeru ima etnična skupina večinski delež v delniški strukturi večinoma malih in srednjih podjetij, v primeru, da gre za ozemeljsko

2 To v enem svojih zadnjih objavljenih prispevkov na to temo ugotavlja tudi Mitja Durnik (2017: 118).

zamejeno območje, govorimo o »enklavi«, v »nadzorovani« etnični ekonomiji pa gre že za bolj sofisticiran in širše razpreden sistem, ki nadzoruje tudi javno upravo in v njej in preko nje skrbi za boljši delovni položaj sonarodnjakov.

Vah Jevšnik in Lukšič Hacin (2011: 250) primerjata ameriški in evropski koncept etnične ekonomije in ugotavljata, da sta med seboj zelo težko primerljiva že zaradi različnih političnoekonomskih sistemov (ameriški neoliberalizem *versus* evropski (neo)korporativizem in socialno regulirani sistemi). V primerjavi z razmerami v ZDA, kjer je priseljenstvo/etnično podjetništvo prepuščeno tržni dinamiki, v Evropi prihaja do intenzivnejšega političnega spodbujanja njegovega razvoja, in to v povezavi s strategijami za učinkovitejšo integracijo priseljencev v t. i. večinsko družbo. Za naše namene je pomembna tudi distinkcija med »etničnim« in »imigrantskim« podjetnikom – »etnični« podjetnik je pripadnik etnične skupnosti, ki je avtohtona oziroma staroselska (kanadski Indijanci, Afroameričani v ZDA), »imigrantski« podjetnik pa je priseljenec in pripada etnični skupnosti, ki se je priselila v določeno državo.

Kot ugotavljata Lukšič Hacin in Toplak (2012: 110), se koncept etnične ekonomije nanaša na vse samozaposlene iz katerekoli etnične ali priseljenke skupine, na delodajalce ter zaposlene iz iste etnične skupine in njihove družinske člane. Etnična ekonomija obstaja, če etnična skupina vzdržuje zasebni ekonomski sektor, v katerem ima večinski lastniški delež, ne glede na to, ali potrošniki so ali niso pripadniki iste etničnosti.

Svojo težo ima tudi pojem »socialne ekonomije« (Jevšnik, Lukšič Hacin 2011: 250; Defourny, Nyssens 2006: 7) v etničnem kontekstu. Govori namreč o samoorganiziranju civilne družbe oziroma v našem primeru etnične skupnosti, ki svoje člane podpira iz solidarnostnih, socialnih razlogov (samopomoč ob pomanjkljivem sistemu socialnega, zdravstvenega, nezgodnega zavarovanja, kritje stroškov pogreba v rudnikih ponesrečenih rojakov ipd.), hkrati pa deluje kot javna neprofitna ustanova. V mislih imam slovenske podporne organizacije, predvsem v ZDA, ki so se hitro razvile v nekakšne zadruge oziroma zdaj zavarovalniške družbe (SNPJ, KSKJ, AMLA – več v nadaljevanju).

Zaradi globalizacije je treba opozoriti tudi na spremembo v razumevanju pojma asimilacije v migracijskih kontekstih. Sodobni izseljenci, tudi če v tujini živijo dalj časa, z odhodom iz matične domovine namreč ne izgubijo več permanentnega stika z njo (Fong, Oka: 428). Pojavi se pojem »transnacionalnost«, ki daje standardnim pojmovanjem socializacijskih procesov novo barvo. Sodobni »transnacionalni« migranti v mnogočem niso primerljivi s starimi izseljenci, saj so večinoma višje izobraženi, strokovnjaki na svojih področjih, obvladajo več jezikov, so visoko »komunikacijsko« usposobljeni. O pozitivnem vplivu globalizacije na »etnično ekonomijo« piše tudi Ivan Light, ki ugotavlja, da v sodobnosti narašča priljubljenost oz. navzočnost »eksotičnih« izdelkov etničnih skupnosti, hkrati pa se večja tudi medsebojna – mednarodna soodvisnost ekonomij, z njo pa narašča pomen bikulturalizma in bilingvizma (Light 2010: 661).

V kratkem ekskurzu se, za primerjavo, dotaknimo še staroselskega (»aboriginskega«) modela etnične ekonomije, kot ga opisuje Mitja Durnik (Durnik, Gombač 2011: 127). Primer kanadskih Indijancev govori o treh fazah, skozi katere je šla staroselska skupnost Nisišavajašik v severni Manitobi. Ob prvem stiku z belsko civilizacijo in ekonomijo so se znašli v podrejenem položaju, ki se je zapletel z namero gradnje velikih hidroelektrarn. Zaradi možnih usodnih vplivov na njihovo življenjsko okolje so se Indijanci uprli in na te namere niso pristali. Po dolgotrajnem boju so hidroelektrarne prešle v delno lastništvo Indijancev, kar bi na neki način lahko šteli kot njihovo zmago, hkrati pa so »popustili« vplivom njim dotlej tujega ekonomskega sistema in se vanj integrirali. Izhajajoč iz orisanih razmerij, a v nekoliko drugačnem kontekstu, Durnik piše o etnični ekonomiji in slovenskih Romih ter omenja zamisli o romskih podjetjih za reciklažo, čiščenje ipd. (Durnik 2012).

»Vzorčna« primera etnične ekonomije sta lahko položaj kitajskih delavcev v Kanadi in brazilskih v ZDA. Alan Marcus (2011: 57–81) v svojem opisu sodobnega brazilskega izseljenstva v ZDA analizira izobrazbeno in zaposlitveno strukturo migrantov in ugotavlja, da gre v prvi vrsti za zaposlene v storitvenih dejavnostih, kot so gradbeništvo (moški) in čistilni servisi (ženske). Med tistimi, ki ostanejo v ZDA dlje časa ali stalno, se mnogi povzpnejo v svoji branži in postanejo lastniki (čistilnih servisov, gradbenih podjetij). Ugotavlja veliko razliko med uradnimi ameriškimi statistikami, po katerih naj bi bilo v ZDA okoli 300.000 Brazilcev (popis 2007), in neuradnimi številkami, ki se gibljejo celo okrog 1,2 milijona. Zanimivo je, da je brazilska skupnost v ZDA, ki spada med tri največje, zelo poredko omenjana, saj jo mnogi dajejo v isti koš kot »Latinose«, špansko govoreče južnoameriške priseljence (prav tam: 59).

Pomemben je podatek, da naj bi brazilski priseljenci leta 2004 iz ZDA domov poslali skupno okoli šest milijard USD, kar predstavlja en odstotek brazilskega družbenega proizvoda (GDP); povprečna višina mesečnih nakazil je 500 do 1.000 USD. Govorimo torej lahko o etnični ekonomiji z močno solidarnostno »transnacionalno« noto – v prvi vrsti gre za pomoč tistim, ki so ostali doma (prav tam: 61). Avtor poleg tega opaza oziroma navaja opažanje sogovornikov – intervjuvancev, da so Brazilci v ZDA manj »amerikanizirani« kot tisti v sami Braziliji, saj šele v tujini začnejo ceniti svoj etnični izvor (prav tam: 62).

O značilnostih kitajske skupnosti v Kanadi pišeta Eric Fong in Emi Ooka (2002: 125–146). Uvodoma navajata opažanje, da so se v zadnjih 40 letih, predvsem zaradi močno povečanega priseljevanja iz Azije in Južne Amerike, v Kanadi zelo razcvetele etnične ekonomije. Etnično ekonomijo avtorja razumeta kot zaviralca procesov integracije in asimilacije priseljenke etnične skupnosti v večinsko okolje, kar dokazujeta na primeru kitajske skupnosti v Torontu. Ugotavljata, da lahko močna vključenost v etnično skupnost tudi v ekonomskem smislu povzroči zaostanek v navezovanju socialnih stikov z večinskim prebivalstvom in posledično nazadovanje. To se zdi logično, če vemo, da priseljenec delovni in prosti čas preživi bodisi v družinskem podjetju (restavraciji, čistilnem servisu) bodisi v družini. Ves čas govori zgolj kitajsko, saj angleščine praktično ne potrebuje, enako je s socialnimi stiki

z »zunanjim svetom«. Tak položaj posamezniku sprva sicer lahko olajša prehod v novo družbo, po drugi strani pa ga omejuje pri njegovem napredovanju. To je namreč znotraj etnične skupnosti mogoče zgolj do določene ravni, nakar nastopijo težave zaradi neznanja jezika, nizke izobrazbe in omejenih socialnih stikov in s tem pretoka informacij iz večinskega sistema.³

V tem smislu avtorja pišeta o »družinskem« razredu, ki ustreza pričujočemu opisu, in o »neodvisnem« razredu priseljencev. V tem primeru gre za izobražene, kvalificirane delavce ali študente, ki prihajajo na študij v Kanado in nato tam ostanejo. Ti se v večinsko družbo praviloma hitro vključijo in napredujejo po družbeni lestvici. Tako je mogoče opaziti vedno več kitajskih pravnikov, zdravnikov, finančnikov ipd. Iz podatka na spletni strani mesta Toronto, da je po popisu leta 2011 7,6 odstotka populacije kot materni jezik navedlo enega od kitajskih jezikov, je razvidno, da tam živi zelo močna kitajska skupnost (Toronto Backgrounder 2012).

Naslednja od »kombinacij« so lahko tudi slovenske narodne skupnosti v sosednjih državah (v Italiji, Avstriji, Hrvaški, Madžarski). Predvsem v Italiji pa tudi v Avstriji je ta dobro gospodarsko organizirana, v njej pa se prepletajo vse našete oblike etnične ekonomije. Posebnost je nemara ta, da imajo v vseh štirih državah, ki obkrožajo Slovenijo, posebno vlogo t. i. »krovne« ustanove, neke vrste gospodarske zbornice, katerih člani so podjetniki slovenskega rodu.⁴ Gospodarska organiziranost slovenske narodne skupnosti vpliva na njeno ekonomsko moč, ta pa na etnično samozavest pripadnikov »manjšine«, ki je vsakodnevno izpostavljena pritiskom večinske kulture.⁵

»SLOVENSKA« ETNIČNA EKONOMIJA

Kitajci v Kanadi, Brazilci v ZDA, Romi v Sloveniji, ...⁶ mogoče so neštete kombinacije, ki vsaka zase ponuja svoj »model« etnične ekonomije. Slovensko izseljenstvo se zaradi neprimerljivo manjših števil in izrazite raznolikosti bistveno razlikuje od večine naštetih modelov. Na značilnosti slovenske etnične ekonomije v izseljenstvu,

3 Light (2010: 655) ugotavlja, da je v nekaterih »etničnih« podjetjih kar 2/3 osebja neplačanih družinskih članov ali lastnikov. Isti avtor (2004: 385–386) piše tudi o pogostih vzorcih socialne zapostavljenosti članov takšne etnične ekonomije, saj pogosto niso prijavljeni lokalnim oblastem, ne oni ne lastniki podjetja ne plačujejo davkov, socialnega, zdravstvenega zavarovanja ipd.

4 O tem več v nadaljevanju – gre predvsem za Slovensko deželno gospodarsko zvezo v Trstu, Slovensko gospodarsko zvezo v Celovcu pa tudi pretežno novi sorodni ustanovi v Monoštru (Madžarska) in na Reki (Hrvaška).

5 O tem piše Sonja Novak Lukanovič z Inštituta za narodnostna vprašanja. Poudarjeno tudi v referatu Gospodarstvo in identiteta manjšine na konferenci Etnična ekonomija in Slovenci zunaj RS (Lukanovič 2012).

6 Soavtorji Light, Sabagh ... (1993: 581) pišejo celo o etničnih podskupinah znotraj neke etnične ekonomije oziroma etnične skupnosti. Kaj takega na primeru slovenske skupnosti zaradi vse premajhnih števil vsaj v ekonomskem smislu skoraj ni mogoče, čeprav smo tudi v slovenski diaspori pogosto priča (predvsem politični) razdeljenosti – a ta korenini v vzrokih in obdobjih izseljevanja.

če o njej sploh lahko govorimo, vpliva dejstvo, da so se Slovenci s svojega etničnega ozemlja izseljevali v različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih in iz zelo različnih vzrokov.

Da bi slovenski pa tudi katerikoli drugi »model« lažje razumeli, posezimo nekoliko globlje, k vprašanju same etnične identitete. Poti in načini ohranjanja izvorne slovenske etnične identitete med izseljenskimi skupnostmi po svetu so seveda različni. V preteklih raziskavah sem za razumevanje občutenja večplastnosti posameznikove osebne in etnične identitete v izseljenstvu uporabil lastni model gibljive kvalitativne lestvice pojavnih oblik in ravni identitete pri pripadnikih generacij potomcev slovenskih izseljencev. Pozicija »kategorij« nikakor ni fiksna, ravni se med seboj prepletajo in zamenjujejo, elementi ene kategorije so lahko navzoči tudi pri drugi itd. Naštel sem devet kategorij, od zgolj zavedanja o etničnem izvoru preko občasnega ali rednega sodelovanja v organizirani zdomski ali izseljenski skupnosti, obiskovanja izvorne domovine, pa do odločitve o preselitvi – kot povratku ali kot izselitvi v deželo staršev. V primeru ali izseljenstva ali potomcev slovenskih izseljencev, že rojenih v neslovenski večinski družbi, govorimo o več ravneh etničnega samozavedanja (Žigon 1998: 104–106).

Ravni etničnega samozavedanja⁷

Etnična identiteta v izseljenstvu je odvisna tako od specifične pozicije subjekta kot generacijske pripadnosti in z njo povezane primarne in sekundarne socializacije. Posamezniki iz prve generacije so bili socializirani v svojem izvornem etničnem in kulturnem okolju, zato resocializacijo, ki so ji bili izpostavljeni ob stiku z imigracijsko družbo, razumemo kot »naslednji« proces – govorimo torej o zaporedju. Člani izseljenske skupnosti, rojeni v imigracijski družbi, pa so izpostavljeni različnim oblikam dvojne socializacije, govorimo torej o vzporednosti. Dvojnost, vzporednost socializacije pride bolj do izraza ob večji doslednosti pri ohranjanju primarne kulturne identitete v družini, manj izrazita pa je, če starši že podlegajo vplivom asimilacije, če npr. doma dovolijo uporabo dominantnega jezika, če ga sami govorijo, v mešanih zakonih, če sta si v tem akulturacijskem momentu udeleženi kulturi podobni (Žigon 2001: 33).

Gibljiva lestvica ravni etničnega samozavedanja te razvršča glede na to, kako intenzivno posameznik občuti (svojo) primarno etnično pripadnost:

1. Identifikacijska identiteta – zgolj golo zavedanje ali védenje, da posameznik izvira iz določene države; na tej ravni je pravzaprav velika večina asimiliranega izseljenstva.
2. Odprtost – zavestno samooznačevanje za potomce izvorne kulture; občasno izrazijo željo po vzpostavitvi tesnejšega stika z njo.
3. Folklorno-simbolna identiteta – občasno pasivno spremljanje dogodkov v skupnosti; vanjo spada razmeroma velik del izseljenske populacije.
4. Klubska identiteta – s poudarjeno pripadnostjo klubu, ki pa včasih nima skoraj nič z etnično pripadnostjo, saj se je lahko »nalezejo« tudi neslovenski člani kluba.

⁷ Zvone Žigon: *Otroci dveh domovin* (1998: 104–106).

Vsi aktivni v slovenski skupnosti so pripadni svojim klubom in je njihova pripadnost več kot le klubska.

5. Želja po pridobitvi slovenskega državljanstva in učenju jezika – izjemno je porasla v zadnjih letih pri pripadnikih tretje generacije ... gre celo za materialne koristi (potni list EU), večinoma pa za simbolno identifikacijo s Slovenijo.
6. Mobilizacijska identiteta – bistvena za aktiviranje posameznika na način, da se redno udeležuje organiziranih oblik »slovenstva« ali celo sam sodeluje – v kuhinji, zboru, ...
7. Obiskovanje, redni stiki z izvorno domovino – ta kategorija sicer ni prvi pogoj ali odraz siceršnje aktivnosti v društvih, je pa izjemnega pomena za razumevanje in doumevanje izvorne domovine.
8. Govorjenje in gojenje jezika staršev – brez znanja in razumevanja jezika globlje doumevanje izvorne domovine ne more biti enako kot tam, kjer jezik še živi. Po drugi strani pa ni mogoče trditi, da z izginotjem jezika izgine tudi pripadnost izvorni kulturi – le da je na drugi ravni.
9. Odločitev o preselitvi v izvorno domovino – za tovrstno odločitev sta potrebna vsaj dva dejavnika: izjemno visoka stopnja pripadnosti izvorni kulturi ter ustrezni ekonomski dejavniki odbijanja in privlačjenja. Dejstvo, da Slovenija ni ekonomsko tako zelo varna in privlačna kot nekatere druge države Zahodne Evrope, pa se kljub temu nekdo odloči za preselitev, dokazuje zelo visoko raven etnične identifikacije s slovensko kulturo. Z drugimi besedami, v tehtanju racionalnih in neracionalnih, subjektivnih dejavnikov prevladajo slednji.

Dejavnik »etnične ekonomije« oziroma razmišljanje o udejanjanju »slovenskosti« tudi skozi ekonomske perspektive je na gibljivi lestvici lahko skupaj s katerokoli od naštetih ravni. Lastne izkušnje kažejo, da se nekateri potomci slovenskih izseljencev, ki o Sloveniji ne vedo skoraj nič, ne znajo jezika, ne sodelujejo v izseljenskih kulturnih in drugih ustanovah idr., »aktivirajo« prav ob vprašanih gospodarstva, turizma in sorodnih tem.⁸ Tudi sama izseljenska društva, ki iščejo nove načine pritegovanja mlajših generacij oziroma od skupnosti oddaljenih rojakov, skušajo v svoje dogodke, načrte delovanja ipd. vključevati tudi predstavitve slovenskih gospodarskih, turističnih in ob tem tudi kulinarčnih značilnosti.

Izhajajoč iz naštetih in na kratko orisanih kakovostnih ravni izražanja etnične identitete lahko razmišljamo še o novih načinih in poteh. Najvidnejša oblika vzdrževanja stika z izvorno kulturo so sicer res pretežno kulturne, verske in družabne dejavnosti, ne smemo pa pozabiti, da so imela že od samega začetka masovnega izseljevanja usodno vlogo tudi tako imenovana »bratska« združenja, ki so na temelju medseboj-

8 Kot generalni konzul RS v Clevelandu sem leta 2006 ustanovil Ameriško-slovensko poslovno združenje (American Slovenian Business Association). Ker je bilo vabilo na prvi dogodek objavljeno tudi v ameriških (neizseljenskih) medijih, se je nanj odzvalo nekaj uspešnih posameznikov slovenskega rodu, čeprav nekateri med njimi sploh niso vedeli, da v mestu obstaja močna in številčna slovenska skupnost (David Perse, takrat direktor zasebne klinike Lutheran Hospital, Ray Marvar, takrat član upravnega odbora slovite Cleveland Clinic, Dick Russ, eden vodilnih televizijskih voditeljev kanala Channel 3 idr.).

ne solidarnosti skrbela za eksistenčni minimum svojih članov v primeru delovnih nesreč, bolezni in smrti. Iz »podpornih enot« (ameriški KSKJ, SNPJ, AMLA) (Klemenčič 1995: 178–218) in kreditnih zadrug (buenosaireška Sloga) so sčasoma prerasle v (tudi) kulturno-prosvetne ustanove in so tako za širok del slovenskega izseljenstva v ZDA (4., 5. generacija) pravzaprav edina oblika dožemanja – udejanjanja slovenstva. Na po svoje banalen način se slovenska etnična identiteta v tem primeru zrcali v kreditno-hranilnični bančni kartici. Sliši se neromantično, a ob razumevanju naravnih zakonitosti asimilacije bodo morda prav tovrstni modeli – seveda ob ustreznih modifikacijah glede na trenutno stanje – predstavljali najbolj razširjeno obliko ali pot do neke konstantne ravni ohranitve izvorne kulture.⁹ Tako smo pristali v polju »etnične ekonomije«. Na kratko orisane značilnosti podpornih organizacij oziroma družb (predvsem) v ZDA so pravzaprav najvišje oblike tovrstne »organiziranosti« slovenske skupnosti. V vseh drugih primerih namreč zaradi majhnosti slovenskih izseljenških skupnosti – sploh v primerjavi z modeli velikih skupnosti, kot sta kitajska skupnost v Torontu ali brazilska v ZDA – lahko govorimo zgolj o posamičnih primerih ekonomskega sodelovanja na etničnih temeljih.

Kar pa ne pomeni, da samo vprašanje ni vseprisotno. Obenem z naštetimi kvalitativnimi ravnmi etničnega samozavedanja namreč »teče« tudi polje etnične ekonomije. Tako v stikih s slovenskimi izseljenci in z njihovimi potomci v Argentini, Urugvaj, Braziliji, Južni Afriki, Keniji, Kanadi, ZDA, Nemčiji, Italiji, Avstriji, Luksemburgu itd. kot v številnih osebnih stikih, navezanih med daljšim bivanjem v slovenski skupnosti v Avstraliji in ZDA, sem namreč lahko opazil določeno pripravljenost za manifestiranje slovenske identitete skozi polje ekonomije v najširšem pomenu besede. A od hranilniško-zavarovalniških družb z izvorom v solidarnostnih združenjih do morebitnega gospodarskega sodelovanja z izvorno domovino je še daleč.

Kot eno od vmesnih stopenj je treba omeniti prakso, ki je bila in je še vedno uveljavljena pri marsikaterem slovenskem podjetju v tujini. Slovenski izseljenec, migrant z lastnima delom in sposobnostjo uspe, njegovo podjetje se širi in potrebuje nove delavce. Iz izrazito solidarnostnih in domoljubnih razlogov sprva skoraj avtomatsko zaposli soizseljence. Ker jim zaupa kot ljudem in delavcem, ker so do nedavnega delili isto usodo. Ta model sem na različne načine in iz različnih zornih kotov v besedilu orisal tudi na primerih drugih etničnih skupnosti. Slovenci so v vseh državah brez izjem znani kot zelo delavni, vestni, kakovostni in zanesljivi delavci. To ravnanje bi

9 Predsednik KSKJ (nastali leta 1894) Rudolph Krašovec v uvodniku letnega poročila člane nagovarja na zelo zgovoren način: »Tako kot velike Združene države, v katerih živimo, je bila tudi naša KSKJ Life ustanovljena iz ljudi in za ljudi, ki so se sem priselili iz domovine Slovenije. Naša ustanova je nastala zato, da bi povezala tiste s skupnim kulturnim izročilom in da bi družine obvarovala pred tragedijami, ki so se v dobi zgodnje industrializacije pogosto dogajale. Naši ustanovitelji so bili delavci v rudnikih in železarnah, ki so pomagali sooblikovati infrastrukturo te nove države, v kateri so se naselili. Nesreče pri delu so bile zelo pogoste. In takrat je KSKJ zaščitila vdove in otroke ...« (KSKJ Life 2015: 3). Čeprav so člani lahko tudi Neslovinci, KSKJ ohranja pripadnost slovenskim koreninam, kar med drugim izkazuje tudi z novo grafično podobo, ki vsebuje stilizirano obliko Triglava (prav tam: 1). Na podoben način deluje tudi sorodna, po nastanku (1904) sicer progresivna SNPJ.

lahko opisali v smislu »prijetno s koristnim«. Zgolj v redkih primerih je rojak pri rojaku zaposlen samo zato, ker sta rojaka, tudi če za delo v resnici ni sposoben; to bi lahko umestili med napol karitativne razloge. Zanimivo je, da marsikatero takšno (»slovensko«) podjetje poleg Slovencev zaposluje tudi delavce iz držav nekdanje skupne države (Jugoslavije). Tovrstno zaupanje temelji na sosedstvu, sorodnosti jezika in deloma tudi delovnih navad.

Zaradi svoje majhnosti slovenske skupnosti dejansko ne morejo delovati po vzoru kitajske ali brazilske, dejansko pa »naravno« poslovno sodelovanje v slovenskem primeru nadomeščajo organizirani poskusi poslovnega povezovanja. Tako so se v preteklosti v izseljenstvu že ustanovljale slovenske poslovne skupnosti.¹⁰

SLOVENSKI POSLOVNI SUBJEKTI V TUJINI

Na drugem koncu časovne premice – oziroma izključno v današnjem času – so sodobna poslovna združenja in klubi, ki si zelo konkretno prizadevajo za spodbujanje gospodarskih povezav s Slovenijo. Sam ločim dve kategoriji: slovenske poslovne klube in slovenska poslovna združenja.

V Slovenskih poslovnih klubih se zbirajo predstavništva slovenskih podjetij in podjetja matične države, ki poslujejo s Slovenijo. Njihovi namen in cilji so pomoč slovenskim podjetjem pri navezovanju poslovnih stikov, promocija slovenskega gospodarstva, medsebojne gospodarske izmenjave ter konkretni projekti, od soorganiziranja predstavitev na gospodarskih sejmih do pomoči pri prijavljanju na javne razpise in sodelovanja pri pripravi poslovnih konferenc in obiskov gospodarskih delegacij iz Slovenije oziroma v Slovenijo.

Razmeroma močno pomoč slovenske države, ki jo izvaja Ministrstvo za gospodarstvo in tehnološki razvoj RS (preko agencije Spirit, nekoč Japti), morajo upravičiti s konkretnimi rezultati, z ustvarjanjem poslovnih priložnosti, dogodkov promocije slovenskega gospodarstva ipd. Leta 2017 je Spirit sofinanciral 14 takšnih klubov v 12 državah, še nekaj pa jih zaradi neizpolnjevanja kriterijev ali neprijave na razpis ostaja

10 Urad Vlade RS za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu (USZS) v zadnjih letih opaža porast tako nastajanja novih združenj, klubov ipd. z razločno izraženimi cilji delovanja pri spodbujanju gospodarskega sodelovanja med Slovenijo in državo, v kateri združenje deluje, kot interesa za njihovo vzpostavitev. Tako so od leta 2014 nova poslovna združenja nastala v Münchnu, Nürnbergu, Luksemburgu, Sydneyu, Bratislavi, Milanu, podobne zamisli se nastajajo v Frankfurtu, Stuttgartu in gotovo še kje.

brez finančne pomoči. Med slednjimi so predvsem slovenska »poslovna združenja«, o katerih več v nadaljevanju.¹¹

Omenjeni model ima z opisano »etnično ekonomijo« v številnih primerih praktično zelo malo skupnega, saj gre na neki način za načrtovano dejavnost vladnih organov Republike Slovenije za prizadevanje pri mednarodnem odpiranju slovenskega gospodarstva. »Etnično« je tu prisotno zgolj v primeru, da so v sodelovanje s poslovnimi klubi vključeni podjetniki in poslovneži slovenskega rodu, ki to delajo tudi iz subjektivnega, »domoljubnega« vzgiba. Resnici na ljubo pa je takih kar nekaj – večinoma so to slovenski poslovneži, ki so v neko državo prišli zgolj z namenom vzpostavitve poslovnih vezi oziroma priložnosti.

Kot posebno kategorijo med poslovnimi klubi lahko navedemo Slovensko deželno gospodarsko zvezo (SDGZ) v Trstu ter Slovensko gospodarsko zvezo (SGZ) in Alpe-Jadran center (AACC) v Celovcu. SDGZ in SGZ delujeta že desetletja in povezujeta slovensko zamejsko poslovno skupnost, vedno bolj pa delujeta tudi čezmejno. Izstopa SDGZ iz Trsta, ki zaposluje okoli 40 ljudi, je vključena v najpomembnejša italijanska gospodarska združenja in je v operativnem smislu stična točka med italijanskim, zamejskim in slovenskim gospodarstvom.

Po poti SDGZ gresta tudi SGZ, ki ima zaenkrat zgolj dve redno zaposleni osebi, ter AACC center v Celovcu, ki deluje izrazito na zasebno pobudo (in je o njem razmeroma malo podatkov). Urad za Evropo, delujoč na Reki (Hrvaška), se tudi po nekaj letih delovanja ne uspe razviti v resnični poslovni klub; uspešnejše se trenutno zdijo ločene pobude iz Gorskega Kotarja, kjer je, v sodelovanju z Uradom za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu in drugimi partnerji, v pripravi projekt oblikovanja slovenske vzorčne kmetije. Razvojna agencija Slovenska krajina v Monoštru (Madžarska) dejavno pridobiva sredstva iz naslova EU in sodeluje na več projektih pretežno kmetijske narave (leta 2015 vzpostavljena vzorčna kmetija ipd.).

Vsi naštetih delujejo na območjih, kjer v sosednjih državah živi slovenska narodna skupnost. Štiri od petih naštetih ustanov vsaj deloma redno podpira tudi slovenska država, od organizacijskega in vsebinskega sodelovanja do neposrednega sofinanciranja nekaterih projektov preko javnih razpisov Urada Vlade RS za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu; uveljavlja se tudi sodelovanje pri črpanju sredstev Evropske unije za spodbujanje čezmejnega sodelovanja.

11 Seznam prejemnikov sredstev iz Javnega razpisa za sofinanciranje izvajanja dejavnosti slovenskih poslovnih klubov v tujini v letu 2017: Slovenian American Business Association S-ABA (ZDA): 21.696 EUR; Slovensko deželno gospodarsko združenje (Trst): 37.821 EUR; Nekomercialno partnerstvo Uljanovsk, regionalno združenje izvoznikov in uvoznikov o razvoju zunanje gospodarske dejavnosti (Rusija): 29.612 EUR; Društvo in poslovni klub Triglav – Rysy (Poljska): 20.816 EUR; Društvo slovensko-madžarskih poslovnežev: 12.000 EUR; Rusko-slovenski poslovni klub Tolyatty: 38.114 EUR; Poslovni klub slovensko-hrvaških gospodarstvenikov: 19.455 EUR; Slovenska gospodarska zveza v Celovcu: 37.465 EUR; Slovenian Business and Research Association, Bruselj: 21.821 EUR; Slovenački poslovni klub Beograd: 38.994 EUR; Luxemburg Slowenien Business Club: 30.785 EUR; Canadian Slovenian Chamber of Commerce: 30.850 EUR; Euro Alliance Consulting LLC, Slovenian Business Club Kosovo: 39.580 EUR; Slovenian Business Club Zambia Slovenia CO: 21.109 EUR (Spirit Slovenija 2017).

V tem kontekstu torej govorimo o spodbujanju čezmejnega gospodarskega sodelovanja predvsem med slovenskimi zamejskimi podjetniki in poslovneži ter zainteresiranosti matične države za gospodarsko močno manjšinsko skupnost v sosednjih državah. Ekonomska suverenost se torej kaže kot logična podlaga za kulturno in etnično samozavest – ta povezava velja za manjšinske narodne skupnosti v sosednjih državah,¹² ne pa tudi za izseljenske skupnosti.

Izseljenska poslovna združenja so pojem, oznaka, ki ga v slovenskem poslovnem in družboslovnem izrazoslovju praktično še ni. To so združenja, v katerih se združujejo podjetniki in poslovneži slovenskega rodu. Zakaj? Konkretnih poslovnih koristi od tega (večinoma, za zdaj) niti nimajo, družijo jih le subjektivna pripadnost izvorni domovini. Njihove (ali obojestranske, torej tudi za Republiko Slovenijo) morebitne konkretne koristi so oziroma bi lahko bile: medsebojno poslovno povezovanje, vzpostavljanje poslovnih stikov s slovenskimi podjetji, pomoč pri promociji slovenskega gospodarstva s kontakti, z asistenco pri organiziranju poslovnih dogodkov, obiskov gospodarskih delegacij ipd. Zanje je značilno, da večina ne »zmore« kriterijev oziroma tempa in profesionalnosti, kot jo agencija SPIRIT Slovenija zahteva od slovenskih poslovnih klubov, ter da so kot izrazito prostovoljna in pristočasna dejavnost razmeroma ohlapno organizirana in šibko delujoča.

Konotacije v primeru slovenskih etničnih poslovnih skupnosti oziroma združenj v izseljenski situaciji so drugačne od tistih v zamejstvu. »Politično-strateškega« interesa matične države tu ni, vsaj ne v takšni meri kot v primeru zamejstva. Vsekakor pa obstaja ekonomski ter širši, splošnejši interes po večjem povezovanju slovenskih poslovnežev in podjetnikov v svetu z matično domovino.

Ker se povečuje izseljevanje izobraženih in podjetnih posameznikov iz Slovenije,¹³ lahko – če govorimo o oblikovanju izseljenskih poslovnih združenj – govorimo

12 O pomenu slovenske etnične ekonomije za narodno samozavest pa tudi za dobesedno fizično preživetje slovenske narodne skupnosti kot take zgovorno priča obsežna monografija Milana Pahorja *Slovensko denarništvo v Trstu* (1989). Ta sicer orisuje nastanek, razvoj in delovanje denarnih zadrug, hranilnic, posojilnic in bank med letoma 1880 in 1918, vendar se pomen gospodarske samozadostnosti v primeru avtohtone z leti in geopolitičnimi spremembami ni zmanjšal. Isti avtor tako piše o gospodarskih dejavnosti v deželi Furlaniji-Juljski krajini med letoma 1848 in 1998 (Pahor 1998). – Zgovoren je stavek iz spremene besede publikacije o denarništvu: »Tržaška hranilnica in posojilnica je bila tesno povezana s kulturnim in narodnostnim delovanjem Slovencev na Tržaškem ...« (prav tam: 5). – O pomenu in sploh konceptu vpliva gospodarstva na obstoj narodne skupnosti pa govori uvodnik druge knjige: »... Doseganje gospodarskih ciljev je dovolj za človeka, ne pa za narod. In tako je prav iz vrst podjetnikov in njihovih organizacij, združenj in zvez prišla največja pomoč za gradnjo kulturnih in rekreacijskih sedežev ter šol. Zrasel je Narodni dom pri Sv. Ivanu (1902), Narodni dom v Barkovljah (1897), Trgovski dom v Trstu (1904) in seveda Narodni dom v Trstu (1904) ter drugi. Kultura se je razvijala na trdni gospodarski osnovi« (prav tam).

13 Razprave o tem, predvsem o novodobnem izseljevanju slovenskih raziskovalcev in znanstvenikov, je prispevala dr. Breda Mulec v prispevkih na temo kroženja možganov (Mulec 2012). Kljub precejšnjemu povečanju še vedno ne moremo govoriti o množičnem izseljevanju. Statistika je pogosto stvar interpretacije ali celo manipulacije, saj je lažje navajati podatke o izselitvah, pri tem pa ne upoštevati podatkov o priselitvah v Slovenijo, razločevati med začasnimi in stalnimi izselitvami, študijem in tujini ipd.

o procesu, ki je šele na začetku, aktivno sodelovanje slovenske države pa ga lahko okrepi.¹⁴ Kot posebno obliko sodelovanja matične države lahko razumemo njena go-spodarska in diplomatska predstavništva, katerih naloga je tudi delo z lastno etnično skupnostjo in vsemi možnimi različicami »etnične ekonomije«.¹⁵

O resničnih začetkih poslovnega sodelovanja izseljenskih podjetnikov z matično domovino lahko govorimo v letih 1990 in 1991, ko so mnogi premožni rojaki pri-spevali sredstva v podporo slovenski politični demokratizaciji, državni osamosvojitvi ter mednarodnemu priznanju,¹⁶ nekateri so vlagali v obujeni desnosredinski dnevnik *Slovenec*, precej pa je bilo tudi poskusov investiranja in gospodarskega sodelovanja s podjetji v Sloveniji. Še vedno prevelike razlike v ekonomskih in zakonskih sistemih, birokratske ovire v Sloveniji pa tudi subjektivno preveliko pričakovanje izseljencev in po drugi strani svojevrstna »diasporafobnost« oz. strah slovenskega gospodarstva in politike pred konkurenco iz vrst slovenskih podjetnikov iz tujine so botrovali temu, da se je večina poskusov končala z razočaranjem. Nesojeni investitorji in poslovni partnerji iz vrst slovenske diaspore pa so se večinoma trajno poslovili od podobnih načrtov. Hkrati ali pa šele v zadnjih letih so se v nekaterih večjih središčih slovenske-ga izseljenstva oblikovali »gospodarske zbornice« in podobna združenja. Danes tako v svetu poznamo:

1. Kanadsko-slovensko gospodarsko zbornico (Toronto);
2. Slovensko-ameriški poslovni klub (SABA – Cleveland);
3. Avstralsko-slovensko gospodarsko zbornico (Sydney);
4. Poslovni klub ICS (Internationaler Club Slovenia e. V.) (München);
5. Slovensko-bavarsko združenje z gospodarsko sekcijo (München);
6. Business Council Slovenia (Düsseldorf);
7. Poslovni klub GeriS e. V. (Nürnberg);
8. Klub slovenskih in slovaških poslovnežev Slo-Slo (Bratislava);
9. SloLux, Slovensko društvo v Luksemburgu;
10. Slovensko poslovno združenje na Nizozemskem;
11. Poslovni klub ECE na Kanarskih otokih (Španija);¹⁷
12. Slovenski poslovni klub v Milanu.¹⁸

14 O vlogi slovenske države v tem kontekstu se je 4. 7. 2012 razpravljalo na posvetu Etnična eko-nomija in Slovenci zunaj RS (Žigon 2012).

15 O vlogi slovenskih diplomatskih predstavništev v izseljenski skupnosti več v: (Žigon 2011: 179–200). Generalni konzulat RS v Clevelandu je leta 2008 spodbudil ustanovitev neformal-nega združenja Cleveland Slovenian Business and Professional Association, nato pa leta 2012 formalno ustanovitev poslovnega kluba American Slovenian Business Association.

16 Draga Gelt (2011) podrobno opisuje tovrstno delovanje slovenske skupnosti v Avstraliji, šte-vilni opisi pa obstajajo tudi za slovenske skupnosti v drugih državah, predvsem v ZDA, Kana-di, Argentini in Veliki Britaniji.

17 Vir: Spletna stran Urada Vlade RS za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu – seznam slovenskih organizacij po svetu; o dejavnosti kluba na Kanarskih otokih Urad nima svežih informacij.

18 Klub je bil 23. 11. 2017 v Milanu v navzočnosti avtorja članka, ministra za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu Gorazda Žmavca, vodje gospodarskega predstavništva RS v Milanu Zorka Pelika-na idr. prvič javno predstavljen.

Urad Vlade RS za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu si prizadeva »etnično ekonomijo« oziroma sodelovanje s slovensko poslovno skupnostjo zunaj RS sooblikovati z organizacijo poslovnih konferenc s skupnim naslovom Mednarodno poslovanje lokalnega podjetništva. Zadnji dve konferenci sta potekali pod naslovom: Slovenska podjetnost kroži prek meja. Tako je Urad med letoma 2012 in 2017 pripravil več poslovnih konferenc. V Grosupljem (junij 2012) so se – mnogi prvič – srečali slovenske poslovne organizacije iz zamejstva in slovenske lokalne obrtne in gospodarske zbornice in podjetja. Na naslednjih konferencah (Ptuj – oktober 2012, Idrija/Cerkno – april 2013, Terme Čatež – oktober 2013, Koper – maj 2014, Bled – november 2014, Murska Sobota – april 2015) so se poleg zamejskih gospodarskih ustanov predstavili tudi slovenski poslovno naravnani klub z Bavarske, več slovenskih podjetnikov iz Nemčije in severne Italije, častni konzuli RS iz Dresdna, Ženeve in Milana, v Čatežu pa tudi slovenski poslovni klubi in ekonomski svetovalci na ambasadah RS v državah nekdanje SFRJ. Leta 2016 je bila konferenca prvič organizirana zunaj meja RS, natančneje v Münchnu. Udeležilo se je cca. 30 podjetnikov iz Slovenije, za katere je prevoz organiziral Urad, ter okoli 25 podjetnikov slovenskega rodu, delujočih v Nemčiji.¹⁹ Zadnja takšna konferenca je bila 31. 5. 2017 v Vili Vipolže pri Novi Gorici, med skupno 118 udeleženci pa so bili tudi slovenski podjetniki iz Nemčije, Italije, Avstrije, Češke, Slovaške, Luksemburga, Avstralije, Kanade idr. Še zlasti dragocen je bil vsakokratni *match-making* oziroma 'srečanja ena-na-ena' v drugem delu konferenc.²⁰

Posebej je treba omeniti zelo dejavno Kanadsko-slovensko gospodarsko zbornico, ki ob močni organizacijski in finančni podpori častnega generalnega konzula in poslovneža slovenskega rodu Johna Doma dejavno sodeluje s slovenskim gospodarstvom. Junija 2017 je tako organizirala gostovanje delegacije slovenskih podjetij in turističnih agencij ter Slovenske turistične organizacije na predstavitvi v Torontu in Ottawi (ob 25-letnici diplomatskih odnosov med državama in 150-letnici kanadske državnosti).²¹ Zbornica je med vsemi naštetimi najboljše organizirana. Leta 2011 je izdala poslovni imenik, v katerem je navedenih 86 podjetij – oglaševalcev, ob tem pa telefonske številke 3.156 članov zbornice (Canadian Slovenian Chamber of Commerce 2010).

Za skoraj vse naštete bi lahko veljala skupna ugotovitev, da je resnična poslovna korist sekundarnega pomena. Čeprav ni nekoristno, ima tovrstno druženje predvsem družaben, nostalgичen in torej subjektiven, neracionalen pomen. Pripadniki

19 Navzoči so bili tudi minister za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu Gorazd Žmavc, predsednik Obrtne zbornice Slovenije Branko Meh idr.

20 Poročila o konferencah na spletni strani Urada: http://www.uszs.gov.si/si/znanost_mladi_gospodarstvo/gospodarstvo/aktivnosti_v_letu_2016/poslovna_konferenca_v_muenchnu/

21 Mitja Durnik v svojem zadnjem članku na temo etnične ekonomije omenja prav primer slovenske skupnosti v Kanadi. Piše o vlogi, ki jo je kljub svoji relativni majhnosti imela slovenska skupnost pri gospodarski rasti države priseljevanja. Razpravlja pa tudi o vplivu najnovejše skupine priseljencev iz Slovenije, ki se je v Kanado priselila med zadnjo ekonomsko krizo in po njej. Kanadsko-slovenska gospodarska zbornica sicer šteje čez sto članov iz Kanade in tudi nekaj iz Slovenije (Durnik 2017).

iste etnične skupnosti se v opisanih primerih novodobne slovenske ekonomske migracije družijo na popolnoma drugačnih temeljih, kot jih na primerih različnih velikih etničnih ekonomij opisujejo številni, v prvem delu besedila naštetih avtorji. Razlikujejo se tudi od »starega« modela slovenske etnične ekonomije iz obdobja delovanja solidarnostnih hranilniških ustanov v začetku 20. stoletja (in v primeru KSKJ v ZDA že ob koncu 19. stoletja – ta organizacija je bila namreč ustanovljena že leta 1894). Dejstvo, da smo v obdobju globalizacije, ki prinaša prednosti večjezičnosti, večje socialne in navsezadnje tehnološke povezanosti in večje ekonomske soodvisnosti ekonomskih partnerjev in nacionalnih ekonomij, prispeva k oblikovanju nove paradigme sodobne slovenske etnične ekonomije.²² Ta temelji predvsem na individualnih, pogosto izrazito osebnih, vsekakor pa zaenkrat še ne dovolj raziskanih povezavah z matično domovino. Medsebojnega povezovanja na temelju poslovne ali socialne koristi je zelo malo, saj gre predvsem za navezovanje socialnih stikov z rojaki.

Kot soustvarjalca slovenskega modela etnične ekonomije – v luči povezovanja slovenskega gospodarstva zunaj meja Republike Slovenije z matično domovino – lahko razumemo tudi Svetovni slovenski kongres. Ta vsako leto organizira dve konferenci, na katerih sodelujejo pripadniki slovenske skupnosti iz izseljenstva oziroma zamejstva iz različnih strok – od podjetnikov do znanstvenikov, raziskovalcev, arhitektov, pravnikov idr.²³

Vse pomembnejšo vlogo pridobivata tudi novi združenji, in to ASEF (American Slovenian Educational Fundation, San Francisco), ki spodbuja študijske izmenjave – krajša gostovanja slovenskih študentov pri slovenskih profesorjih v tujini in potomcev slovenskih izseljencev na univerzah v Sloveniji, ter VTIS (Društvo v tujini izobraženih Slovencev), ki združuje že več kot tisoč sedanjih in nekdanjih študentov. Obe ustanovi se skušata tesno povezovati tudi z gospodarstvom.

22 O pozitivnih vplivih globalizacije ali natančneje interneta na medsebojno povezovanje slovenske diaspore več v: (Žigon 2003). V referatu (že takrat) ugotavljam, da imajo skoraj vse slovenske organizacije po svetu svojo spletno stran, da se rojaki z matično domovino lahko vsakodnevno povezujejo po elektronski pošti ali *Facebooku* ter *Skypu*. Za generacije potomcev slovenskih izseljencev je odločilnega pomena tudi dejstvo, da mlajše generacije v Sloveniji dobro obvladajo angleščino, kar dodatno lajša komunikacijo.

23 Zborniki Svetovnega Slovenskega kongresa v obdobju 2000–2017.

SKLEP

Pričujoče besedilo opisuje različne pojavne oblike splošnih etničnih identitet in ekonomij ter njihovih pojavnih oblik pri slovenski narodni skupnosti. Vsaka med njimi ima svoje značilnosti, tako glede na njeno socialno, starostno in izobrazbeno strukturo kot glede na zgodovinski in političnogeografski kontekst, v katerem jo opazujemo.

Če se ob koncu vrnem k izhodiščni lestvici občutenja etnične identitete, lahko na podlagi orisanih izkušenj in izhodišč predstavljeni gibljivi lestvici ob bok dodam še odločitev za poslovno sodelovanje v okviru poslovnih združenj ali neposredno s slovenskimi partnerji v diaspori ali matični domovini. Značilnost te dejavnosti je, da je lahko navzoča pri katerikoli od naštetih »kategorij«. Za vstop v polje »etnične ekonomije« se lahko odloči tudi nekdo, ki sicer nima nikakršne druge povezave s Slovenijo ali slovensko izseljensko skupnostjo in morda komaj pozna svoje korenine; kot »poslovno sodelovanje« pa na neki način lahko razumemo tudi preselitev v Slovenijo in zaposlitev v njej.

Da bi posamezniki in poslovna združenja, ki jih zanima udejanjanje slovenskosti tudi v obliki dejanskega poslovnega sodelovanja s Slovenijo, lahko naredili bistveni korak naprej, bo treba predvsem v slovenski državni oziroma javni upravi še marsikaj urediti. Ne v smislu privilegiranosti ali diskriminacije drugih, pač pa s splošnim zmanjševanjem birokratizacije, klientelizma in še zlasti raznih fobij, ki tujcem – med katere v tem primeru spadajo tudi, ali včasih še bolj, poslovneži slovenskega rodu – onemogočajo vstop na naše tržišče.²⁴

Do premikov pa kljub zgornji ugotovitvi vendarle prihaja. Celo v širši javnosti pojem »slovenski izseljenec« dobiva drugačne konotacije kot v času stereotipa »polke in klobase« – sodobni slovenski izseljenec je vedno pogosteje razumljen kot študent, ki si nabira izkušnje v tujini, strokovnjak, pogumen podjetnik (!) itd. Še več, ob razmeroma hitrem »odmiranju« do nedavnega ustaljenih oblik »društvenega« življenja, ki so bile značilnost prve generacije izseljencev pretežno nižjega izobrazbenega in socialnega izvora, se ob hkratni uveljavitvi novih načinov komuniciranja (internet) vedno bolj uveljavlja nova podoba slovenskega izseljenstva. To pa v veliki meri temelji prav na »gospodarskem« sodelovanju z matično domovino ali vsaj na tovrstnem načinu razmišljanja.

24 O tovrstnih težavah so na konferenci Etnična ekonomija in Slovenci zunaj RS 4. 7. 2012 v Ljubljani razpravljali podjetniki slovenskega rodu iz Brazilije, Švice, Nemčije, Bolgarije, Italije, Avstrije, Kanade, BiH in Kitajske (dosegljivo v arhivu RTV Slovenija, Radio Slovenija, 1. program, oddaja Studio ob 17h). S to problematiko se dejavno sooča Društvo v tujini izobraženih Slovencev – VTIS, ki je decembra 2016 na Vlado RS naslovilo publikacijo s poudarjenimi devetimi glavnimi težavami pri sodelovanju z matično državo in vračanju na študij, delo ali v raziskovalno dejavnost (VTIS 2016).

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SUMMARY

BETWEEN BUSINESS AND PATRIOTISM: THE ETHNIC ECONOMY AND SLOVENIANS OUTSIDE SLOVENIA

Zvone ŽIGON

The author first describes various forms of ethnic identity and ethnic economies, and then focuses on the Slovenian ethnic community living outside of Slovenia. Each of the forms has its own specifics, depending on social and educational structure and on historical and politico-geographic context.

In order to more easily perceive the multifacetedness of the personal and ethnic identities of emigrants, the author uses his own model of a moveable scale of forms and levels of identity among members of generations of descendants of Slovenian emigrants, to which we can add a decision to cooperate in business in the form of (ethnic) business associations or directly with Slovenian partners in diaspora or in Slovenia itself. The scale includes nine categories, ranging from mere awareness of one's ethnic origins to occasional or regular participation in organised immigrant or emigrant communities, visiting the homeland and the decision to move back to the country of one's parents. Even people who have no connection with Slovenia and with the organized Slovenian diaspora can participate in the ethnic economy.

The author finds that there are a lot of things that should be done in Slovenia at the level of the state and public administration to promote the increased implementation of the Slovenian ethnic economy model in order to assist individuals and associations which are interested in economic cooperation with Slovenia. This should be accomplished primarily through reducing bureaucracy, clientelism and especially various phobias which prevent foreigners – including ethnic Slovenes – from entering the Slovenian market.

However, certain changes are occurring. The term "Slovenian emigrant" has been gaining different connotations recently than it had during the days of the "polka and sausage" stereotype, even among the general public. A modern Slovenian emigrant is increasingly understood as a student gaining experience abroad, a professional or a daring entrepreneur.

Due to the relatively fast disappearance of established models of participation in societies and associations, as was characteristic of first-generation Slovenian emigrants, who were predominantly from lower educational and social strata, a new model of Slovenian emigration is appearing in parallel with new forms of communication (internet), which is to a great extent based precisely on economic cooperation with the motherland, or at least on this way of thinking.

O MLEČNI FORMULI IN PLENICAH: PREPLETENE MOBILNOSTI PREDMETOV IN LJUDI V KITAJSKIH TRANSNACIONALNIH DRUŽBENIH PROSTORIH

Martina BOFULIN¹

COBISS 1.01

IZVLEČEK

O mlečni formuli in plenicah: Prepletene mobilnosti predmetov in ljudi v kitajskih transnacionalnih družbenih prostorih

Članek oblike mobilnosti v kitajskih transnacionalnih prostorih naslavlja z analizo kroženja proizvodov za nego otrok med kitajskimi migranti in člani njihovih družbenih mrež na Kitajskem. Osredotoča se na nakupovanje, pošiljanje in prodajo mlečne formule in otroških plenice kot izdelkov, ki razkrivajo kompleksne družbene odnose (ne) mobilnih kitajskih subjektov. Analizira vznik posebnega tipa transnacionalnih subjektov – migrantov kot posrednikov med proizvajalci zunaj Kitajske in potrošniki na Kitajskem in razkriva povezave med predmeti in raznolikimi izkušnjami migracij ter prispeva k diskusiji o potrošnji otrokom namenjenih izdelkov.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: mlečna formula, plenice, kitajski migranti, transnacionalizem, neformalna trgovina

ABSTRACT

On Milk Formula and Diapers: The Entangled Mobilities of People and Objects within Chinese Transnational Spaces

The article addresses multiple mobilities within Chinese transnational spaces by highlighting the circulation of products for children between Chinese migrants and members of their social networks in China. It focuses on the buying, sending and/or selling of milk formula and diapers as a special type of commodity that brings light to the complex relationships of (im)mobile Chinese and draws attention to the role of objects in producing particular types of transnational subjects – migrants as intermediaries between producers outside China and consumers within China. The paper aims to add to the discussion on commodities consumed by children as well as to illustrate what specific objects tell us about diverse experiences of migration.

KEY WORDS: milk formula, diapers, Chinese migrants, transnationalism, informal trade

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UVOD

Čeprav so predmeti v naši domišljiji pogosto zamišljeni kot statični, postavljeni in razstavljeni na policah, v vitrinah in predalih domov, trgovin ter muzejev, njihova »življenja« označuje mobilnost. Ta zaznamuje že njihov nastanek in se nadaljuje skozi celotni obstoj (Cooke, Hart 2012): še celo potem, ko že zavrženi potujejo do odlagališča ali mesta predelave. Med prehajanjem skozi faze, od produkcije do posredovanja in uporabe ter končnega uničenja/predelave, nastajajo njihove specifične biografije (Kopytoff 1986), ki so neločljivo povezane z ljudmi in pogosto z njihovim premikanjem v času in prostoru. Vse večje število raziskav se zato posveča vprašanju povezav med (ne)mobiliteto predmetov in (ne)mobiliteto ljudi ter njihovih učinkov na oblikovanje transnacionalnih družbenih prostorov (Burrell 2008; Povrzanović Frykman 2009; Camposano 2012; Wang 2016). Transnacionalni družbeni prostori, definirani kot družbeni odnosi geografsko mobilnih oseb, mrež in organizacij, vzdrževani v čezmejnih kontekstih multiplih držav, se pogosto vzpostavljajo med razseljenimi družinskimi člani oziroma t. i. sorodniškimi sistemi (Faist 2000). Te družine, kljub fizični razdalji, še vedno vzdržujejo družinske odnose, pogosto prek različnih predmetov, ki potujejo med družinskimi člani v različnih državah bivanja.

Številne raziskave o transnacionalnih družinah (Wilding 2006; Baldassar 2007) so pokazale, da se med razseljenimi družinskimi člani izmenjujejo enake oblike podpore in skrbstva kot v družinah, katerih člani prebivajo v neposredni geografski bližini. V teh študijah se zato koncept 'skrbi' (angleško: *care*) vzpostavlja kot ključni mehanizem, ki vzdržuje transnacionalne odnose. Skrb za družinske člane v različnih oblikah (finančni, praktični, emocionalni, v obliki predmetov) zagotavlja, da se tudi ob geografski oddaljenosti ohranja občutek »soprisotnosti« (Urry v Baldassar, Merla 2014) in družinskosti (Bryceson, Vuorela 2002). Skrbstvene prakse, ki vključujejo kroženje predmetov, so v kontekstih migracij najboljše opisane v primeru filipinske migracije in t. i. *balikbayan* paketov. Ti običajno vsebujejo predmete vsakodnevne potrošnje (kozmetiko, čevlje, igrače, prehrabene izdelke ipd.), ki jih filipinske migrantske delavke pošiljajo svojim otrokom in družinskim članom na Filippine (Parreñas 2005; Camposano 2012). Kot meni McKay (2004), prav ti paketi in njihova vsebina pričajo o ohranjanju družinskega vsakodnevnega življenja v čezmejnih kontekstih.

Vendar pa se predmeti ne izmenjujejo samo med družinskimi člani; pogosto potujejo in se premikajo po širših omrežjih transnacionalnih in diasporočnih skupin tudi zunaj družinskih in sorodniških sistemov. *Gastarbeiterji*, na primer, so v preteklosti iz Nemčije oskrbovali izvirne skupnosti z luksuznimi ali s sodobnimi tehničnimi izdelki (Can 2015). Kitajski migranti v Evropi in Japonski, o katerih pišem v nadaljevanju, domov pošiljajo predmete za oskrbo majhnih otrok. Omenjena primera pričata o »transnacionalizmu od spodaj« (Guarnizo, Smith 1998) oziroma o vsakodnevni praksi in strategijah mobilnih posameznikov, ki živijo v stalnem in ponavljajočem prehajanju državnih meja.

Kljub temu pa raziskave o »običajnih« predmetih, ki so del »vsakodnevne normalnosti« (Povrzanović Frykman 2009) mobilnih subjektov, niso zelo pogoste. Po mnenju Wanga (2016) tudi zato, ker metodologije in epistemologije v migracijskih študijah dajejo prednost ljudem pred stvarmi, zaradi česar so ljudje pogosto »odrezani« od materialnega okolja, v katerem potujejo, kot tudi od materialnih posledic svoje mobilnosti. Zaradi takšnega spregleda imamo zelo malo informacij o vlogi predmetov in njihove mobilnosti pri nastajanju in vzdrževanju transnacionalnih prostorov ali njihovem sooblikovanju specifičnih oblik transnacionalnega bivanja ter soustvarjanju oblik odnosov v transnacionalnih družbenih prostorih.

Članek omenjena vprašanja postavlja v kontekst kitajskih transnacionalnih družbenih prostorov in poudarja kroženje dveh specifičnih vrst otrokom namenjenih predmetov: mlečne formule in otroških pleníc. V Ljudski republiki Kitajski (LRK) so namreč obsežne družbenoekonomske transformacije v zelo kratkem času popolnoma spremenile številne, tudi starodavne prakse, med drugim v negi in vzgoji otrok. V državi s še do nedavno zapovedano politiko »nega otroka« se namreč učinki omenjenih družbenih sprememb zelo jasno vpišujejo v otroška življenja, okoli katerih se gostijo tako intimni kot družbeni izzivi novo postavljene tržne ekonomije. Spremembe v negi in varstvu otrok in s tem povezane potrošnje pa se, kot pokažem v nadaljevanju, presenetljivo prepletajo z migracijami in s povečano splošno mobilnostjo državljanov LRK (tudi s turistično mobilnostjo) ter tako porajajo nove transnacionalne prakse, ki uspešno presegajo geografske razdalje in državne meje. Na temelju analize nakupovanja, zbiranja, pošiljanja in sprejemanja predmetov, namenjenih negi otrok, članek osvetljuje prepletanje mobilnosti predmetov z (ne)mobilnostjo ljudi, vrste odnosov, ki nastajajo v tem procesu, ter posebne tipe transnacionalnih subjektov, ki se v tem procesu vzpostavljajo. Potrošnja predmetov, namenjenih negi otrok, namreč razkriva mobilnostne, družinske in intimne strategije staršev, katerih otroci so »konstitutivni del sodobnih kultur potrošnje in nikakor ne zgolj njihova izpeljava« (Cook 2008).

Gradivo za pripravo članka sem pridobivala v sklopu doktorske raziskave in dveh podoktorskih raziskav; o družinskih praksah kitajskih migrantov v Evropi in na Japonskem ter raziskave o novem pojavu kitajskih turistov.¹ Temelji na medijskih zapisih ter manjšem številu neformalnih pogovorov in opazovanj z udeležbo med kitajskimi migranti iz vzhodnega, obalnega dela Kitajske, ki prebivajo na Japonskem, v Sloveniji in Srbiji. V omenjenih raziskavah se nisem osredotočala na pojav kroženja otroških pleníc in mlečne formule, temveč na podatke, ki so se »ujeli« v pogovore o družinskih odnosih razseljenih družinskih članov ali pa o načinih preživljanja državljanov LRK, ki transnacionalna življenja živijo razpeti med Kitajsko in različnimi državami naselitve. Zaradi vsakdanjosti, celo banalnosti teh predmetov in hkrati njihove vsesplošne prisotnosti sprva tem informacijam nisem posvečala velike pozornosti, a sem kmalu

1 Za podporo se zahvaljujem japonski raziskovalni agenciji JSPS (podoktorski projekt Families at work: Chinese migrants' family practices in Japan) in Javni agenciji za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (Beyond Ni Hao: Kako slovenska država ... , št Z5-6826).

odkrila, da ne samo da razkrivajo obstoječe družbene odnose med razseljenimi in nemobilnimi sogovorniki v raziskavi, temveč so celo katalizator za ustvarjanje novih.

DRUŽBENOEKONOMSKE TRANSFORMACIJE, MIGRACIJE, TURIZEM IN NOVE OBLIKE NEGE V ZGODNJEM OTROŠTVU V LRK

Tako plenice za enkratno uporabo kot mlečna formula so postale del široke potrošnje na Kitajskem šele po letu 2000. Za obdobje zadnjih dveh desetletij 20. stoletja je za državo namreč značilno korenito gospodarsko prestrukturiranje, ki je tudi močno spremenilo vsakodnevne prakse in družbene odnose prebivalcev. V manj kot desetletju po začetku reform sta se izrazito povečala nabor izdelkov in storitev ter materialni standard prebivalcev (Davis 2000). Kitajska komunistična partija je začela aktivno spodbujati potrošnjo, ki naj bi pripeljala do družbe »zmerne blaginje«, zaradi česar je v urbanih delih Kitajske nakupovanje postalo ključni element vsakdana (Rocca 2017). Ta trend se je še okrepil po letu 1997, ko je kitajska oblast kot rešitev iz azijske ekonomske krize začela spodbujati domačo potrošnjo in je nakupovanje postalo celo domoljubno dejanje (prav tam).

Nove oblike potrošnje so se uveljavile tudi v negi in vzgoji otrok, saj je leta 1978 začela veljati t. i. »politika enega otroka«, ki je močno omejila število rojstev na družino, ustvarila novo normo »edincev« v urbanih predelih Kitajske ter eksponentno povečala družinske izdatke za potrebe otrok(a). Po mnenju Elisabeth Croll (2006) so otroci postali najpomembnejša potrošniška skupina na Kitajskem – leta 2004 so namreč ocenili, da se kar 40 odstotkov povprečnega družinskega prihodka porabi za potrebe otrok (Chan, McNeal v Croll 2006: 174). Glede na podatke iz leta 1990 naj bi bilo okoli 86 odstotkov otrok v pekinških in šanghajskih vrtcih in šolah edincev, zato ne preseneča, da poskušajo starši iz urbanih sredin vzgojiti t. i. »popolnega edinca oz. edinko« (Milwertz 1998) in so temu pripravljene nameniti tudi precejšen delež dohodkov. Ta osredotočenost kitajskih družin na (enega) otroka skupaj z relativno visokim absolutnim številom otrok na Kitajskem je zanimiva tako za domače kot tudi tuje globalne znamke otroških proizvodov, namenjenih prehrani, oblačilom in prostemu času. Številni med temi proizvodi se na Kitajskem tržijo pod krinko sodobnih znanstvenih pristopov in dognanj, ki starše – potrošnike nagovarjajo k modernizaciji njihovih bolj tradicionalnih praks nege in varstva (npr. uporaba mlečne formule; Tang idr. 2015).

Posledica bliskovite ekspanzije trga je, da se ponekod produkcija, ki v nekaterih primerih le stežka sledi povpraševanju, zateka k različnim prevaram in opustitvi tudi najosnovnejših varnostnih standardov. Iz tega razloga Kitajsko primerljivo pogosteje pretresajo škandali in afere s ponarejenimi, toksičnimi ali z drugače nevarnimi izdelki, ki so močno zamajali zaupanje potrošnikov v lokalne znamke in jih spodbudili k poseganju po tujih, ki so, če je le mogoče, proizvedene zunaj Kitajske. Poleg izbiranja »najboljših« in najvarnejših proizvodov za nego otrok, ki bi že v prvih letih življenja

omogočili razmere za optimalni razvoj njihovih fizičnih in kognitivnih zmožnosti, pa starše v nakupe vodi tudi želja po doseganju statusa, povezanega z zamišljanjem sodobnega življenjskega stila, katerega pomembna vidika sta družbena in geografska mobilnost. Tian in Dong (2010) ugotavljata, da so za kitajske potrošnike »zahodne znamke« pomembna kategorija z različnimi pomeni: z »zahodno drugačnostjo«, mednarodnim slovesom, zagotovljeno kakovostjo, s tehnološko naprednostjo in z relativno nedostopnostjo zaradi visokih cen. Hkrati menita, da kitajske potrošnike pri odločitvah za nakup tujih znamk vodijo različne strategije, med drugim tudi želja po svobodi in preseganju meja, tako fizičnih kot tudi simbolnih (prav tam). Poseganje po tujih blagovnih znamkah tako poleg zagotovil o varnejših izdelkih priča tudi o določenem izpričanem ali zaželenem materialnem in družbenem statusu. Višji materialni in družbeni status je namreč v sodobni Kitajski pomembno povezan z vprašanji geografske (ne)mobilnosti, tako ljudi kot predmetov (Nyiri 2010).

Po letu 1985 je kitajska država sprostila dotedanje omejitve gibanja iz države ter omogočila izselitev številnih državljanov. Najbolj množične skupine izseljencev so prebivalci t. i. tradicionalnih izseljenskih okrajev, ki so se izseljevali že pred nastankom LRK, visoko izobraženi in usposobljeni strokovnjaki, v zadnjem času pa predvsem študenti, neizučeni delavci ter zelo premožni (Xiang 2016). Poleg relativno močnega izseljevanja pa se je predvsem v zadnjem desetletju pojavila še ena oblika mobilnosti kitajskih prebivalcev – ti se namreč vse bolj množično udeležujejo turističnih potovanj zunaj meja LRK. Kitajci so med najbolj množičnimi turisti v številnih azijskih državah, npr. na Japonskem ali v Vietnamu (Chan 2006), ter tudi v bolj oddaljenih destinacijah, npr. Veliki Britaniji (*Newsweek* 2015), vse bolj pa obiskujejo manj znane destinacije, kot so na primer Balkanski polotok ali države nekdanje Jugoslavije (Raspor idr. 2012). Vsi ti mobilni posamezniki in skupine imajo dostop do izdelkov, izdelanih zunaj LRK, zaradi česar lahko svoje družinske člane in prijatelje oskrbujejo z zaželenimi proizvodi iz tujine, pri tem pa pridobijo na lastnem statusu ali celo zaslužijo.

Medtem ko nekateri oskrbujejo samo svoje bližnje, pa so številni drugi občasno dejavnost prinašanja in pošiljanja stvari iz tujine spremenili v dobičkonosno storitev. Ti po želji strank nakupujejo najrazličnejše izdelke široke potrošnje, najpogosteje kozmetiko in zdravila, med otrokom namenjenimi izdelki pa prevladujejo plenice za enkratno uporabo in mlečna formula. V nadaljevanju predstavljam nekatere značilnosti tovrstnega neformalnega trgovanja z omenjenima izdelkoma za nego otrok in v zvezi s tem vznik nove oblike transnacionalnega subjekta, t. i. *daigou* posrednika.

MLEČNA FORMULA IN PLENICE: POVEZAVA MED KROŽENJEM PREDMETOV IN KROŽENJEM LJUDI

O mlečni formuli in njenem pošiljanju družinskim članom na Kitajsko sem prvič slišala že na začetku svojega terenskega dela med kitajskimi migranti v Evropi. Pred odhodom na prvo terensko delo na Kitajsko me je prijateljica, v Sloveniji živeča kitajska

državljanca, prosila, da odnesem nekaj stvari njeni družini v kraj izvora na vzhodu države. Čez nekaj dni je prinesla več zavojev iz aluminijaste folije s prilepljenimi napisi v kitajskem jeziku. Na vprašanje o vsebini zavojev je odgovorila, da gre za mlečno formulo priljubljene blagovne znamke v Sloveniji. To je bila najljubša znamka njenega sina, za katerega so na Kitajskem skrbeli stari starši. Dodala je, da sin kitajskih znamk ne mara, zato mu redno pošilja pakete iz Slovenije.

V poznejših pogovorih z materami, katerih majhne otroke so na Kitajskem varovali družinski člani, sem izvedela, da je to razširjena praksa med kitajskimi migrant-skimi materami tako v Sloveniji kot Srbiji, kjer sem opravljala terensko delo. Starši, ki zaradi prepleta strukturnih pogojev v kraju naselitve, uveljavljenih družinskih praks v kraju izvora ter zasledovanja intimnih kariernih in družinskih strategij svoje otroke prepustijo v varstvo družinskim članom v kraju izvora, poskušajo z različnimi strategijami premoščati veliko geografsko razdaljo, ki jih loči od otrok. Medtem ko so te lahko individualne, pa gre najpogosteje za strategije, ki so del izseljenkega *habitusa* kraja izvora (Bofulin 2016). Izseljevanje je namreč na tem območju že več kot stoletje vpisano v družbeno tkivo, temu dominantnemu družbenoekonomskemu procesu pa so tam podrejeni praktično vsi družbeni odnosi, tudi odnosi, povezani z nego in vzgojo otrok. Matere in očetje v takšnih okoliščinah vsakodnevno fizično prisotnost v življenju otrok nadomeščajo z drugimi praksami, najpogosteje z rednim komuniciranjem po telefonu in/ali sodobnih komunikacijskih tehnologijah (družbenih omrežjih, internetnih telefonskih omrežjih), s pošiljanjem finančnih nakazil in daril, z obiski v kraju izvora, v primeru majhnih otrok pa tudi s pošiljanjem mlečne formule skrbnikom otrok. Kot sem ugotavljala (prav tam), gre v zadnjem primeru predvsem za materinsko (in tako tudi spolno obeleženo) skrb na daljavo, s katero redno in skrbno pošiljanje mlečne formule premošča fizično razdaljo med materami in otroki. Podobno kot v številnih drugih primerih transnacionalnih družin oziroma starševstva na daljavo, kjer so raziskovalci poročali o prisotnosti lokalno specifičnih praks (npr. Parreñas 2005), se je tudi v opazovani skupini kitajskih migrantov mlečna formula uveljavila kot transnacionalna valuta materinstva, nje-no pošiljanje pa je v kraju izvora mojih sogovornic sčasoma postalo pričakovano vedenje izseljenih mater.

Prakso pošiljanja mlečne formule v kraj izvora sem analizira kot lokalno specifično obliko transnacionalizma, značilno za skupnosti s številnimi kitajskimi izseljenci s t. i. »območij izseljencev«. Ko pa so se po letu 2008 v različnih svetovnih medijih začeli pojavljati zapisi o kitajskih državljanih, ki so v različnih delih sveta nakupovali večje količine mlečne formule, pri tem popolnoma spraznili prodajne police ter izdelke po neformalnih mrežah pošiljali na Kitajsko, je postalo smiselno potrošnje uvožene mlečne formule kot tudi drugih sorodnih izdelkov analizirati tudi v kontekstu novih oblik potrošnje na Kitajskem in njenih presečišč z mobilnostjo ljudi in predmetov. Čeprav kraj izvora mojih sogovornikov ni del urbane Kitajske (kljub lokaciji na vzhodu Kitajske je to ekonomsko in prometno relativno slabše razvit manjši kraj), so se v okraju zaradi povratnih finančnih tokov migrantov razvile potrošniške prakse,

podobne tistim v velikih urbanih središčih. Tamkajšnji prebivalci so namreč zaradi družinskih in drugih povezav z Evropo do tujih (evropskih) znamk dostopali pred veliko večino urbanega srednjega razreda v preostalih delih Kitajske.

Ko so tudi drugi prebivalci Kitajske postali bolj mobilni – kot turisti, študenti in tudi migranti – se je zelo hitro vzpostavila neformalna mednarodna trgovina s številnimi prehrabnenimi, kozmetičnimi in farmacevtskimi izdelki. Med temi je mlečna formula na vrhu seznama najbolj zaželenih proizvodov. Večina strokovnih analiz in medijskih prispevkov pripisuje vzroke velikega zanimanja kitajskih potrošnikov za nakup mlečne formule globokemu nezaupanju glede varnosti na Kitajskem proizvedenih mlečnih formul; Kitajsko je namreč pretreslo več prevar. Morda najbolj odmevna je leta 2008 ugotovljeno dodajanje industrijske kemikalije melanin v mlečno formulo priznane kitajske lokalne znamke. Mlečna formula je povzročila smrt vsaj šestih otrok, medtem ko naj bi bilo po poročilu Organizacije združenih narodov (2008) zaradi ledvičnih težav po uživanju toksičnega izdelka hospitaliziranih skoraj 50.000 otrok. Kljub odpoklicu proizvoda s trga in njegovem uničenju, so se ostanki mlečne formule na kitajskem trgu pojavljali še več let po izbruhu škandala in ogrožali varnost otrok (Tang idr. 2015). Nezaupanje potrošnikov so še dodatno zamajala poročila iz leta 2011 o prisotnosti iz usnja pridobljenih proteinov v na Kitajskem proizvedeni mlečni formuli (Center for Food Safety 2011).

Povečan nadzor nad trgom mlečne formule je kot posledica zgoraj opisanih dogodkov na Kitajskem povzročil hitro rast cen in omejen dostop do najkvalitetnejših znamk, ki jih uporablja urbani srednji razred. Na Kitajskem, ki je sicer največji trg za prodajo mlečne formule na svetu, naj bi jo uživala že večina do šest mesecev starih otrok. Delež z mlečno formulo hranjenih otrok je bil najvišji v sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, nato pa se je, čeprav delež nedojenih otrok ostaja visok, po letu 1990 začel zmanjševati (Xu idr. 2009). Številne raziskave so sicer pokazale velike geografske razlike pri deležu otrok, ki niso zgolj dojeni – njihov delež namreč variira od 20 do 80 odstotkov glede na lokacijo raziskave (prav tam), ti deleži pa naj bi bili precej odvisni tako od razmišljanj in percepcij mater o prednostih dojenja oziroma mlečne formule (npr. da otroci, hranjeni z mlečno formulo, bolje in dlje spijo ali da hitreje pridobivajo na teži) kot tudi pritiskov oglaševalske industrije in trženja mlečne formule (brezplačni vzorci v porodnišnicah, uvajanje mlečne formule takoj po rojstvu) (Tang idr. 2015).

Vzroke za razmah neformalnih transnacionalnih mrež trgovanja z izbranimi izdelki tujih znamk lahko torej iščemo v nezaupanju potrošnikov v varnost na Kitajskem proizvedene mlečne formule, nastanku potrošniških praks, povezanih s statusom (nakup dražjih in tujih znamk), ter pritiskih oglaševalske industrije. Med nosilci »paralelne trgovine« in »nakupovanja preko *daigou* posrednikov«, kot je pojav poimenovan na Kitajskem, so predstavniki različnih skupin mobilnih Kitajcev: turisti, poslovneži, migranti in študenti. Trgovanje poteka izključno po spletnih platformah in s pomočjo letalske in ladijske pošte. Med največjimi tovrstnimi platformami je *Taobao*, ki omogoča »srečevanja« ponudnikov in kupcev, trgovanje pa pogosto poteka

tudi po mobilni aplikaciji *WeChat*, ki podpira tudi finančne transakcije in je najbolj priljubljeno kitajsko večnamensko družbeno omrežje.

S pomočjo omenjenih spletnih orodij in zaradi ogromnega povpraševanja kitajskih potrošnikov se je po letu 2010 neformalno trgovanje z zunaj Kitajske kupljeno mlečno formulo tako razmahnilo, da so številne države omejele količino enkratnega nakupa. Na policah trgovin v Veliki Britaniji ali Avstraliji so se kmalu pojavila navodila o omejitvah, npr. na zgolj dva izdelka na družino (BBC 2013; *The Guardian* 2015). V Hongkongu je nakupovalna mrzlica med lokalnimi prebivalci povzročila celo izbruhe nezadovoljstva in sovražnega govora, zaradi česar so oblasti posebnega administrativnega območja leta 2013 količino mlečne formule, ki so jo državljanji LRK² lahko odnesli z območja, zakonsko omejele na 1,8 kg. Ta prepoved, katere kršitev lahko prinese finančno in zaporno kazen, velja še danes (*South China Morning Post* 2017).

Mlečna formula pa ni edini izdelek za nego otrok, ki potuje od izseljenih Kitajcev do članov njihovih družbenih mrež na Kitajskem. Plenice za enkratno uporabo so v primerjavi z mlečno formulo nedavna pridobitev kitajske potrošniške krajine; na kitajski trg so vstopile šele leta 1998 (CBS Moneywatch 2010). Pred tem so bili značilni zgodnje spodbujanje kontroliranega uriniranja ter t. i. 'hlačke s prerezom' (kitajsko: *kaidangku*), ki so otrokom omogočale praznjenje mehurja brez slačenja. Kot opisujejo predstavniki podjetja Procter&Gamble, so za spodbujanje potrošnje plenice na Kitajskem izvedli številne tržne raziskave s spremljajočim močnim oglaševanjem produkta. Ker so na začetku trgu ponudili cenene plenice nizke kakovosti, se trg ni odzval. Šele z uvedbo prodaje kakovostnejšega, a cenovno ugodnejšega izdelka, je uporaba plenice po letu 2010 začela naraščati (CBS Moneywatch 2010), predvsem v mestih pa so se korenito spremenile tudi higienske norme. V očeh prebivalcev urbane Kitajske so nekdanje vseprisotne otroške hlačke vse bolj nehigienske in necivilizirane, kar pogosto povezujejo z ruralno Kitajsko in s »kmečkim« načinom življenja (*China Daily* 2016). Posledično je kitajski trg plenice za enkratno uporabo med najbolj obetajočimi tako za lokalne kot tuje znamke, kar odražajo tudi besede direktorja kanadske znamke Kaoshies (v Croll 2006: 170): »Dvajset milijonov otrok se rodi vsako leto [na Kitajskem], in če uspe nekomu pridobiti zgolj enoodstotni tržni delež, to pomeni 200.000 uporabnikov in milijon plenice letno. To je čudovito.«

Podobno kot v primeru mlečne formule, kitajski potrošniki (predvsem tisti, ki so za plenice pripravljeni odšteti več denarja) dvomijo v kakovost lokalno proizvedenih plenice. Zaradi tega so se plenice za enkratno uporabo prebile med izdelke, ki se po neformalnih kanalih že omenjene »paralelne trgovine« in *daigou* posrednikov najpogosteje pošiljajo na Kitajsko. Merries, najbolj cenjeno znamko med kitajskimi potrošniki, proizvaja japonsko podjetje Kao. To podjetje je na Kitajskem zaznalo hitro se razvijajoči trg plenice za enkratno uporabo in je v ta namen v provinci Anhui na vzhodu Kitajske zgradilo novo tovarno ter jo opremilo z najnovejšo tehnologijo za

2 Hongkong je del Ljudske republike Kitajske, vendar ima kot posebno administrativno območje precejšnjo stopnjo avtonomije tudi glede nadzora svojih meja. Prebivalci LRK, ki niso prijavljeni v Hongkongu, potrebujejo za vstop na območje posebno dovoljenje.

zadrževanje tekočine v plenicah (*Business Insider* 2016). Kljub temu so kitajski potrošniki še vedno zahtevali »pravo stvar« – plenice Merries, izdelane na Japonskem in uvožene na Kitajsko. Posledično se je hitro razvil neformalni trg preprodaje pleníc, kjer so pomembno vlogo odigrali kitajski študenti in drugi kitajski migranti na Japonskem. Tam so namreč med vsemi migranti najštevilčnejši prav kitajski migranti, med njimi pa je največ študentov zasebnih in državnih fakultet (Liu-Farrer 2011). Ker se mnogi preživljajo s honorarnim delom, so v trgovanju s plenícami videli priložnost za dodatni zaslužek. Po trgovinah so kupovali posamezne zavoje pleníc in jih preprodajali večjim preprodajalcem, ti pa podjetjem, ki so urejala ladijski prevoz in nadaljnjo (spletno) preprodajo na Kitajskem.

Nekateri so hitro ugotovili, da lahko več zaslužijo, če manjše pakete z letalsko pošto sami pošiljajo na Kitajsko in jih tam preprodajajo preko aplikacije *WeChat*. Ena med mojimi sogovornicami, univerzitetna predavateljica na vzhodu Kitajske, je takšno honorarno delo ob svojem rednem delu opravljala brez težav. Nekoč sama študentka na Japonskem, je z možem, ki je tam še vedno zaposlen, plenice sprva »uvažala« za svojega otroka. Skupaj z mlekom v prahu, zdravili in s kozmetiko jih je domov ob rednih obiskih prinašal mož. Pozneje so jo prijateljice in sodelavke prosile, če lahko tudi njim dobavi japonske plenice; tako si je hitro pridobila krog rednih strank. V pogovoru je priznala, da je nenehno povpraševanje strank glede pleníc tudi nadležno – še zlasti zagotavljanje, da ne gre za ponaredke – vendar hkrati tudi precej dobičkonosno.

Veliko povpraševanje je, podobno kot pri mlečni formuli, tudi v primeru pleníc za enkratno uporabo povzročilo prazne police, zaradi česar so se po supermarketih in drogerijah na Japonskem pojavili napisi z navodili v japonskem in kitajskem jeziku o nakupu največ dveh zavojev pleníc na družino (Reuters 2014). Zaradi povečane medijske pozornosti je nenavaden primer pomanjkanja pleníc začela preiskovati tudi policija, ki je kmalu objavila poročilo o prijettu treh moških, kitajskih državljanov z vizumi za delo v restavraciji, ki naj bi v petih dneh pokupili 990 paketov pleníc. Kot so poročali mediji, naj bi moške zaradi kršitve pogojev vizuma za prebivanje deportirali iz Japonske (*Japan Today* 2014).

KAKO PREDMETI USTVARJAJO TRANSNACIONALNE SUBJEKTE

Sledenje transnacionalnim življenjem na prvi pogled banalnih predmetov, kot so plenice in mlečna formula, oz. t. i. »materialnim vidikom transnacionalnih družbenih polj« (Povrzanović Frykman 2009), ne razkriva zgolj družbenih odnosov, ki jih ti predmeti soustvarjajo, temveč tudi preplet makroekonomskih in makropolitčnih okoliščin z intimnimi praksami posameznikov. Pošiljanje mlečne formule in pleníc za enkratno uporabo otrokom migrantov, ki so v varstvu skrbnikov v krajih izvora, je intima strategija izražanja materinske ljubezni in skrbi ter premoščanja fizične razdalje, ki matere ločuje od otrok. Hkrati gre tudi za normativno vedenje staršev migrantov, socializiranih na območjih in v skupnostih, ki jih je močno zaznamovalo izseljevanje

in kjer so razvili posebne preživetvene strategije, ki povezujejo izseljence s člani družin in skupnosti na Kitajskem. Vendar pa je treba pošiljanje plenice in mlečne formule razumeti tudi v kontekstu globalizacije in mnogih neenakosti, ki jih ta proces proizvaja. Učinki globalizacije so na Kitajskem povzročili številne ekonomske in družbene spremembe, med drugim hiter razvoj potrošnje in izredni dvig splošne blaginje. Vzorci potrošnje, prej značilni za območja izseljevanja in vpisani v *habitus* kraja, so se razširili med kitajskim urbanim srednjim razredom in spremenili predhodne norme in prakse, med drugim v negi otrok. Mlečna formula in plenice so sedaj del sodobnega načina življenja v kitajskih mestih, medtem ko so prejšnje prakse proglašene za nazadnjaške in pogosto pripisane manj srečnim udeležencem tranzicije, npr. kmetom in migrantskim delavcem. Kljub temu mehanizmi transnacionalnega delovanja v obeh primerih niso identični. V prvem primeru je pošiljanje mlečne formule in plenice družinskemu članom na Kitajsko konstruirano kot oblika skrbstva med razseljenimi družinskimi člani, kar posnema skrbstvene odnose v družinah, katerih člani živijo v neposredni bližini. Čeprav je tudi v teh skrbstvenih odnosih prisotna vsaj implicitna recipročnost, gre predvsem za oblike družinskosti čez nacionalne meje. V drugem primeru pa ti skrbstveni odnosi, čeprav jih izvajajo isti posamezniki, postanejo del trga in so tako poblagovljeni; posredniki sicer strankam na Kitajskem omogočajo nakup predmetov, do katerih sami nimajo dostopa, vendar pa v teh odnosih prevladujejo zakonitosti tržne menjave.

Drugi primer obenem razkriva, kako določeni preseki globalizacijskih silnic in lokalno specifičnih oblik potrošnje vodijo k nastanku nove vrste transnacionalnih subjektov, ki jih prej v kitajskih transnacionalnih prostorih ni bilo v takšnem obsegu. Preveliko povpraševanje, premajhna ali predraga ponudba ter globoko nezaupanje kitajskih potrošnikov v proizvode, »narejene na Kitajskem«, je ustvarilo razmere za delovanje ogromnega števila neformalnih čezmejnih trgovcev majhnega obsega, ki se hitro prilagajajo trgu in za svoj posel ne potrebujejo veliko več kot mobilnik z brezžično povezavo z internetom.

Aktivnosti teh posrednikov so na Kitajskem znane kot *daigou*, kar bi lahko prevedli v 'nakupovanje v imenu nekoga'. Gre za državljane Kitajske z dobrim dostopom do izdelkov in produktov na tujih trgih; najpogosteje to honorarno, a dobičkonosno delo opravljajo kitajski študenti ali nezaposlene žene in matere, ki so se pridružile svojim možem na delu v tujini (Martin 2017). Večina *daigou* posrednikov je žensk, saj naj bi bile aktivnejše na družbenih omrežjih in tudi bolje razumejo potrebe strank – predvsem v primeru plenice, mlečne formule, kozmetike in luksuznih izdelkov visoke mode (Zhang 2015; Martin 2017). Čeprav se posamezne posrednice pojavljajo v različnih državah naselitve, pa se zdi, glede na medijska poročila, da jih je največ v Avstraliji in na Japonskem. V medijih so *daigou* trgovci in trgovke pogosto predstavljeni kot neke vrste osebni nakupovalci, ki posredujejo luksuzne znamke kupcem na Kitajskem, vendar jih velika večina preprodaja vsakodnevne prehrabene, kozmetične in farmacevtske izdelke. *Daigou* posrednica mora dobro poznati celotno potrošniško verigo – seznanjena mora biti z značilnostmi izdelkov, ki jih prodaja,

ter obveščena o razprodajah oziroma t. i. mrežah ugodnosti in sistemih zvestobe, ki jih ponujajo določene trgovske hiše. To poznavanje ji zagotavlja ugodnejši nakup in boljšo posredniško tarifo. Na drugi strani pa mora, da lahko izdelke kar najhitreje proda, imeti na Kitajskem razvejano socialno mrežo.

Po mnenju medijev so prav ti posamezniki in posameznice nosilci pojava t. i. 'eksplozivnega nakupovanja' (japonsko: *bakugai*), kot se nakupovanje večjih količin določenih izdelkov, nato poslanih na Kitajsko, imenuje na Japonskem (Bofulin, Coates 2016). Ta pojav, predvsem pa obširno medijsko poročanje o njem, vzbuja gnev lokalnega prebivalstva na Japonskem, v Avstraliji in Hongkongu ter vodi ne samo v omejitve nakupov, temveč tudi v sovražni govor in rasistične izbruhe, usmerjene v kitajske nakupovalce. Vloga novo nastalega transnacionalnega subjekta – *daigou* posrednika je tako vse prej kot banalna; *daigou* posrednice in posredniki, ki preživljajo dneve med policami drogerij, supermarketov in izpostav hitre pošte, z varnimi in s kakovostnimi izdelki oskrbujejo tisoče in tisoče otrok srednjega razreda na Kitajskem. In čeprav tega ne počnejo z namenom premoščanja fizične oddaljenosti, kot v primeru izseljenskih mater z otroki na Kitajskem, so tudi oni, podobno kot matere, ujeti v pogajanja med priložnostmi in omejitvami, ki jih generira nenehno nihanje med mobilnostjo in vpetostjo v prostor (tako izvora kot naselitve). Vendar *daigou* posredništva ni mogoče razumeti zgolj kot opolnomočenja migrantov s pomočjo mobilnosti, saj so kljub relativno dobri umeščenosti v prostor naselitve in pogosto dobičkonosni dejavnosti postavljeni na obrobje teh družb, ki jim odrejajo vlogo, vse prepogosto pripisano migrantom – oportunistov, ki zgolj izrabljajo sistem države naselitve za lastno dobrobit.

SKLEP

Neverjetno hitre in globoke družbene transformacije so na Kitajskem povzročile potrošnje širokega nabora izdelkov, ki so bili za kitajske potrošnike še nedolgo nepomembni ali pa so jim bili nedosegljivi. Te korenite spremembe so hkrati ustvarile družbo tveganja, v kateri je zagotavljanje varnosti potrošnje in dobrega počutja potrošnikov precejšen izziv. Ob močnem nezaupanju v vse, kar je »proizvedeno na Kitajskem«, se oblikujejo nove prakse in novi akterji potrošnje. V primeru mlečne formule in plenic so te prakse ključno povezane tako z mobilnostjo teh predmetov kot tudi z mobilnostjo nekaterih kitajskih državljanov in nemobilnostjo drugih. Medtem ko si mnogi urbani prebivalci zaradi nedavne povečane družbene mobilnosti na Kitajskem lahko privoščijo uvožene izdelke za nego otrok, drugi v želji po takšni družbeni mobilnosti izkoristijo svojo geografsko mobilnost, da prvim omogočijo dostop do zelenih izdelkov. Za obe skupini je nakup predmetov, ki jih povezujejo z »Zahodom«, način dohitevanja delov sveta, videnih kot »razvitih«, oziroma izraz »subjektivno zaznane desinhronizacije« v primerjavi s centri svetovne moči in potrošnje (Wilk v Hahn, Weiss 2013) kot tudi vpis v nove družbene statuse vse bolj razslojene kitajske družbe (Croll 2006).

Bolj poglobljeno razumevanje novih mobilnih potrošniških praks v sodobni Kitajski pokaže tudi na heterogenost nosilcev teh praks in potrošnje same. Različne skupine ljudi sicer uporabljajo sorodne ali iste prakse, vendar so razlogi zanje lahko zelo drugačni; čeprav mnoge migrantske matere na isti način kot *daigou* posredniki nakupujejo, pakirajo in pošiljajo mlečno formulo ali plenice za enkratno uporabo, imajo takšna dejanja za izseljene matere in njihove družinske člane še vrsto drugih pomenov. Ti pomeni se nanašajo na skrb in nego s pomočjo predmetov, ki materam zaradi njihovih specifičnosti zadovoljevanja osnovnih fizičnih potreb otroka omogočajo obliko vsakodnevne prisotnosti v njihovem življenju. Po drugi strani pa so za *daigou* posrednike mlečna formula in plenice zgolj dobičkonosno trgovanje, vendar pa jih poseben namen teh izdelkov (za nego in vzgojo pogosto »popolnega edinca ali edinke«) še vedno postavlja v polje skrbstva, pa čeprav poblehovljenega.

Prav mobilnost nosilcev praks pošiljanja predmetov na Kitajsko je ključni element, ki v očeh uporabnikov teh predmetov zagotavlja pristnost izdelka; migrantska / turistična / študentska izkušnja na tujem je namreč nujni pogoj dostopa do »pravega« izdelka. Vendar pa so »prava« mlečna formula in »prave« plenice najlaže dostopne tistim, ki so vpeti v določen prostor naselitve in poznajo delovanje tamkajšnjih trgov, zaradi česar morajo protagonisti neformalnega trgovanja in pošiljanja mlečne formule ves čas nihati med mobilnostjo in vpetostjo, t. j. živeti transnacionalno. Le tako lahko izkoristijo priložnosti, ki jih omogoča kompleksen preplet globalizacijskih tokov, neenakosti in intimnih strategij posameznikov, ter tudi preko »banalnih« izdelkov, kot so mlečna formule in plenice, obrniti silnice globalizacije sebi v prid.

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SUMMARY

ON MILK FORMULA AND DIAPERS: THE ENTANGLED MOBILITIES OF PEOPLE AND OBJECTS WITHIN CHINESE TRANSNATIONAL SPACES

Martina BOFULIN

The article addresses the multiple mobilities within Chinese transnational spaces by highlighting the circulation of products for children between Chinese migrants and members of their networks in China. It focuses on the buying, sending and selling of milk formula and diapers as a special type of commodity that brings light to complex relationships among (im)mobile Chinese nationals. In migration research, the commodities flows among dispersed members of migrant communities have received some attention in recent decades, highlighting the practices of sending, receiving and consuming objects as part of processes of identity-making, belonging and care work across borders. But while this kind of research interprets objects as symbols or mediums of particular social processes, I wish to draw attention to the role of the objects themselves in creating specific relations within transnational social fields, including the production of particular types of transnational subjects – migrants as intermediaries between the producers and consumers. Within Chinese transnational spaces these intermediaries have evolved from agents of personalized circulation of objects between migrants and their non-migrant kin to professionals engaging in informal but technologically advanced trade. The material presented in the paper was gathered as part of wider research on Chinese migrants' family practices in Central Europe and Japan. Despite the ubiquitous presence of these objects and their strong marketing, there is a relative lack of research on material culture related to young children within migration studies and also in the wider area of material culture studies. The article thus aims to add to the discussion on the consumption of specific commodities as well as illustrate what particular objects tell us about diverse experiences of migration.

K N J I Ž N E O C E N Ě

B O O K R E V I E W S

Gabriella Lazaridis, *International Migration to Europe: From Subjects to Abjects: Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship*

Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 199.

In the context of the growing stigmatization of migrants in Europe and other parts of the world, Gabriella Lazaridis' book *International Migration to Europe: From Subjects to Abjects*, published in 2015 by Palgrave Macmillan, is a very timely contribution to the literature. The book examines processes of inclusion and exclusion of migrants in Europe and is explicitly placed in the context of a discourse which increasingly links migration to security concerns.

With the aim of examining and increasing people's awareness of the exclusion and the "othering" of migrants in Europe, Lazaridis chooses a rights-based approach, theoretically grounded in Arendt's notion of citizenship as the *right to have rights*. From this starting point, the author develops four different categories of migrant subjectivities, shaped by the migrants' respective legal statuses and representing the inclusion-exclusion continuum: *subjects*, *éjectés*, *injects*, and *abjects*. In her definition, *subjects* have access to full citizenship rights, whereas *éjectés* are of a "quasi-documented status". *Injects*, having been purposefully "injected" into the receiving country, enjoy a special legal status, and *abjects*, as irregular migrants, are in the most vulnerable and marginalized situation. Adopting the concept of *plastic citizenship* as a citizenship which is "fluid, flexible and easily altered by public authorities", Lazaridis emphasizes that states and supranational entities have the power to grant and deprive migrants of their rights, and thereby contribute to a process of *abjectification*. In addition to the legal status, Lazaridis examines how different forms of "othering" contribute to the marginalization of migrants, attributing special importance to a new form of racism in shaping migrants' situations and subjectivities.

The main argument of the book is that the deprivation of rights contributes to the vulnerability of migrants, but that both states and individual economic and political actors have an interest in maintaining migrants in this partly or fully rightless situation. To construct this argument, in the first chapters of her book Lazaridis analyses the situations of various groups of migrants before turning, in the subsequent chapters, to societal discourses on migration and the incorporation of migrants into society, suggesting a stronger and more inclusive EU citizenship as a possible means to strengthen migrants' rights. In the first chapter, Lazaridis introduces the precarious living situation of undocumented migrants, i.e. the *abjects*, emphasizing that the circumstance of their irregularity cannot be dissociated from state policies and that "irregularity" and "regularity" constitute a continuum rather than a binary. The second chapter addresses the brain-drain debate over high-skilled migrants coming to Europe and being "injected" into the labour market, but still frequently facing obstacles in fully integrating into it. In the third chapter, Lazaridis introduces migrant entrepreneurship as a means for migrants to improve their living situation, acquire more rights and thereby move from *abject* to *éjecté* and potentially *subject*.

Nevertheless, the author is clear on the fact that state regulations frequently restrict migrant entrepreneurship. Chapter four analyses the exclusion of migrants in Europe from a gendered perspective: immigration rules being mostly racist and sexist, female migrants face increased vulnerabilities. Another group subject to extreme vulnerabilities are trafficked persons, whose situation is addressed in the fifth chapter. Lazaridis argues that states concentrate mainly on combating traffickers instead of protecting victims, the former policies being in line with their anti-immigrant policies. This links to the subsequent chapter, which discusses the growing securitization of migration discourse. Here, Lazaridis points out how the construction of migrants as a political, economic, and societal threat results in a downward spiral of increased border controls, heightened insecurity of migrants on their journey to Europe, and a growing rejection of migrants in the receiving countries, a process which is economically and politically profitable for certain actors. The penultimate chapter examines how migrants can become part of the receiving society, for example through policies of multiculturalism and regularisation. Lazaridis concludes her discussion on migrant rights by examining whether EU citizenship as a postnational type of citizenship could constitute an alternative form of citizenship, based on residence instead of nationality. Lazaridis observes the emergence of an “unbounded citizenship” via transnational social movements and suggests the adoption of a “transversal perspective” in rethinking citizenship as encompassing multi-layered identities, thereby making it more inclusive.

Having provided an overview of the book, some of its main points are discussed in further detail below: the adoption of a rights-based approach grounded in the categories of *abjects*, *éjectés*, *injects* and *subjects*; the migration theory underlying Lazaridis’ analysis; issues of intersectionality; and the author’s depiction of Europe and its responsibility.

The rights-based approach allows Lazaridis to analyse the impact of national and supranational regulations on migrant subjectivities, rather than merely focusing on the migrants’ economic situation. A further advantage of the approach is its openness to the integration of factors such as racism and sexism into the equation and to taking into consideration the continuum between “regular” and “irregular” migration, the latter especially further rendered possible by the adoption of the concept of *plastic citizenship*. Most crucially, the rights-based approach allows her to examine different types of migration outside the usual categories. However, the way in which Lazaridis puts this approach into practice constrains her results. First, the category of *injects* seems to be very broad, as it encompasses all migrants with a special legal status, thereby including both refugees and high-skilled workers, such as holders of blue cards, whose legal status and living situations can differ significantly. It would be worthwhile to examine whether high-skilled workers and refugees face similar experiences based on their legal status, but the book does not undertake such a comparison, leaving an empty silence regarding the situation of refugees and

implicitly equating their situation to that of high-skilled workers. This is not only misleading but dangerous, since it risks flattening out existing inequalities.

Second, the above-mentioned potential of these categories to cut across existing categories is not realised. The approach taken by Lazaridis could potentially allow an examination of parallels across the typical categories such as high-skilled workers and refugees, as well as differences and nuances within these groups. Keeping the existing categories somewhat loose and open, instead of merely fitting them into the new categories of *abjects*, *éjectés*, *injects* and *subjects*, would allow for new results to arise. Third, the category of *abjects* is misleading in the author's definition of the *abject* as existing "between the concept of a subject and the concept of an object. The *abject* is something which used once to be a subject". This assumes that every migrant who she considers to be an *abject* has formerly been a *subject*, someone the author describes as "enjoying full citizenship rights". This clearly does not correspond to the reality, in which primarily people who are already in a vulnerable situation before migration risk facing a precarious and rightless situation after migration. In this sense, reversing the subtitle of the book to *From Abjects to Subjects* would not only be more logical, but also better reflect the content of the book, since Lazaridis suggests several strategies for migrants to gain more rights, such as processes of regularisation, entrepreneurship and citizenship, and thereby possibilities to move from *abject* to *subject*.

This also demonstrates that at certain points Lazaridis stresses migrants' agency, while being aware of the power of states, e.g. their capacity to grant rights. In spite of this, in other parts of the book Lazaridis creates an image of migrants as passive playthings of external factors. This impression is especially pronounced in the chapter on skilled migration to Europe, which in fact mainly addresses the issue of brain drain. The situation of individual high-skilled migrants in Europe and their own interests of migration are only marginally discussed. In general, the main underlying migration theory, even though not explicitly named, is the push-pull-model, which has been highly criticized for neglecting the agency of the individual and is therefore not very compatible with Lazaridis' claim of wanting to highlight the agency of the migrants.

A more systematic account is given of intersectionality, predominantly focusing on gender and race, but also taking into consideration other factors such as skills, age and religion. All of these are introduced as determining dimensions in the process of "othering". Even though it needs to be acknowledged that Lazaridis repeatedly emphasizes the agency of migrant women and rejects their general portrayal as victims, one might ask whether she does not contribute to such a portrayal herself, since when she focuses explicitly on women, they are either depicted as maids, sex workers or similar. In spite of the fact that Lazaridis gives a nuanced picture of the gender dimension within these areas, a larger acknowledgement that women also figure within other forms of migration would be much appreciated to effectively move away from a stereotypical portrayal of women in general, and migrant women in particular. Lazaridis addresses "new racism" as a factor which crucially shapes

migrants' situations. This concept describes racism as based on ideas of cultural and national, rather than previous notions of biological, superiority. On the one hand, this concept is useful for grasping "hidden racism", but on the other, one needs to remain sensitive to the fact that the supposedly "old" forms of racism persist and that racism is not directed towards different groups to the same extent, as the above definition might lead one to assume.

A further point to be addressed in this regard is that the migration to Europe covered by Lazaridis' analysis is predominantly migration originating in the Global South. This leaves out a significant number of people migrating to Europe from the Global North. Including these migrants more thoroughly into the equation might show more clearly in how far the region of origin influences migrants' situations and give further insights into how racism shapes migrant subjectivities. In general, Lazaridis portrays migration to Europe as a struggle which includes economic, political, legal, and social dimensions. However, not all migrants might face these challenges, which is something that should not be neglected in a book on international migration to Europe.

One of the major strengths of Lazaridis' book is the nuanced depiction of Europe's role in shaping migrant subjectivities. Lazaridis shows that Europe holds a clear responsibility for the precarious situation of migrants, by repeatedly pointing out the existence of a strong European demand for cheap labour, and therefore for irregular, and potentially trafficked, migrants. She is explicit in showing that the situation of migrants is largely influenced by states' (anti-)immigration policies and clearly points out the paradox of Europe seemingly standing up for human rights while at the same time restricting immigration. While focusing on Europe's responsibility, Lazaridis is careful to give equal consideration to the agency of the sending countries, e.g. their role in encouraging or discouraging migration or in contributing to the shaping of female migrants' struggles. Another aspect that should also be positively noted in this respect is that in spite of the fact that the book's focus is on migration to Europe, Lazaridis finds space to integrate the creation of "Others" within Europe, using the example of the Roma as a European minority who also de facto do not enjoy full citizenship. Significantly, Lazaridis succeeds in distinguishing between the national and the EU level. This is not only apparent in the fact that she uses examples taken from various national contexts, while also discussing EU regulations, but mainly in her problematizing of the EU's structural constitution as an entity composed of sovereign nation-states. This theme cuts across her analysis of migrant subjectivities in Europe, the national dominance within the EU repeatedly being portrayed as a major obstacle to migrants' gaining access to rights. This culminates in her discussion of EU citizenship, in which Lazaridis shows that the EU as a supranational body is also willing to move towards a stronger EU citizenship, detached from the national one, but is hampered not only by its own economic considerations but above all by the nation-state make-up of the EU.

International Migration to Europe: From Subjects to Objects shows to what extent national and supranational regulations as well as societal processes contribute to creating migrant subjectivities and constructing migrants as the “Other”, who is diachronically juxtaposed to the “Self”. In this well-researched book, Lazaridis not only presents an engaged discussion about the construction of migrant subjectivities at the current stage, but also places them in historical context and points to the future by proposing alternatives, most notably in the form of a postnational EU citizenship.

Laura Boucsein

Ulf Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe: Emigrants, America and the State since the Late Nineteenth Century*

Lexington Books, Lanham, 2016, 357 str.

Ulfa Brunnbauerja slovenskim raziskovalcem migracij najbrž ni treba posebej predstavljati. Zgodovinski antropolog in direktor Inštituta za zgodovino Jugovzhodne in Vzhodne Evrope v Regensburgu je napisal več monografij s področja študij nacionalizmov, analiz sorodstvenih struktur in zgodovine migracij na območju Jugovzhodne Evrope. V svoji najnovejši knjigi, ki je za slovenske raziskovalce zanimiva tako z metodološkega kot vsebinskega stališča, objavlja vpogled v izseljevanje iz Jugovzhodne Evrope od druge polovice 19. stoletja pa do migracijskih tokov v času komunističnih režimov. Po zgledu novejših raziskav¹ v središče zanimanja postavlja države izselitve in ne priseljenjskih držav. S tovrstnim pristopom odpira pahljačo vprašanj, ki tradicionalno niso bila deležna poglobljenega razmisleka.

Jugovzhodna Evropa, meni Brunnbauer, je pravi laboratorij za analizo migracijskih fenomenov. Obsežno izseljevanje iz regije ni bilo deležne tolikšne refleksije kot izseljevanje iz zahodnega dela kontinenta. Brunnbauer meni, da je bilo raziskovanje migracij v Jugovzhodni Evropi tradicionalno omejeno z metodološkim nacionalizmom, osredotočalo pa se je na proučevanje izseljenjskih tokov določene nacionalne skupnosti in njenega vključevanja v priseljitveno okolje, pri čemer se je proces interpretiralo brez upoštevanja interakcij, v katerih so sodelovali njeni pripadniki. V nasprotju z nacionalno zamejenimi stališči Brunnbauer migracije problematizira v povezavi z oblikovanjem države in nacionalizma. Množične migracije so bile namreč tesno povezane z modernizacijskimi procesi, v katerih je država nastopila kot akter, ki si prizadeva nadzorovati gibanja. Emigracije so ozemeljsko omejeni državi povzročale preglavice, ljudi je država imela za svojo last, tako da je odhajanje prebivalstva pri oblastnikih sprožalo pomisleke. V pričujoči študiji Brunnbauer na primeru Jugovzhodne Evrope analizira, kako je »teritorializirajoča« država poskušala slediti transnacionalnim gibanjem svojega prebivalstva in izvajati svoje pristojnosti na ozemlju, ki ji ni pripadalo. V monografiji se osredotoča prav na ozemlje obeh nekdanjih Jugoslavij in politike, ki sta jih državi izvajali za nadzor nad »svojimi« migranti. Prav zato je knjiga dobrodošla pridobitev za tiste, ki se ukvarjajo z migracijsko preteklostjo na območju današnje Slovenije.

V uvodu se Brunnbauer pomudi ob klasičnih vprašanjih razlage migracij. Analozi zastavi v okviru integralnega pristopa, ki si prizadeva povezati makro-, mezo- in mikroravni delovanja družbe in odzivanja posameznikov. Migracije so namreč kompleksen, »totalen«, kot sam pravi, družbeni fenomen in zahtevajo tako razumevanje družbene strukture kot delovanja omrežij in posameznih agensov, ki družbena pravila prilagajajo vsakdanji praksi. Pozoren je na posamezne zgodbe in neobičajne

1 Prim. Nancy L. Green in François Veil (2007). *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Repatriation*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

izbire, in selitev predstavlja kot odločitev, povezano z življenjskimi strategijami posameznikov. V uvodu razpravlja tudi o opredelitvah posameznih pojmov, ki so v žarišču razprav raziskovalcev migracij. Problemizira tako vprašanje razmejitve med prostovoljnimi in prisilnimi migracijami kot tudi sam pojem migranta, ki se je v vsakdanji govorici (velikokrat pa tudi v rabi raziskovalcev) uveljavil na podlagi kategorialnega aparata države o klasificiranju gibljivih ljudi. Analitski koncept ne more biti preprosto istoveten državnim opredelitvam, zato Brunnbauer vztraja pri refleksiji človeške mobilnosti in oblikovanju ustreznih znanstvenih opredelitev. Pri razlagi dogajanja si pomaga z interpretativnimi modeli dolgega trajanja, ki onemogočajo, da bi zapadli v poenostavljeno razlago enkratnosti določenega pojava.

Da so migracije kompleksni procesi, ki se ne prekinjajo s spremembo državnih oblik, pokaže že v prvem poglavju, ko razpravlja o razsežnostih čezmorskih migracij z Balkana pred prvo svetovno vojno. Te označuje za logično nadaljevanje sezonskih migracij predindustrijskega časa, s katerimi so se odmaknjene vasi vključile v globalno trgovino. Migracije so sledile migracijam, prepričljivo trdi Brunnbauer, kot dejavnik, ki je gnal k odhodu, niso bile pomembne zgolj okoliščine, temveč transnacionalna omrežja, v katerih so ljudje delovali, in informacije, ki so jih prinašali nekdanji migranti. Interpretacija migracij izključno skozi prizmo ekonomije se zato zdi neustrezna, saj je očitno do razlik prihajalo tudi pri izseljevanju med ekonomsko enako razvitimi regijami. Brunnbauer razliko pojasnjuje s kroženjem informacij in z mrežami, v katerih so bili denimo ljudje ob Jadranskem morju, kjer se je izseljevanje začelo prej, udeleženi pred tistimi na celini. Imeli so sorodnike in znance z migrantskimi izkušnjami, morda so znali italijanski jezik, ki se je zdel uporaben tudi v Ameriki, tako da so se med njimi selitvene poti čez lužo lahko prej oblikovale.

Omrežja so igrala pomembno vlogo tudi ob rekrutaciji delavcev za ameriški trg. Eden bolj zloglasnih sistemov, ki je deloval prek sorodniških in klientelnih podpornih mrež, je bil v Združenih državah znan pod imenom *padrone* in je bil sprva razširjen med italijanskimi migranti. Pozneje se je uveljavil med grškimi priseljenci in je bil po ugotovitvah Dillinghamove priseljske komisije vzpostavljen v vsakem malo večjem ameriškem mestu. Grški poslovneži v ZDA so na ta način iz Grčije za čiščenje čevljev in prodajo sadja in zelenjave novačili mlajše fante, predvsem iz province Arkadija, kjer so že opravljali podobna dela. Mladenci so delali v neizprosnih razmerah pod budnim očesom *padrones*, kot ceneni delovni sili pa jim je uspelo izriniti italijansko konkurenco. Velikokrat so jih šefi prisilili, da so domov pisali pisma, v katerih so opevali lepoto svojega življenja v ZDA in tako privabljali nove delovne roke.

Opisu gospodarskega »uspeha« migrantov sledi prikaz njihovega društvenega in družbenega organiziranja, nato pa krajša razprava o vračanju migrantov pred prvo svetovno vojno. Večina tistih, ki so se v ZDA priselili pred prvo svetovno vojno, ni razmišljala o stalni naselitvi, sklene Brunnbauer. Veliko jih je odločitev pozneje tudi spremenilo, vendar je že sama želja po vrnitvi vplivala na organiziranje njihovega življenja v ZDA. Tesni stiki z domačimi so vplivali na obe plati procesa, izseljenci so se čutili del domače skupnosti, domov so pošiljali denar, da bi lahko domači živeli

lagodnejše življenje, in upali, da bodo nekoč spet sprejeti v domači krog. Vračanje je podžgalo čar Amerike in tako tlakovalo pot nadaljnji migraciji. Izseljenci so s pošilkami denarja odločilno pomagali tudi lokalni ekonomiji, tako da so lahko domači končno odplačali dolgove, prenovili hiše in nakupili kmetijsko mehanizacijo. Na neki način so bili torej ekonomski učinki čezmorskih migracij podobni tistim, ki so jih v šestdesetih letih prinesli *gastarbeiterji*, ugotavlja Brunnbauer.

V prvem poglavju avtor nameni pozornost tudi preglavicam, ki jih povzročajo vprašanje kvantifikacije selitev. Težave bržkone povzročajo že to, da ni jasno, kdo je bil opredeljen za migranta, države niso vodile natančne statistike odhodov (Cislajtanska državna polovica Avstro-Ogrske), posamezniki so se večkrat selili med državi odhoda in prihoda, pa tudi ameriška statistika ni bila zanesljiva, saj je v en koš metala »Bošnjake, Dalmatince in Hercegovce«, v drugi pa »Bolgare, Srbe in Črnogorce«.

Vprašanja, kako je država posegala v nadzor migracijskih tokov in kako je bila tovrstna regulacija povezana s procesi modernizacije in oblikovanja nacije, Brunnbauer postavlja v čas pred prvo svetovno vojno. Medtem ko Cislajtani vse do svojega konca ni uspela uvesti kontrole nad izseljevanjem (le ob izbruhu vojne je veljala prepoved za tiste, ki niso opravili vojaške služnosti), pa so v ogrski državni polovici deset let pred prvo svetovno vojno že sprejeli natančne ukrepe, s katerimi bi nadzorovali odhode tistih, ki so si želeli »kontinuirano življenje na tujem«, kot je zakonodaja definirala emigrante. Država je začela kontinuirano posegati v migracijsko politiko šele po prvi svetovni vojni. Čeprav nadzor nad odhajanjem in prihajanjem ni bil glavna preokupacija oblasti Kraljevine Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev oz. Kraljevine Jugoslavije, pa so bili mehanizmi regulacije migracij med pomembnimi vzvodi nacionalizacije državljanov. Kraljevina si je torej po oblikovanju države prizadevala homogenizirati južnoslovanske narode oz. konstitutivna plemena, kot se je glasila uradna dikcija, v enotno jugoslovansko nacijo, v kateri ni bilo prostora za etnične manjšine. Korak v tej smeri je bila nacionalizacija migracije po vzoru Italije, kot ugotavlja Brunnbauer, pa najbrž še bolj po zgledu Ogrske, od katere je Kraljevina navsezadnje prevzela dobršen del uradništva. Izseljavanje je bilo s tega stališča ocenjeno kot škoda za »narodno telo«, ki je tako izgubljalo vitalni del svojih pripadnikov.

Po drugi strani pa je država v obsežni emigrantski populaciji, ki je sicer izhajala z ozemlja Kraljevine, a je bila na tujem še pred vzpostavitvijo države, videla možnost za izvrševanje svoje politike in povečevanje jugoslovanske nacije, katere del naj bi bili izseljenci. Niso bili izseljenci sami tisti, ki so oblikovali odnos do »domovine«, torej Kraljevine SHS, temveč je ta prek organizacij in konzularnih služb oblikovala diasporo v duhu integralnega jugoslovanstva. Jugoslovani na tujem so v uradnem diskurzu postali znani kot »deseta banovina«, kar je jasen znak, da je država koncipirala suverenost prek teritorialnih meja. Prizadevanje za oblikovanje lojalne diaspore niti ni bilo prikrito. Že podnaslov glasila, namenjenega izseljencem, *Iseljenciški svet, Časopis za nacionalnu i kulturnu propagandu u jugoslovenskoj emigraciji* je odkrito naslavljal »jugoslovansko emigracijo« in govoril o propagandi med njenimi člani. Za potrebe konstruiranja zamišljene jugoslovanske skupnosti med emigranti je

država vzpostavila tudi Zvezo organizacij izseljencev (Savez organizacija iseljenika) in Izseljenski muzej v Zagrebu, ki sta poudarjala jugoslovansko noto izseljencev. Uspeh oblikovanja lojalne diaspore je bil sicer pičel. Eden od razlogov je bil tudi v tem, da je država ob preprečevanju izseljevanja nacionalnih elementov krepila odhode etničnih manjšin, torej Nemcev, še bolj pa Madžarov in neslovanskih muslimanov, in tako nehote formirala sovražne izseljence.

V sklepnem poglavju Brunnbauer prikaže izseljensko politiko socialističnega režima druge Jugoslavije do liberalizacije v šestdesetih letih, ko so ekonomske težave prisilile državo, da je sprostila meje, ki so jih iskalci dela ilegalno sicer prestopali že prej. Fenomen *gastarbeiterjev* je še vedno premalo raziskan, poudarja Brunnbauer. Z delavci na tujem se v monografiji ne ukvarja, poskuša pa nakazati povezanost pojava s preteklimi delavskimi migracijami v regiji in učinki denarnih pošiljk na domačo ekonomijo. V selitveni politiki socialistične Jugoslavije prav tako opaža več kontinuitet kot ostrih rezov z režimom monarhije. Ravno tako kot Kraljevina je tudi socialistična Jugoslavija skušala oblikovati lojalno diasporo, le da je izhajala iz drugačnih premis. V tem primeru je bila temeljna ločnica politična opredelitev izseljencev, tako da je država ločevala med staro migracijo, ki se je izselila pred drugo svetovno vojno in je bila vdana režimu, in antikomunistično, ki je veljala za sovražno. Zveste izseljence je država skušala omrežiti s pomočjo matic, izseljenskih združenj, ki pa so bila organizirana po republiškem ključu (tako je nastala tudi Slovenska izseljenska matica) in so med izseljenci skrbela za promocijo etnično utemeljene nacionalne identitete (sicer uokvirjene v jugoslovansko državo). Podeljevanje štipendij izseljencem in njihovim potomcem, gostovanje folklornih skupin in finančna podpore lojalnim društvom so bili instrumenti, prek katerih je država želela izseljence vključiti v svoje okrilje. Moč socialističnega gospodarstva pa je država želela izkazati tako, da je staro migracijo spodbujala k vrnitvi v domovino. V vsa glavna izseljenska središča je že kmalu po vojni poslala ladji Partizanka in Radnik, ki naj bi domov pripeljali mlade, aktivne ljudi, željne graditi socialistično gospodarstvo. Upi so se kmalu razblinili, saj so domov velikokrat prišli stari in nebogljeni, mnogi pa so se ob pomanjkanju v Jugoslaviji odločili za ponoven odhod v državo, ki so jo zapustili. Odločitev o primernosti za vrnitev je bila bolj odvisna od etnične pripadnosti kot pa od državljanstva, kar dokazuje tudi primer Jožefa Gulina iz Nove Gorice, ki se je pred fašističnim preganjanjem umaknil v Perzijo, Jugoslavija pa mu je – na prošnjo žene, ki je ostala doma – dovolila povratek, kljub temu da je bil državljan Italije.

Brunnbauer v celotni knjigi prepleta strategije posameznikov s politikami držav in pokaže, kako politike nadzora nikoli niso uspеле uresničiti svojega namena, saj so migranti vselej iznašli strategije, s katerimi so zaobšli regulatorne mehanizme. Želja po izvajanju suverenosti prek meja držav, torej njihova transteritorialnost, je seveda spremljala modernizacijo, a se je razvila prav zaradi prisotnosti pripadnikov zamišljene skupnosti, ljudi, ki jih je imela država za svojo last, v prekoceanskih deželah. Na ta način je država oblikovala diasporo kot integralni del etnonacionalnega telesa. Diaspora v tem smislu ni analitski koncept, s pomočjo katerega bi lahko proučevali

pojave, temveč čista državnobirokratska kategorija, ki se spreminja glede na politiko držav. Žal je treba dodati, da so bile raziskave migracijskih gibanj v državah Jugovzhodne Evrope velikokrat del državnih prizadevanj po *nation buildingu*, tako da so bili domnevno analitski koncepti dejansko odsev državne ideologije. Ker je Brunnbauerjeva monografija dobrodošel odmik od tovrstnega metodološkega nacionalizma, upam, da jo bodo, čeprav se slovenskega prostora žal dotakne le bežno, bralci dobro sprejeli.

Miha Zobec

Louis Adamič, *Novi svet – ljudje in vizije: Izbrani odlomki iz dvanajstih Adamičevih knjig*

Mestna knjižnica, Grosuplje, 2015, 343 str.

V Domoznanski zbirki občin Grosuplje, Ivančna Gorica, Dobropolje je leta 2015 izšla zanimiva knjiga izbranih besedil Louisa Adamiča, svetovno znanega ameriškega pisatelja, slovenskega izseljenca, ki se je rodil na Blatu blizu Grosupljega. Knjiga poleg odlomkov iz znanih Adamičevih knjig prinaša tudi več doslej neprevedenih besedil, študijo urednika Jakoba Müllerja in obsežno izbrano bibliografijo Louisa Adamiča, ki jo je prispeval Drago Samec. Knjiga, ki je izjemno lepo tehnično urejena, na odličnem papirju, z všečnima tiskom in likovno opremo, je izraz pozornosti intelektualcev občin izdajateljic do kulturne dediščine in zavezanosti ohranjanju poznavanja pomembnih ustvarjalcev iz domačega okolja, je pa tudi mnogo več.

Najprej je treba omeniti spremno besedo Jakoba Müllerja, izrazno svežo, pomensko pretehtano in tudi inovativno. Sam pravi, da je želel napisati tri poglavja: o pisateljevem ustvarjalnem življenju, njegovem videnju ameriškega naroda in njegovem refleksivnem preverjanju velikih sodobnih družbenih vizij. Načrt je bil ambiciozen, žal ne v celoti uresničen. Urednik je uspešno izpisal prvi del, pokazal pisateljevo življenjsko pot in v precejšnji meri argumentirano opozoril na morda zmotno prepričanje, da je bil Louis Adamič žrtev atentata, morda celo jugoslovanskih oblasti. V sedanjem času, ko se zgodovina piše na novo, ko se razkriva doslej zamolčano, je Müllerjev prispevek dragocen, saj analizira tudi možne osebne razloge pisateljeve tragične smrti. Izbor številnih in tudi prvič prevedenih odlomkov pa v veliki meri bralcu vendarle odstira tudi etnično in družbeno tematiko Adamičevih del, ki sta v spremni besedi predstavljeni bolj površno.

V objavljenih prevodih je opazna velika skrb, da bi bil jezik kar se da sodoben, čeprav gre tudi za besedila izpred druge svetovne vojne in tik po njej. Tudi že prej prevedena besedila so namreč posodobljena, izpiljena, približana današnjemu jezikovnemu občutju in danes uveljavljenemu besedju. Zato knjiga v celoti deluje enotno in sveže.

Seveda se bralcu postavlja vprašanje, kaj nam Adamič pripoveduje za današnji čas. Zakaj je treba brati besedila, ki govorijo o gospodarski krizi in kapitalizmu v tridesetih letih, revolucijah, vlogi sindikatov in oblikah njihovega boja, izseljenstvu, Ameriki kot topilnem loncu narodov, človekovi samoti. Vse naštetu in še kaj, o čemer piše Adamič, so seveda teme tudi današnjega sveta. Adamičeva literatura je povsem aktualna z vidika vprašanj, ki si jih zastavljamo danes. To niso večne teme, kot je na primer Cankarjeva *Skodelica kave*. Adamič piše o zelo konkretnem času in prostoru, o aktualnih dogodkih in pojavih, ampak stališča, ki jih zastopa, izhode, ki jih vidi, vizije, o katerih razmišlja, nam lahko v marsičem pomagajo tudi pri našem opredeljevanju do današnje družbene stvarnosti. Prav zaradi tega pisanje o Adamiču presega priložnostne zapise ob praznovanju avtorjevih osebnih obletnic.

Povezovanje držav v Evropsko zvezo in položaj narodov ter njihovega jezika in kulture je tema državljana današnje Evrope. Vprašanje dominacije angleškega jezika

kot jezika komunikacije med evropskimi narodi, ki posega celo na univerze, je Adamič premišljeval v ameriškem kontekstu, ob tem pa prepoznaval nacionalne korenine Američanov in položaj različnih skupin priseljencev.

Današnje sindikalno gibanje, ki je v Sloveniji po družbeni preobrazbi po osamosvojitvi doživljalo padce in vzpone, se marsikdaj omejuje zgolj na mezno gibanje, ob branju Adamičevih besedil pa dobimo zanimive vzporednice. V času ogroženosti od terorizma se je zanimivo ponovno spomniti vzgibov za bombaške akcije nekaterih ameriških radikalnih sindikalistov še v času med obema vojnama.

Tema, ki Adamiča opredeljuje kot levičarja, je vprašanje revolucije, njegov odnos do sovjetske revolucije in diktature proletariata ter z njo povezane jugoslovanske revolucije. V ameriški družbi je nasilno, boljševistično revolucijo odklanjal kot nepotrebno. Zaradi vzvišenega cilja ni izbirala sredstev, črna usoda človeka posameznika je bila nepomembna, kvečjemu stranska škoda na poti do uresničenja svetlih idealov. Adamič je verjel v možnost sprememb kapitalizma, in to na način, ki bo ohranjal človekove pravice in njegovo dostojanstvo, bi rekli v današnjem jeziku. V jugoslovanski družbi pa je revolucijo zagovarjal, podpiral in načelno tudi občudoval. Iz te opredeljenosti izvirata tudi njegova medvojna naklonjenost narodnoosvobodilnemu boju s Titom na čelu in prispevek k ameriški pomoči partizanom kot delu zavezniške anti-fašistične koalicije. Izbrana besedila pa vendarle kažejo, da je bil do nastajanja kulta osebnosti Josipa Broza kritičen in da ni hvalil vsega, kar je po vojni v Jugoslaviji videl. Jugoslovanski voditelji so se ob njegovih ocenah in opažanjih počutili, evfemistično rečeno, nelagodno. Zanimivi so tudi Adamičevi zapisi o nekaterih jugoslovanskih politikih (Dedijerju, Djilasu), ki kažejo, da so cenili avtorjev prispevek k širšemu mednarodnemu razumevanju dogajanja v Jugoslaviji, hkrati pa zavračali njegove kritične pomisleke in vrednotenje boljševiške revolucije.

Tenkočutno prepoznavanje človekove osamljenosti in praznote, ki sta posledici prevelikih družbenih razlik, neverjetno spominja na današnje razmere v evropski civilizaciji. Adamičev opis ljudi, ki se izgublajo v trušču praznot, ki so izgubili vero, ki so ostali brez velike ideje in brez iluzij, bi lahko bil opis tudi današnjega človeka.

Zanimiva in zelo pronicljiva je urednikova analiza Adamičeve pisateljske tehnike. Pisatelj sam priznava, da je njegov namen pisati zanimivo in hkrati resnično – ne nujno v posameznostih, ampak resnično v bistvu. Müller opisuje, kako je pisatelj aranžiral politične in osebne dogodke iz časa pred odhodom v Ameriko, da bi bila informacija kvalitetno obogatena, in kritično ugotavlja, da je pisatelj kdaj prestopil mejo te metode: ni kondenziral zgodovinske resničnosti niti ni postavljал banalne resničnosti na višjo, univerzalno raven, ampak je zašel v dezinformacijo, propagando in izkrivljanje zgodovine.

Knjiga *Novi svet – ljudje in vizije* je dragocen prispevek k poznavanju pisatelja in vredna branja ne samo kot dokument nekdanjih časov, ampak tudi kot izhodišče za premislek o vprašanih naših dni.

NAVODILA AVTORJEM ZA PRIPRAVO PRISPEVKOV ZA »DVE DOMOVINI« / »TWO HOMELANDS«

1. Usmeritev revije

Revija *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* je namenjena objavi znanstvenih in strokovnih člankov, poročil, razmišljanj in knjižnih ocen s področja humanističnih in družboslovnih disciplin, ki obravnavajo različne vidike migracij in z njimi povezane pojave. Revija, ki izhaja od leta 1990, je večdisciplinarna in večjezična. Dve številki letno v tiskani in elektronski obliki izideta na svetovnem spletu (<http://twohomelands.zrc-sazu.si/>).

Prispevke, urejene po spodnjih navodilih, pošljite uredništvu v elektronski obliki na naslov hladnik@zrc-sazu.si. Članki so recenzirani. Avtorji naj poskrbijo za primerno jezikovno raven in slogovno dovršenost. Prispevki morajo biti oblikovani v skladu z Navodili avtorjem za pripravo prispevkov za *Dve domovini / Two Homelands*. Rokopisov, ki jih uredništvo revije *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* sprejme v objavo, avtorji ne smejo hkrati poslati drugi reviji. V skladu z Zakonom o avtorskih pravicah in 10. členom Poslovnika o delu uredništva revije *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* se avtorji z objavo v reviji *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* strinjajo z objavo prispevka tudi v elektronski obliki na svetovnem spletu.

2. Sestavine prispevkov

Članki morajo imeti sestavine, ki si sledijo po naslednjem vrstnem redu:

- glavni naslov članka (z velikimi tiskanimi črkami, okrepljeno);
- ime in priimek avtorja (priimku naj sledi opomba pod črto, v kateri so navedeni: 1. avtorjeva izobrazba in naziv (na primer: dr. zgodovine, znanstven sodelavec); 2. ime in naslov avtorjeve institucije (na primer Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije ZRC SAZU, Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana); 3. avtorjev elektronski naslov);
- predlog vrste prispevka (izvirni, pregledni ali kratki znanstveni članek/prispevek, strokovni članek);
- izvleček (slovenski naslov članka in slovenski izvleček, skupaj s presledki do 700 znakov);
- ključne besede (do 5 besed);
- abstract (angleški prevod naslova članka in slovenskega izvlečka);
- key words (angleški prevod ključnih besed);
- članek (1. skupaj s presledki naj ne presega 45.000 znakov; 2. celotno besedilo naj bo označeno z »Normal« – torej brez oblikovanja, določanja slogov in drugega; 3. pisava Times New Roman, velikost 12, obojestransko poravnava, presledek 1,5; 4. odstavki naj bodo brez vmesnih vrstic; prazna vrstica naj bo pred in za vsakim naslovom in predvidenim mestom za tabelo ali sliko; 5. odstavki so brez zamikov; 6. naslove označite ročno, podnaslove prvega reda z okrepljenimi malimi tiskanimi črkami, podnaslove drugega reda z okrepljenimi poševnimi malimi tiskanimi črkami; 7. (pod)poglavij ne številčimo);
- summary (angleški povzetek članka, največ 3000 znakov s presledki).

V besedilih se izogibajte podčrtovanju besed, okrepljenemu in poševnemu tisku; s poševnim tiskom označite le navedene naslove knjig in časopisov. V slovenskih prispevkih uporabljajte naslednje okrajšave in narekovaje: prav tam, idr., ur., »abc«; v angleških: *ibid.*, *et al.*, *ed./eds.*, "migration". Izpust znotraj citata označite z oglatim oklepajem [...].

Poročila in ocene morajo imeti sestavine, ki si sledijo po naslednjem vrstnem redu:

- poročila s konferenc in z drugih dogodkov, razmišljanja: naslov dogodka, datum poteka, ime in priimek avtorja, besedilo naj obsega med 5.000 in 15.000 znaki skupaj s presledki;
- knjižne ocene: ime in priimek avtorja ali urednika knjige, ki je predmet ocene, *naslov knjige*, založba, kraj, leto izida, število strani, besedilo naj obsega med 5.000 in 15.000 znaki skupaj s presledki, na koncu sledita ime in priimek avtorja ocene.

3. Citiranje

Avtorji naj pri citiranju med besedilom upoštevajo naslednja navodila:

- Citati, dolgi štiri ali več vrstic, morajo biti ročno oblikovani v ločenih enotah, levo zamaknjeni, brez narekovajev.
- Citati, krajši od štirih vrstic, naj bodo med drugim besedilom v narekovajih in pokončno (ne poševno).
- Navajanje avtorja v oklepaju: (Anderson 2003: 91–99); več navedb naj bo ločenih s podpičjem in razvrščenih po letnicah (Milharčič Hladnik 2009: 15; Vah Jevšnik, Lukšič Hacin 2011: 251–253).
- Seznam literature in virov je na koncu besedila; v seznamu literature na koncu se navajajo samo navedbe literature iz besedila; enote naj bodo razvrščene po abecednem redu priimkov avtorjev, enote istega avtorja pa razvrščene po letnicah; če imamo več del istega avtorja, ki so izšla istega leta, jih ločimo z malimi črkami (Anderson 2003a; 2003b).
 - a) Knjiga:
Anderson, Benedict (2003). *Zamišljene skupnosti: O izvoru in širjenju nacionalizma*. Ljubljana: Studia Humanitatis.
 - b) Članek v zborniku:
Milharčič Hladnik, Mirjam (2009). Naša varuška. *Krila migracij: Po meri življenjskih zgodb* (ur. Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik, Jernej Mlekuž). Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 15–20.
 - c) Članek v reviji:
Vah Jevšnik, Mojca, Lukšič Hacin, Marina (2001). Theorising Immigrant/Ethnic Entrepreneurship in the Context of Welfare States. *Migracijske i etničke teme 27/2*, 249–261. Polnopravni elementi v angleških naslovih knjig in člankov (razen veznikov in predlogov) se pišejo z veliko začetnico.
 - d) Spletna stran:
 - Becker, Howard (2003). *New Directions in the Sociology of Art*, <http://home.earthlink.net/~hsbecker/newdirections.htm> (1. 2. 2008).
 - *Interaction: Some Ideas*, <http://home.earthlink.net/interaction.htm> (1. 2. 2008).

4. Grafične in slikovne priloge

- Fotografije, slike zemljevidi idr. – z izjemo tabel, narejenih v urejevalniku Word, ki pa morajo biti oblikovane za stran velikosti 16,5 x 23,5 cm – naj ne bodo vključeni v Wordov dokument. Vse slikovno gradivo oddajte oštevilčeno v posebni mapi s svojima priimkom in imenom. Opombe v podnapisih ali tabelah morajo biti ločene od tekočega teksta. Fotografije naj bodo v formatu jpg.
- Lokacijo slikovnega gradiva v tekstu označite na naslednji način:
Fotografija 1: Kuharica Liza v New Yorku leta 1905 (avtor: Janez Novak, vir: Arhiv Slovenije, 1415, 313/14) ali Preglednica 1: Število prebivalcev Ljubljane po popisu leta 2002 (vir: Statistični urad RS, Statistične informacije, 14).
- Za grafične in slikovne priloge, za katere nimate avtorskih pravic, morate dobiti dovoljenje za objavo.

INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS PREPARING ARTICLES FOR PUBLICATION IN “DVE DOMOVINI / TWO HOMELANDS”

1. Editorial content

Dve domovini / Two Homelands welcomes the submission of scientific and professional articles, reports, discussions and book reviews from the humanities and social sciences focusing on migration and related phenomena. The journal, published since 1990, is multidisciplinary and multilingual. Two volumes are published per year in print and electronic form on the internet (<http://twohomelands.zrc-sazu.si/>).

Articles should be prepared according to the instructions stated below and sent in electronic form to the editorial board at the following address: hladnik@zrc-sazu.si. All articles undergo a review procedure. Manuscripts that are accepted for publishing by the editorial board should not be sent for consideration and publishing to any other journal. Authors are responsible for language and style proficiency. Authors agree that articles published in *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* may also be published in electronic form on the internet.

2. Elements

Articles should contain the following elements in the order given:

- Title (in capital letters, bold);
- Name and surname of the author (after the surname a footnote should be inserted stating the author's: 1. education and title (e.g. PhD, MA in History, Research Fellow etc.); 2. full postal address (e.g. Slovenian Migration Institute, Novi Trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana); 3. e-mail address;
- Type of contribution (original, review or short scientific article; professional article);
- Abstract (title of the article and abstract, up to 700 characters with spaces);
- Key words (up to 5 words);
- Article (1. should not exceed 45,000 characters with spaces; 2. the style of the entire text should be “Normal”; 3. font: Times New Roman 12; 4. paragraphs should not be separated by an empty line, empty lines should be used before and after every title and space intended for a chart or figure; 5 paragraphs following titles should not be indented, bullets and numbering of lines and paragraphs should be done manually; 6. titles should be marked manually, subtitles Heading 1 in bold lower-case letters with initial capital, Heading 2 in bold lower-case italics with initial capital; 7. (sub)sections of articles (Heading 1 and Heading 2) should not be numbered);
- Summary (Povzetek) in Slovene, 3000 characters with spaces).

Avoid underlining and using bold in all texts. Italics should be used when emphasising a word or a phrase. Italics should also be used when citing titles of books and newspapers. In articles in English, the following abbreviations should be used: *ibid.*, *et al.*, *ed./eds.* When using inverted commas/quotation marks, use double quotation marks; single quotation marks should be used only when embedding quotations or concepts within quotations. Omitted parts of quotations should be indicated by square brackets with ellipsis [...].

Reports and reviews should contain the following elements in the order given:

- Reports from conferences and other events, discussions: title of the event, date of the event, name and surname of the author, 5,000 to 15,000 characters with spaces;
- Book reviews: name and surname of the author or editor of the book, *title of the book*, name of publisher, place of publication, date of publication, number of pages, 5,000 to 15,000 characters with spaces, with the name and surname of the reviewer at the end.

3. Quotations in articles

- Long quotations (four lines or more) should be typed as an indented paragraph (using the “tab” key), without quotation marks, the first line of the paragraph after the quotation should not be indented; quotations shorter than four lines should be included in the main text and separated with quotation marks, in normal font (not italic).
- When citing an author in brackets use the following form: (Anderson 2003: 91–99); when citing several authors separate their names with a semicolon and cite them according to the year of publication in ascending order (Milharčič Hladnik 2009: 15; Vah Jevšnik, Lukšič Hacin 2011: 251–253).
- A list of references should be placed at the end of the text and arranged in alphabetical order according to the author’s surname. The list of references should include only cited sources and literature. Multiple references by one author should be arranged according to the year of publication. Multiple references by one author published in the same year should be separated with lower-case letters (e.g. Ford 1999a; 1999b).
 - a) Books:

Anderson, Benedict (1995). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, New York: Verso.
 - b) Articles in a series:

Milharčič Hladnik, Mirjam (2009). Naša varuška. *Krila migracij: Po meri življenjskih zgodb* (eds. Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik, Jernej Mlekuž). Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 15–20.
 - c) Articles in journals:

Vah Jevšnik, Mojca, Lukšič Hacin, Marina (2001). Theorising Immigrant/Ethnic Entrepreneurship in the Context of Welfare States. *Migracijske i etničke teme* 27/2, 249–261. All major elements of English book and article titles should be capitalized (except conjunctions and prepositions shorter than five letters).
 - d) Internet sources:
 - Becker, Howard (2003). *New Directions in the Sociology of Art*, <http://home.earthlink.net/~hsbecker/newdirections.htm> (1 Feb. 2008).
 - *Interaction: Some Ideas*, <http://home.earthlink.net/interaction.htm> (1 Feb. 2008).

4. Graphics and illustrations

- Photographs, illustrations, maps etc. – with the exception of charts produced in Microsoft Word, which have to be adjusted to page size 16.5 x 23.5 cm (6.5” x 9.25”) – should not be included in the Word document. All illustrative material needs to be numbered and submitted separately in separate folder with the author’s name and surname. Please submit visual material in jpg. form.
- Locations of figures in the text should be marked as follows: Figure 1: Lisa Cook in New York in 1905 (Photo: Janez Novak, source: Archives of Slovenia, 1415, 313/14) or Chart 1: Population of Ljubljana after the 2002 Census (source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Statistics, p. 14).
- Permission to publish must be obtained for uncopyrighted graphic and illustrative material.

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