

462017

h o m e l a n d s

R d o

V o m

E i n i

Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije ZRC SAZU

Glavna urednica / Editor-in-Chief

Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik
E-naslov: hladnik@zrc-sazu.si

Odgovorna urednica / Editor-in-Charge

Marina Lukšič Hacin

Tehnična urednica / Technical Editor

Mateja Gliha

Mednarodni uredniški odbor / International Editorial Board

Dirk Hoerder, Donna Gabaccia, Rudi Rizman, Annemarie Steidl, Marjan Drnovšek,
Ulf Brunnbauer, Damir Josipovič, Aleksej Kalc, Maya Povrzanović Frykman,
Rolf Wörsdörfer, Janja Žitnik Serafin, Jure Gombač, Jernej Mlekuž,
Kristina Toplak, Aleš Bučar Ručman, Adam Walaszek, Jaka Repič

Lektoriranje / Proofreading

Irena Destovnik (slovenski jezik / Slovene)
Peter Altshul (angleški jezik / English)

Oblikovanje / Design

Anja Žabkar

Prelom / Typesetting

Inadvertising d. o. o.

Tisk / Printed by

CICERO, Begunje, d. o. o.

Naklada / Printum

150

Naslov uredništva / Editorial Office Address

INŠTITUT ZA SLOVENSKO IZSELJENSTVO IN MIGRACIJE ZRC SAZU
p. p. 306, SI-1001 Ljubljana, Slovenija
Tel.: (+386 1) 4706 485; Fax (+386 1) 4257 802
E-naslov / E-mail: spelam@zrc-sazu.si
Spletna stran / Website: <http://isim.zrc-sazu.si>

© ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije

Revija izhaja s pomočjo Javne agencije za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije in Urada vlade Republike Slovenije za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu.

TWO
h o m e l a n d s
M I G R A T I O N S T U D I E S

D D V E
d o m o v i n i
R A Z P R A V E O I Z S E L J E N S T V U

46 • 2017

Izdaja

Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije ZRC SAZU

Published by

Slovenian Migration Institute at the ZRC SAZU

Ljubljana 2017

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. Revija izhaja dvakrat letno. Članki so recenzirani.

The journal ***Dve domovini • Two Homelands*** welcomes the submission of scientific and professional articles, reports, debates and book reviews from the fields of humanities and social sciences, focusing on migration and related phenomena. The journal, published since 1990, is multidisciplinary and multilingual. The journal is published biannually. All submitted articles are subject to double – blind peer review.

Povzetki in indeksiranje / Abstracts and indexing:

FRANCIS (Sociology/Ethnology/Linguistics of Francis), IBZ – International Bibliography of Periodical Literature, IBR – International Bibliography of Book – Reviews, Sociological Abstracts, IBSS – International Bibliography of the Social Sciences, MSH-Maisons des Sciences de l'Homme, SCOPUS, Social SciSearch, Journal Citation Reports /Social Sciences Edition.

Letna naročnina 18 € za posameznike, 28 € za institucije.

Annual subscription 18 € for individuals, 28 € for institutions.

Master Card / Euro Card and VISA accepted.

Naročila sprejema / Orders should be sent to:

Založba ZRC, p. p. 306, SI-1001 Ljubljana, Slovenija

Fax: (+386 1) 425 77 94; E-mail: zalozba@zrc-sazu.si

VSEBINA / CONTENTS

TEMATSKI SKLOP / THEMATIC SECTION

Art and Migration

Umetnost in migracije

JAKA REPIČ

- The Impact of Mobilities on Visual Arts in the Slovenian Diaspora in Argentina 7
Vpliv mobilnosti na vizualno umetnost v slovenski diaspori v Argentini

NADIA MOLEK

- “Songs from the Homeland” – Popular Music Performance among Descendants 23
Slovenian Refugees in Argentina: The Case of “Slovenski Inštrumentalni Ansambel”
»Pesmi iz domovine« – Izvedba popularne glasbe med potomci slovenskih
beguncev v Argentini: Primer »Slovenskega Inštrumentalnega Ansambla«

ALENKA BARTULOVIĆ, MIHA KOZOROG

- Gender and Music-making in Exile: Female Bosnian Refugee 39
Musicians in Slovenia
Spol in glasbeno ustvarjanje v begunstvu: Bosansko-hercegovske glasbenice
begunke v Sloveniji

NADIA MOLEK, JUAN CARLOS RADOVICH, JUAN ESTEBAN DE JAGER,

AMALIA PEREZ MOLEK

- Representations of Memories through Art: The Artistic Work of 57
Zdravko Dučmelić in Argentina
Reprezentacije spominov skozi umetnost: Umetniško delo
Zdravka Dučmelića v Argentini

KRISTINA TOPLAK

- Artists' Mobility in EU: Between Opportunities and Impediments 71
Mobilnost umetnikov v EU: Med priložnostmi in ovirami

RAZPRAVE IN ČLANKI / ESSAYS AND ARTICLES

FLORENTINA SCÂRNECI DOMNIȘORU, CODRINA CSESZNEK

- Ethnographic Reflections of Return Migration in a Romanian Rural Community 89
Etnografski odsevi povratne migracije v ruralni romunski skupnosti

MITJA DURNIK

- Slovenian Immigrants and the Ethnic Economy in Contemporary Canada 103
Slovenski priseljenci in etnična ekonomija sodobne Kanade

JANEZ MALAČIČ

- Migracijska kriza in migracijska politika v Evropi: Od demografskih neravnovesij ter ekonomske in politične nestabilnosti do naraščajočih migracijskih tokov 119
The Migrant Crisis and Migration Policy in Europe: From Demographic Imbalances and Political Turmoil to the Increasing Migration Flows

MEGI ROŽIČ

- Kompleksna jezikovna identiteta kot posledica migracije v literarnih delih Brine Svit in Eve Hoffman 135
A Complex Linguistic Identity as a Consequence of Migration in the Literary Works of Brina Svit and Eva Hoffman

MITJA VELIKONJA

- »Jugoslavija po Jugoslaviji«: Grafiti o nekdanji domovini v novih postjugoslovanskih domovinah 151
"Yugoslavia After Yugoslavia": Graffiti About the Former Homeland in the New Post-Yugoslav Homelands

MATEJA KROFL

- Islam, transnacionalna obleka in identiteta: Migracije podob, transformacije pomenov 167
Islam, Transnational Dress and Identity: Migration of Images, Transformation of Meanings

KNJIŽNE OCENE / BOOK REVIEWS

- Elizabeth Mavroudi and Caroline Nagel, *Global Migration: Patterns, Processes, and Politics* (Lucie Mackova) 182
Alojzij Geržinič, *Od Save do Srebrne reke*;
Pavle Borštnik, *Moj čas* (Rozina Švent) 185

T E M A T S K I S K L O P

ART AND MIGRATION
UMETNOST IN MIGRACIJE

T H E M A T I C S E C T I O N

THE IMPACT OF MOBILITIES ON VISUAL ARTS IN THE SLOVENIAN DIASPORA IN ARGENTINA

Jaka REPIČ¹

COBISS 1.01

ABSTRACT

The Impact of Mobilities on Visual Arts in the Slovenian Diaspora in Argentina

The article addresses the impact of experiences of mobilities on visual arts in the Slovenian diaspora in Argentina. It aims to explore the question of how artistic creativity is related to individual and collective experiences of migration, life in diaspora and return mobilities. It approaches art as processual, relational and embedded in broader social, political and cultural contexts. Hence, such an analysis facilitates not only an understanding of individual experiences and worldviews, but also of the broader conceptualisation of art within particular socio-historical contexts. It explores how artists in diaspora imagine, express and constitute their relations with the homeland and their understanding of the past. By juxtaposing their art production with their life histories and trajectories as well as broader socio-historical contexts, the article explores intersections and correspondences between mobility and visual art, and raises the question of how diasporic sociality influences artists and their works as well as how artworks in turn create sociality.

KEY WORDS: Slovenian diaspora, Argentina, visual art, mobility, anthropology of art

IZVLEČEK

Vpliv mobilnosti na vizualno umetnost v slovenski diaspori v Argentini

Članek obravnava vpliv mobilnosti na vizualno umetnost med umetniki v slovenski skupnosti v Argentini. Temeljno vprašanje prispevka je, kako je umetniška ustvarjalnost povezana z individualnimi in s kolektivnimi izkušnjami migracije, z življenjem v diaspori pa tudi z vračanjem. Umetnost obravnava z antropološkega vidika kot procesualno in relacijsko ter vselej vključeno v širše socialne, politične in družbene kontekste. Takšna analiza po eni strani razkriva umetnikove izkušnje, predvsem pa širše pomeni in vloge umetnosti v specifičnih družbenozgodovinskih kontekstih. Ker avtor obravnava, kako umetniki v diaspori razumejo zgodovino ter kako si zamišljajo, izražajo in ustvarjajo odnose z domovino, umetniška dela postavlja v odnos z življenjskimi zgodbami in potmi umetnikov ter družbenozgodovinskimi okoliščinami. Pojasnjuje povezave med mobilnostjo in umetnostjo, obravnava medsebojno vplivanje diasporične skupnosti na delo umetnikov in obenem vpliv umetniških del na oblikovanje diaspore.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: slovenska diaspora, Argentina, vizualna umetnost, mobilnost, antropologija umetnosti

¹ Associate Professor of Social/Cultural Anthropology at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; jaka.repic@ff.uni-lj.si. The author would like to acknowledge financial support received from the Slovenian Research Agency (research programme Slovenian Identities in the European and Global Contexts; research core funding No. P6-0187 and bilateral project Art in Diaspora: Anthropological Research of Creativity among Slovenians in Argentina and Return Migrants; BI-AR/15-17-010).

INTRODUCTION

This article addresses the issue of art and creativity among Slovenian artists¹ in Argentina, who have been embedded in social contexts of various mobilities – displacement after the Second World War, resettlement in Argentina, life in diaspora and, since 1990, some of them also in various forms of return mobilities to Slovenia (cf. Toplak 2004). When I conducted ethnographic research among Slovenians in Argentina, various art practices were often shown to be important parts of community building and the preservation of ethnic identity, culture and social memories. Music in particular, but also literature and to a certain extent visual artworks, were imbued with the idea of “Slovenianness”, i.e. represented Slovenian culture, the relationship with homeland and memories of migration. Artworks that depicted images of the homeland or migration proved to be collective representations distinctive of the Slovenian diaspora. Nevertheless, these artworks were of course authored and produced through reflection on individual experiences of migration, life in diaspora or “return”. They artistically invoked individual and collective migration experiences, struggles of ambivalent identities and life in diaspora with reflections on homeland, memory and identity. Several artists also expressed the dilemma of simultaneous engagement in the Argentinean “art world” and art and cultural production in the Slovenian community. I wondered if these artworks can be understood simultaneously as individual as well as relational and (re)producing specific forms of sociality. Are they primarily a product of complex individual experiences or are they also evocative of socio-historical processes, e.g. of preserving social memories and constructing identity in diaspora? Is art then not merely a form of individual creativity and expression but also a means of creating a space of social communication? As I am interested in the connections between mobilities and art, I begin by presenting some of the basic concepts and later discuss several artists in specific diasporic and post-diasporic social contexts in order to analyse the impact of experiences of (im)mobility on the production of visual art.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ARTS IN VARIOUS CONTEXTS OF MOBILITY

Mobility has in both the past and the present usually held an ambiguous position in the imaginaries of Europeans and in the social sciences. In the predominantly sedentary societies of Europe, people who lived on the move – such as the Roma people, people who worked and lived in circuses, and various musicians, performers and other artists – were often labelled as vagabonds or nomads, and were both admired and marginalized or even persecuted for their mobile lifestyle. Moreover, until the 1990s the social sciences were also predominantly sedentary-focused. Peter Wynn Kirby (2009) states that the European intellectual

1 I gathered ethnographic data during various periods of fieldwork among the Slovenians in Argentina and among “return” migrants, particularly in 2010/2011 and in 2015 by means of biographic interviews. Most of my research up to 2015 was not focused on art. Specifically on this topic, I interviewed ten artists educated in the fine arts in Argentina. One was an actual migrant to Argentina, five were born to first-generation and four to second-generation migrants. All but two were active in the Slovenian community. In addition, I also used the available published sources on other artists mentioned in the text.

tradition was based on sedentary logics that understood ethnic groups or nations in essential relationships to their localities or territories. Classical anthropology usually addressed cultures as essentially immobile or at most accounted for cyclical and repetitive mobility as means of maintaining social order (cf. Tsing 1993; Rapport and Overing 2003: 261–263; Glick Schiller, Salazar 2013).

Since the 1990s, under the influences of the post-Cold War world realignment, the development of transport and communication technologies and the intensification of global cultural flows, the so-called “material turn” (see Hicks 2010), “spatial turn” and later “mobility turn” (Sheller, Urry 2006; Urry 2007), were developed in anthropology and generally within the social sciences. Studies of migration eventually resulted in three main foci after 1990: analyses were made using the concepts of transnationalism, diaspora and mobility that reflected on migration studies and proposed new approaches. Some recent discussions have also been critical of globalisation and mobility discourses as overly neglecting the historicity of migration and have also problematized the idea that the contemporary world is always on the move (cf. Friedman 2002; Salazar, Smart 2011). Salazar and Smart, for example, point to immobility as another face of mobility, power relations and social, economic and political inequalities (2011; cf. Sheller, Urry 2006: 207). While some people can easily move across borders and some mobility practices are favoured (particularly tourism), others are confronted with immobility in the sense of the inability to move across political and social borders. Hence, mobilities are diverse as well as socially, economically and politically segmented phenomena that in turn (re)produce further social segmentation. When researching human experiences of mobility, or broader issues of how people establish their lives in various contexts of displacement, migration or diaspora, experiences of immobility also have to be addressed, for example in terms of social relations, place attachment, mythologies of homeland and return (cf. Brah 1996; Ahmed 2003). Art and cultural production in a migratory context open a space of social communication, interaction and intervention that often address these same issues.

While anthropology has long engaged with creative practices and art, relatively little attention has been given to the relationship between art and mobility. Some scholars for example have addressed music in transnational, refugee or diasporic contexts (e.g. Aparicio, Jáquez 2003; Baily, Collyer 2006; O’Neill 2008; Kozorog, Bartulović 2015), whereas performative and particularly visual arts in migration/mobility contexts were less often studied from the anthropological perspective. Hence, the relationship between creativity and individual and social experiences of mobility – in this particular case art in experiences of diaspora and return mobilities – deserve more attention from various focal points. The analysis below partly follows Maruška Svašek’s point that art and cultural production are processual and relational. She stresses the “processual nature of art production ... (to) identify the many different factors that influence the ways in which people experience and understand it” (Svašek 2007: 4). The article addresses how artworks by Slovenian artists in diaspora are produced, experienced and conceptualised in their particular socio-historical setting as well as how this conceptualisation and art production relate to socio-historical processes connected to exile, diaspora-building and return mobilities. In this sense, art is not simply an individual or collective product but a relational one, dependent on socio-political processes as well as “different relations between institutions or individuals who produce, consume ... and display artefacts” (Svašek 2007: 5; cf. Becker 1982; Marcus, Myers 1995; Schneider 2006).

In such an approach, art facilitates not only the understanding merely of individual experiences and worldviews, but also enable insights into broader social, political and historical contexts and the ways artists understand them. Some of the artists I mention below use art to address issues of exile and generation-long constraints on returning, and to express their ideas and imaginaries of living between two homelands. Among some Slovenian artists, we can identify recurrent themes of emigration, exile, homeland and return. These themes appear in literature, music and other art forms, and disclose complex interrelations between personal and social levels of memories, experiences, aspirations and creativity. The artworks reveal how social memories, imaginaries of home and transnational relations are imagined, created and presented in art contexts. The article mainly focuses on the impact of mobility on artistic processes and different social contexts – in the Slovenian diaspora, in different art worlds and in urban spaces.

In analysing the arts as an ethnographic entry point into understanding human experiences as well as their reflections of (im)mobility, the example of the Slovenian diaspora in Argentina presents a particularly interesting case due to its members' experiences of life in exile, generations-long inability to return and eventual possibility to establish various forms of return mobilities (see Repič 2016). Focusing on the ethnographic example of the post-Second World War Slovenian diaspora in Argentina, I point to the collective dimension of experience and social memory of exile as well as living in an ethnic community that was predominantly organised around anti-communist ideological lines and struggled to preserve memories of war, exile and homeland as well as cultural and Catholic traditions and ethnic identity. Hence, I examine various practices of mobility, and particularly artistic reflections of them, in the diasporic contexts outlined below. I start by describing cultural events and various institutions within diasporic community that have been instrumental in facilitating and even institutionalising art and cultural production, and go on to address individual creative practices, discuss certain artists' own interpretations of their work in connection with social memories, experiences of life in diaspora and relationship with the homeland.

PLACE, MEMORY AND THE ARTS IN THE SLOVENIAN DIASPORA IN ARGENTINA

Historically, there have been several periods of relatively large-scale migration of Slovenians to Argentina, particularly following the First and the Second World Wars, characterised by economic and political emigration from Slovenia (see Žigon 2001; Repič 2006; Molek 2012). In the aftermath of the First World War, a large part of western ethnic Slovenian territory was annexed to Italy, which, combined with poverty and the assimilationist politics of the Italian fascist regime, resulted in the emigration of tens of thousands of Slovenians, around 30,000 of whom settled in Argentina. Another large-scale political emigration occurred after the Second World War, which was directly connected to intra-war fighting between the Slovenian partisans and the anti-communist militias that collaborated with the German occupying army. As the war ended and the German army was forced to retreat, thousands of Slovenians also escaped (or were exiled, as they designate their flight) for fear of retributions during and after the communist revolution in Yugoslavia. These refugees were mainly soldiers of the anti-communist Slovenian Home Guard who

had collaborated with the German army, but there were also many civilians and political opponents of communism.

The refugees were initially settled in refugee camps in southern Austria and northern Italy, from where they eventually resettled to several European countries, but also to Argentina, Canada and other countries (see Žigon 1998, 2001; Sjekloča 2004; Repič 2006, Švent 2007). The British Army, which managed these refugee camps in Carinthia, initially separated the soldiers from the civilians and repatriated more than 10,000 Slovenians (mostly Home Guard soldiers) to Yugoslavia, where a large majority of them were executed (see Corselis 1997; Ferenc 2005). It is estimated altogether at least 14,000 Slovenians and tens of thousands of non-Slovenians (particularly Croatian and other soldiers of the retreating armies) were more or less secretly executed and buried in mass graves scattered around Slovenia. Between 1947 and 1951 around 6,000 Slovenian refugees migrated to Argentina, where they established a well-organised ethnic community based on shared and socially communicated experiences and memories of exile as well as a clear anti-communist political stance. The Slovenian diaspora in Argentina was primarily established on three main ideological pillars: 1) anti-communism and the preservation of social memories of war, exile, repatriations and extra-judicial executions; 2) ethnicity, language and traditional culture (including Christian values) expressed as commitment to preserve “Slovenianness”; and 3) actual or mythical relationships with homeland. They established several ethnic urban neighbourhoods, churches, local ethnic associations or cultural centres, newspapers, Slovenian schools, and a cultural programme with an art school (see Debeljak 1994; Rant 1998). Traumatic social memories, victimization, the Slovenian language and culture, Christian values and ideas of the homeland and return were persistent themes in the diasporic community and its institutions, especially in schools and during rituals, but also in art and cultural production.² On the one hand its political elite struggled to organise “its own world, independent and dislocated from the homeland” (Rot 1992: 225), whereas on the other there was a steady process of integration into Argentinean society, which also influenced art and cultural production, particularly among younger artists.

Here I focus on the relationship between the socio-historical and individual levels of art and cultural production. To an extent I follow the classical understanding of the analytical term diaspora as proposed initially by William Safran (1991), who defined its main characteristics as a dispersed network of people with traumatic social memories of their displacement, poor integration in the surrounding society, and maintaining relationships with the (ancestral) homeland such as political engagement, mythology of the homeland, and mythology of return. Similarly, Rogers Brubaker (2005) also noted the main characteristics of diaspora in the relationship with homeland and boundary maintenance within wider society. Diaspora, writes James Clifford,

involves dwelling, maintaining communities, having collective homes away from home [...] the term diaspora is a signifier, not simply of transnationality and movement, but of political struggles to define the local, as distinctive community, in historical contexts of displacement. (1994: 308)

2 Most of the Slovenians who settled in Argentina in this period joined the newly-established ethnic community, whereas some chose not to and distanced themselves from it.

Such a struggle is apparent in the art and cultural production, which enables reflection not only for anthropologists, but more importantly, to members of the diaspora and the surrounding society. The Slovenian diaspora in Argentina was established as a highly organised ethnic community with a main association and several local associations in Buenos Aires, Bariloche and Mendoza. Narratives of exile, forced repatriations and secret executions were preserved in great detail and regularly occur in everyday life during conversations, in schools, church services, various events organised by associations, and political rituals as well as in media, art and cultural production. Moreover, narratives and depictions of homeland, exile, life in Argentina and return are recurrent themes that appear in diverse works of art in its broadest sense, including literature, music and performances (as part of cultural events or celebrations) as well as the visual arts.

Music, particularly choir singing, is well developed and promoted in the Slovenian diaspora as it stands for the preservation of language and cultural tradition as well as a means of strengthening social relationships, for example in schools, during cultural events, political rituals and on the radio programme *Window on Slovenia* (cf. Mislej 1995; Vovk 2004). Publications (e.g. *Svobodna Slovenija*; *Duhovno življenje*; *Meddobje*, *Glas SKA*) often included lyrics and even the music of Slovenian songs. Singing in the Slovenian language situationally re-creates and affirms diasporic sociality. Literature is also important and encouraged because of the role of the Slovenian language in the community and the preservation of historical memories of war and post-war events (see Žitnik on literature among Slovenian emigrants). The main association *Zedinjena Slovenija* (United Slovenia) and particularly the cultural programme *Slovenska kulturna akcija* (Slovenian Cultural Action) promoted the production and publication of literature in Slovenian (see Mislej 1991, 1992; 1995; Rot 1992; Papež, Eiletz, Jerebič 1994; Žigon 2001: 136–138). The prominent themes in this literature, connected to migration experiences, range from (a) accurate and detailed testimonies, published regularly in books (e.g. Zajec, Kozina, Dejak 1998) or the community bulletin and narrated at ceremonies; (b) literature on war and revolution; and (c) novels and poetry, but even these were sometimes based on the theme of suffering; to (d) school textbooks and general literature on Slovenian history, geography, and ethnology. Even in schools, children were educated about Slovenia, the history of the war, exile, forced repatriations, torture and executions in order to induce a sense of trauma as constitutive to the community. As one of the interlocutors expressed: “We are all here because of the injustice that our parents had to suffer ... I should have been born in Slovenia.”

Visual arts in diaspora

Depictions of the homeland, the war and exile also appear in the visual arts (Toplak 2008; Repič 2006, 2012). Art and cultural production was strongly encouraged as it represented the creativity and rich cultural life in/of the community. Most influential for development of the arts in the diaspora was the cultural programme Slovenian Cultural Action, which was established in order to support literary, philosophical and scientific publications and art exhibitions among the Slovenians in Argentina and later globally. Even though the programme was based in Buenos Aires, it was transnational, incorporating Slovenian artists in Argentina, Canada, Venezuela, the USA, Australia and elsewhere. Its main objective was to connect Slovenian artists and scientists and promote creativity among them, and

to support art education, but also to preserve Slovenian Catholic traditions and memories of exile.

The arts, however, were also the least explicit in this ideological agenda and detached from the influences of the community political elite for two main reasons. Firstly, even though the Slovenian Cultural Action included an arts section and a school of fine arts, the teachers and participants were reluctant to strictly adhere to the prevailing ideological agenda promoted by the political elite in the community, and primarily aimed to develop spaces for the artistic activities of diaspora members and the education of younger artists (see Rot 1994; Toplak 2003, 2008: 87–101 on the art school and the Slovenian Cultural Action programme). Secondly, especially younger artists were increasingly integrated into and educated in the Argentinean art world. For young Slovenian artists, the school of fine arts, established in 1955, provided them with their first contact with art and the possibility to study with established artists such as France Ahčin, who led the fine arts school, along with Bara Remec, Marijan Marolt and Milan Volovšek, who had a marked influence on the first generation of art students (see Mislej 2001 on Slovenian visual artists in migration and Toplak 2003 on the art school). Even though the school of fine arts only operated for a few years, it was influential in that it established art as an important activity in the diaspora and thus found support within the Slovenian Cultural Action despite the initial ideological split. The Slovenian Cultural Action also promoted a certain level of ideological position and had a huge influence on many artists, in terms of modes, styles and themes that were important for preserving Slovenian identity in diaspora (see Toplak 2008: 94). Initially, art was often appreciated as a means of representing as well as creating and preserving connections to the homeland and memories. While literature often focused on traditional life in Slovenia, the war and the post-war executions, paintings often depicted Slovenian landscapes and specific places in the homeland and later in Argentina. Kristina Toplak writes that initially the conceptualisation of the fine arts was limited to realistic or impressionistic paintings of the pre-war period with explicit national or religious connotations (2008: 98). Later, artists became more embedded in the Argentinean art world – educated at schools of fine arts and also exploring socially relevant topics in their contemporary life in Argentina. In this sense, the production and representations of visual art were least attached to the ideological position of the community, but nevertheless reflected and communicated experiences of migrants and their descendants. Some of the recurrent themes in Slovenian-Argentinian visual arts that are analysed here are (a) violence, migration and memories of war; (b), the Slovenian landscape, homeland and return; (c) the search for identity and ambivalence between the Slovenian diaspora and the Argentinean art world. I shall take these in turn.

Violence, migration and memories of war

Marjan Grum is a painter, sculptor and performer. In 1987 he set up an art gallery called *Museo conventillo Marjan Grum*. His gallery is situated in La Boca, an old neighbourhood close to the old port of Buenos Aires, established through immigration and industrial labour. *Conventillos* were large apartment buildings, usually with a *patio* (courtyard) or a small communal open-air space, and with many small apartments or rooms where migrants lived together. Argentinean society was built through the history of immigration,

and Buenos Aires in particular has been characterised as open, multicultural, cosmopolitan, and a place of creativity, art and popular culture (cf. Schneider 2006: 8). The urban multicultural situation generated new kinds of cultural production and art styles. La Boca in particular, as a symbol of labour immigration and cultural pluralism, has become an important tourist destination and offers imaginaries of mass immigration, urbanisation, and national and popular culture, manifesting in art, music, dance and the reinvention of conventillos.

Grum is one of the prominent La Boca artists that renovated and redesigned a conventillo and turned it into an art gallery. He was born in Slovenia in 1939. After the war, his family escaped to Austria, except for his father, a Home Guard soldier who was captured and killed after the war in Kočevski rog. Marjan was initially a self-educated painter and sculptor. He was employed as a blacksmith, and started by forging iron figures and tools. In 1980 he enrolled in the art academy in Moron, Buenos Aires, but only became famous after he settled in La Boca in 1987. He bought an old conventillo on the Calle Garibaldi and renovated it into a local cultural centre called Museo Conventillo Marjan Grum. He lives, works and exhibits in it, but he is also very prominent figure in the local community and in the association of La Boca artists. His work mostly consists of metal sculptures and paintings, which he sells on the main street Calle Caminito as well as in his gallery. He is best known for his sculpting style of rough iron welded objects, depicting gauchos as well as tango dancers, musicians and similar urban images. Selling sculptures and tourist souvenirs enables him to finance his gallery, in which he exhibits much more diverse and experimental sculptures and paintings.

In his gallery, one can notice influences of his personal experiences of exile and life in the multicultural urban space of Buenos Aires. The gallery has three main exhibition parts, apart from his apartment, workshop and patio in which he greets visitors and holds cultural and musical events. The first part includes artworks connected to La Boca, objects from previous exhibitions, and souvenirs for sale. The exhibited objects present various artistic styles and experimenting with materials and techniques. The second part is an exhibition of the artist's own life history, with a focus on his migratory period and exhibitions and awards. During visits on different occasions, he tour-guided me through the gallery and also dramatically narrated his life story. It was an account that was structured in many details, as it was regularly narrated to visitors. It is indeed a dramatic account of his father's death and the rest of the family being exiled from Slovenia at the end of the Second World War. He exhibited pictures from his life as a child in a refugee camp in Spittal, Austria, the ocean voyage from Genoa to Buenos Aires in 1949, immigration documents, and newspaper articles on his exhibitions in Slovenia and elsewhere in the world.

Memories of exile and nostalgia for his homeland are most clearly apparent in the third part of his gallery, where he exhibited objects depicting images of violence, executions, suffering, death ... He explained how he had dedicated several of his works to his father and other Home Guard soldiers who were killed after the war:

At the executions, they were shot and fell into the pit caves. Some escaped from the caves, my father among them. He managed to climb out of the cave and came to Austria. But he was sent back. I never saw him again.

I have done these in memory of the Home Guard soldiers, but also in memory of my father. It was in a pit cave, in Kočevski rog, where the Home Guard soldiers ended up after they were executed.

They were killing them in huge numbers in Kočevski rog and in Slovenia. These (paintings) remind me of that.

Marjan Grum engaged in diverse forms of artistic engagement: in La Boca, a micro-location that crucially influenced the themes and styles of his creativity and art representations; in the broader art worlds in Argentina and abroad; and finally in the Slovenian diaspora, especially since his first return to Slovenia in 1994. His exhibited artworks denote his life experiences, engagement in Argentinean society and partial inclusion in the Slovenian diaspora, but also an exploration of issues connected to violence, memories of the war and relationship with the homeland. Grum is not alone in his depictions of memories of violence. Many other Slovenian artists have also explored this issue. For example, Andreja Dolinar did a painting of Kočevski rog, and her sister Marjeta (Margarita) Dolinar is famous for her painting she titled *Slovenian Guernica*, both conveying images of violence and mass graves.

Landscape, homeland and return

Another painter, Cecilija Grbec, was born in Buenos Aires in 1977 to a second-generation Slovenian emigrant family – one of her parents was born in a refugee camp, the other in Argentina. She was raised with a strong sense of being an ethnic Slovenian and her family are respected members of the Slovenian community. In Buenos Aires, she was educated in fine arts and graduated with a degree in painting. In addition to her formal art education, she was intensely involved in the work of the main Slovenian association. The cultural and art programme Slovenian Cultural Action particularly influenced her artistic work until she moved to Slovenia in her mid-20s. Grbec has exhibited in Buenos Aires and various other places in Argentina, but also in Slovenia, Austria and Italy. Since she moved to Slovenia, she has travelled back to Argentina many times and periodically stayed and worked there for extended periods. In some of her paintings she has expressed this ambivalence of belonging as a search for home and personal identity, which is apparent in her exhibitions, e.g. one titled *Trails of my Roots, Flames of Searching*. Her early exhibited works depict images from her childhood, artistic exploration of her roots and origin and places where she either lived, felt connected to, or had a sense of belonging to (cf. Repič 2010). Her art at least in some parts expresses a division between the world she had lived in and the world her ancestors had left behind; but also between memories and myths and lived reality or aspirations for the future. Art reviewer Ana Sitar noticed this ambivalence in her art and described Cecilija's exhibition entitled *Trails of my Roots* as follows:

In her work, two worlds, two homelands, meet. South America is the world of her childhood, the world where she grew up and where she was constantly aware of another world, the homeland of her ancestors. The diversity of (her) works confirms the eternal connection and interweavement of not only two actual worlds and homelands but the interrelation of the experienced world to the vast world of memory.

Since she moved to Slovenia, she has retained this style, but has also developed new themes – mostly exploring religious images and Slovenia's landscapes and its features, such as

churches, monuments and various places important in (post)diasporic narratives. Contrary to Marjan Grum, she is not concerned with images of violence, but with home and homeland, conveyed in images of landscape and distinctive, often sacred places. Moreover, religious images are important in Cecilija's work and reflect the crucial role religion has played in her life as well as generally among the Slovenians in diaspora. Similarly to Cecilija Grbec, many other Slovenian-Argentinean artists also produced artworks connected to religion. Marko Jerman for example specialised in stained glass painting and has produced glass windows for many churches in Argentina, Slovenia, Croatia and Austria. He was born in Argentina and migrated to Europe, initially to Italy, where he was educated in Milan in the 1980s in stained glass painting, and then moved to Slovenia in 1991. In 2015, when I was conducting an interview in the house of a Slovenian family in Bariloche, I recognised an image that resembled Mount Jalovec in the Slovenian Alps in a stained-glass painting hanging on the wall. I learned that it had been done by Marko Jerman before even going to Slovenia and before ever actually seeing this particular mountain. In many other artists' work, artistic representations of landscape are powerful symbolic expressions of homeland, identity and belonging (cf. Repič 2016).

One of my interlocutors, Lucia Voršič, who teaches fine arts at a school and critically reflected on art production in the Slovenian diaspora, said that her father also often painted landscapes from his childhood before the exile. Those paintings were dark and invoked sadness and loss. Hence, a specific sense of diasporicity is not represented merely by realistic depictions or accounts, but also by invoking a sense that is shared within their social reality. In this sense, artworks that invoke images of homeland, loss, suffering or nostalgia also have the capacity to also recreate specific memories as well as diasporic sociality. Kristina Toplak writes of another artist who has made many water-themed paintings and noticed its symbolism of fluidity and uncertainty, but also of the distance between the two homelands (2008: 141). Artworks depicting landscapes can be understood as symbolic expressions of identity, belonging and home, but they are more than that. As several artists I talked to put it, they are a means of research into the issue of spatial and social relationships and identifications, which for them, living in diaspora, were never straightforward.

Ambivalence

We have seen a clear issue of identity ambivalence explored in the artistic works and life trajectory of Cecilija Grbec. As noted by Toplak (2008: 124–133), Andreja Dolinar also expressed her simultaneous embeddedness in the cultural life in the Slovenian diaspora and in the Argentinean art world. She was born in Argentina and was encouraged to study fine arts at a college in Buenos Aires and practice among renowned Argentinean artists. She held her first exhibition at the Slovenian association in 1985, where she exhibited paintings of landscapes and some works with a leitmotif of exile. She established herself as a professional artist in Argentina, but also exhibited in several European countries. She exhibited her artworks in Slovenia in 1994 under the auspices of a programme of the Slovenian Cultural Action that aimed to present the Slovenian community from Argentina through the works of some of its artists. She has been involved with the Slovenian Cultural Action for many years and has established relations with Slovenian artists beyond Argentina.

Andreja Dolinar noted a difference between the older artists within the Slovenian Cultural Action, who were more realistic and explored images of exile and home, and the younger artists, who developed a more abstract style under modern influences, for example cubism, and are exploring socially relevant topics in Argentinean life. Her works also reflect the influence of life in a diasporic community and in a family in which the parents often spoke of the beauties of the Slovenian landscape or “the Slovenian tragedy”. One of her co-authored works is a mural on the wall outside the Slomšek community club in Buenos Aires. It depicts images of Lake Bled, the city of Ljubljana and the urban landscape of Buenos Aires segueing into each other, joined as a single place, thus showing the relations between her two homelands. Even though she was born and raised in Argentina, the history of diaspora is present in her artworks. She put it as follows:

Me and other artists have two paths ... We work in the Slovenian community to which we feel connected and see this as our moral duty. At the same time, we live in a globalised world and work and exhibit in Argentina. This enriches us as we are developing in two cultures. [...] I feel, like many among us, the ambivalence between both homelands. (in Toplak 2008: 130)

Ambivalence is also seen in artworks of many other Slovenian artists that have either explored images connected to Slovenia and migration or appropriated themes from Argentina. Bara Remec, probably one of the most influential early artists and also a teacher at the school of fine arts of the Slovenian Cultural Action, appropriated various themes and styles used in indigenous art in South America (cf. Mislej 2001: 102–103). Marjan Grum, on the other hand, specialised in rough iron welding and made souvenirs and art objects depicting images and issues from Argentinean history and popular culture – ranging from the tango to the repression of the indigenous population. But he also appropriated themes from the history of the Argentinean indigenous population and various socially relevant issues in contemporary Argentina.

Artists and their artworks recreate a specific sociality – Slovenian artists reflected upon their own and social memories and a diasporic attitude towards the issues of memories, homeland, return or contemporary life in Argentina. Some artists have delved on issues ideologically and culturally important to the Slovenian diaspora, and used art to explore memories and ambivalent belonging, whereas other have completely distanced themselves from these dominant issues. Younger artists in particular have strived to develop their career through Argentinean art institutions such as schools, galleries and informal places of art production. But even the Slovenian artists who are now completely integrated into the Argentinean art world sometimes exhibit their artworks in the Slovenian community. This, however, can present issues relating to creative freedom due to persisting expectations within the community of the topics that should be engaged with, and which should be considered taboo. As one interlocutor put it: “The exhibition of nudes would produce a scandal in the community.” Several younger artists said that social expectations in the community restrict their creative freedom. One of the artists told me in an interview: “Art has fulfilled and saved me ... also from the community, which I love, but at the same time I needed liberation from the constraints of the community.” Another young artist, Daniel Leber, said that he was aware of such expectations and moral norms in the community, but he didn’t really see them as obstacles to the creative process, as his career in the art world

of Buenos Aires enabled him a creative detachment from the community, in which he is nevertheless accepted and respected.

CONCLUSION

This article focused on the theoretically underappreciated connection between art and mobility using the example of the Slovenian diaspora in Argentina in order to show connections between art, or creativity, and various mobilities. It addressed the question of how social memories, imaginaries of home and relations with a distant homeland are imagined, explored, (re)created and expressed in art. Many Slovenian artists have “returned” to Slovenia at least for visits, or to hold exhibitions, and some have even migrated there. Some of the themes that were important among certain artists addressed issues of exile, return and living between two homelands. In diaspora, the home(land) is constituted as an essential spatial referent: it is not merely a place of origin, but is constituted as a meaningful distant place that belongs to another time (Repič 2016). Return mobilities – migration, visits, roots tourism and other forms of travel between Argentina and Slovenia that are at least on a certain level understood as returning home (cf. King, Christou 2011; Basu 2004, see also criticism of the concept of return migration in Čapo 2010) – engender the re-creation and redefinition of relations with the homeland. Mobilities – such as exile, return or travel due to international exhibitions – constitute varied influences on artists’ lives, careers and artworks. Cecilija Grbec and Andreja Dolinar for example, both born in Argentina, express ambivalence in their search for roots. Marjan Grum has also connected art to mobilities – on the one hand exile and on the other hand return and the internationalisation of his career. Several younger artists acknowledge the rich history of art and cultural production in the diaspora, but tend to distance themselves from the perceived social constraints and expectations. Their education, styles and themes all differ and are dependent upon various social contexts and their choices. Nevertheless, we can observe that in different contexts of mobilities, art is a means of imagining, exploring, expressing and creating social relations and relations with distant places and different times. Artworks manifest the re-creation of these relations.

Anthropological analysis of art can present different perspectives than art history and various other disciplines. There is no single and simple answer to the question of what art can tell us about migration and life in diaspora, as there are many layers of socio-historical influences and individual reflections to consider in art and cultural production. In the case of Slovenian artists in Argentina we can see that even though artworks are authored and individually produced, certain collectively established conditions, conceptualisations and various socio-historical processes such as mobilities are closely bound up with and reflected in the art production. Moreover, artworks are more than mere symbols that could be clearly read – art objects are made by individual artists and in turn create these artists. They are not merely tools of representation; these objects are processes of explorations of, and reflections upon, individual and social memories, emotions, identities and life courses. In this sense artists create these objects as much as the objects, or more precisely, the making of the art objects, create both the artists as social actors and their particular sociality.

REFERENCES

- Ahmed, Sara, Castañeda, Claudia, Fortier, Anne-Marie, Sheller, Mimi (eds.) (2003). *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*. Oxford, New York: Berg.
- Aparicio, Frances R., Jáquez, Cándida F. (eds.) (2003). *Musical Migrations: Transnationalism and Cultural Hybridity in Latin/o America*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Baily, John, Collyer, Michael (2006). Introduction: Music and Migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32/2, 167–182.
- Basu, Paul (2004). Route Metaphors of ‘Roots-Tourism’ in the Scottish Highland Diaspora. *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion* (eds. Simon Coleman, John Eade). London: Routledge, 150–174.
- Becker, Howard (1982). *Art Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brah, Avtar (1996). *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Brubaker, Rogers (2005). The “Diaspora” Diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28/1, 1–19.
- Clifford, James (1994). Diasporas. *Cultural Anthropology* 9/3, 302–338.
- Corsellis, John (1997). The Slovenian Political Emigration 1945–1950. *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* 8, 131–159.
- Čapo Žmegač, Jasna (2010). Return Migration: The Changing Faces and Challenging Facets of a Field of Study. *Ethnologia Balkanica* 14, 227–245.
- Debeljak, Tine (1994). Slovenski srednješolski tečaj ravnatelja Marka Bajuka v Buenos Airesu. *Življenje in delo Slovencev v Argentini (po letu 1945)*. Ljubljana, Washington: Studia Slovenica, 42–48.
- Ferenc, Mitja (2005). *Prikrito in očem zakrito: Prikrita grobišča 60 let po koncu druge svetovne vojne*. Celje: Muzej novejšje zgodovine.
- Friedman, Jonathan (2002). From Roots to Routes: Tropes for Trippers. *Anthropological Theory* 2, 21–36.
- Glick Schiller, Nina, Salazar, Noel B. (2013). Regimes of Mobility Across the Globe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39/2, 183–200.
- Hicks, Dan (2010). The Material-Cultural Turn: Event and Effect. *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 25–98.
- Kozorog, Miha, Bartulović, Alenka (2015). The Sevdalinka in Exile, Revisited: Young Bosnian Refugees’ Music-making in Ljubljana in the 1990s (A Note on Applied Ethnomusicology). *Narodna umjetnost* 52/1, 121–142.
- King, Russel, Christou, Anastasia (2011). Of Counter-Diaspora and Reverse Transnationalism: Return Mobilities to and from the Ancestral Homeland. *Mobilities* 6/4, 451–466.
- Kirby, Peter Wynn (2009). Lost in “Space”: Anthropological Approach to Movement. *Boundless Worlds: An Anthropological Approach to Movement* (ed. Peter Wynn Kirby). New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1–27.
- Kocmur, Marijan (1965–1971). *Odprti grobovi* 1–4. Buenos Aires: Editorial Baraga.
- Marcus, George E., Myers, Fred R. (eds.) 1995. *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology*. California: University of California Press.
- Mislej, Irene (1991). Slovensko šolstvo v Argentini. *Slovenski koledar* 38, 187–90.
- Mislej, Irene (1992). Slovenski tisk v Argentini po drugi svetovni vojni. *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* 2–3, 185–194.

- Mislej, Irene (ed.) (1995). *Kulturno ustvarjanje Slovencev v Južni Ameriki*. Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete.
- Mislej, Irene (2001). Pregled slovenskih izseljenih likovnih ustvarjalcev. *Slovensko izseljensko: Zbornik ob 50-letnici Slovenske izseljenske matice, 1951–2001*. Ljubljana: Slovenska izseljenska matica, 89–105.
- Molek, Nadia (2012). Ser esloveno en Argentina. Análisis antropológico de las diversas construcciones de eslovenidad: Thesis de Licenciatura. Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras.
- O'Neill, Maggie (2008). Transnational Refugees: The Transformative Role of Art? *Qualitative Social Research* 9/2. Art. 59, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0802590>.
- Papež, France, Eiletz, Marijan, Jerebič, Stanko (eds.) (1994). *Zbornik Slovenske kulturne akcije 1954–1994*. Celje: Mohorjeva družba.
- Rant, Jože (1998). *Zbornik dela v zvestobi in ljubezni – Zedinjena Slovenija 1948–1998*. Buenos Aires: Društvo Zedinjena Slovenija.
- Rapport, Nigel, Overing, Joanna (2003). *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Repič, Jaka (2006). 'Po sledovih korenin': *Transnacionalne migracije med Argentino in Evropo*. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta.
- Repič, Jaka (2010). Ambivalent Identities Emerging in Transnational Migrations between Argentina and Slovenia. *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* 31, 121–134.
- Repič, Jaka (2012). Umetnost, urbanost in diaspora: Kulturni center Museo conventillo Marjan Grum v Buenos Airesu. *Antropološki vidiki načinov življenja v mestih* (eds. Jaka Repič, Jože Hudales). Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 211–230.
- Repič, Jaka (2016). Tracing roots: Slovenian diaspora in Argentina and return mobilities. *Moving Places: Relations, Return, and Belonging* (eds. Nataša Gregorič Bon, Jaka Repič). New York, Oxford: Berghahn books, 85–104.
- Rot, Andrej (1992). Slovenski tisk v Argentini po drugi svetovni vojni. *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* 2–3, 209–235.
- Rot, Andrej (1994). *Republika duhov: Štiridesetletnica Slovenske kulturne akcije*. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.
- Safran, William (1991). Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return. *Diaspora* 1/1, 83–99.
- Salazar, Noel B., Smart, Alan (2011). Anthropological Takes on (Im)mobility. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 18, i–ix.
- Sheller, Mimi, Urry, John (2006). The New Mobilities Paradigm. *Environment and Planning* 38, 207–226.
- Schneider, Arnd (2006). *Appropriation as Practice: Art and Identity in Argentina*. New York, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Sjekloča, Marko (2004). *Čez morje v pozabo: Argentinci slovenskih korenin in rezultati argentinske integracijske politike*. Celje: Fit media.
- Svašek, Maruška (2007). *Anthropology, Art, and Cultural Production*. London, Ann Arbor: Pluto Press.
- Švent, Rozina (2007). *Slovenski begunci v Avstriji 1945–1950*. Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU.
- Toplak, Kristina (2003). Umetniška šola Slovenske Kulturne Akcije. *Dve Domovini / Two Homelands* 18, 135–143.

- Toplak, Kristina (2004). Dobrodošli doma? Vračanje slovenskih izseljencev v Republiko Slovenijo. *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* 20, 35–51.
- Toplak, Kristina (2008). 'Buenas Artes': Ustvarjalnost Slovencev in njihovih potomcev v Buenos Airesu. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU.
- Tsing, Anna L. (1993). *In the Realm of the Diamond Queen: Marginality in an Out-of-the-Way Place*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Urry, John (2007). *Mobilities*. Cambridge, Malden: Polity.
- Vovk, Joži (2004). Antropologija glasbe: Slovenska glasbena kultura in njen vpliv na ohranjanje etnične identitete med Slovenci v Argentini. Diploma thesis. Ljubljana: University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences.
- Zajec, Milan, Kozina, France, Dejak, France (1998). *Ušli so smrti: Poročila treh rešencev iz množičnega groba v Kočevskem Rogu*. Celovec, Ljubljana, Dunaj: Mohorjeva založba.
- Žigon, Zvone (1998). *Otroci dveh domovin: Slovenstvo v Južni Ameriki*. Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU.
- Žigon, Zvone (2001). *Iz spomina v prihodnost: Slovenska politična emigracija v Argentini*. Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU.
- Žitnik, Janja (2003). Književnost slovenskih izseljencev. *Slovensko izseljenstvo: Zbornik ob 50-letnici Slovenske izseljenske matice, 1951–2001*. Ljubljana: Slovenska izseljenska matica, 77–88.

POVZETEK

VPLIV MOBILNOSTI NA VIZUALNO UMETNOST V SLOVENSKI DIASPORI V ARGENTINI

Jaka REPIČ

Članek obravnava vpliv mobilnosti na ustvarjalnost med likovnimi umetniki v slovenski skupnosti, ki so jo v Argentini oblikovali povojni migranti. Teoretski okvir sloni na povezavi med mobilnostjo in umetnostjo in obravnava povezanost umetniške ustvarjalnosti z individualnimi in s kolektivnimi izkušnjami migracije, življenjem v diasporični skupnosti pa tudi s povratnimi mobilnostmi v domovino. Analiza sooča izkušnje begunstva po drugi svetovni vojni, ki so ga povzročili medvojna kolaboracija in strah pred povojnim komunističnim režimom, pa tudi izkušnje življenja v diasporični skupnosti, nezmožnost ali odklanjanje vrnitve v domovino do leta 1990 in navsezadnje različne oblike povratnih mobilnosti po slovenski osamosvojitvi leta 1991. Članek na kratko predstavi zgodovino migracije in oblikovanja skupnosti, predvsem pa poudari nekatere temeljne družbenozgodovinske okoliščine, ki so v diaspori oživile socialni spomin na begunstvo in povojne poboje, migracijo v Argentino ter oblikovanje odnosov do domovine.

Članek umetnost obravnava z antropološkega stališča, torej skozi njeno procesualnost, relacijskost in vključenost v širše politične, zgodovinske in družbene kontekste, predvsem pa se osredotoča na likovno in kiparsko umetnost. Likovna umetnost je bila najbolj odmaknjena od ideoloških agend politične elite v skupnosti, a kljub temu razkriva nekatere temeljne vsebine, s katerimi so umetniki raziskovali, predstavljali in oblikovali diasporično družbenost. Avtor obravnava slovenske umetnike t. i. povojne migracije, njihova umetniška dela pa predstavi skozi tri glavne tematike: socialni spomin na vojno in migracijo, odnos do domovine in ambivalentnost oz. razpetost med dvema družbenima svetovoma. Pri tem ostaja na področju antropologije umetnosti, saj ga zanimajo vplivi med družbenozgodovinskimi okoliščinami, osebnimi izkušnjami in socialnimi spomini ter ustvarjalnostjo. Takšna analiza po eni strani razkriva umetnikove izkušnje, predvsem pa širše pomen in vloge umetniškega delovanja v specifičnih družbenozgodovinskih kontekstih. Ker avtor v članku obravnava, kako slovenski umetniki v diaspori razumejo preteklost ter kako si zamišljajo, izražajo in ustvarjajo odnose z domovino, umetniška dela postavlja v odnos z njihovimi življenjskimi zgodbami in potmi ter družbenozgodovinskimi okoliščinami.

“SONGS FROM THE HOMELAND” – POPULAR MUSIC PERFORMANCE AMONG DESCENDANTS OF SLOVENIAN REFUGEES IN ARGENTINA: THE CASE OF “SLOVENSKI INSTRUMENTALNI ANSAMBEL”

Nadia MOLEK¹

COBISS 1.01

ABSTRACT

“Songs from the homeland” – popular music performance among descendants of Slovenian refugees in Argentina: The case of “Slovenski Instrumentalni Ansambel”

The article presents an anthropological perspective on the selection, transformation and invention of Slovenian popular musical forms among the Slovenian expatriate community in Argentina. Among many descendants, the wish to continue their ancestors’ cultural practices created a “homeland-oriented” community in which their members felt committed to preserving their roots and social memories, and thus to “musically” enacting their Slovenianness. To illustrate this, I will particularly explore the case of the Slovenian Alpine ethno-pop band “Slovenski Instrumentalni Ansambel”, analysing how the migration and memory processes of their antecessors influenced the life of these ethno-pop artists, and how these experiences were appropriated in their music and lyrics.

KEY WORDS: Alpine ethno-pop and popular music, appropriation, diaspora, identity, social memory, Argentina

IZVLEČEK

»Pesmi iz domovine« – Izvedba popularne glasbe med potomci slovenskih beguncev v Argentini:

Primer »Slovenskega Instrumentalnega Ansambla«

Članek z antropološkega stališča obravnava izbor, preobrazbo in odkrivanje slovenskega popularnega glasbenega žanra v skupnosti slovenskih beguncev v Argentini. V želji po nadaljevanju kulturnega udejstvovanja svojih prednikov in iz odgovornosti za ohranjanje korenin in socialnega spomina so potomci ustvarili »zamišljeno skupnost«. Avtorica glasbo analizira kot način sodobnih narodnih praks, s katerimi potomci ohranjajo slovenstvo, s predstavitvijo narodno-zabavnega »Slovenski Instrumentalni Ansambel« pa analizira vpliv migracijskih in spominskih procesov na njihovo življenje in glasbeno ustvarjalnost, zanima pa jo tudi način prisvojitve glasbe in besedila, ki izvirata iz domovine njihovih prednikov.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: popularna in narodno-zabavna glasba, prisvojitve, diaspora, identiteta, socialni spomin, Argentina

¹ PhD candidate, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Ciencias Antropológicas, Puan 470, Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Argentina; nadiamolek@gmail.com; Lecturer at Universidad del Salvador, Argentina; visiting researcher at the Slovenian Migration Institute, ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

INTRODUCTION

Popular music¹ cannot be separated from the building of diasporic identifications that helps to link the intergenerational members of migrant communities through specific sounds, styles, lyrics and language. From a general point of view, music can be defined as the artificial creation of sounds (Cook 1998: 14). Nevertheless, the elements involved in music production and music consumption are socially constructed and have an inherent meaning (Cook 2001: 178–179). Campos (2006) points out that music is socially listened to and its meanings are shared only within the borders of an interpretive community. In this sense, music is a valuable tool in the analysis of culture and society (Merriam 1980: 13) and also plays a role in the construction of identities (Cook 1998). Because music also reinforces worldviews, it reflects the societal norms and values of those who create and share it.

Cook (1998: 14–15) thinks that music can be a symbol of national or regional identifications among migrant communities, who sometimes strongly cling to their “traditional music”² in order to retain their identity abroad. In a case study, Marty (2015: 90) demonstrates that in the process of migration of Slovenes to Switzerland, a series of triadic relationships between the immigrant communities and the host and source countries. In the migration context, the country of origin remains associated with the destination country through a complex network of sounds and related events (Slobin 1994: 243). On the other hand, as Vovk (2004) showed, music also plays an important role in integration by connecting different Slovenian communities in Argentina. Finally, van Dijck also points out the interrelation between music and memory. In his view, social practices and cultural forms like music are inseparable from the construction of memory and cultural heritage (cf. Baumgartner 1992; van Dijck 2006).

In this sense, my aim is to discuss, from an anthropological perspective, the selection, transformation and invention of Slovenian musical forms in Buenos Aires, particularly among the group “Slovenski Inštrumentalni Ansambel”, exploring how the migration process and processes of communalization (Brow 1990) and identification influenced the life of these Alpine ethno-pop artists, their music and lyrics.³ To show this, I will provide historical contextualization of the band’s songs and lyrics, that is, I will describe the migration process of Slovenian refugees to Argentina after the Second World War. Finally, I will analyse the case using methods of interpretative anthropology together with the tools of Slovenian ethnomusicology and the personal narratives of the actors involved. The main hypothesis stresses that many of the descendants wish to continue their ancestors’ cultural

1 “Popular music” has been a subject of study and heterogeneous definitions in the related disciplines of cultural and media studies, sociology, anthropology, history and women’s studies (cf. Adorno 1941; Frith 1998; Middleton 1990; Bennet 2001; Muršič 1998). Some arguments associate “popular culture” with “mass” and “commercial” (Adorno 1941; Shuker 1994). Other theses link the “popular” with “folk” (Middleton 1990; Firth 1998). Goialde Palacios (2013: 12) also points out the connection of popular music to industry and new technologies.

2 Although the term “traditional music” is ambiguous and has been very widely discussed, is used here to refer to both folk and popular music. It expresses the connection between an ethnic group, in this case study Slovenes, and its musical art form, created and passed down orally through time (Shetuni 2011: 4).

3 This paper is part of a wider research project, started in 2009, which consists of an anthropological approach to migration and identity processes among Slovenian migrants and their descendants in Argentina.

practices and "homeland-orientated" community commitment to the preservation of the roots and social memory. Popular music will be seen as a cultural resource in the construction of a diasporic identity that will help link the intergenerational members of the community to the new environment.⁴

The research method used was mainly qualitative research among the "post-war" Slovenian community in Argentina. The main source of information, insiders' representations or practices that appear repeatedly in the speech or musical activities among the observed group, were collected in ethnographical fieldwork through participant observation at various cultural and musical events and unstructured interviews. However, some information was also gathered through research on Slovenian online communities, due to the importance that these sites have as social communicators and as larger social contexts in which individuals construct collective memory (van Dijck 2006: 358).

CONTEXTUALIZING THE CASE STUDY: THE PROCESS OF THE MIGRATION OF SLOVENIAN REFUGEES TO ARGENTINA

In the context of international overseas immigration policies in Argentina, the first groups of Slovenes migrated during the last quarter of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century due to socioeconomic problems, when Slovenia was still part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Mislej 1994; Molek 2016a).

A large wave of migrants (25,000) arrived between the two World Wars, attracted by the economic prosperity of Argentina, when Slovenia was part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. It involved labourers and peasants from different regions. The decision to migrate was closely connected with the economic problems and to the loss of and reconfiguration of the Slovenian territory after the First World War (Mislej 1994; Kalc 1995). In the case of migrants from the littoral, they were pushed into migration when the border established by the 1920 Rapallo Treaty separated their territory from Slovenia (Kalc 1995). In line with its denationalization policy, the Fascist Italian government denied them their basic ethnic, political and social rights (Genorio 1986). Their mass exile influenced the forms of their ties and the way in which their own institutional network was built up. They remained bastions of "Slovenianness" and were politically committed to the development of Slovenian nationalism in the homeland, especially in the years prior to the Second World War. This particular form of political engagement led them into confrontation with the last flow of Slovenian migrants and their descendants into Argentina: the anti-communist exiles.

This group arrived after the end of the Second World War. About 6,500 Slovenian refugees opposed to the new communist government⁵ came to Argentina and started a

4 In this paper, the concept of the "new environment" refers to the destination countries of Slovenian refugees, in this case Argentina.

5 They included many soldiers who had taken an active part in the Second World War as members of the Slovenian Domobranci (Home Guard) who fought against the Slovenian partisans and their families; many civilians who were afraid of communism or shared anti-communist political and religious sentiments; those who were detractors of the new regime; and people who had been members of the anti-communist collaborationist force and their families.

complex community called “new Slovenes” or “political Slovenes”,⁶ which was formed as a group that was independent from all the previous Slovenian assemblies in Argentina. In the immediate aftermath of the war, most of them moved to neighbouring countries and settled temporarily in Red Cross refugee camps in Austria and Italy, before later migrating to Argentina, Canada and several European countries. However, many of them were imprisoned, executed and buried in unmarked mass graves. Narratives and researchers’ analyses agree that these events were traumatic for the anti-communist fighters and anti-communist civilians (Žigon 2001; Repič 2006). They might have escaped from or been forced to leave their places physically, but perhaps not psychologically (Basu 2001: 332). This forced uprooting initiated the diaspora and deepened the need for group solidarity, identity and cultural preservation, and the constitution of a collective memory would allow them to work through the shock (Mera 2005).

The idea of the *skupnost* (community) had its origin during this period. The refugees began the process of communalization (Brow 1990: 1) in the refugee camps in Austria and Italy (Repič 2006; Molek 2013), where they initiated patterns of action that promoted a sense of shared belonging to the diasporic community. Many of the exiles thought that they would return to their “only and true home” (Fernandez, Repič 2016) after a while. The communal relationships and the cultural performances that promoted the conservation and consolidation of Slovenianness that we can observe nowadays among this study group are socially constructed, as well as culturally and historically determined (Brow 1990: 2) around a shared experience of traumatic displacement and an emphasis on the “myth of return” (Clifford 1997).

Once in Argentina, the majority of these post-war migrants were concentrated principally in greater Buenos Aires, and in Capital Federal, Mendoza and Río Negro.⁷ They organized themselves into national cultural centres, called *domovi* (homes). These Slovene associations were not associated with the Yugoslavian State (1945–1991). However, this situation changed after Slovenia gained independence. After the first stage of “integration” was past, they used the associations as places to build and reinforce their feeling of belonging to a community, and to maintain the collective memories and their identity, which was based on roots metaphors, the relationship with the homeland, strong patriotism, Catholic faith and ideological anti-communism (Molek 2013). They held Slovene mass, school programs, Slovene press and cultural activities (*Zbornik* 1998), such as musical and singing performances, which represented this idea of continuity with the real or imagined homeland. In this context, the language became an identity “treasure to be preserved” and as an inclusion/exclusion symbol: “The preservation of the language means a lot to us, it means the survival of Slovenianness, the bond to our homeland, and the preservation of our community.”

This would allow them to return to their homeland when the revolution had passed. There were various strategies for the preservation of “Slovenianness”, and the descendants feel a duty to work for their ancestors’ homeland. For instance, the group celebrates many anniversaries including the annual commemoration for the victims of the Second World

6 When they arrived in Argentina, the previous Slovene migrant inflow between the two World Wars were categorized in this interactional relationship as “old”, whereas the “new” assumed this mantle as part of their identity.

7 The refugees gathered following migration and family networks which began to develop in Slovenia or in the refugee camps.

War, as well as various cultural activities from concerts, theatre performances, music festivals, art exhibitions and conferences, to parties like Carnival, celebrations, fairs, etc. The activities serve as moments for relaxation and entertainment and usually bring together the different generations. Today, whenever there is such an event, music is always present, especially Slovenian Alpine ethno-pop.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

One February night in 2016, during the *Pustna veselica* (Carnival) in *Slovenski Dom Carapachay*, I happened upon the fortieth-anniversary celebration of *Slovenski Instrumentalni Ansambel*, the most famous band in the community. That day, I realized that in all the materials I had read on Slovenians in Argentina, the topic of music, specifically popular music, had not received sufficient attention. In contrast, it is common to find references to Slovenian music among Slovenian migrants and their descendants as an important diacritic of national belonging. In my ethnographic experience, many of the interviewed descendants emphasized that music is an important part of their cultural life and tradition which they consider crucial to share with the new generations.

Vovk (2004: 43), who studied serious art music performances among the "old" and "new" Slovenes in Argentina, asserts that in the post-war community, the Slovenian Catholic Church, Slovenian Saturday School, Slovenian Cultural Campaign, Slovenian media and their *domovi* or associations were places and institutions where Slovenian musical practices were reproduced (Vovk 2004: 43). I was able to verify this during my participant observation at concerts, social events and commemorations at the *Slovenska hiša* and *Naš dom* associations in San Justo and at *Slovenski Dom Carapachay*. Moreover, during fieldwork in Catholic religious services at the *Slovenska Hiša* in San Carlos de Bariloche – Río Negro and *Slovenski dom v Mendoza* (Mendoza Province), I also noticed that the priests and parishioners sang religious songs in Slovene.

Volk explains that choral singing has been, and is still, one of the most popular cultural activities in Slovenia, and that it also accompanied the refugees to the new land. Historically, group singing has been a deep-rooted practice of the Slovenes (Kumer 2002: 12). In the context of the "national awakening" at the end of the 19th century, the process of national construction mainly involved folk music, which were performed nationally in the form of choirs (Kovačič 2015: 16). Folk songs were established as one of the key elements of Slovenian musical heritage (Kumer 2002: 7).⁸

Nevertheless, Volk's research and other studies left out popular Slovenian genres – Alpine ethno-pop, polkas, waltzes, pop and rock and roll – that became cultural diacritics⁹ adopted by the actors in the new environment. In informal conversations, many of the people interviewed admitted to liking Slovenian popular music genres, listening to some records and dancing to them. Many of them claimed that they liked listening to Čuki, Andrej

8 Folk songs are a significant source of information about Slovenian material culture, customs and reactions to historical events (Kumer 1975: 134).

9 I am using the term "diacritic" to describe a cultural feature used by the group to determine dynamic boundaries on an interactive background. Identities are historically contextualized categories, in other words, dynamic, flexible, and changeable in specific social interactions (Cucho 2007; Hall 2013).

Šifrer, Oto Pestner, Aleksander Mežek, Modriani, Adi Smolar or Vlado Kreslin, among the most commonly named. Others stated that they listened to Slovenian choirs like Perpetuum Jazzile. *Narodno-zabavna glasba* (Alpine ethno-pop) was the most frequently mentioned genre by interviewees in the category of “political Slovenes”.¹⁰ Many interlocutors emphasized a taste for “ensembles” (a label that usually denotes an ethno-pop band), such as Ansambel bratov Avsenik, Ansambel Lojzeta Slaka, Igor in zlati zvoki or Alpski Kvintet. I also found it at commemorative events, at certain music festivals, in other social and sports events held at the *domovi* (cultural centres), as well as at community parties where ensembles or rock bands perform to entertain the public, who show their excitement by clapping their hands rhythmically.

Historically, this Slovenian musical genre emerged in the early 1950s (Muršič 1998; Kovačič 2015). After being initially popularized by the Avsenik brothers and receiving radio airplay, musicians quickly appropriated it and began to perform this genre on festive occasions. It included various pre-existing musical expressions of the wider region surrounding Slovenia, as well as influences from jazz and the polkas played by the Slovenian diaspora in the USA (Zorman 2016). The genre finally mixed in traditional folk music (Muršič, Kovačič 2015: 93), combining folk instrumental musical practices with singing (Kovačič 2015: 96). It established a specific constellation of signifiers such as lyrics, clothing and attitudes, as well as a complex system of musical structures, embellishments and instrumentation (Zorman 2016), where the accordion stood out and became the central instrument of the genre (Kovačič 2015). Although it is principally based on the musical style of just one Slovenian region (Gorenjska), over time it has become highly popular and rose to the status of an “authentic Slovenian tradition”. Its popularity spread rapidly throughout Alpine Europe and around the world (Zorman 2016).

As the current case of *Slovenski Inštrumentalni Ansambel* highlights, for the Slovenian political migrants in Argentina, Slovenian Alpine ethno-pop¹¹ is an important part of their long-lasting nationalism practices. The genre is a cultural resource that helps link the intergenerational members of the community through specific sounds and lyrics in order to preserve the idea of *skupnost* (community), communal relationships and belonging.¹² This musical identity requires the organization of musical events that promote the creative participation of the young members, even if this implies shifting towards new musical hybrids, implying what Muršič (1998: 285) refers as the “autochthonisation process”, i.e. local musicians ceasing to copy musical styles and starting to transform and adapt them.

10 This does not mean that the actors linked to the other Slovenian migration flows don't identify the musical genre as “authentically” Slovenian or that they don't listen to it, but in this paper I only want to concentrate on the case study at hand, as I am researching how actors can appropriate a genre and compose a song to express national feelings and loyalties.

11 Other terms that refer to this music are national entertainment music (Muršič 1998), national-fun music, Oberkrainer music, Slovenian polka, Slovenian folk music, Alpine folk music, Alpine-style music, folk-entertainment music, ethno-pop and ethnic popular music.

12 Kunej and Kunej (2016: 57) describe a similar process among the Slovenians and their descendants in the USA. In their case study, dance and music also play a role in the persistence of Slovenianness, especially among the younger generations, among whom the ability to speak the language has already declined.

THE ROLE OF "SLOVENSKI INSTRUMENTALNI ANSAMBEL" IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF MEMORY AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

Popular music is becoming a field of study of the individual need of the social actors to interact with social and personal memory structures in order to obtain a surer sense of their personal and social identity. Identities and memory constitute active processes that belong to both the future and the past. While cultural identities are a matter of "becoming" and "being" (Hall 2013: 351), social memory is a symbolic construct originated in the present and produced within social relationships (Aceves 2000: 8). On one hand, cultural identities are points of identification constructed through memory, narratives and myth (Hall 2013), built in senses of territorial and social rootedness, which continue to give people ontological security in a world of perceived movement (Basu 2001: 335). Memories are not stored randomly, but are organized from personal, emotional, rational, social and cultural principles that select what to remember and what to forget (Benadiba, Plotinsky 2007: 17).

In this sense, the study of the creation of musical forms in the diasporic context can be very productive. Music is heard socially and its meanings are shared within the borders of an interpretive community. Songs and lyrics make use of a reservoir of dynamic "cultural resources" that the actors dialectically internalize and externalize (Bourdieu 2012) in a dynamic process of "appropriation" (Schneider 2006) and "autochthonisation" (Muršič 1998).

The performance of Slovenian Alpine ethno-pop music among migrant groups in their new environments is not a new phenomenon. Slovenian Alpine ethno-pop also had a special significance for Slovenian migrants and their descendants in the United States of America (see Kunej, Kunej 2016). Nevertheless, the study of this issue in the Argentinean context can shed new light on the topic.

At one of the gatherings of the *skupnost* in the 1970s, the brothers Janez and Franci Žnidar, sons of Slovenian refugees who settled in Carapachay, Buenos Aires, were inspired to found an Alpine ethno-pop band that would honour the community, after noticing the absence of Slovenian music at festivals and parties. In the interview, Franci recalled the creation of *Slovenski Instrumentalni Ansambel*:

When I was very young [...] I saw that our parents organized events that lasted all day [...] and they put in a lot of effort on the preparation, they spent the whole day cooking, cleaning, serving the guests ... All this was a huge amount of work, and when night came, they hired an outsider orchestra, which they had to pay. The band started with maybe two Slovenian songs ... maybe Avsenik, Na Golici and Večer na Roblek, these sounded Slovenian, but after the fourth song they switched to German music or dance music that was currently popular [...]

And ... there was a spirit of sadness within the community ... because what happened to the community was pretty serious, right? So, many people weren't having fun [...] So I realized ... how nice it would be to do something where the bulk of the program would be in Slovene [...] So ... my brother played the accordion, and I had to choose an instrument ... and well, I liked the trumpet. And then, we convinced the others, and here we are.

The Žnidar brothers invited other descendants and formed the group as a quartet.¹³ They made their debut at the *Pevski Glasbeni Večer* (Night of Singing and Music) at the *Slovenska Hiša* (Slovenian Cultural Centre) in August 1974. The ensemble became famous in the community. “We like to play for our people, and people enjoy listening to us, to their music,” said Franci. About the repertoire, Franci stressed that “60% of the repertoire was Alpine ethno-pop ... such as for instance Avsenik’s or Miha Dovžan’s ... (Lojze) Slak’s Ansambel ... the other 40% was international”. In this sense, another member, Rok Fink, pointed out that they also included international music like Latin American music, German Alpine music, tangos, and country rhythms in many languages, that allowed them to entertain the audience better. Some members of the band translated their specific emotions and interpretations of family narratives and their homeland-oriented loyalties into the creation of melodies and lyrics following these sounds. In some cases, they set “Slovenian rhythms” – usually polkas or waltzes – to poetry or lyrics in Slovene that they found very meaningful, turning them into a song. Franci mentioned, for example, the song *Vnuk poje* (Grandson Sings). He composed music in a waltz rhythm for a poem by the exiled Slovenian poet Mirko Kunčič (1899–1984), a refugee in Argentina since 1945. The poem describes a grandson’s longing for his grandfather’s homeland. During the interview, Franci sang part of the song:

Zemlja slovenska, zemljica draga,
daleč si daleč, od stran morja.
Kakor kraljična, zakleta iz pravljič
mavrica pisana, vrhu neba

Slovenian land, dear land
you are far, far away, across the sea.
Like a princess under a spell in a fairy tale
a colourful rainbow at the top of the sky.

Rodni dom dedov, tam pod Triglavom
videl morda, ne bom te nikdar.
Pa te v spominu sem svesto ohranil
kakor svetilo na srcu vsekdar.

Grandfathers’ birthplace, under Triglav
I will probably never see you
But I faithfully kept you in my memories
like an ever-shining light in my heart.

Zemlja slovenska, zemljica draga,
daleč za morje, od stran planjav.
Oj da sem lastovka k tebi zletel bi
in ti poneseš dedov pozdrav.

Slovenian land, dear land
you are far over the sea, across the plains.
If I were a swallow, I would fly to you.
And I would bring you greetings
from my grandfathers.

This song can be seen as a reminder of their ancestors’ origin and a way of expressing their literary heritage to the new generations. The song is a symbolic construct originated in the present and produced within social relationships within the borders of specific “cultural resources” and an interpretative community. The lyrics function as a reminder of the land the refugees were forced to leave behind and the way, through the creative process of the configuration of the homeland seen as the “princess beyond the sea”, in which the lyrics

13 The first members were Janez Žnidar (accordion) Franci Žnidar (trumpet), Martin Dobovšek (bass and vocals) and Rok Fink (guitar and vocals). Frido Klemen (drums) joined the group in 1974. Jože Rožanec (guitar and vocals) joined the next year. Singer Maruška Batagelj joined the group in 1979. Frido Klemen left the band in 1999 and was replaced by Pavel Erjavec. When Erjavec left, he was replaced on drums by Nejko Skubič.

nourish the symbolic efficacy (Levi-Strauss 1968) of the "myth of the homeland". The grandparents' birthplace, as a sacred faraway land that becomes a place of the past, but also a place of the present and future (Basu 2001: 332), remains vivid in the grandchildren's memories and hearts within the diasporic context. The attachment to the homeland and its distinctive landscape and story combines a sense of loss, hope, and resilience. Passages of nostalgia and subtle patriotism give shape to a message that the "youngest" have to learn in order to become part of the group's social memory. This is also achieved in the studio version through the performance of the singer,¹⁴ who highlights the nostalgia with an expressive emphasis.

MUSIC AS A CHANNEL OF SYMBOLIC AND REAL PILGRIMAGES TO THE HOMELAND

As Basu (2001) points out, the search for the self among the sources of identity may be considered a sacred act that can remind us of pilgrimages, that in the case of my study also corresponds with real "roots-pilgrimages" through relatives and community considered "memory sites". The song *Trnovo* is an example of how descendants internalize family memories and externalize them creatively. The lyric and music by Rok Fink portray the story of someone who lived in the Trnovo district of Ljubljana, but who abandoned it. "As if he were a migrant", Rok explained. This makes the character very unhappy forever after, and consequently Trnovo becomes a symbolic place to long for, where the character wants to come back "because it's the place where he could be happy again". Let's take a look at the lyrics:¹⁵

Prešernov kraj, nesrečnega imena
zapustil sem nekdanj in šel sem proč.
Je iskati sreče je bilo brez pomena
so tuji kraji bli kot temna noč.

Zato pa zdaj se vračam proti domu
zagledal kmalu bom potoček most
prisluhnil bom zvonečemu se zvonu
zapel me bo sprejel odkot nekoč

Preseren's place, with an unfortunate name¹⁵
that I left once and went away.
There was not much sense in pursuing
happiness
foreign places were like dark night.

Therefore I am on my way home
I will soon see the creek bridge
and listen to the tolling bell
it's singing will welcome me as it once did.

14 See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1&v=Efo-MuE-Qzo.

15 This passage remains as a tribute to the famous Slovenian national poet France Prešeren, who wrote a sonnet (Je od veselja časa teklo leto, ...) [A year passed after the joyous time, ...] to his beloved Julia, where Trnovo is mentioned as "Trnovo! Kraj nesrečnega imena" [Trnovo! An unfortunately named place] (translator's note: "Trnovo" can be roughly translated as "thorny place"). Rok explained to me that "in Slovenia people used to refer to Trnovo poetically in this way, like we would refer to Buenos Aires as the queen of silver, indicating that it lies next to the Rio de la Plata".

Refren: Trnovo, mi srce
hrepenelo je ves čas
me vlekli so spomini tja nazaj
In zdaj sem tu, in bom ostal
doma za Vekomaj.

Chorus: Trnovo, my heart
has always longed for you
my memories dragged me back.
And now I am here, and I will stay
home forever.

Sem menjal izbe, ljubice, prijat'lje
sem bil vesel, a srečen le nikdar
Ko ni bilo nikjer ljubezni sladke
za južno sonce mi bilo ni mar

I have changed rooms, lovers and friends
I had joy, but I was never happy
When sweet love was nowhere to be found
I no longer cared for the southern sun

Refren

Chorus

When I asked Rok about the meaning of this song, he explained:

I have always felt attached to this place. My mother's family came from Trnovo. My great-grandfather had a sauerkraut factory there, which supplied a significant part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire ... My grandfather's house is still there, about 150 metres from the Trnovo church ... I always noticed that they ... they had something special with this place, they felt proud to be from Trnovo.

The composition of this song can be interpreted as a form of oral history, retelling the stories of a family, generations and communities (McKeever 2015). In some way, the song is transmitting part of the author's personal story, but it also condenses the force that places and landscape acquire as "sacred places" in the narratives of migrants or their descendants. This poetic decision is not accidental. In general terms, the themes in the lyrics of Slovenian Alpine ethno-pop appeal to the emotions of the listener. This aim is achieved by incorporating the imaginaries of Slovenian patriotism and appealing to recurrent images like "the family home", looking back with nostalgia on the "home village" and conservative values (Kovačič 2015: 96).

Although this piece was never played by the whole ensemble, it allowed Rok to "return to the homeland" and perform it "in Škofja Loka and at Križanke in Ljubljana for the 50th anniversary of the Slovenian Emigrant Association", representing this as an "interaction between actual spatial experiences and socially constructed spatial concepts conveyed by social memory, mythology and aspirations" (Repič 2016: 121). This brings us to another important issue of the diaspora: the experiences of the descendants of refugees who are facing a "return to the homeland" and, in turn, the differentiation of "us" (Slovenes who live in Argentina) from "them" (Slovenes who live in Slovenia). As mentioned above, the recollected sources and stories constantly emphasized that after leaving Slovenia in 1945 the exiles became political adversaries who were forbidden to return for the following forty years (Repič 2016). In consequence, the narratives about "the return" were always loaded with contradictory emotions of sadness, expectation and joy. In consequence, representations of the problem were also internalized by the individuals and expressed in songs. For example, *Zavriskali smo in zapeli* (We shouted with joy and sang) (lyrics and music by Franci Žnidar) portrays this descendant's feelings about "returning" which arise after the ensemble received a formal invitation in 1992 to participate in a folk

music festival in Slovenia.¹⁶ As the bands were required to perform two new original songs, Franci composed the following lyric:

Ko prihajamo prvič zdaj med vas,
mi čutimo vrnitev v domačo vas,
zapeti z vami si želimo tu doma,
slovensko ljubo pesem iz srca.

Now, when we arrive for the first time among you,
we feel like we are returning to a known place.
We want to sing with you, here at home,
this Slovenian song that comes from heart.

Domača pesem res nima meja
razlega se prek širnega morja,
pri andskih gorah in v mestnih cestah
ob Srebrni reki kjer smo mi doma.

A song from the homeland is truly boundless,
it resounds across the wide sea.
By the Andes and the city streets,
by the silver river where we live.

Refren: Zavriskali bomo in zapeli
s toplo melodijo vse objeli,
za vedno ohranili si spomin goreč
potem ko se bo slišal čau doneč.

Chorus: We will shout with joy and sing,
we will embrace you in a sweet melody
We are going to keep this fervent remembrance
after saying goodbye.

Slovenija v svetu že cvete,
razpreda korenine preko vse zemlje.
resnično mi vemo, viharja ni na svet,
da bi preprečil nam Slovencem pet.

Slovenia is already blooming in the world
it spreads roots through whole land
We know for sure that there is no storm on Earth
that could stop us Slovenes from singing.

Refren

Chorus

The song reveals the expectations of these "Slovenes" "that live by the silver river", i.e. in Buenos Aires, of "arriving in Slovenia for the first time", once socialist Yugoslavia was a thing of the past – "We know for sure that there is no storm on Earth that could prevent us Slovenes from singing". The double belonging of the members is highlighted by the fact that the piece is an appropriation of various cultural practices (Schneider 2006). It consists of three verses accompanied by music that mixes a polka beat with a strong regular march tempo. The last verse melts into a Chamamé beat, a folk genre from the Argentine North-east, the Argentinian Mesopotamia region and the south of Brazil.¹⁷

The song also focuses on the independence of Slovenia context – "Slovenia is already blooming in the world" – and the possibility of "return(ing) to a known place". Although the group finally had to cancel the tour due to work obligations, the song was ready and the group added it to their repertoire, depicting subjectivities and representations of Slovenia and the arrival of the descendants among the Slovenes. The possibility to return allowed the descendants, who have never been in Slovenia before, a metaphoric pilgrimage to their

16 It is important to remember that the refugees and their descendants regained a formal relationship with Slovenia after it gained its independence. Consequently, the writers of song lyrics expressed their desire to go home or "return" to the country of their parents.

17 The Chamamé is a hybrid of dance music brought by the Volga German migrants, with Guaraní influence, mixed with the Spanish guitar and the European accordion from those migrants that arrived in the area at the beginning of the 20th century.

place of origin. Even though Slovenia is a real place, for the migrants and their descendants, until that moment, it had only been a symbolically “near” meaningful place. In this sense, the music allowed the refugees and their descendants to work out these meanings far away, in the Argentinean context.

CONCLUSION

This paper explores the history of the Slovenian political descendants’ band “Slovenski Instrumentalni Ansambel”. The case study serves as a good example for observing that music is not only an individual everyday practice, but also a collective one. In this case, popular music works as a cultural and political construction of an “imagined community” (Anderson 1997) in a transnational dynamic context and in the integration and connection of migrant communities, that mixes and merges the “old” and “new” worlds. Specifically, the performance of Slovenian Alpine ethno-pop music serves the *skupnost* (community) by establishing a stereotyped form of otherness in Argentina. These musical identities are constituted within a relationship with the past and politics, through memory, narrative, the myth of the homeland, and the collective commitment to its preservation, restoration, safety and prosperity (Brubaker 2005; Hall 2013). The descendants became involved in music consumption and production, and consequently appropriated their ancestors’ cultural practices, through actualizing music’s mnemonic and identity functions. It combines a “roots allegory” with symbolic/real pilgrimages to “beautiful and beloved” cultural landscapes. It not only inscribes and invokes the real or imagined “homeland”, but also specific events, memories, emotions, images, pictures and return mobilities.

REFERENCES

- Aceves, Jorge E. (2000). Las fuentes de la memoria: Problemas metodológicos. *Revista Voces recobradas* 7, IHCBA.
- Adorno, Theodor (1941). On Popular Music. *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science* IX, 17–48.
- Anderson, Benedict (1997). *Comunidades imaginadas*. México: F.C.E.
- Basu, Paul (2001). Hunting Down Home: Reflection on Homeland and the Search for Identity in the Scottish Diaspora. *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place* (eds. Barbara Bender, Margot Winer). Oxford, New York: Berg, 333–348.
- Baumgartner, Hans (1992). Remembrances of Things Past: Music, Autobiographical Memory, and Emotion. *Advances in Consumer Research* 19, 613–620.
- Benadiba, Laura, Plotinsky, Daniel (2007). *De entrevistadores y relatos de vida: Introducción a la Historia Oral*. Universidad de Buenos Aires. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras.
- Bennet, Andy (2001). *Cultures of Popular Music*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (2012). *Bosquejo de una teoría de la práctica*. Buenos Aires: Prometeo.
- Brow, James (1990). Notes on Community, Hegemony and the Uses of the Past. *Anthropology Quarterly* 63/1, 1–6.
- Brubaker, Rogers (2005). The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28/1, January, 1–19.

- Campos, José Luis (2006). Interculturalidad, Identidad y Migración en la Expansión de las Diásporas Musicales. *Razón y Palabra* 11, 49.
- Clifford, James (1997). Diasporas. *The ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration* (eds. Montserrat Guiverbau, John Rex). Cambridge, Oxford, Malden: Polity Press, 283–290.
- Cook, Nicholas (1998). *De Maddona al canto gregoriano: Una muy breve introducción a la música*. Madrid: Alianza.
- Cook, Nicholas (2001). Theorizing Musical Meaning. *Music Theory Spectrum* 23/2, University of California Press on behalf of the Society for Music Theory, 170–195.
- Cuche, Dennys (2007). *La noción de cultura en las ciencias sociales*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Nueva Visión.
- Frith, Simon (1998). *Performing On the Value of Popular Music Rites*. Massachusetts: Harvard University.
- Genorio, Rado (1986). The Slovene Immigrant Community in Argentina between the Two World Wars. *Slovene Studies* 8/2, 37–42.
- Goialde Palacios, Patricio (2013). Música popular/músicas urbanas: Introducción. *Musiker* 20, 7–18.
- Hall, Stuart (2013). *Sin garantías: Trayectorias y problemáticas en estudios culturales*. *Enviación Editores: Instituto de estudios sociales y culturales Pensar*, Universidad Javeriana Instituto de Estudios Peruanos Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, sede Ecuador.
- Kalc, Aleksej (1995). Nekateri vidiki primorskega izseljevanja v Južno Ameriko do prve svetovne vojne. *Kulturna zgodovina Slovencev v Južni Ameriki: Kulturno ustvarjanje Slovencev v Južni Ameriki* (ed. Mirko Jurak). Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete.
- Kovačič, Mojca (2015). V deželi harmonike – nacionalizacija harmonike v slovenskem kontekstu. *Venček domačih: Predmeti, Slovincem sveti* (ed. Jernej Mlekuž). Ljubljana: Založba ZRC ZASU, 87–116.
- Kumer, Zmaga (1975). *Pesem slovenske dežele*. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.
- Kumer, Zmaga (2002). *Slovenska ljudska pesem*. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica v Ljubljani.
- Kunej, Rebeka, Kunej, Drago (2016). Folklorna skupina v diaspori: Soočanje tradicije in ustvarjalnosti v Ameriki. *Etnolog* 26, 49–64, 77.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude (1968). *Antropología estructural*. Buenos Aires: Eudeba.
- Marty, Maša (2015). Glasba gre na pot: Pomen in vloga glasbe v izseljenstvu. *Dve Domovini / Two homelands* 41, 89–99.
- McKeever, Alexandra (2015). Leaving and being Left Behind: Immigrations as a Theme in Irish Music. *Talk Story – Culture in Motions*. *Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage*, <http://www.folklife.si.edu/talkstory/2015/leaving-and-being-left-behind-immigration-as-a-theme-in-irish-music> (20. 3. 2017).
- Mera, Carolina (2005). *Diáspora coreana en América Latina*. Buenos Aires: U.B.A.
- Merriam, Alan P. (1980). *The Anthropology of Music*. Illinois: Northwestern University Press.
- Middleton, Richard (1990). *Studying Popular Music*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Mislej, Irene (1994). Slovenci v Novem svetu. *Republika*. Ljubljana.
- Molek Nadia (2013). Los refugiados eslovenos en la Argentina. *Revista Debates Latino-americanos*, 22, <http://repositorio.ub.edu.ar:8080/xmlui/handle/123456789/2009>

- Molek, Nadia (2016a). Los gauchos eslovenos. *Etnicidad y migraciones en Argentina* (ed. Juan C. Radovich). Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires: Sociedad Argentina de Antropología, 147–168.
- Molek, Nadia (2016b). Procesos identitarios entre los migrantes eslovenos de entreguerras y sus descendientes en Argentina. *Revista Rivada* 7.
- Muršič, Rajko (1998). Autochthonisation of Rock Music in Rural Slovenia. *Popular Music: International Interpretations*, Graduate Program in Music. Japan: Toru Mitsui, 281–288.
- Repič, Jaka (2006). "Po sledovih korenin": *Transnacionalne migracije med Argentino in Evropo*. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta.
- Repič, Jaka (2016). Tracing Roots. Slovenian Diaspora in Argentina and Return Mobilites. *Moving places: Relations, Return, and Belonging* (EASA series, 29), (eds. Nataša Gregorič Bon, Jaka Repič). New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 85–104.
- Schneider, Arnd (2006). *Appropriation as Practice: Art and Identity in Argentina*. New York, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Shetuni, Spiro J. (2011). Albanian Traditional Music: An Introduction, with Sheet Music and Lyrics for 48 Songs. North Carolina: McFarland & Co.
- Shuker, Roy (1994). *Understanding Popular Music*. London: Routledge.
- Slobin, Mark (1994). *Diaspora*. North York: University of Toronto Press.
- Slovenski Inštrumentalni Ansambel (2015). *Memorial brochure*.
- Van Dijck, Jose (2006). Record and Hold: Popular Music between Personal and Collective Memory. *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 23/5, December, 357–375.
- Vovk, Joži (2004). *Antropologija glasbe: Slovenska glasbena kultura in njen vpliv na ohranjanje etnične identitete med Slovenci v Argentini* (diplomsko delo). Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani.
- Zbornik (1998). *1948–1998: Dela v zvestobi in ljubezni*. Buenos Aires: Zedinjena Slovenija.
- Zorman, Anže (2016). The people's pop & inter-cultural translation, <http://www.culture.si/blog/2016/10/the-peoples-pop-inter-cultural-translation/> (20. 4. 2017).
- Žigon, Zvone (1998). *Otroci dveh domovin*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU.
- Žigon, Zvone (2001). *Iz spomina v prihodnost: Slovenska politična emigracija v Argentini*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU.

AUDIO-VISUAL REFERENCES

- Slovenski Inštrumentalni Ansambel (2014). *40 let (1974–2014)*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1&v=Efo-MuE-Qzo (15. 3. 2017).
- Slovenski Inštrumentalni Ansambel (2015). *40th anniversary of the ensemble*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1&v=Efo-MuE-Qzo (15. 3. 2017).

POVZETEK

**»PESMI IZ DOMOVINE« – IZVEDBA POPULARNE GLASBE MED
POTOMCI SLOVENSКИH BEGUNCEV V ARGENTINI: PRIMER
»SLOVENSKEGA INŠTRUMENTALNEGA ANSAMBLA«
Nadia MOLEK**

Članek predstavi primer narodno-zabavne skupine »Slovenski Instrumentalni Ansambel«, s pomočjo katerega ponazori, kako so migracijski in spominski procesi vplivali na življenje in glasbeno ustvarjalnost glasbenikov, pa tudi na celotno skupnost slovenskih beguncev in njihovih potomcev v Argentini. Skozi antropološko perspektivo analizira izbor, preobrazbo in odkrivanje slovenskih popularnih glasbenih oblik v izseljenski skupnosti. V tej skupnosti so mnogi želeli nadaljevati kulturne prakse svojih prednikov in ohraniti socialni spomin, da bi lahko »glasbeno« uprizarjali svojo slovenskost. Ta proces je v članku ilustriran s pomočjo primera narodno-zabavne glasbene skupine »Slovenski Instrumentalni Ansambel«. Analiza primera izbrane glasbene skupine pokaže, da glasba ni samo vsakodnevna praksa posameznikov, pač pa tudi skupnosti. Popularna glasba je sestavni del kulturne in politične konstrukcije »zamišljene skupnosti« v transnacionalnem dinamičnem kontekstu povezanosti in vključenosti migrantskih skupnosti, ki združujejo »stare« in »nove« svetove. Izvajanje slovenske narodno-zabavne glasbe je za skupnost pomembno zato, ker ustvarja stereotipizirano obliko drugačnosti znotraj argentinske družbe. Glasbene identitete so v odnosu do preteklosti in politike konstruirane preko spominov, pripovedi, mitologije domovine in skupinske zavezanosti ohranjanju ter razvijanju slovenske izseljenske skupnosti v Argentini.

GENDER AND MUSIC-MAKING IN EXILE: FEMALE BOSNIAN REFUGEE MUSICIANS IN SLOVENIA

Alenka BARTULOVIĆ^I, Miha KOZOROG^{II}

COBISS 1.01

ABSTRACT

Gender and Music-Making in Exile: Female Bosnian Refugee Musicians in Slovenia

This article explores the role of Bosnian refugee women in the music-making and organisational activities of two refugee bands (Dertum and Vali) in Slovenia in the early 1990s. Endorsing the ideas about the transformative power of art and looking beyond the dominant identitarian doxa that views music-making in exile as simply the preservation of the ethnic/national identity in a new context, the article places particular emphasis on the active role of women as creative agents of social change. It traces their role ethnographically not only in the process of reinvention of a traditional musical genre (the *sevdalinka*), but also in identity negotiations and transformation of the gender and power relations within and beyond the boundaries of the heterogeneous Bosnian refugee community, which had been shaped by the strict Slovenian migration policy.

KEY WORDS: women refugees, music-making, art and change, gender relations, *sevdalinka*, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia

IZVLEČEK

Spol in glasbeno ustvarjanje v begunstvu: Bosansko-hercegovske glasbenice begunke v Sloveniji

Članek obravnava vlogo bosansko-hercegovskih begunk v organizacijskih dejavnostih in glasbenem ustvarjanju dveh begunskih glasbenih skupin (Dertum in Vali) v Sloveniji z začetka devetdesetih let. Ob upoštevanju idej o transformativni moči umetnosti in sočasnem zavračanju identitarne dokse, ki begunsko ustvarjalnost največkrat reducira na begunske težnje po ohranjanju nacionalne/etnične identitete v novih kontekstih, članek prikaže begunske ženske kot kreativne akterke družbenih sprememb. Etnografsko zasleduje njihovo vlogo pri transformaciji tradicionalnega glasbenega žanra – *sevdalinke*, prav tako pa pokaže na njihovo moč pri identitetnih pogajanjih ter spremembah razmerij moči ter razmerij med spoloma, in sicer tako znotraj heterogene bosansko-hercegovske begunske skupnosti kot tudi onkraj njenih – z migracijsko politiko – začrtanih meja.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: begunke, glasbeno ustvarjanje, umetnost in sprememba, odnosi med spoloma, *sevdalinka*, Bosna in Hercegovina, Slovenija

^I PhD in ethnology, assistant professor, researcher, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana; alenka.bartulovic@ff.uni-lj.si

^{II} PhD in ethnology, assistant professor, researcher, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana; ZRC SAZU, Institute of Slovenian Ethnology, Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana; miha.kozorog@ff.uni-lj.si

INTRODUCTION

Over the last few decades we have witnessed the slow emergence of studies that have explored musical creativity in transitory or temporary migrant communities (e.g. Reyes 1986; Pesek 1996; Pettan 1996; Baily 1999; Golemović 2002; Andree Zaimović 2003; Kaiser 2006; Franz 2012; Kozorog 2015; Ögüt 2015). Migrants and refugees are increasingly recognised as a (potentially) innovative and creative force that makes a crucial contribution to the art scenes of their new or temporary homes (Cohen 1997; Baily, Collyer 2006). We have previously noted that the exploration of refugee creativity is frequently captured in a rigid identitarian framework (Kozorog 2015; Kozorog, Bartulović 2015), interpreted simply as the preservation of national/ethnic identity in exile. In such context other dimensions of art and creativity by migrants and refugees are often overlooked, including the process of the emergence of new identities, among others gender identities and the transformation of the power relations within and beyond the refugee community. Thus there is still a need for a more fundamental investigation of refugee and migrant creativity and its impacts, which should not be understood only through “integration” policies, but also through the generation of social change in both the migrants’ lives and in the broader society.

This article explores the role of refugee women in music-making and organisational activities in Slovenia. We are primarily concerned with the refugee community¹ and in particular the musical activities of female refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H), who found their (temporary) homes in Slovenia during the war in the 1990s. The paper explores the activity of women in two bands, Dertum and Vali, both of which were based in Ljubljana during the 1990s. Understanding women refugees as creative agents who employ their agency to invent new strategies to improve their status (see Cukut Krilić 2009; Milharčič Hladnik 2016), the article follows the (gender) identity negotiations within and beyond the heterogeneous Bosnian community, taking into account the broader (post-) Yugoslav context and Slovenian migration policy (see Đonlić, Črnivec 2003; Vrečer 2007; Cukut 2008).

The ethnographic article examines the circumstances and motivation behind the musically active refugee women. It is based on personal experience (one of the authors was involved in refugee music-making activities in the 1990s)² and interviews with the members of the bands and their fans, conducted in the last few years. Through auto-ethnography and analysis of ethnographic material the article investigates the effects of female refugee creativity in the process of the hybridisation and active transformation of “traditional” music – namely the *sevdalinka*, and follows the changing gender and generational relations

1 Let us here acknowledge the invaluable contribution of the local organisations and individuals who organised and supported the refugees’ activities (see Kozorog 2017). It is interesting to note that the crucial organisational roles in these organisations were played by women, e.g. Karmen Furlan, Majda Lenič, Eva Strmljan Kreslin etc. Because of the lack of space, a separate article will be dedicated to their significant role.

2 Alenka Bartulović was a singer with Vali. Miha Kozorog was enchanted by *sevdalinkas* after hearing the group Dertum.

within the Bosnian refugee community.³ One particular focus is the dynamic dialogue amongst the refugees that was triggered by the opposing perceptions and experiencing of the *sevdalinka* as supposedly “authentic” Bosnian music. After the introduction of the refugee bands, the article traces the wider socio-economic and also material contexts of their emergence. Later it highlights the role of women in this process and concludes with an examination of the musical dialogue and a discussion of gender relations within the heterogeneous Bosnian community.

INTRODUCING THE REFUGEE BANDS: DERTUM AND VALI

It is important to take into account the fact that until just before the events described in this paper, the refugees from B&H and their Slovenian “hosts” had been a part of the same Yugoslav state, which was also reflected in their music and musical tastes. At the time of the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the popularity of pop and rock bands from the “former homeland” experienced a surge in Slovenia (see Cegljar 1999; Stanković 1999). Unlike these popular bands, Dertum and Vali interpreted traditional songs from the same territory, yet their success can be partly interpreted as a legacy of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, which made the musical heritage from the Balkans attractive to a segment of the Slovenian public.

Even though Dertum and Vali shared a few key elements, their status on the Slovene music scene was quite different. Both bands were at least partially involved with established cultural organisations and projects in Ljubljana. Vali began its musical career under the patronage of the refugee project Cultural Weekend for Children from B&H, which took place at the Vodnik Manor House cultural centre. Dertum applied the “do-it-yourself” approach, practicing in a small room at a refugee centre and later on relying on the logistics of the KUD France Prešeren youth cultural centre, where it became a part of the Exiles Project – a programme for empowering refugees. Regardless of the similarities relating to the inclusion of the bands into cultural institutions in Slovenia, they differed in the fact that the Cultural Weekend for Children from B&H project was organised by the refugees themselves, while the Exiles Project was managed by the youth cultural centre. The two cultural centres also differed greatly, as KUD France Prešeren was oriented towards the production of “alternative culture”, while the Vodnik Manor House focused on “high culture”, predominantly literature.⁴ This had a certain influence on the music and careers of the two bands: Dertum attained cult status on the Slovene “underground” scene, while Vali worked with one of Slovenia’s most popular musicians, Vlado Kreslin.

The bands were also connected by the fact that they both, in different stages of their existence, focused on performing traditional songs from various Yugoslav regions. The *sevdalinka*, which is understood as a Bosnian and regional musical heritage (Kozorog, Bartulović 2016), stood out in both cases. This repertoire made them recognisable on various Slovene

3 Our intention is to overcome the generalised and stereotypical representations of Bosnian women. Without neglecting some particularities of city life, we also intend to move away from the powerful notion of rural/urban dichotomy that completely occupied the field of analysis of gender roles and equality in B&H. These studies sometimes overemphasise the progressiveness of the urban milieu and simultaneously diminish the heterogeneity of both urban and rural areas, where various interpretations of gender roles co-exist and collide.

4 The Vodnik Manor House also offered music lessons.

music scenes, on which they functioned independently due to their different approaches to music, their different appearances and audiences. Vali was established by the music teacher Vjekoslav Andree. He was succeeded by his daughter, Vesna Andree Zaimović,⁵ who was responsible for the metamorphosis of the band's repertoire to *sevdalinkas* and other folk songs. Vali started off as a musical workshop at which young people learned to play various instruments by performing popular songs. With the shift towards traditional music the interest in this band grew amongst the Slovene public. Their cooperation with Slovene pop-rock star Vlado Kreslin stands out as a highlight in their career. The band recorded several songs and performed on the largest concert stages in Slovenia. Female vocalists was a special characteristic of Vali, and was innovative, since until then a vocal harmony interpretation of *sevdalinkas* had been almost unknown. Vali thus introduced polyphonic performance to a genre that was traditionally regarded as an intimate song, performed by a single vocalist. Due to the female vocalists and its prominent leader, the role of women was especially strong within the band.

Dertum was marked by a completely different local milieu, i.e. Slovenia's alternative music scene. The 1990s saw the emergence of the "world music" trend, which also grew in popularity in Slovenia. This pushed the band towards a focus on the Bosnian and Macedonian music traditions. To a great extent this change was effected by Farah Tahirbegović,⁶ a refugee from Zenica, who was a few years older than the boys in the band. Her creative path in fact started within the framework of the Cultural Weekend for Children from B&H, where she influenced the musical taste and the embracing of *sevdalinkas* by Vesna Andree Zaimović (Andree 2009). As a vocalist she joined a few teenagers, her fellow residents at the refugee centre, who were musicians and members of a rock group called Durum, and swayed them with new ideas, especially as a connoisseur and lover of traditional music, *sevdalinkas* in particular. Once she was in the band another two female vocalists joined, creating a dynamic of boys who played instruments and mainly female singers. Sticking to the "world music" trend, the band established a cult status on the Slovene alternative scene, which was a result of their innovative musicianship, tireless performing, and especially their first live CD, recorded at KUD France Prešeren, with a great soundscape that was partially formed by the almost bodily presence of the enthusiastic audience.⁷ The origins and popularity of both bands, however, have to be understood in the framework of Slovenian migration policy and the disintegration of the former shared country.

WOMEN AND "TEMPORARY REFUGEE" STATUS IN SLOVENIA

Most of the refugees who came to Slovenia at the outbreak of the war in B&H were women, children and youth.⁸ Their practices of confronting the limitations of refugee status were extremely diverse, just like the factors that influenced the quality of their lives in Slovenia.

5 She later defended an MA in Ethnomusicology and wrote a few scholarly articles on refugee music-making (e.g. 2003).

6 Farah Tahirbegović (1973–2006) studied literature. After the end of war she returned to Sarajevo and managed the renowned Sarajevo bookshop and publishing house Buybook, where she was the editor-in-chief.

7 The band's second and last CD was a studio album.

8 Natalija Vrečer states that 80% of the refugees were women (2007: 119).

Researchers have already isolated the problematic aspects of Slovenian migration policies (see Vrečer 2007). While a number of former refugees highlighted the experienced ghettoisation in the (remote) refugee centres,⁹ others stressed the limited access to work as the most damaging obstacles to the integration of refugees into Slovene society. It should be noted that in Slovenia the rights of refugees were curbed by the status of “temporary refugee”. However, many refugees managed to fight its limitations, both through personal resourcefulness and some also with the help of engaged individuals and institutions (see Đonlić, Črnivec 2003; Vrečer 2007; Cukut Krilić 2008, 2009; Kozorog 2015, 2017). This was most evident in the engagement of women in modifying the restrictive policies that stipulated that people with temporary refugee status could only perform temporary jobs (see Đonlić, Črnivec 2003: 90). In the context of systematic inequality, according to some studies (see for example Cukut Krilić 2008, 2009), women showed great resourcefulness and also managed to exploit the control mechanism for their own benefits and self-fulfilment. It is thus not surprising that the researchers in migration studies who have indulged in the process of deconstructing the dominant image of migrant and refugee women as victims over the last few decades have drawn attention to the gender aspects of the integration process. In this respect it is of crucial importance to explore gender-specific control in the context of migration and the reconfiguration of the gender relations through mobility (see Pessar 1999; Silvey 2004; Milharčič Hladnik, Mlekuž 2009; Vidmar Horvat 2014; Milharčič Hladnik 2016).

In her comparative research on the strategies of dealing with the refugee status in the USA and Austria, Barbara Franz has shown how different migration policies influenced the change in gender relations (2005).¹⁰ She interpreted these changes mainly as a reaction to structural obstacles, emphasising that, in contrast to New York, in Austria Bosnian women became financial providers for their families precisely because of the strict employment policy and the availability of low-paid work for women on the black market. A similar situation could be observed in Slovenia, where Sanja Cukut noted that “women took care of survival, as men could not work publicly due to the greater control enforced over the more traditional male jobs (for instance construction work)” (2008: 71). However, she confirms the fact that the empowerment of women should not be considered merely a consequence or effect of the limitations or opportunities of the migration policy, since it is often guided by the women’s ambitions for self-fulfilment and active engagement in rebuilding their lives (Cukut Krilić 2009). In some cases it is connected with the different gendered experiences of migration. For example, in research on masculinity of Bosnian refugees in Australia, Stef Jansen (2008) ascertained that men experienced their refugee status mainly as an obstacle, while women were more likely to perceive it as a challenge and opportunity. Although some researchers of Bosnian refugees in Slovenia (see Vrečer 2007) argue that this was not the case, our research findings confirm that this also held true for the segment of refugee youth in Slovenia.

Yet it should be noted that women’s proactive role could be read as both: sometimes as a fulfilment of traditional gender roles, since on the level of national discourses women were often regarded as mothers who need to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the

9 Some of the refugee centres were opened in the city centres, however – as many interlocutors confirmed – this did not alleviate the general feelings of exclusion.

10 Her data was collected at the end of the 1990s.

well-being of the children, and also as modern women who manage to keep their societal position or find new opportunities in the new environment. Sometimes these positions were not perceived as mutually exclusive. What should be emphasised when talking about women refugees from B&H is the fact that several generations of Bosnian women grew up and lived in ideological frames that promoted the socialist model of a modern, emancipated woman.¹¹ This model stressed the importance of employment for establishing gender equality. Official Yugoslav ideology presented economic independence as “the key factor to female emancipation” (Hofman 2012: 123). The power of this conviction was undoubtedly reflected in the engagement of the Bosnian women refugees in their search for employment. At the same time, various ethnographic studies explored complex and opposing understandings and practicing of gender roles in – extremely heterogeneous – socialist B&H (see Sorabji 1989; Helms 2003; Bringa 2009). Regardless of the Yugoslav ideology of gender equality and women’s emancipation, the wide diversity in the practicing of gender roles speaks in favour of the thesis of the co-existence of socialisms with “different, often unharmonised faces” (Hofman 2012: 152). The heterogeneity of interpretations and practicing of gender roles that cannot be explained easily by evoking the stereotypical notion of urban/rural dichotomy was faithfully preserved among Bosnian refugees, which is reflected also in female engagement in creative and artistic practices.

THE “BIRTHPLACE” OF REFUGEE MUSIC: FROM COLLECTIVE CENTRES TO POPULAR CONCERT VENUES

Apart from the limited right to work, one of the key factors that influenced the refugees’ wellbeing were the material living conditions. In Slovenia a high percentage of refugees lived in refugee centres, where – as our interlocutors emphasised – the general atmosphere was often demotivating and depressing. The feeling was strengthened by the lack of privacy in the overcrowded buildings and (in the initial period) rooms (see Vrečer 2007). People with various backgrounds, interests, goals, desires, professional paths, education levels, ideological preferences, aspirations, etc. were placed together and had to invent their own strategies of survival. In this context it proved extremely difficult for many to incorporate the diverse lifestyles and opposing ideologies. The narrations of the past and aspirations for the future were clearly conceived in the context of (more or less evident) societal exclusion (cf. Malkki 1995). Youth in particular had to carve their own free space, since they were often trapped between the marginalised social position, boredom and the pervasive control of the older inhabitants of the centres (see Kozorog 2017). In Room 135C at the Šmartinska street refugee centre in Ljubljana, shared by two youngsters, a group of teenagers and youngsters spontaneously created a space for socialising and creativity, where Dertum was born. Playing music was a form of escapism and a search for enjoyment during the refugee years, or as Maida, a singer in the band, explained: “No strategies, no marketing, no managers, a bit of promotion, all together nothing! Everything was ad hoc, spontaneous, a bit of this and a bit of that, fooling around, partying, we had a great time!” It seems that it was

11 Lately there has been a visible increase in literature on the Yugoslav socialist production of the modern woman and the discrepancy between the political promotion of gender equality and its implementation (see Ramet 1999; Jambrešić Kirin, Blagaić 2013; Hassenstab, Ramet 2015).

precisely the experience of living in the collective centre, supported by a certain degree of societal exclusion and boredom, that encouraged young refugees to persist in their “rebellious” positions. They focused on their personal and cultural re-invention, which enable them to overcome the obstacles of refugee status and even exploit some of the limitations for their own benefit.

Vali’s beginnings were different, since they emerged in the framework of the aforementioned project led by refugees. However, feelings of exclusion, which of course did not affect everyone from the refugee community equally,¹² were also an important trigger for the formation of this band. That is, due to the spatial limitations and the demands of the Bosnian government, refugee children could not enrol in Slovenian elementary schools at the beginning of the 1990s (see Hočevar 2001) and thus – in spite of the efforts of certain individuals – had to attend a parallel educational system at the refugee centres. Furthermore, because of their social standing and lack of finances, extracurricular activities were also unavailable for many refugees. This inspired the music teachers from the Ilidža music school in Sarajevo who had found their temporary home in Ljubljana to organise a project that gathered refugee children (both those living at the refugee centres as well as those who lived in private accommodations)¹³ and enable them to socialise through music and other creative activities. However, the musical ambitions of the band leader, Vesna Andree Zaimović, the increased interest of the Slovenian public in “traditional Bosnian music”, the motivation of some local supporters and the youth’s enjoyment of music-making led to the gradual recognition of the band, making it possible for Vali to perform at a number of Slovenian concert venues. Vesna Andree Zaimović dictated the decisive steps, when – inspired by conversations with Farah Tahirbegović about the importance of the Bosnian musical heritage – she embraced the *sevdalinka* as a tool for breaking the chains of refugee marginalisation in Slovenia:

The traumatic experiences of the refugees, caused by the organized violence in their homes, forced deportations, the disruption of a deeply rooted way of life and separation from their original social surroundings, were not resolved in exile. In fact, the collective refugee camps organized as a ghetto in which there was no privacy and no everyday responsibilities, together with the refugees’ inability to acquire work visas, which forced them to live at the existential minimum, destroyed optimism and marginalized the identity that each person had acquired over the years. (Andree Zaimović 2001: 111–112)

For this reason she defined the *sevdalinka* as a musical form that “confirms the cultural identity of B&H, which at this delicate moment and in a very short period of time has had to replace the Yugoslavian national identity” (2001: 113–114). In addition, she used this music “against negative and incorrectly based stereotypes about the traditional and present culture of B&H by presenting authentic cultural and therefore musical expression of B&H” (2001: 112).

12 As we have already noted, the refugees in Slovenia faced different degrees of exclusion. Also people managed their status differently.

13 The interlocutors that worked with the children at the Vodnik Manor House claimed that refugee children living in private accommodations at the beginning seemed even more isolated than those at the refugee centres.

The importance of the role of women in this process, which testifies to the power of music and art to redefine the living standard of refugees and their position in the new society, is clear. Minka Đonlić, a member of Vali and a music teacher who organised a series of music workshops for refugee children,¹⁴ says that she was saved by music during her refugee years. Upon her arrival in Slovenia she was not able to enrol into secondary school, and therefore she was often bored in her aunt's one-room apartment in Postojna. As she was used to having a rich social and musical life in Tuzla, she "walked around looking for some sort of action. Not a party, something substantial." She found contact with other youths at the Postojna military barracks, which had been transformed into a refugee centre in the 1990s. The courtyard became a space for socialising, where the youth gathered and played Yugoslav pop-rock classics. Her life changed when she moved to the Vič refugee centre in Ljubljana, where the social worker sent her to Vodnik Manor House and engaged her as a music teacher.¹⁵ Being involved in the teaching process increased her self-esteem, and this opened the doors to new opportunities and projects. Similarly to others involved in the musical activities, Minka understood music as a medium that humanised refugees' lives. Music enabled the creation of parallel and more manageable worlds within the highly controlled environment of the refugee centres, and could also be used to penetrate the consciousness of the broader Slovene public. In some ways, musical creativity narrowed the gap between the refugees and the "hosts", so it comes as no surprise that certain members of Dertum and Vali, as well as other refugee musicians, remember their successful musical career and the refugee period with nostalgia (cf. Kozorog 2015). It was a period that for many symbolised an important personal transformation (in public perception): from being simply seen as one of the refugees they became acknowledged and appreciated as individuals and musicians.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE REINVENTION OF THE SEVDALINKA IN SLOVENIA

Scholars researching the status of women in socialist Yugoslavia have argued that despite the political endeavours for achieving gender equality – which undoubtedly significantly improved the status of women in all Yugoslav republics – the state failed to address the intimate sphere and the importance of family relations and rooted patriarchal patterns for women's emancipation (see Irvine, Sutlović 2015). What was often emphasised is the fact that during the modernisation processes that fostered women's employment, financial independence and gender equality, socialist Yugoslavia often imposed a "double burden"¹⁶ upon women. The legacy of socialist emancipation could also be traced within the heterogeneous Bosnian refugee community.

14 She also led therapeutic music workshops for other underprivileged groups in Slovenia.

15 Đonlić was an active member of the Cultural Weekend for Children from B&H, where she taught piano and accordion. Following the departure of Vesna Andree Zaimović she also took over the leadership of Vali, with whom she had previously performed as a singer and occasional instrumentalist.

16 Here the term "double burden" is used to emphasise the responsibility of women to do the majority of the unpaid domestic labour, while also being employed outside the household.

The importance of (women's) education was emphasised as a crucial path for ensuring gender equality (see Ramet 1999). While most of the adult refugee women in Slovenia struggled to find employment, most of the girls from refugee bands managed to enrol in secondary schools or universities. Our female interlocutors understood education as a part of their personal identity and life goals. Even though they were focused on education, they – especially the older girls who lived in refugee centres – took over a large share of the care and responsibility for their loved ones. This often extended from family members to children and youth who arrived in Slovenia without their parents. By combining their studies with the caregiving role, the young girls took on a double burden, which was – as our interlocutors claim – often expected, but also praised amongst refugees. For example, Farah Tahirbegović was frequently described as a substitute mother figure. Yet she also became a prominent cultural activist. She used art and music both to explain her experiences of war and exile and as a tool for social criticism, especially the rising nationalism in B&H and also amongst the refugees. The film *Sevdah*,¹⁷ which documented the revitalisation of the *sevdalinka* after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, illustrates Farah's initiative in guiding individuals towards the musical tradition of B&H.¹⁸ This is also evident in a statement by Vali's leader Vesna Andree Zaimović that the *sevdalinka* was rather unimportant for her until her refugee years. She only became addicted to it once she was in Slovenia and only through socialising with Farah, who was, as she said, the one who planted the love for *sevdalinka* in her. The film also features the internationally acclaimed *sevdalinka* performer Damir Imamović, who also acknowledged the importance of Farah's role not only in the process of the reinvention of the *sevdalinka*, but also in influencing him to pursue a music career in this genre.

The visible role played by Farah and other women in the (re)invention of the tradition can be interpreted in two ways: as a confirmation as well as a negation of the role ascribed to women in the music-making process. In a widely-held dogmatic belief and especially in national ideologies, women are often perceived as the guardians of tradition, committed to the transmission and preservation of heritage (Hofman 2012: 51; Karača Beljak, Talam 2015: 7). Both traditional music and the contemporary global music business are in fact still male-dominated (see Bradby 1993; Talam 2015). The *sevdalinka* was no exception. Bosnian ethnomusicologist Jasmina Talam writes that in Bosnian traditional music there is a clear male dominance over instrumental musicianship. Female instrumentalists were long considered an aberration. Therefore the archives mention only a few exceptions that merely confirm the rule (Talam 2015: 34). The role of women in the music scene changed radically in socialist B&H, but in most cases – as far as the *sevdalinka* was concerned – women were known mostly as vocalists. In Dertum and Vali this division of musical gender roles was seemingly rather rigid – men played the instruments, while women sang. In reality, the role of women in these bands was much more subversive. For example, most of the girls played instruments, since many of them had obtained musical education in B&H, and some of

17 The word *sevdah* is often used as a synonym for *sevdalinka*.

18 The documentary was directed by Marina Andree Škop, the sister of Vesna Andree Zaimović. She also held filmmaking and animation workshops within the project Cultural Weekend for Children from B&H.

them contributed to the arrangements, the formulation of the repertoire etc.¹⁹ They played a crucial role in the organisation of the bands. Even though it seems at first glance that they accepted the conservative role as the “guardians” of tradition, in the sense that they knew a variety of *sevdalinkas* and introduced them to the bands’ repertoires, they in fact managed to produce a new ideological platform for the innovative reinterpretation of the genre. Knowledge of Bosnian musical traditions was thus used to contradict conservative ideologies, in particular to oppose the dominant narratives about B&H in Slovenia. A part of their struggle was however also connected with gender roles.

AGAINST NORMATIVE FEMININITY: THE NEW SEVDALINKA

Due to the combination of the unconventional way in which the *sevdalinkas* were performed, the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the rise in the popularity of world music, Dertum and Vali attracted a great amount of interest, especially amongst the younger Slovenian audience. This was to a certain degree surprising, as the *sevdalinka* was neither known nor popular in Slovenia.²⁰ Some Dertum fans explained that they were in fact repelled by this music until they heard Dertum. The aversion to “southern howling”, as the specific way of singing was perceived in Slovenia, was deeply rooted, thus the open enthusiasm of Slovenian public also came as a great surprise to the members of the two bands. Of course, their audience also included a number of young immigrants from B&H, although – as the band members claimed – they were not as popular amongst the older generation of refugees and members of the Bosnian diaspora.²¹ In fact, many remained unconvinced by their reinterpretation of *sevdalinkas*. Some were intrigued, while others were completely disinterested in the reinvented music, but many regarded the collaboration between Vali and Vlado Kreslin, which had a great impact on the popularisation of the *sevdalinka* and the Bosnian music tradition in Slovenia, as another violation of unwritten musical rules. In addition, Dertum and Vali used instruments and rhythms that were not typical for *sevdalinkas*, and many opined that the vocal interpretations sounded rather unusual (Đonlić, Črnivec 2003: 45). Dertum, which was in many ways even more experimental than Vali, received similar criticism on their tour of B&H: “You have various factions. You have those who say: ‘Oh no, why are they ruining the *sevdalinka* for us? Where is the accordion?’” The band members recall similar attitudes amongst the Bosnian refugees, for whom they continuously performed at the refugee centres throughout Slovenia. Their activity was mostly tolerated, but not actively supported. Maida remembered a concert that the band performed at the refugee centre on Šmartinska street that clearly showed the diverse lifestyles of Bosnian refugees:

19 For example, Vesna Andree Zaimović wrote most of the arrangements for Vali. She also started to play the *saz*, an instrument which still remains predominantly in the male domain. In 1999 she also played *saz* in the band that represented B&H at the Eurovision Song Contest.

20 However, rock bands such as Bijelo dugme or Azra, which were inspired by folk music from the Balkans (including *sevdalinkas*), were popular.

21 According to the one interlocutor, who was involved in the activities of the Bosnian diaspora in Slovenia which had been formed already before the dissolution of Yugoslavia, their members did not attend the concerts of refugee bands. And when organising their own events they preferred to invite musicians who played *sevdalinkas* in a more conventional way.

Do you know how they looked at us, the older women from the villages? Benjo had a ponytail, Erol a ponytail, Marjan a ponytail, hair down to here, Farah was wearing loose jeans and sneakers. “Oh, just look at these kids. Oh well, let them play and sing.” There was not a lot of interest in our concert, but we were tolerated.

Diverse lifestyles and understanding of gender roles was also evident in the criticism of young performers among a segment of refugees. Since women often carry the “burden of representation” (Yuval Davis 2003: 17) and since the *sevdalinka* was becoming the representational music of Bosnian nationals, it is not surprising that women performers were subjected to certain forms of social control. After all, the girls who performed in bands were the most visible part of the refugee community, hence they became responsible for the correct public representation of their compatriots in Slovenia. For a certain segment of refugees, the girls in the bands did not conform to their expectations. Some refugees believed that the singers were old enough to become serious and start planning a family. Their wandering in “inappropriate” places, such as student and youth clubs, sometimes provoked strong disapproval. Remembering their refugee years, the band members recalled the criticism of older generations, mostly women.²² The image of the singers in Dertum for example differed greatly from the dominant cultural model for female public figures. Even though the norms permitted provocative dressing for female singers, sometimes even bordering on vulgarity (see Hofman 2010), female singers in Yugoslavia were mainly an expression of modern femininity. The “uniform” of the singers in Dertum was casual, often consisted of jeans and All-Star sneakers, both unisex and a symbol of “urbanity”. Farah and Maida also had short haircuts, which was also in opposition to the idea of what a (young) female singer should look like. Minka Đonlić also encountered negative responses from the more conservative members of the refugee community because of her looks and musical activities.

Controlling the appearance and behaviour was disturbing for the girls in the bands, as most of them came from open and tolerant family and social environments, in which children were brought up in the spirit of socialist gender equality. This is also evident from the girls’ musical education. Vesna and Minka were both raised in musical families that supported their music careers. Maida’s family was not professionally involved in music, but singing played an important part in her upbringing, since it was a key component at all of the family gatherings.²³ Farah played the accordion and finished primary music school in Zenica. Music education and playing at home was in fact often accepted even among the more conservative part of the refugee community, yet when the same girls appeared as independent performers on the public music scene in a “semi-foreign” country, different attitudes and views clashed. Hence, due to their liberal views young women were forced to enter into negotiations with their surroundings. The *sevdalinka*, as an important element of musical heritage, turned into a battlefield. The battle addressed the status of music and its performance styles, but also the understanding of gender roles. The controversial *sevdalinka* served as tool for the emancipation of the youth, especially the young women, in the highly demanding new social context, where conflicting expectations proved to be extremely demanding. It served as a message that in the same way as the *sevdalinka* can be

22 The habitual manner of dress for women has also proven to be a focus in other integration contexts (see for example Huisman, Hondagneu Soelo 2005).

23 It should also be mentioned that her mother appeared as a guest on Dertum’s second album.

complex and experimental, allowing for various different approaches to its performance, the same complexity should be admitted when gender relations and women's appearance is concerned.

CONCLUSION

In an interview with the ethnomusicologist Amra Toska, Emina Zečaj stated that in the Yugoslav context the Bosnian music scene was marked by patriarchal attitudes and Islamic morals, which were often aligned with the predominant understanding of moral behaviour. Despite the Yugoslav promotion of gender equality, it was – according to a well renowned *sevdalinka* singer – still shameful for women to be professionally involved in the music business. However, as a good vocalist with a bright future, Emina Zečaj opted for a singing career, also because, as a single mother, she had to take care of her children (cf. Toska 2015: 81):

Music is a tough path. If you want music to feed you [...] It is all nice, but it is a tough path. What will you wear, what will people say? People never leave you alone, if you are at least slightly hard-working and attractive, men will not leave you alone. You have to avoid them. The morals are lost.

In the 1990s the pressure on women in the area of former Yugoslavia, including B&H, increased. The national ideologies and religious communities contributed to the process of the retraditionalisation of gender roles, undermining the positive gains of the Yugoslav policy of gender equality (see Helms 2008; Bartulović 2015). The process had also influenced part of the (already extremely heterogeneous) Bosnian diaspora and refugee community, including the people who found their (temporary) home in Slovenia. The manner in which Bosnian girls and women confronted their refugee status in Slovenia showed characteristics of the double influence migrations have on gender roles – a simultaneous strengthening and disintegration of patriarchal patterns (see Pessar 1999: 53). On one hand, many Bosnian refugees reported that the retraditionalisation of gender roles was pervasive in refugee centres around Slovenia, where social control was prevalent, while on the other hand, various initiatives (organised by refugees or Slovenian organisations and individuals) supported gender equality and gave a place to initiatives of both women and men, but mainly youth. With their active role in these and also other activities, women contributed not only to defending gender equality, but also to improving their own life (and the lives of their families and friends) and enabled the creation of less-stereotypical images of B&H in Slovenia. Here, music, and especially the *sevdalinka*, played a significant role.

In the 1990s the *sevdalinka* became a visible national symbol of B&H, and in particular it was also appropriated by the national community as an exclusive national heritage (Kozorog, Bartulović 2016). Yet at the same time it also became a tool for social criticism within the refugee community and later on also in B&H. Because *Vali* and *Dertum* were characterised by the participation of high numbers of girls, the appearance of the issue of gender roles and social expectations of (female) youth was inevitable. *Dertum* also regularly performed during night hours, in rock clubs, as well as in the *Metelkova City* squat, i.e. in places that did not have the best reputation among the general public. In addition, the girls

in Dertum did not adhere to the ideas of the normative femininity that had been nurtured in socialist Yugoslavia. With their role in organising the bands, performing and reinventing the *sevdalinka* together with their peers, the female members not only rejected the re-traditionalisation of the music, but also gender roles. Female refugees used music to move from a spatially and socially peripheral position into the very centre of the music scene in Slovenia, to large festivals and important stages of renowned cultural institutions in their new (temporary) home. Geographic and social mobility influenced their self-perception and esteem, which was also noticed upon their return to B&H, where many of the girls from refugee bands made a significant mark on the local cultural scenes.²⁴ Farah, Vesna, Minka, Maida and others involved in the various cultural activities during the 1990s were facilitators and organisers as well as ideologists, and through these roles they managed to open a window on a different understanding of their position in Slovenia and explore the opportunities offered by the newly emerged circumstances. Hence, the reinvention of the *sevdalinka* in Slovenia in the 1990s confirms that the crucial element of enabling refugees' participation is to focus on the empowerment of individuals and the collectives they create (Franz 2012: 283–284). Thus a true integration of differences is made possible, because the process of personal and musical reinvention would be much more difficult without the cooperation of local activists, organisations and the general public. In the case at hand, the latter in fact embraced the new *sevdalinka* and its performers, even though the performers sometimes felt alienated from their fellow refugees.

REFERENCES

- Alajaji, Sylvia Angelique (2015). *Music and the Armenian Diaspora: Searching for Home in Exile*. Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Andree, Marina (2009). *Sevdah*. Studio Dim. DVD.
- Andree Zaimović, Vesna (2001). Bosnian Traditional Urban Song "On the Sunny Side of the Alps": From the Expression of Nostalgia to a New Ethnic Music in Slovene Culture. *Music and Minorities* (eds. Svanibor Pettan, Adelaida Reyes, Maša Komavec). Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 111–120.
- Andree Zaimović, Vesna (2003). *Muzički izrazi bosanske dijaspore u zapadnoevropskoj kulturi*. Master's Thesis. Sarajevo: University of Sarajevo.
- Baily, John (1999). Music and Refugee Lives: Afghans in Eastern Iran and California. *Forced Migration*, December, 10–13.
- Baily, John, Collyer, Michael (2006). Introduction: Music and Migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32/2, 167–182.
- Bartulović, Alenka (2015). Islam and Gender in Post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina: Competing Discourses in Everyday Practices of Muslim Women. *Gender (In)Equality and Gender Politics in Southeastern Europe: A Question of Justice* (eds. Christine M. Hassenstab, Sabrina P. Ramet). Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 274–296.

24 For example, Farah Tahirbegović, as one of the more visible participants in the events described, had a successful career in nurturing and guiding the development of the emergent literature and music scene in B&H. Aida Čorbadžić, another singer within Dertum, became an opera singer in Sarajevo. Vesna Andree Zaimović engaged in the Bosnian music scene as an ethnomusicologist and journalist.

- Bradby, Barbara (1993). Sampling Sexuality: Gender, Technology, and the Body in Dance Music. *Popular Music* 12/2, 155–176.
- Bringa, Tone (2009). *Biti musliman na bosanski način: Identitet i zajednica u jednom srednjo-bosanskom selu*. Sarajevo, Zagreb: TKD Šahinpašić.
- Bohleman, Philippe V. (2001). Diaspora. *Grove Music Online*, (22. 12. 2016).
- Ceglar, Miha (1999). Balkan scena. *Urbana plemena – subkulture na Slovenskem v devetdesetih* (eds. Peter Stankovič, Gregor Tomc, Mitja Velikonja). Ljubljana: Študentska založba, 75–82.
- Cohen, Robin (1997). *Global Diasporas*. London: UCL Press.
- Cukut, Sanja (2008). Ženske kot akterke migracijskih procesov: Prisilne priseljenke iz Bosne in Hercegovine. *Glasnik Slovenskega etnološkega društva* 49/3–4, 71–77.
- Cukut Krilić, Sanja (2009). *Spol in migracija: Izkušnje žensk kot akterk migracij*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU.
- Donlić, Hazemina, Črnivec, Vesna (2003). *Deset let samote: Izkušnje bosansko-hercegovskih begunk in beguncev v Sloveniji*. Ljubljana: Društvo Kulturni vikend.
- Golemović, Dimitrije O. (2002). Tradicionalna narodna pesma kao simbol novog kulturnog identiteta. (Na primeru prakse jugoslovenskih ratnih izbeglica). *Novi zvuk – internacionalni časopis za muziku* 19, 57–65.
- Franz, Barbara (2005). *Uprooted and Unwanted: Bosnian Refugees in Austria and the United States*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- Franz, Barbara (2012). Immigrant Youth, Hip Hop and Feminist Pedagogy: Outlines of an Alternative Integration Policy in Vienna, Austria. *International Studies Perspectives* 13/3, 270–288.
- Hassenstab, Christine M., Ramet, Sabrina (eds.) 2015. *Gender (In)Equality and Gender Politics in Southeastern Europe: A Question of Justice*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Helms, Elissa (2008). East and West Kiss: Gender, Orientalism, and Balkanism in Muslim-Majority Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Slavic Review* 67/1, 88–119.
- Helms, Elissa (2003). *Gendered Visions of the Bosnian Future: Women's Activism and Representation in Post-War Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Doctoral dissertation. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh.
- Hemetek, Ursula, Bajrektarević, Sofija (2000). *Bosnische Musik in Österreich: Klänge einer bedrohten Harmonie*. Vienna: Institut für Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie.
- Hikmet Ögüt, Evrim (2015). Transit Migration: An Unnoticed Area in Ethnomusicology. *Urban people* 17/2, 269–282.
- Hočvar, Andreja (2001). Osnovnošolsko izobraževanje beguncev v Sloveniji. *Sodobna pedagogika* 52/2, 142–163.
- Hofman, Ana (2010). Kafana Singers: Popular Music, Gender and Subjectivity in the Cultural Space of Socialist Yugoslavia. *Narodna umjetnost* 47/1, 141–161.
- Hofman, Ana (2012). *Socialistička ženskost na sceni: Rodne politike u muzičkim praksama jugoslovenske Srbije*. Beograd: Evoluta.
- Husiman, Kimberly, Hondagneu Sotelo, Pierrette (2005). Dress Matters: Change and Continuity in the Dress Practices of Bosnian Muslim Refugee Women. *Gender and society* 19/1, 44–65.

- Irvine, Jill A., Sutlović, Leda (2015). Gender Equality in Croatia: Closing the Compliance Gap. *Gender (In)Equality and Gender Politics in Southeastern Europe: A Question of Justice* (eds. Christine M. Hassenstab, Sabrina P. Ramet). Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 62–86.
- Jambrešić Kirin, Renata, Blagaić, Marina (2013). The Ambivalence of Socialist Working Women's Heritage: A Case Study of the Jugoplastika Factory. *Narodna umjetnost* 50/1, 40–73.
- Jansen, Stef (2008). Misplaced Masculinities: Status Loss and the Location of Gendered Subjectivities amongst “Non-transnational” Bosnian Refugees. *Anthropological Theory* 8/2, 181–200.
- Kaiser, Tania (2006). Songs, Discos and Dancing in Kiryandongo, Uganda. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32/2: 183–202.
- Karača Beljak, Tamara, Talam, Jasmina (2015). Uvodna riječ urednica. *Žene nositeljice narodne muzičke prakse u Bosni i Hercegovini (Women as Bearers of Folk Music Practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina)* (eds. Tamara Karača Beljak, Jasmina Talam). Sarajevo: Muzička akademija Univerziteta u Sarajevu, ICTM Nacionalni komitet Bosne i Hercegovine, 5–8.
- Kozorog, Miha (2015). Prilog etnomuzikološkim istraživanjima ratnih izbjeglica iz Bosne i Hercegovine: “Nešto između”. *Muzika* 19/1, 20–31.
- Kozorog, Miha (2017). Doubly Excluded, Doubly Included, “Something in-between”: A Bosnian Refugee Band and Alternative Youth Culture in Slovenia. *Sounds of Attraction: Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav Popular Music* (eds. Miha Kozorog, Rajko Muršič). Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, 73–97.
- Kozorog, Miha, Bartulović, Alenka (2015). The Sevdalinka in Exile, Revisited: Young Bosnian Refugees' Music-making in Ljubljana in the 1990s (a note on applied ethnomusicology). *Narodna umjetnost* 52/1, 121–142.
- Kozorog, Miha, Bartulović, Alenka (2016). *Sevdah* Celebrities Narrate *sevdalinka*: Political (Self-)Contextualization of *sevdalinka* Performers in Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Traditiones* 45/1, 161–179.
- Malkki, Liisa (1995). *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology Among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Milharčić Hladnik, Mirjam (2016). Nadzor nad nadzorom: Strategije upiranja in avtonomnosti delovanja migrantk v sodobni in zgodovinski perspektivi. *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* 43, 35–46.
- Pesek, Albinca (1996). Music as a Tool to Help Refugee Children and Their Mothers: The Slovenian Case. *War, Exile, Everyday Life: Cultural Perspectives* (eds. Renata Jambrešić Kirin, Maja Povrzanović). Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 257–263.
- Pessar, Patricia R. (1999). The Role of Gender, Households, and Social Networks in the Migration Process: A Review and Appraisal. *The Handbook of International Migration: An American Experience* (eds. Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz, Josh DeWind). New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 53–70.
- Pettan, Svanibor (1996). Making the Refugee Experience Different: “Azra” and the Bosnians in Norway. *War, Exile, Everyday Life: Cultural Perspectives* (eds. Renata Jambrešić Kirin, Maja Povrzanović). Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 245–255.
- Povrzanović Frykman, Maja (2009). Views from Eithin: Bosnian Refugees' Experiences Related to their Employment in Sweden. *Resettled and Included? The Employment Integration of Resettled Refugees in Sweden* (eds. Pieter Bevelander, Mirjam Hagström, Sofia Rönnqvist). Malmö: Malmö University, European Refugee Fund, 81–128.

- Ramnarine, Tina K. (ed.) (2007). *Musical Performance in the Diaspora*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Ramet, Sabrina (1999). In Tito's Time. *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Successor States* (ed. Sabrina P. Ramet). University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 89–105.
- Reyes Schramm, Adelaida (1986). Tradition in the Guise of Innovation: Music among a Refugee Population. *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 18, 91–101.
- Reyes, Adelaida. (1999). *Songs of the Caged, Songs of the Free: Music and the Vietnamese Refugee Experience*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Scheding, Florian, Levi, Erik (eds.) (2010). *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond*. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press.
- Silvey, Rachel (2004). Power, Difference and Mobility: Feminist Advances in Migration Studies. *Progress in Human Geography* 28/4, 490–506.
- Stankovič, Peter (1999). Rokerji s konca tisočletja. *Urbana plemena – subkulture na Slovenskem v devetdesetih* (eds. Peter Stankovič, Gregor Tomc, Mitja Velikonja). Ljubljana: Študentska založba, 43–52.
- Sorabji, Cornelia (1989). *Muslim Identity and Islamic Faith in Sarajevo*. Doctoral dissertation. Cambridge: University of Cambridge.
- Talam, Jasmina (2015). Pripovijedanje kroz pjesmu kao dio ženskog tradicionalnog muzičkog izraza u Bosni i Hercegovini. *Žene nositeljice narodne muzičke prakse u Bosni i Hercegovini (Women as Bearers of Folk Music Practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina)* (eds. Tamara Karača Beljak, Jasmina Talam). Sarajevo: Muzička akademija Univerziteta u Sarajevu, ICTM Nacionalni komitet Bosne i Hercegovine, 34–49.
- Toplak, Kristina (2008). *Buenas artes: Ustvarjalnost Slovencev in njihovih potomcev v Buenos Airesu*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU.
- Toska, Amra (2015). Žena kao izvorište i nositeljica kontinuiteta sevdalinke. *Žene nositeljice narodne muzičke prakse u Bosni i Hercegovini (Women as Bearers of Folk Music Practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina)* (eds. Tamara Karača Beljak, Jasmina Talam). Sarajevo: Muzička akademija Univerziteta u Sarajevu, ICTM Nacionalni komitet Bosne i Hercegovine, 66–87.
- Turino, Thomas (2004). Introduction: Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities. *Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities* (eds. Thomas Turino, James Lea). Warren, Mi.: Harmonic Park Press, 3–21.
- Vidmar Horvat, Ksenija (2014). Predgovor: Ženskam naproti. *Ženske na poti, ženske na poti: Migrantke v slovenski nacionalni imaginaciji (Women Away, Women on the Way: Female Migrations in the Slovene National Imagination)* (ed. Ksenija Vidmar Horvat). Ljubljana: Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, 7–10.
- Vrečer, Natalija (2007). *Integracija kot človekova pravica: Prisilni priseljenci iz Bosne in Hercegovine v Sloveniji*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, Andragoški center Republike Slovenije.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira (2003). Nationalist projects and gender relations. *Narodna umjetnost* 40/1, 9–36.

POVZETEK

SPOL IN GLASBENO USTVARJANJE V BEGUNSTVU: BOSANSKO-HERCEGOVSKE GLASBENICE BEGUNKE V SLOVENIJI

Alenka BARTULOVIĆ, Miha KOZOROG

Begunska glasbena ustvarjalnost ostaja obrobna tema v raziskovanju migracij. Pričujoči članek bosansko-hercegovske begunke v Sloveniji v začetku devetdesetih let 20. stoletja obravnava kot glasbenice in organizatorke glasbenih dejavnosti. Obenem obravnava njihovo pogajanje o spolni identiteti, ki ga je omogočalo glasbeno ustvarjanje. V središču raziskave sta glasbeni skupini Dertum in Vali, nastali v Ljubljani kot del širšega begunskega delovanja, v obeh pa so pomembno vlogo odigrale prav begunke. Tako se članek pridružuje tistim raziskavam migracijskih procesov, ki upoštevajo vlogo spola, obenem pa raziskavam, ki se posvečajo vlogi umetnosti in glasbe pri soočanju z begunstvom. Članek ugotavlja, da je v obravnavanem obdobju slovenska migracijska politika beguncem omejevala dostop do dela, moške in ženske pa postavljala v neenak položaj na trgu dela, s čimer so se medspolna razmerja spreminjala. Kot osnovo za razumevanje transformacije medspolnih razmerij članek jemlje spolne vloge v Bosni in Hercegovini v času Jugoslavije in po njej. V procesu spreminjanja medspolnih razmerij je za segment beguncev igralo pomembno vlogo glasbeno ustvarjanje, s katerim so glasbenice spreminjale lastno pozicijo v begunski skupnosti, obenem pa so aktivno vplivale na percepcijo in sprejemanje beguncev in begunk v slovenski družbi. Članek prikaže okoliščine begunstva in osebne motive za glasbeno delovanje izbranih glasbeno aktivnih begunk. Posebno pozornost namenja glasbeni obliki *sevdalinka* kot domnevno »avtentični« bosansko-hercegovski glasbi, ki sta jo v svojem repertoarju imeli obe obravnavani glasbeni skupini. Ker so medspolna razmerja vpisana tudi v obravnavano glasbeno tradicijo, je njeno preobražanje v razmerah begunstva puščalo določene sledi v razmerjih znotraj begunske skupnosti.

REPRESENTATIONS OF MEMORIES THROUGH ART: THE ARTISTIC WORK OF ZDRAVKO DUČMELIĆ IN ARGENTINA

Nadia MOLEK^I, Juan Carlos RADOVICH^{II}, Juan Esteban DE JAGER^{III},
Amalia PEREZ MOLEK^{III}

COBISS 1.01

ABSTRACT

Representations of Memories through Art: The Artistic Work of Zdravko Dučmelić in Argentina

This article discusses the topic of representations of memories through art using an interdisciplinary approach that connects contributions from the fields of anthropology and art history to the research problems of art and creative processes. Considering the artistic world of the Croatian painter Zdravko Dučmelić in Argentina as a case study, the main aim of the article is to explore how the sum of the acquired artistic/aesthetic habitus that mediated his artistic activities, memories and personal experiences was combined in the artist's creative process. To this end we will present the formation of Dučmelić's artistic and aesthetic habitus, and his insertion into the Argentinian sociocultural and artistic context, in order to explore Dučmelić's creative process, paying special attention to the way that personal experiences, emotional stimuli and memories were resignified into artistic, symbolic and oneiric images.

KEY WORDS: Dučmelić, art, creative process, memories, Croatians in Argentina, interdisciplinary approach

IZVLEČEK

Reprezentacije spominov skozi umetnost: Umetniško delo Zdravka Dučmelića v Argentini

Avtorji v članku predstavljajo umetniški svet hrvaškega slikarja Zdravka Dučmelića v Argentini. Spominjanje s pomočjo umetnosti in kreativnosti obravnavajo z interdisciplinarnim povezovanjem antropologije in umetnostne zgodovine. Raziskujejo izražanje pridobljenega umetniškega in estetskega habitusa ter združevanje spominov in osebnih izkušenj v umetniškem ustvarjalnem procesu. S tem namenom predstavijo Dučmelićev estetski in umetniški habitus in njegov vstop v argentinski sociokulturni in umetniški prostor. Posebno pozornost posvečajo transformaciji osebnih in čustvenih izkušenj in spominov v umetniške simbolne in sanjske podobe.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Dučmelić, umetnost, umetniški proces, spomini, Hrvati v Argentini, interdisciplinarni pristop

^I PhD candidate, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Ciencias Antropológicas, Puan 470, Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Argentina; nadiamolek@gmail.com; Lecturer at Universidad del Salvador, Argentina; Visiting researcher at Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

^{II} PhD Anthropology, Lecturer at Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Ciencias Antropológicas, Puan 470, Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Argentina; radovich@retina.ar; Researcher at C.O.N.I.C.E.T., Argentina.

^{III} BA, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Ciencias Antropológicas, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Puan 470, Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Argentina; juandedjager@gmail.com

^{III} PhD Anthropology, Lecturer at Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Ciencias Antropológicas, Puan 470, Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Argentina; radovich@retina.ar; Researcher at C.O.N.I.C.E.T., Argentina.

INTRODUCTION

Every artistic creation is constrained by sociocultural, historical, institutional and other contextual facts experienced by the artist. Art and art history, like other social phenomena, are products of social, political and economic relationships. Setting art objects, artists' biographies, and the evolution of stylistic sequences in contexts of perceptions brings them closer to long-standing anthropological concerns and interests, avoiding the view of art history as the pristine, apolitical study of aesthetic forms (Price in Goldstein 2010: 1). Based on contemporary art studies in anthropology (Schneider 2006; Svašek 2007; Price in Goldman 2010), we will present the artistic work of the Croatian artist Zdravko Dučmelić in the context of his migration process from Croatia to Argentina, in order to address complex connections between artworks and visual representations of memories, within the social relationships in which they occur. We are especially interested in exploring the artist's configuration of style, his perceptions about art, his creativity process and the sublimation of personal experiences through the artistic process, specific techniques and aesthetics.

For this purpose, we will juxtapose the art worlds (Schneider 2006) and artist's life story with broader socio-historical contexts. Firstly, we will begin by exploring how Dučmelić configured his aesthetic habitus¹ in Europe. We will then present his insertion into the Argentinian sociocultural and artistic context. The last two sections will focus on Dučmelić's art production. We want to analyse how his artistic habitus and memories of the war converged in his art practices, both in his individual work and in his collaboration with Jorge Luis Borges. Our main hypothesis is that the artist comprises the sum of his acquired skills, knowledge and abilities that mediate his artistic activities, i.e. an artistic/aesthetic habitus, but that his creative process also involved representations of social memories and personal experiences. The methodology used to achieve our central goal consists in establishing an interdisciplinary dialogue between art and anthropology. We find that visuality, as a culturally configured practice, finds a central place in our research. We emphasise that focusing on research of Dučmelić's visual images, conceiving them in terms of scientific relevance (Schneider, Wright 2013), will allow us to understand the creative process, the appropriation and configuration of Dučmelić's artistic and aesthetic habitus. In addition, in this initial approach, we focused the research on secondary sources such as biographies, media interviews, interviews by other artists and critics, catalogues of his works, and literature related to his artistic oeuvre, in order to reconstruct the cultural, artistic and political-economic context of Argentina at the time of Dučmelić's arrival and to describe Dučmelić's creative process in Argentina.

NOTES ON ART AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Classical anthropological approaches have focused on art as a part of a cultural complex and capabilities acquired by a human being as a member of society (e.g.: Tylor 1871). These

1 According to Bourdieu (1984: 17), habitus is a system of schemes that constantly guides choices. Bourdieu (1984) strongly argues that art, like many other social practices, is a field which includes contextualized and politicized agents and their interaction. His concept of habitus leads us to understand the individual/structure relationship and the conditions that structures impose to the individuals, required in order to occupy any position in the social field.

proposals sought to discover “uncontaminated artistic traditions” among “isolated primitive people” and have concentrated on the separate domain of “aesthetic objects (or practices)” and “styles” that exists in various “non-western” cultures² (Marcus, Meyers 1995).³ Others have been deeply involved in challenging the universality and essentialism of the category of art. One of anthropology’s leading figures, Claude Levi-Strauss (1968, 1981), used a structuralist approach to address the meaning of art in order to conceptualize the universal structures of the mind, which he believed operate based on pairs of binary oppositions.⁴ Other anthropologists have highlighted the analogy between art and language. Anthony Forge (1967, 1973) stated that rules for the combination of elements in art could be equivalent to syntax in language.⁵

Symbolic anthropology has also made considerable contributions. Symbolic anthropologists mainly conceive humans as “homo symbolicus” (Cassirer 1968), who have a need to create symbols, and therefore works of art, to which humans assign meanings (Des Chene 1996: 1274). The creation of artistic symbols can reveal the deep intrinsic connection of the symbolic imagination and the social imaginary with art. Using this paradigm, Clifford Geertz (1994) stressed that art is a part of a cultural system. For Geertz, symbols are “vehicles of culture”, meaning that symbols should be studied for what they can reveal about culture and “ways of perceiving the world” (Geertz 1994: 119). This perspective turned anthropology towards issues of interpretation and hermeneutical approaches.

Current multifocal anthropological approaches to art include the crossing of interdisciplinary boundaries: art history literature, artists demanding an interpretive role, and the influx of voices from previously underrepresented groups are all gaining momentum (Price in Goldman 2010: 5). These perspectives call for the abandoning of Eurocentric and “discipline-centric” perspectives, which focused on cultural isolates, and moved to set the societies and cultures into broader contexts, hybrid discourses and interdisciplinary approaches such as cultural studies, visual anthropology, sociological and art historical contributions and even collaborations between art and anthropology (Strohm 2012). The globalization process presents new challenges and needs for redefining intercultural conversations about the nature and meaning of art in all its varied settings. Art is spread globally (Coote, Shelton 1992; Marcus, Myers 1995; Schneider 2012; Price in Goldman 2010; Schneider, Wright 2013) and scholars are no longer constrained by the stylistic essences of particular arts in particular cultures or within particular bounded communities, but with critical anthropologies and sociologies of art, which propose more complex views that overlap “art worlds” (Schneider 2006) as historically and socially situated (Marcus, Meyer 1995), challenging the traditional cultural geographies of art and the hierarchies of traditional art scholarship. New approaches focus on art objects as products of social agency within a society, that is, the way in which they are used and interpreted in social

2 Cf. Coote, Shelton 1993.

3 Franz Boas, for instance, studied the artistic aesthetic of the Pacific Northwest Coast of North America, describing the style as a resulting interaction of environment, materials, tools, and cultural patterns (Boas 1927).

4 Levi Strauss (1968, 1981) explored the human propensity to create classification systems, demonstrating in his analysis of Kwakiutl’s Xwexwe and Salish’s Swaihwe masks that the meaning of an element or object is revealed when it appears as an element within a structural system of social relationships.

5 Forge studied the art of New Guinea’s Abelam and Iatmul people.

relations makes them meaningful (Gell in Schneider 2006) and also in relation to cooperative, multi-layered processes between a number of individuals (producers, mediators, and recipients), institutions, and art objects, not just as the result of a creative act by a single individual, commonly denominated “the artist” (Becker in Schneider 2006).

CONFIGURATION OF DUČMELIĆ'S ARTISTIC AND AESTHETIC HABITUS

Zdravko Dučmelić (1923–1989), considered by art historians as a surrealist and metaphysical artist, was born in Vinkovci, a town in the Slavonia region of eastern Croatia,⁶ where he finished secondary school. The young artist's life was strongly impacted by World War II. He was studying at the Royal College of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb when he was forced first to mobilize and then into exile. Dučmelić escaped being killed in the event known as the Bleiburg massacre.⁷ This event together with the persecution of political opponents of the communist revolution caused a mass emigration of Croats at the end of the Second World War. They fled to refugee camps in Austria and Italy, where the diasporic community was founded, before emigrating again to Argentina,⁸ the United States and Australia. He held his first exhibition while staying at a refugee camp in Fermo, Italy.

In exile, Dučmelić institutionalized his artistic/aesthetic habitus in a formal academic context. He gained a rich and cosmopolitan artistic training through various formative experiences in Rome and Madrid,⁹ where he continued briefly to study. During this period he also established contacts with other European cultural and art epicentres in Hungary, Austria and France. Zdravko Dučmelić's art worlds can be seen as structuration of aesthetic schemes and techniques, historically situated in the vanguard movements, as well as within the social contexts and social relationships and migration experiences experienced by the artist. His technique and aesthetics were influenced by the Spanish painters Francisco Goya y Lucientes (1746–1828) and Jose Solana Gutiérrez (1886–1945), the Italians Giorgio de Chirico (1888–1978) and Mario Sironi (1885–1961), as well as by universal painting and art history, and particularly by various avant-garde movements of the twentieth century. The Italian metaphysical art movement¹⁰ can also be perceived in his mental vision, expressed with stone grey and still landscapes, unnaturally empty, lacking

6 At that time, Croatia was a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

7 After the end of World War II, tens of thousands of soldiers and civilians associated with the Axis fleeing Yugoslavia were repatriated to that country. Thousands were murdered or forced into concentration camps. The events are named for the Carinthian border town of Bleiburg, where the main repatriation was conducted.

8 Between 1945 and 1956, Argentina received approximately 35,000 Croatian political exiles. This immigration wave was characterized by being composed of a large number of professionals and intellectuals with a strong Croatian nationalistic ideology. They established an introverted ethnic community based on shared experiences of exile, strong political stances, Catholicism, and the commitment to preserve “Croatian culture and identity”.

9 In Madrid he was awarded a Spanish Catholic University Deed Scholarship to study at the Real Academia de Belles Artes de San Fernando.

10 Metaphysical Art (a translation of the Italian Pittura Metafisica) was an early twentieth century Italian art movement typified by dream-like views of arcaded squares with unexpected juxtapositions of objects (www.tate.org.uk).

vegetation, flooded with nostalgia and loneliness, where human emotion is replaced by rationality and a realistic style (*Studia Croatica* 1968, 1972, 1988; Hočevar 2009). Surrealism and oneiric, dream-like imagery stimulated his interest in dream-like fantastic imagery as well, especially through the work of Max Ernst (1891–1976), and once settled in Argentina, through Roberto Aizenberg's (1928–1996) automatism¹¹ and Xul Solar's (1887–1963) symbolism (*ibid.*). Nevertheless, Dučmelić didn't consider himself a "blind follower", arguing that "I found no artist to follow" (*ibid.* 1988). Many critics agree with this statement. For them, Dučmelić was a gifted painter with an extraordinary technique, but one who didn't follow any formal art movements (*ibid.*: 1968, 1988).

Dučmelić's palette was characterized by the use of dark, cold colours: blacks, greys, blues and ochres. The institutionalization process of "a few colours" that rendered in his particular and expressive stylistic habitus was formed in Spain: "This Spanish palette with blacks, greens ... these ochres ... are the natural landscapes of Spain, which I always kept. Since my first oils, I have remained faithful to this palette of colours, perhaps ten or twelve, but no more ..." (*Studia Croatica* 1988) His work recalled the typical monochrome painting and abstraction of the early twentieth century. The reduced use of images, the search for purity, looked to express neutrality, serenity and rationality.

The architect and painter Sergio Hočevar (2009), a Yugoslav descendant who spent a great deal of time with Dučmelić in Mendoza, pointed out that the rigid academic discipline acquired in Europe allowed the Croatian artist to combine different techniques and materials that could suit his creative process. He created paintings, sculptures and graphics, working with pencil, tempera, oils, water-based inks and acid baths, eggs, brushes, sharp edges, feathers and other tools he made himself, depending on the creative process in which he was immersed. On the other hand, Dučmelić's compositions reflected a crisis of aesthetic reception, where the traditional roles of the artist-viewer relationship are strained. His early immersion in avant-garde techniques and aesthetics led him to break with the "classical" art theory requirement of a unique view postulated by the artist. For Ruiz Díaz, the artist wanted to force the viewer to invent a way of perceiving the work (*ibid.*: 1968), suggesting that artwork only exists in their interpretation, opening multiple meanings for the observer (Eco 1992). In summary, Dučmelić was a creator who melded tools, materials and mixed heterogeneous influences together according to the aesthetics and inspirational factors he had at hand, closer to the qualities of his senses than to formal theories and movements. If we want to interpret his process of artistic creation, we can see his art as a product of "bricolage" (Levi Strauss 1970), without fixed meaning, but continuously acquiring new meanings, depending on the changing contexts in which it operates.

11 In art, automatism usually refers to the accessing of material from the subconscious or unconscious mind as part of the creative process – as seen in the art of the surrealist movement (www.tate.org.uk).

THE INSERTION OF DUČMELIĆ INTO THE ARGENTINIAN SOCIOCULTURAL AND ARTISTIC CONTEXT

Although Dučmelić can be regarded as a case study about the search for universal symbolism and mythology through metaphysical and surrealist philosophy and its convergence with the specific artist's experience, his artistic and intellectual production must be contextualized within the social construction of art practices and movements in Argentina. The political programmes of the late 19th Century defined Argentina as an immigrant country,¹² and Buenos Aires became known as the "Paris of South America" (Schneider 2006: 6).¹³ In the context of nation building, dominant Argentinian politicians privileged European culture over any autochthonous traditions. Argentineans should be the result of "uprooted and transplanted Northern Europeans" who would "civilize and cultivate the spirits". Thus, the building process of the Argentinian art world begins to be institutionalized and centred in Buenos Aires within this philosophical approach, in the context of nation-state formation (ibid.).

In the early twentieth century, the Buenos Aires elite sought their models of cultural and artistic reference primarily in Europe. Artists, musicians and writers would move to France or Italy to spend long "building internships". For example, the plastic works of the so-called *Generación del 80* (Generation of 1880) artists¹⁴ brought the European aesthetic of Realism.¹⁵ Impressionism and Post-Impressionism were introduced by the artist Martín Malharro (1865–1911) after a long stay in Paris. These techniques were especially in sync with the cultural nationalism of those years. The Northern European immigrants that the 19th century political intellectuals had dreamed of never came to the country in large numbers. Most of the immigrants were Italian, followed by Spanish and then French (Devoto 2009). In addition, mass immigration brought some unforeseen consequences, such as a reluctant attitude towards "Argentinization". Consequently, the early twentieth century witnessed the emergence of a nationalist movement opposed to foreign influences and the growing immigrant population, which they viewed as a threat to the nation (Delaney 2002: 625). A vigorous movement of literature, philosophy and art that promoted an ethnocultural vision of Argentinian identity rose up. Specifically in art, rural landscapes, costumbrist scenes and "typical characters" were common among the nationalist visual imaginaries.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the panorama of Argentinian art was very heterogeneous, and an artistic revival occurred, based on contemporary European art movements. The

12 Consequently, Argentinian art excluded any indigenous or native influence, and "imported" reference cultural frameworks from Europe and North America. This imaginary still persists among a section of the Argentinian population.

13 Between 1880 and 1930, and after World War II until the early 1950s, Argentina was seen as a European immigrant nation. It received more immigrants than Canada and Australia, and was second only to the United States in terms of the volume of immigration of European origin (Schneider 2006: 9).

14 The Generation of '80 served as the governing elite in Argentina from 1880 to 1916.

15 Realism was a mid-nineteenth century artistic movement characterized by subjects from everyday life painted in a naturalistic manner; however the term is also generally used to describe artworks painted in a realistic, almost photographic manner (www.tate.org.uk).

early avant-gardes such as Futurism¹⁶ and Dadaism¹⁷ revived the artistic language.¹⁸ Artists who heralded the artistic revival, denominated as *vanguards* or *los Artistas del Pueblo*¹⁹ (People's Artists) began to burst onto the scene. Avant-garde artists, such as the cubist²⁰ painter Emilio Pettoruti (1892–1971) and sculptor Pablo Curatella Manes (1891–1962), questioned the dominant Realism and Impressionism. For example, Pettoruti's cubism, which fragmented human figures, scandalized the traditional elites, who claimed that his art gets away from the imitative essence of art. Meanwhile, Surrealism was beginning to stand out. Among the most important artists, we can mention Xul Solar (1887–1963), Antonio Berni's (1905–1981) surrealist period and the brief era of the "Orion Group".

By the late 1930s, literary and cultural magazines such as the renowned *Martín Fierro* – to which Jorge Luis Borges²¹ (1899–1986) contributed – and the socialist *La vanguardia*, had an important role in the discussion of brand-new aesthetic ideas. Simultaneously, an "alternative" called Argentinian Modernism began to develop.²² Towards the end of the Second World War and within the historical-political context of the rise of Peronism, the Argentinian art scene suddenly became orientated towards the radically non-figurative abstract art known as Concrete Art.²³ This was the artistic context that greeted Zdravko Dučmelić upon his arrival in Argentina in 1949, together with almost 10,000 other Croats (Radovich 2016; Gadze, Rajkovic 2016).²⁴ The Croatian migration process to Argentina after the Second World War was similar to other exiles of the time. Between 1947 and 1949, Argentina accepted a significant number of refugees from Slovenia, Croatia, Ukraine,

-
- 16 Futurism was an early twentieth-century Italian art movement that aimed to capture the dynamism and energy of the modern world (www.tate.org.uk).
- 17 Dada was an art movement formed in Zurich during the First World War as a negative reaction to the horrors and folly of the war. The art, poetry and performance produced by Dada artists is often satirical and nonsensical in nature (www.tate.org.uk).
- 18 Meanwhile, other art movements, such as French Purism, the Italian Novecento movement and Germany's Neue Sachlichkeit postulated a modern classicism through the recovery of "pure plastic" values. However, the "traditional-realistic" Nexus group, with members like Fernando Fader (1882–1935) and Cesareo Bernaldo Quirós (1879–1968), was still dominant on the art scene.
- 19 Los Artistas del Pueblo were the first Argentinian artists who combined aesthetics and a political artistic programme (Muñoz 2000).
- 20 Cubism was a revolutionary new approach to representing reality invented in around 1907/08 by Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque, who aimed to bring different views of subjects (usually objects or figures) together in the same picture, resulting in paintings that appear fragmented and abstracted (www.tate.org.uk).
- 21 Borges was an Argentinian short-story writer, essayist, poet and translator, and a key figure in Spanish-language and world literature. As we will show below in this article, he was friends with Dučmelić, who collaborated with him on one of his books. Among the abovementioned artists, Xul Solar also collaborated closely with Borges.
- 22 Among the most important artists, we can mention: Horacio Butler, Héctor Basaldúa, Lino Enea Spilimbergo, Juan del Prete, Alfredo Guttero, Norah Borges, and Pedro Figari y Raquel Forner (Muñoz 2000).
- 23 Concrete art is abstract art that is entirely free of any basis in observed reality and that has no symbolic meaning (www.tate.org.uk). Among the most important painters, we can mention: Manuel Espinosa, Claudio Giróla, Alfredo Hlito, Enio Iommi, Raúl Lozza, Tomás Maldonado, Alberto Molenberg, Lidy Prati, Jorge Souza and the Madi movement, Arden Quin, Rhod Rothfuss, Gyula Kosice, and Martín Blaszko (Muñoz 2000).
- 24 Béla Solstész states that 35,000 Croats immigrated to Argentina between 1945 and 1948 (Solstész 2011: 3). Most of them had spent time in refugee camps before leaving Europe.

Poland, Hungary, Austria and Germany who had presumably collaborated with the Nazis during the Second World War (Senkman 1992).²⁵ Gadze and Rajkovic (2016) state that approximately 20,000 Croatians were admitted into Argentina between 1946 and 1952. Most of them were political exiles, who came from all over Croatia. The Croatians established themselves particularly in the provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fé, Córdoba, Chaco and the Patagonia region (Gadze, Rajkovic 2016). Dučmelić's memories of his reasons for coming to Argentina alluded as much to practical reasons as to spiritual motivations:

While I was studying in Madrid, I really knew very little about Argentina, but I had already read some things about Borges and I also had certain contacts with the country. This happened around 1948 or 1949, when Borges did not yet enjoy worldwide fame. So, I said to myself, if this country has such a personality, it must be worth a lot [...] So I came to these shores, where I found a good place to work. (*Studia Croatica* 1988)

Dučmelić spent his initial years in Buenos Aires, but the city's subtropical climate and high humidity became very harmful to his health. As a result, following medical advice he moved to a city far away from the centre of the art world, Mendoza, in Mendoza Province, where he lived for thirty years. He became very active at Mendoza's academy of art. He was appointed lecturer at the *Escuela Superior de Artes de la Universidad Nacional de Cuyo*, and between 1963 and 1966 he was appointed the dean of the school, from which he retired in 1980. Later, he was awarded the title of Honorary Professor.

Despite the fact that his aesthetics pursued different styles than had been developed in the Argentinian artistic context to that point, he became recognized in Argentina's art arena. He received numerous awards and held diverse exhibitions in avant-garde galleries, such as *Gran Teatro Opera*, *Joraci*, *Huemul*, *Müller*, *Van Riel*, *Wildenstein*, and *Galatea*, and the Surrealistic and Metaphysical Art Gallery run by Ora A. Waissman. His work became part of multi-layered processes between the artists, mediators, and recipients (Becker 1982 in Schneider 2006), transcending his individual creative acts. Art critics believe that he benefited from the reputation he had achieved at European exhibitions in the past. On the international level, Dučmelić was invited by the Argentinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to hold exhibitions of his works in several museums in Japan in 1980. Dučmelić also held exhibitions in Panama, Peru (Lima), Chile (Santiago de Chile), Mexico, Cuba (Havana), Canada (Ottawa) and China (Beijing). In 1983 he held exhibitions in his homeland, in the cities of Zagreb and Rijeka (Radman, Blog).

25 Argentinian economic prosperity, developed through the industrialization process promoted by Peron, brought about a renewed need for immigrants. During this period the government showed a preference for certain groups of immigrants – from Latin Europe, that is to say Italy and Spain, or from Anglo-Saxon countries (Rosan 2002: 31–32), and avoided immigrants who stayed close together and kept their native lifestyle, meaning they could not integrate into Argentinian society (Senkman 1992). Nevertheless, some exceptions were made. In consequence, in 1947, 33,000 people from Yugoslavia were accepted (Rosan 2002). The majority of them were Croatians, followed by Slovenes and Serbs.

MEMORIES BECOME ART: DUČMELIĆ'S CREATIVE PROCESS IN ARGENTINA

Dučmelić saw his first fifteen years in Argentina as having been spent on a personal search. He felt that this period was focused on his “artistic formation and maturation”, a process that ran through “the thirty-year lonely life I went through in Mendoza” (*Studia Croatica* 1988). The artist’s ideas, his disturbing vision of the world and the themes he painted were highly affected by these feelings of loneliness (*ibid.*). But they also depicted a personal and shared²⁶ experience of war and traumatic political persecution. The war had left major wounds. In an interview, Dučmelić stated that art was “a way of salvation”: “My artistic work, everything I have done, has cost me a great effort [...] [But] art helps to develop a kind of sense of salvation [...] art is the way to find answers to insoluble situations” (*ibid.* 1988). Dučmelić’s work integrated not only his transnational academic formation but also his immigrant’s/exile’s experience (Hočevar 2009). His diasporic belonging, homeland and memories are viewed as a vehicle for creativity:

Although he spent most of his life outside Croatia and he still continues to live outside the country, Dučmelić is a typical Croatian painter. His paintings radiate nostalgia for something lost or perhaps never attained. Permanent conflicts, rebellious collapses and protests against the enigmatic but inexorable destiny drive him to create, using his own strength and within his own possibilities, a longing, imaginative and hopeful world, but at the same time always a very fragile world, in danger of vanishing and disappearing at every moment. (*Studia Croatica* 1972)

Mendoza was a place of tranquillity and meditation for the painter. There, he rediscovered a secret hidden landscape which inspired him to express the tragedy, despair, destruction and desolation that he had suffered. This feeling began to be depicted in the dense solitude of some of his famous landscapes and in the silence of his timeless figures. Dučmelić expressed this sublimation process in the following way:

My first paintings depicted spaces, ruins, figures, human figures. Post-war scenes, torched villages, refugees came to my mind all the time. Then this vision of great sadness rose and ran out of the ruins to the sea. But I didn’t know the sea. I had never seen the sea. [...] I am not Dalmatian, consequently I am not aware of how the sea reached my painting. But it meant salvation to me. There was the sea, horses ... figures. [...] three years later I went past this and came back to pure deserts. (*Studia Croatica* 1988)

The depicted worlds acquired their enigmatic forms through colour and composition. He painted walls and stones, which were orderly, and distributed within the compositional space. Dučmelić states:

26 The Croatian community in Argentina, similarly to other diasporic communities with traumatic pasts, formed and preserved social memories about the traumatic causes that forced their exile. For similar cases, see Anwar 1979, Čapo Žmegač 2007, Alaghiozian et al 2009, Molek 2013.

Those stones in my paintings were constantly moved from one angle to another, because I was looking for a certain harmony. Each painting depicts a long process of displacement from huge stone and soil masses to mysterious and protected places. [...] I'm not locking myself up, but getting stronger; I am creating strengths. (*Studia Croatica* 1988)

They were stimulated by the artist's profound need. Dučmelić explained that his painting sought to elude the painful present, jumping constantly from past to future and vice versa: "The present moment is painful. [...] Without a parallel illusory life, real life would be very difficult. Therefore, this may explain why there is a certain kind of poetry and a certain kind of paintings" (*Studia Croatica* 1988). Another of his recurring themes were petrified humans, hieratic and timeless "empty gaze" figures, especially women, that appear immersed in ruins, ancient geometries, and oneiric climates (*ibid.*). The artist stated:

The themes of my painting are simple to describe: women among ruins or deserts, archaeological landscapes, a woman's face in the foreground, a woman's profile. [...] My figures represent our ancestors, our desired ancestors, our intelligent non-frivolous people. People who lack the tragic sense of human beings [...]. (*Studia Croatica* 1988)

Human figures in the middle of strange landscapes full of terrifying solitude, without daylight, abandoned houses and deserted streets, represent pictorial metaphors of the rationality and destruction of man (*Studia Croatica* 1972). The artist described the relationship between the figures and the desert in the following way:

A peculiar atmosphere permeates my work. It has to do with the search for this ancient therapy, this ancient need articulated in the metaphor of the desert, an ancient biblical necessity. [...] The desert implies deep meanings. It has always been the place the prophets went through to resolve trivial problems (I include myself among the latter). But the desert is not only for Christ or the great prophets; the desert also helps us who aren't prophets. Sitting on a stone, we can resolve our problems there, within a certain space where no one bothers you or anybody, a space where the thinker can't be distracted. (*Studia Croatica* 1988)

The movement of crossing boundaries through figuration and abstraction helped him to rekindle tough social memories and transform them. He sublimated his past into a new subjective, specific, absolute, metaphysical and surrealist reality (Hočevár 2009). In the last twenty years, Dučmelić has reoriented his work (*Studia Croatica* 1988). He abandoned the obscure impressions of the Second World War and began to allow light and colour to come into his paintings (Hočevár 2009). Hočevár recalled this shift:

And one day I found to my great surprise a series of watercolours he was doing. Women's figures saturated with colours, vibrant, were communicating the beginning of a new artistic and creative period. When Dučmelić noticed my astonishment, he replied "The war is over, and I am living in Mendoza." (Hočevár 2009)

DUČMELIĆ AND BORGES: THE PROCESSUAL NATURE OF CREATIVITY

Usually reverie and imagination are not easily found in anthropological texts. But we find it important to consider them as part of Dučmelić's creative process. In 1983, the artist was invited to make an imprint as the illustrator of the famous literary work *Laberintos* [Labyrinths], written by Jorge Luis Borges. In an interview, Dučmelić stated that his "spiritual affinity" with Borges was circumscribed to the mythological-archaeological aspects of the writer's tales (*Studia Croatica* 1988). Borges' literary images inspired the artist immediately, finding after an intense creative process the ability to make a pictorial representation of them. He stressed in the interview that he was trying to represent "tigers, mirrors, labyrinths, sand and ... what else? Immortality, infinity and timelessness" (ibid.: 1988). The resulting series of artwork went through several stages and sketch processes. The images published in *Laberintos* can also be seen as part of a "larger temporal series and experimentations" (Gell in Schneider 2012: 58) during Dučmelić's lifetime with surrealism and metaphysics. The illustrations and paintings that Dučmelić did for Borges show how the artist's aesthetic habitus and his admiration for Borges' literary images converge in materials for an artistic object that reflects the processual nature of creativity (Schneider 2012).

ART WORLDS: BETWEEN AGENCY AND THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONFIGURATION OF IMAGES

Art can be understood as one of the patterns through which the societies and individuals that take part in them represent and symbolize their historic and social memory (Grüner 2002: 1). Zdravko Dučmelić had experienced a series of traumatic events that forced him into exile. The episodes he witnessed remained vivid in his mind and found form and expression later through his personal interpretations of the artistic languages acquired during his formative periods. In Argentina, Dučmelić underwent a period of meditation and solitary work that resulted in diverse art objects. In this sense, art, as his basic field of creativity, allowed Dučmelić to reflect his personal and collective life experiences, memories, visions and mythologies. Exploring Dučmelić's paintings and recurrent themes allows us to reveal the deep intrinsic connection of his appropriation of available aesthetics and techniques, and the manifestation of symbolic imagination, which can be part of social imagery and a sociocultural configuration, as in the example of his work with Borges, but also a search for sublimation through aesthetics and the inspirational factors he had at hand, closer to the qualities of his senses than to formal theories and movements.

REFERENCES

- Alaghiozian, Andrea M., Artinian, Juan P., Diyarian, Maida L., Papazian, Alexis, Schneider, Alejandro, Tchilinguirian, Miguel A., Tossounian, Lucila (2009). *Marcas diaspóricas en los armenios exiliados en Argentina*, <http://www.historiaoralargentina.org/attachments/article/eho2009/Territoriomigracioneidentidad/Alaghiozian-Andrea.pdf> (15. 4. 2017).
- Anwar, Muhammad (1979). *The myth of return: Pakistanis in Britain*. London: Heinemann.
- Boas, Franz (1927). *Primitive Art*. New York: Dover
- Borges, Jorge Luis (1983). *Laberintos*. Buenos Aires: Ed. De Arte.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1984). *Outline of a Sociological Theory of Art Perception*, <http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/bourdieu3.pdf>. (25. 3. 2017).
- Coote, Jeremy, Shelton, Anthony (1992) (eds.). *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics*. Oxford: Clarenton press.
- Čapo Žmegač, Jasna (2007). *Strangers Either Way: The Lives of Croatian Refugees in their New Home*. New York, Oxford: Berghajn Books.
- Cassirer, Ernst (1968). *Antropología filosófica: Introducción a una filosofía de la cultura*. Mexico: F.C.E.
- Cultura croata*, <http://www.culturacroata.com.ar/> (12. 6. 2017).
- Delaney, Jeane H. (2002). Imagining “El Ser Argentino”: Cultural Nationalism and Romantic Concepts of Nationhood in Early Twentieth-Century Argentina. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34/3, 625–658.
- Des Chene, Mary (1996). Symbolic Anthropology. *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology* (eds. David Levinson, Malvin Ember). New York: Henry Holt, 1274–1278.
- Devoto, Fernando (2009). *La historia de la inmigración en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana.
- Eco, Humberto (1992). *Obra abierta*. Mexico: Planeta Agostini.
- Forge, Anthony (1967). The Abelam Artist: Social Organization. *Essays Presented to Raymond Firth; M. Freedman*. London: Cass, 65–84.
- Forge, Anthony (1973). *Primitive Art & Society*. London, New York: Oxford University Press, Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.
- Gadze, Paula, Rajkovic, Marijeta Iveta (2016). Los croatas de Argentina en Croacia. *Etnicidad y migraciones en Argentina* (ed. Juan Carlos Radovich). Buenos Aires: Sociedad Argentina de Antropología.
- Galeria Suipacha*, <http://suipachagaleria.com.ar/ducmeliczdravko/> (25. 4. 2017).
- Galeria Van Riel*, <http://www.vanriel.com.ar/> (3. 3. 2017).
- Geertz, Clifford (1994). El arte como sistema cultural. *La Interpretación de las Culturas*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 117–146.
- Goldstein, Ilana Seltzer (2010). Interview with Sally Price. *Proa – Revista de Antropología e Arte* 1–2, <http://www.ifch.unicamp.br/proa/EntrevistasII/entrevistasallypriceIN.html> (23. 4. 2017).
- Grüner, Eduardo (2002). *El sitio de la Mirada*, http://www.sema.org.ar/downloads/Sem-Prim_02_Gruner.pdf (18. 4. 2017).
- Hernández Belver, Manuel, Prada, Juan Martin (1998). La recepción de la obra de arte y la participación del espectador en las propuestas artísticas contemporáneas. *Reis: Revista española de investigaciones sociológicas* 84, 45–63.
- Hauser, Arnold (1951). *Historia social del arte y la literatura*. Barcelona: Guadarrama, Punto Omega.

- Hočevar, Sergio (2009). *El rigor y la elegancia de un gran creador*. *Diario Los Andes*, 4. 12. 09, <http://www.losandes.com.ar/noticia/cultura-460203> (23. 2. 2017).
- Levat, Mariano. *Zdravko Dučmelić*, http://www.artpromenadebsas.com/paint_ducmelic_es.php (3. 3. 2017).
- Levi Strauss, Claude, Charbonier, George (1968). *Arte, Lenguaje, Etnología*. México: Siglo XXI.
- Levi Strauss, Claude (1970). *El pensamiento salvaje*. México: F.C.E.
- Levi Strauss, Claude (1981). *La via de las mascararas*. Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno.
- Marcus, George, E., Myers, Fred (1995). *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology: Refiguring Art and Anthropology*. California: University of California Press.
- Molek Nadia (2013). Los refugiados eslovenos en la Argentina. *Revista Debates Latinoamericanos*, 22, <http://repositorio.ub.edu.ar:8080/xmlui/handle/123456789/2009> (10. 3. 2017).
- Muñoz, Miguel Angel (2000). *Trayectos de las artes plásticas en la Argentina del Siglo XX*, <http://digitalcommons.providence.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1820&context=inti> (30. 4. 2017).
- Pintores Inmigrantes*, <http://www.monografias.com/trabajos55/pintores-inmigrantes/pintores-inmigrantes2.shtml#ixzz3viqhnIkC> (3. 3. 2017).
- Radman, Valentino (2013). *Zdravko Dučmelić, Borges' favourite painter*, <https://tinoradman.wordpress.com/2013/03/16/zdravko-ducmelic-borges-favourite-painter/> (3. 3. 2017).
- Radovich, Juan Carlos (2016). El proceso migratorio de los croatas de Konavle en la Argentina. *Etnicidad y migraciones en Argentina* (ed. Juan Carlos Radovich). Buenos Aires: Sociedad Argentina de Antropología.
- Rosan, Vesna Ana. (2002), *Prácticas diaspóricas: El caso de la comunidad croata en Buenos Aires*. Tesis de Licenciatura. Departamento de Ciencias antropológicas, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires.
- Schneider, Arnd (2006). *Appropriation as Practice: Art and Identity in Argentina*. Palgrave.
- Schneider, Arnd (2012). Anthropology and Art. *The SAGE Handbook of Social Anthropology* (eds. Richard Fardon, Olivia Harris, Trevor H. J. Marchand, Cris Shore, Veronica Strang, Richard Wilson, Mark Nuttall). Illinois: Sage, 56–71.
- Schneider, Arnd, Wright, Christopher (2013). *Anthropology and Art Practice*. A&C Black.
- Senknam, Leonardo (1992). Etnicidad e inmigración durante el primer peronismo. *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* 3/2, <http://www7.tau.ac.il/ojs/index.php/eial/article/view/1258/1285> (30. 3. 2017).
- Soltész, Béla (2011). La emigración croata en Sudamérica. *Délket Európa – South East Europe* 2/1.
- Squirru, Rafael (2001). *Ducmelic según Squirru*, <http://artedelaargentina.com/pdf/156.pdf> (7. 2. 2017).
- Strohm, Kiven (2012). When Anthropology meets Contemporary Art: Notes for a Politics of Collaboration. *Collaborative Anthropologies* 5, 98–124.
- Studia Croatica* (1963). La Tragedia de Bleiburg. Edición Especial. Documentos sobre las matanzas en masa de los croatas en Yugoslavia en 1945, <http://www.studiacroatica.org/revistas/010/0010.htm> (25. 4. 2017).
- Studia Croatica* (1972). Zdravko Ducmelic: Óleos. Acerca de la Exposición en la Galería Wildenstein, <http://www.studiacroatica.org/revistas/046/04608.htm> (7. 2. 2017).
- Studia Croatica* (1988). El pintor croata-argentino Zdravko Dučmelić, <http://www.studiacroatica.org/revistas/112/112/1120401.htm> (23. 4. 2017).

Studia Croatica (1986). Aportes de la colectividad croata a la República Argentina, Vol. 102. Svašek, Maruška (2007). *Anthropology, Art and Cultural Production*. University of Chicago Press Books.

Tate Modern, www.tate.org.uk. (1. 3. 2017).

Tylor, Edward Burnett (1871). *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom*. Nabu press.

POVZETEK

REPREZENTACIJE SPOMINOV SKOZI UMETNOST: UMETNIŠKO DELO ZDRAVKA DUČMELIČA V ARGENTINI

Nadia MOLEK, Juan Carlos RADOVICH, Juan Esteban DE JAGER, Amalia PEREZ MOLEK

Avtorji v članku predstavljajo umetniški svet hrvaškega slikarja Zdravka Dučmeliča v Argentini. Spominjanje s pomočjo umetnosti in kreativnosti obravnavajo z interdisciplinarnim povezovanjem antropologije in umetnostne zgodovine. Dučmelič se je leta 1923 rodil v Vinkovcih na Hrvaškem. Med študijem umetnosti na Kraljevsko zemaljsko višem obrazovalištu za umjetnost i umjetni obrt v Zagrebu je izbruhnila druga svetovna vojna. Po odhodu iz Pliberka je zbežal v Rim in pozneje v Madrid, kjer je prišel v stik z deli španskega slikarja Francisca Goye y Lucientesa, italijanskega umetnika Giorgia de Chirica, italijanske metafizične umetnosti, nadrealista Maxa Ernsta in drugih avantgardnih umetnikov. Vsi omenjeni so ga navdihovali pri izražanju globokih vtisov, ki jih je ponazarjal s kamnito sivimi in praznimi pokrajinami brez vegetacije, potopljenimi z nostalgijo in osamljenostjo, kjer človekova čustva nadomešča racionalnost. Avtorji v članku raziskujejo izražanje pridobljenega umetniškega in estetskega habitusa ter združevanje spominov in osebnih izkušenj v umetniškem ustvarjalnem procesu.

S tem namenom so raziskali njegov vstop v argentinski sociokulturni in umetniški prostor. Umetnik je leta 1949 skupaj z 10.000 Hrvati prišel v Argentino, kjer je začel plodno umetniško kariero v avantgardnem gibanju. Sledil je zlasti delom Roberta Aizemberga in Xula Solarja. Dučmeličeve vizualne podobe so pritegnile tudi Jorgeja Luisa Borgesa, ki mu je v osemdesetih letih ponudil ilustriranje Labirinta, ene njegovih knjižnih mojstrov. Kot redni profesor je deloval tudi na Universidad de Cuyo. Največ je ustvaril v Mendoza, kjer je med umikom iz javnosti našel način umetniškega izražanja svojega notranjega sveta ter tako s ponavljajočimi temami transformiral z vojno spodbujene simbolne in sanjske podobe ter žalostne izkušnje in spomine. Slikal je sive kamnite pokrajine z okamenelimi ljudmi, zlasti ženskami, izgubljenimi v osamljenih puščavah. V svojih delih je akademsko znanje združeval z migracijsko/begunsko izkušnjo. Njegovo ustvarjalnost so poganjali pripadnost diaspori ter spomini na domovino in eksil. V tem smislu je Dučmeličevo umetnost mogoče razumeti kot vzorec, s katerim družbe in njeni člani predstavljajo in simbolizirajo zgodovinski in družbeni spomin. Raziskovanje Dučmeličevih slik in njegovih ponavljajočih tem omogoča razkrivanje povezav estetskih sredstev in tehnik s simbolnim svetom, ki niso le del sociokulturne konfiguracije, temveč tudi sublimacija občutljivih tem z estetikom in navdihom kot tudi s formalnimi teorijami in gibanji.

ARTISTS' MOBILITY IN THE EU: BETWEEN OPPORTUNITIES AND IMPEDIMENTS

Kristina TOPLAK¹

COBISS 1.02

ABSTRACT

Artists' mobility in the EU: Between Opportunities and Impediments¹

Mobility, especially labour mobility, is being promoted and highly praised as an economic and political cornerstone of the European Union, essential for its future development and growth. At the same time, people on the move are faced with many impediments to mobility, artists active in transnational art worlds being particularly vulnerable in this respect. Analysing and comparing various written sources (text and hypertext), the author focuses on the international mobility of artists in and to the European Union. The aim of the article is twofold: to outline artists' mobility as a particular type of mobility, and to highlight the divergences between praising of the mobility concept on the decision-making level and the 'naturalization' of mobility in academic discourse on one side and the critical assessment of artists' mobility and impediments to it by art practitioners and experts on the other.

KEY WORDS: mobility, artists' mobility, European Union, impediments to mobility

IZVLEČEK

Mobilnost umetnikov v EU: Med priložnostmi in ovirami

Mobilnost, zlasti delovna mobilnost, je promovirana in ovrednotena kot ekonomski in politični temeljni kamen Evropske unije in hkrati predstavljena kot ključna za njuna prihodnja razvoj in rast. Mobilni posamezniki pa se hkrati soočajo z veliko ovirami, ki jim preprečujejo mobilnost, pri čemer so umetniki, aktivni v transnacionalnih umetnostnih svetovih, še zlasti ranljivi. Avtorica se v preglednem članku osredotoča na mednarodno mobilnost umetnikov v Evropski uniji, pri čemer analizira različne pisne vire (literaturo in spletne vire). Članek ima dva namena: orisati mobilnost umetnikov kot posebno obliko mobilnosti in osvetliti razkorak, ki nastaja med dojemanjem mobilnosti, kot jo oblikujejo politični in javni diskurz ter akademski pristopi k njenemu preučevanju in kot jo definirajo ter problematizirajo umetniki in strokovni delavci v analizah stanja na področju mobilnosti umetnikov.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: mobilnost, mobilnost umetnikov, Evropska unija, ovire mobilnosti

¹ PhD in Ethnology, Research Fellow, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Slovenian Migration Institute, Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana; ktoplak@zrc-sazu.si.

¹ The article is a result of the research programme National and Cultural Identity of Slovenian Emigration in the Context of Migration Studies, ID P5-0070 and part of the project Art in diaspora: Anthropological research of creativity among Slovenians in Argentina in return migrants, ID BI-AR/15-17-010. The author acknowledges the receipt of financial support for the programme and the project from the Slovenian Research Agency.

MOVING BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT: AN INTRODUCTION

Throughout history (and the history of art), musicians, painters, writers, architects and many other artists have been depicted as travellers, as people who tend to move around, and have often crossed the borders of European empires, kingdoms or modern states, not only to find work and new patronage, but also seeking inspiration and new experiences, to research and study or to teach others (Klemenčič 2010; Avcioglu, Flood 2010; Young Kim 2014; Čoralić et al. 2016). The story of Francisco Robba (1698–1757), the 18th-century Italian sculptor who settled in Ljubljana, is the (hi)story of such a traveller. Born and trained in Venice, he could not find work for some time, and therefore decided to try his luck in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire on the – at that time still – “unconquered market” east of Venice. The important ‘pushes’ and ‘pulls’ for Robba included the circumstances of his apprenticeship,¹ the changed conditions on the Venice art market and the increased interest in the Italian art style in border regions northeast of Venice, especially in Ljubljana and its surroundings (Jaki 2010). Robba moved to Ljubljana in 1720 and married a local stonemason’s daughter. He obtained the legal status of resident of Ljubljana in 1724. He took over his father-in-law’s workshop, and soon gained a leading position as a local sculptor, and until his death he travelled and worked in the region, from Klagenfurt and Trieste to Ljubljana and Zagreb (Klemenčič 2010).

The career trajectory of Francesco Robba could be applied to modern times, as modern mobile artists are driven by similar incentives as their predecessors, with two important exceptions: first, due to changed political circumstances in the late 19th and early 20th century, national boundaries, especially in Europe, changed drastically, and modern nation-states have implemented many administrative measures in order to manage the international movement of people and to protect national borders (which consequently became less easily transited) (Goldin et al. 2011: 70–84; Elliott, Urry 2010: 17); and second, modern mobile practices and forms are much more intensive, flexible, multilayered, complex and diverse due to the development of technology and communication and also due to different economic and political pressures. I am not arguing that people are less mobile nowadays; I am arguing that politically-generated administrative obstacles are increasingly hindering the mobility process compared to previous centuries. With the aim to tackle this unique paradox I will discuss contemporary international geographical mobility, mainly focusing on artists’ mobility, its promotion and impediments to it.

By focusing on the mobility rather than the migration of artists, I am able to emphasize the flexible, multidirectional features of artists’ movements. Namely, the personal lives of people (artists) that are frequently on the move are tangled in “a complex web of social, cultural and economic networks that can span the globe” (Elliot, Urry 2010: 4). Moreover, when reviewing the literature on the migration of artists I noticed the authors’ inability to place artists’ movements inside the migration framework. Migration is seen as permanent, occupying the space between one home country and one host country, while mobility includes many short or long-term locations, and is multidirectional and creative (Duester 2013: 110). Mobility also better encapsulates all of the other elements of the global/transnational art

1 Robba had been an apprentice in the workshop of the renowned Italian sculptor Pietro Baratta, who already had plenty of works commissioned outside Italy, for example for Habsburg and Russian rulers or for the Roman Catholic Church at the edge of the Habsburg empire in Gorizia (Italy) (Klemenčič 2010: 14).

world, namely the mobility of artworks, money, grants and mobility within communications and collaborations (ibid.).

In the first part of the article I will discuss the political and academic perceptions of mobility, emphasizing the abovementioned paradox. In order to be able to reflect on the mobility of artists in this respect, I will also outline the specifics of artists' mobility within the concept of mobility as a whole. In the second part I will discuss the impediments to artists' mobility with the aim of juxtaposing them with the perceptions of mobility on the normative and research levels in order to provide a more comprehensive image of artists' mobility. In the conclusion some observations on the impact of the outlined gap between normative framework and practice are included. The outlines and discussions in the article are based on an analysis and critical assessment of various primary and secondary sources (text and hypertext). These included documents covering the European Union (EU) regulatory framework on labour mobility and the socio-political discourse attached to it (various EU reports, official statements of EU officials, official websites, and the primary legal documents covering labour mobility in the EU were reviewed and compared). In addition, the available academic literature on mobility, and specifically artists' mobility, were examined. Within this limited and incomplete reflection on artists' mobility I mainly reviewed the literature in the fields of art history, cultural studies, anthropology and sociology. The discussion on impediments is based on the content analysis of several research studies, reports and policy recommendations prepared and issued by individual experts or groups of experts, interest groups, NGOs or information networks active in the last ten years in the area of mobility and the arts at the EU level.

MOBILITY: NEOLIBERAL PRAISE, ACADEMIC DISCOURSE AND CRITIQUE OF THE CONCEPT

Geographical mobility is generally considered to be a global phenomenon and people are increasingly seen as being more mobile compared to previous centuries. However, this does not mean that all people are taking part in the process and/or that there are no obstacles to mobility. According to Zygmunt Bauman, who writes about the global hierarchy of mobility (1998), where there is a bottom with *locally stuck* people and a top with *privileged mobile* people (emphasis mine), significantly more people are sedentary than mobile. Considering the case of the EU, the numbers of mobile people are rather moderate: the available data for 2013 show that about 4% of working-age EU citizens lived in an EU country other than their country of birth, including cross-border workers and posted workers (ECFIN 2015: 19).

The free movement of people is one of the four pillars of the EU's internal market and an integral cornerstone of the mobility concept defined in EU treaties and policies and supported through various EU programmes.² Labour mobility in the EU has been and still is perceived as an increasingly important adjustment mechanism for the European

2 In addition to the free movement of goods, services and capital. Conceptualised as the "free movement of workers", mobility was included in the foundational Treaty of Rome (1957).

economy and has been increasing over the past two decades (ibid.).³ Mobility, especially labour mobility inside the EU, is therefore regulated by several EU agreements and directives that all EU Member States are required to follow,⁴ and is also strongly encouraged and financially supported within various transnational programmes and schemes (for example the European Social Fund or the EU Programme for Employment and Social Innovation⁵), and promoted through European employment institutions and tools like the European job mobility portal EURES. The year 2006 was even declared the European Year of Workers' Mobility (Eur-Lex 2006). Paraphrasing the title of one of the reports on artists' mobility prepared by the ERICarts institute: mobility in the EU matters (ERICarts 2008). Despite a certain scepticism towards the free movement of persons (i.e. workers) in the EU, indicated by the fact that many EU-15 states in the post 2004-EU-enlargement periods (2004, 2007 and 2013) implemented transitional restrictions for workers from all EU newcomers, (labour) mobility has also become an integral part of EU political discourse. Its positive image and importance on the economic and social levels are echoed in the statements of important EU representatives. Manuel Barroso, president of the European Commission from 2004–2014, stated: “Mobility, whether it is changing job or moving to another region, town or country, can help Europe to adapt, compete and reap the benefits of the new world economic order” (Barroso 2006). Commissioner Andor in his speech in Ghent emphasized:

I will argue not only that freedom of movement is an individual right, but also that labour mobility makes good economic sense. It contributes to the objectives of the Europe 2020 Strategy by making it easier to fill cyclical and structural labour shortages and offering people opportunities for upward economic and social mobility. (Andor 2014)

Another example is part of the speech Commissioner Thyssen gave in Ireland: “But free movement is not only important as an *individual* right of each citizen. It is also in our *collective* interest as Europeans that people are mobile and ready to cross borders” (emphasis original; Thyssen 2015). In addition to political discourse, public discourse has also adopted mobility, i.e. freedom of movement and work in the EU, as the main signifier of the EU, and generally a good thing for European integration, for the labour market i.e. economy,

3 Despite the rising trend, mobility in the EU remains insignificant compared to other economic powers such as the US, where nearly 30% of the working-age population lives in another state (ECFIN 2015).

4 There are many EU documents regulating the area of labour mobility, and all can be found on the official websites of the European Commission and the Council of the European Union. I have analysed and listed only the most important ones: Regulation EU No 492/2011; Article 3(2) of the Treaty on European Union; Articles 4(2)(a), 20, 26 and 45–48 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union; Directive 2004/38/EC on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States; Regulation (EU) No 492/2011 on freedom of movement for workers within the Union; Regulation (EC) No 883/2004 on the coordination of social security systems and its implementing Regulation (EC) No 987/2009; the Posting of Workers Directive 96/71/ES and Enforcement Directive 2014/67/EU.

5 As much as EUR 919 million has been invested in the programme for the period 2014–2020, <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1081&langId=en>.

and also a good thing for individuals (Vandenbrande et al. 2006: 55–58).⁶ The concept of mobility has entered the vocabulary and the agenda of numerous international institutions: Mendolicchio (2013) reports about various research projects, study programmes and many cultural and artistic organizations. Still, there is a paradox connected to the highly acclaimed freedom of movement in the EU, as many administrative and security-related obstacles to free movement are persistently maintained or generated anew, as we shall discuss below. We can summarize this section with Urry's lucid observation that "the freedom of movement, as represented in popular media, politics and the public sphere, is the ideology and Utopia of the twenty-first century" (Elliot, Urry 2010: 8).

In addition to the public and political arenas, the mobility phenomenon has also been extensively discussed and explored in the social sciences and humanities. John Urry and his followers have defined the sociology of mobility and within it various concepts and forms of mobility and distinctive mobile groups, i.e. labour mobility, mobile lives, elite mobilities, marginal mobility, mobile methods (Urry 2000, 2007, 2010; Büscher et al. 2011; Kalčić et al. 2013; Birtchnell, Caletrio 2014). Moreover, they are also mobilizing a new mobilities paradigm (Scheller, Urry 2016). In his ground-breaking book *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*, Urry argues for a "new" sociology that exchanges its traditional basis – the study of society – for the study of diverse modes of movement, i.e. mobility (2000). Despite the resistance of many sociologists to the "mobilities turn" as a main critique of sedentism and deterritorialisation theories (Sheller 2013; Salazar 2017), many have 'fallen under its spell' not only in the field of sociology, but also in geography, transport studies, communications and anthropology.

Influential scholars such as Giddens, Appadurai, Beck and Bauman "theorise contemporary capitalism and globalisation in terms of increasing numbers and varieties of mobility [...]" (Salazar 2017: 6). As such, mobility appears to be self-evidently central to modernity as a key social process; moreover, its specific discourse is adopted in many scholarly arguments. Such discourses either mythologize⁷ the process of mobility through a special "mythological vocabulary" (Pušnik 2014: 15) or, following Salazar (2017), mobility is considered as a natural tendency in society. In the first case, mobility is very hard to define, as it is positioned in the realm of a slippery, or as Pušnik (ibid.) calls it, "mobile" conceptual field. In the latter case, and this is highly problematic, such an approach naturalises mobility as a fact of life and, as Salazar argues, it becomes "a general principle that rarely needs further justification" (2017: 6). However, mobility is not a natural process of our daily lives, and it is not only a 'positive thing'. It is globally practised, but not by all people. Mobility is materially grounded (ibid.) and we need to consider mobility as political-economic processes that are imposed on people, by which people are forced to move or are allowed to move (De Genova, Peutz 2010 in Salazar 2017). Mobility must be perceived as political concept that is one of the constitutors of the government of the EU (Pušnik 2014) and as such, mobility is not only a possibility, an omnipresent right of EU citizens, and a positive consequence of European integration processes, but within the framework of power

6 The percentage of EU citizens included in the 2005 Eurobarometer mobility survey who responded positively, i.e. perceived all three categories as a good thing, was higher than 50% or just under it (Vandenbrande et al. 2006: 55–58).

7 In *Mobile Lives* Elliot and Urry (2010: 9) write about the need to investigate and discuss various limitations to the myth of mobility and the good life connected to it.

relations also one of the main tools for governing and building authority in the EU with a direct impact on mobile people in the EU.

ARTISTS' MOBILITY

Recent discussions of mobility have focused on artists' mobility as a particular form of mobility, and are based on the available scientific literature and EU reports. Artists are one of many identified "movers" (Urry 2007; Salazar 2017) having many needs, drives and objectives in forming and performing mobility, sharing the impacts and consequences of mobility with other mobile people. How is then their mobility different from the mobility of other groups of mobile people, i.e. workers, students, or refugees? Why should we discuss artists' mobility as a particular form inside a mobile world? There are three aspects that define artists' mobility as a particular form of mobility. First, artists' motives for practising mobility are in part different from the motives of other mobile people; second, there is increased interest in the transdisciplinary field of study of cultural and artistic mobility (Mendolicchio 2013). Lastly, the European Commission has recognized artists' mobility as specific form of mobility, supporting projects and studies that tackle various issues connected to the mobility of artists and artworks. Moreover, the DG for Education and Culture has defined mobility of artists as special sub-field within the cultural and creative industries, which will be discussed in the last part of this section.⁸

Similarly to the historical case described in the introduction, contemporary artists are mobile in order to find work, to conduct research or to study, to construct transnational networks, and to change their everyday environment, but not only that. They are mobile because they would like to gain international recognition, to exhibit, to find inspiration, to stoke their creativity, to discover new ways of expression. Artists' mobility, either long or short-term, can be defined by its very specifics related to flexibility, variety of resources ('capital'), transnational connections and networks. Moreover, many researchers argue that mobility is directly linked to artistic practices, and has important impact on the creative process of the individual artist (Kobolt 2008; Kiwan, Meinhof 2011; Mendolicchio 2013; Duester 2013; Kim 2014). Without mobility, many artefacts and a great deal of the architecture we know and enjoy today would simply not exist or would be completely different. Increased and global mobility is further connected to enlarged transnational networks of individual artists and increased transnational connections – which further improves the creative process of the individual artist. Kobolt argues that artists need to travel "in order to have 'an international' career" (2008: 1). "The need to travel" can be translated into "the need to join and participate in the global/transnational art worlds" (Becker 1982), whereby the art world has been depicted throughout history as a constantly moving and collaborative community (Duester 2013).

According to art critic and theorist Herman Bashiron Mendolicchio (2013) the concept of mobility has already entered the vocabulary and agenda of many international institutions active in the area of arts and culture (see also European Commission 2016) and is one of the more diffused practices that needs to be thoroughly investigated and analysed. Therefore, multiple aspects of cultural and artistic mobility, according to Mendolicchio

8 See: https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/cultural-creative-industries/mobility_en

(2013: 1), call for a “transdisciplinary field of study that increasingly claims its place in the analysis and research of the social and cultural dynamics of the contemporary world”. However, similarly to some other diffused practices established in the contemporary, globalized world, we also need a more inclusive approach to mobility:

[...] the reality is that we are still facing a lack and shortage of narrative, literature and critique on mobility and its implications in the cultural, artistic and social domain. [...] To reflect on mobility today means to widen the perspective, to go beyond the concepts of travel, discovery and displacement; it calls for analysis of the social, political, economic and cultural phenomena linked to it. (Mendolicchio 2013: 1)

However, the interest of scholars of art history, art theory or cultural studies was until recently⁹ primarily oriented towards the impact of ‘mobility’ on cultural forms and stylistic change, i.e. on influences, mobility being seen as a simple geographical characteristic of the travelling person, moving from point A to point B (Klemenčič 2010, see also Avcioglu, Flood 2010; Kim 2014). In sociology as well, as Mimi Sheller (2013) argues, the positional understanding of mobility predominates, whereby studies of geographical mobility are limited to specific sub-fields (i.e. migration studies, labour studies). Moreover, those studies “use very traditional methodological approaches to treat mobility as the movement from A to B” (ibid.). However, when we consider a general theory of geographical mobility the key purpose in studying mobility is: 1) in the disclosure of how the content of the line between those two points, i.e. the movements, paths and self-evident/natural and unrecognized meanings, is constructed, and 2) in the filling and interpretation of the empty spaces between A and B (Pušnik 2014: 20) whereby we must consider not only the straight line between A and B, but the many in-between points that break the line and can be defined as the C, D, E or F and so on points in the case of highly mobile artists. The type has been identified as (short-term) multi-directional mobility (Duester 2013).

Duester, in her attempt to define artists’ mobility, proposed a concise classification of artists’ mobility, differentiating between migration and mobility: fixed migration is characteristic of artists who migrate permanently, while short-term mobility is a feature of artists who migrate temporarily or via artist residencies, and ultra or trans-mobility is attributed to those who hop from one city to another or who communicate or collaborate remotely (2013: 112). Artists who move between different locations for cultural, academic, economic or political reasons and needs have developed diverse, often unconventional forms of mobility, transnational connections and consequently ways of life; very often the continuous movement between different locations itself becomes a way of life. Interactions between movement and the arts therefore bring forward conceptual and methodological aspects which are also important for mobility studies. Contemporary mobility processes include new forms of mobility and sociality as the outcome of those interactions, and

9 Art historian David Young Kim has introduced the concept of mobility to the art theory because he is convinced that mobility “was an especially powerful feature of the medieval visual culture” (2014: 1). In his book *The Travelling Artist in the Italian Renaissance: Geography, Mobility and Style* (2014), Kim juxtaposes mobility with influence (finally suggesting that it be replaced by mobility) and argues how focusing on mobility as a key concept allows art theorists and historians to interpret artworks more completely, emphasizing that mobility “posits difference as style’s ontological foundation, unstable as quicksand as that foundation may be” (2014: 36).

studying them can help us comprehend the mobility process more thoroughly. How can focusing on the interconnection of the arts and mobility help us understand mobility? Following Kiwan and Meinhof (2011) I propose three notions tailored for the understanding of mobility through the arts.

1. If we focus on the mobility of artists we can get a different, alternative insight into mobility as a process, as we can point out “other types of stories” which are more multifaceted and generally circumstantially different from the stories of many other mobile people (migrants and refugees, mobile workers, tourists, soldiers, etc.). Artists’ mobility is “one of agency and self-determination, as many artists are highly educated and skilled” (Kiwan, Meinhof 2011: 4); it is transnational and multidirectional, generated not only by economic need, but also by the need “to experience new life and cultures, gain new inspiration, make collaboration/projects with new people and extend the network” (Duester 2013: 108).¹⁰

2. Focusing on the arts and mobility enables us to explore the complex relationship between the arts and everyday life (mobility policies, impediments to mobility, the impact of globalization and capitalist neo-imperialism on mobile artists and the arts).

3. When studying artists we focus on individuals’ career paths and life stories, and therefore move away from studying migrant or ethnic collectives, i.e. communities. Individual artists are not identified *only* by their ethnic or national affiliations, and that enables us to avoid discourses that essentialize ethnicity (Kiwan, Meinhof 2011).

Finally, let us address the third aspect of artists’ mobility as particular form of mobility. The European Commission, recognizing mobility as “becoming an integral part of the regular practice and career of artists and culture professionals” and identifying it “whether for work, study, research, co-production, or participation in a residency or exchange programme”, has developed several approaches to promote and support artists’ mobility in and to the EU. Within those support schemes, policymakers have not only framed the mobility of artists as part of the cultural and creative industries field¹¹ and defined it as one of priorities of the European Agenda for Culture (OMC 2012), they have also set out its basic features (OMC 2012; see also https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/cultural-creative-industries/mobility_en). In the praising of the importance of mobility for artists for improving their career opportunities, accessing new markets, creating new jobs, creating networks, etc., an important turn towards neoliberal ideology can be observed. Namely, the focus has been shifted from artists’ mobility as an engine of the creative process to mobility as a booster of the EU economy: artists’ mobility is primarily needed for economic success, to further contribute to the EU’s GDP and create new jobs. In Commissioner Andor’s words, artists’ mobility, like labour mobility, “contributes to the objectives of the Europe 2020 Strategy by making it easier to fill cyclical and structural labour shortages and offering people opportunities for upward economic and social mobility” (Andor 2014). However, mobility is often hindered by impediments that make mobility not an easy process and certainly not accessible to all, making the opportunities for mobility Andor speaks about rather limited.

10 Duester even argues that “artists are not economic migrants but ‘cultural migrants’ wanting to experience a new culture, new life, new inspiration” (2013: 113).

11 See: https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/cultural-creative-industries/mobility_en

MOBILITY IS FOR ME BUT NOT FOR YOU?

In order to have an international career, artists need to travel at least to the nearby art centres, but in most cases to the centres of the international art market (still) defined by Western art institutions, biennales and fairs (Kobolt 2008). Reflecting on migration from the periphery to the centre and especially focusing on representations of peripheral artists in those art centres, Katja Kobolt argues that being peripheral and a migrant (a status ascribed to artists coming from the periphery, i.e. Eastern Europe or other countries to the Western world) within the art world has been represented and appropriated in a way that deprives both the status and the individual artist that are labelled in this way of much of its/their transnational and translational capacity (*ibid.*). The issues Kobolt raises are also important for our discussion of impediments to mobility, or more simply put: who is able, allowed and/or forced to move and who is not, and under what conditions.

Despite the European Union's quest to abolish many technical, legal and other administrative barriers to free movement of persons, many obstacles still remain, such as the checking of documents at the external Schengen area borders and more recently also controls applied inside the area due to security concerns (European Commission 2017), fragmented national tax systems, separate national markets existing in specific sectors, complex rules for recognition of vocational qualifications, obstacles to accessing health-care and other social benefits (Eurofound 2014: 35–42). On one hand, technological development, globalization, neoliberalism and inclusive socio-economic and cultural policies promote/encourage the geographical mobility of people, constructing new or more intensive forms of mobility and sociality. On the other, strict migration rules and austere economic policies driven by raising issues of security and xenophobia impose diverse administrative impediments to international mobility.

In the art world, transnationality is conceived differently compared to Western artists if peripheral artists need to submit to a visa regime. "An artist is expected to embody mobility, so the difficulties with obtaining a visa do not really enhance this picture" (Kobolt 2008: 2). The main problems in obtaining a visa arise if people travel frequently; if they are often invited places and on short notice, and therefore need the documents quite quickly; and if they are freelancers or self-employed, and have discontinuous or low incomes. According to the report prepared by the On the Move network (Di Federico, Le Sourd 2012) all of these features apply to artists: they frequently travel on short notice to take part in exhibitions, to collaborate on opera or dance projects, or to attend art fairs; and artists often have precarious employment status and low income. Also, more administrative obstacles are being set for citizens of EU Member States due to the increased controls at the external borders of the Schengen area and the just recently re-introduced controls inside the area due to security concerns.

Visa regimes are only one problem, as there are several other impediments to mobility, depending on the nationality of the artists, regarding the right to obtain residence and employment documents, the type of employment, the national social security and tax regulations, the information support system, and even the tradition of residencies and cultural politics (the so-called West-East divide; cf. Vujadinovic 2008). Despite the European Union's efforts to harmonize national legislation between Member States, important differences still remain in the areas of taxation, social issues and benefits, health insurance and access to information, and those differences are mainly affecting EU citizens (ERICarts 2008: 12; Eurofound 2014: 35–42).

Mobile artists are a significantly heterogeneous group of individuals, therefore they are not all affected by impediments to mobility to the same extent. The list of the main impediments to artists' mobility in and to the EU was drafted on the basis of a comparative reading of various expert reports and recommendations written in the last 10 years, covering various art forms¹² (Poláček 2007; Kobolt 2008; ERICarts 2008; Vujadinovic 2008; IGBK 2010; Recommendations on ... 2010; Di Federico, Le Sourd 2012).¹³ I would substantially exceed the space for this article if I were to provide a more detailed outline or divide them according to their relevancy for EU nationals or non-EU nationals:

1. Application procedures for visas, residence and work permits for third country nationals who are working with an EU organisation and then go on tour with this same organisation inside the EU, or who would like to stay in the EU for a longer period are time consuming, costly, often non-transparent, and heterogeneous; work permits are still required for citizens of Croatia in some EU Member States due to transitional arrangements (until 30 June 2020);¹⁴
2. Changing or atypical contracts, depending on the type of work or employer; the income is often irregular or unpredictable;
3. Social security regulations and health insurance still depend on national legislation and type of employment;
4. Double taxation, customs duties for art works and different national rules on VAT;
5. The exercising of intellectual property rights is diverse;
6. Lack of information in many areas, especially on regulations and on opportunities for artists;
7. Lack of support for long-term art projects;
8. Lack of reliable statistical data for evidence-based policymaking;
9. The need for capacity training in the arts sector;
10. Differences in capacity and level of support between Member States with higher and lower GDP; difference between those Member States with a long tradition of residencies, programmes and well-developed support tools for artists and those without that tradition (West-East divide).

The reports considered here emphasize another important feature of artists' mobility: it is closely linked to the mobility of artefacts. When moving artworks from one gallery to another between different EU Member States or bringing them to the EU from a third country, a different set of regulations and issues has to be considered. The shipping of artworks is usually costly and demanding: in terms of taxation national rules apply when going

12 Compared to this extensive list of obstacles, the European Commission's attention is often paid only to the three types of so-called administrative practices that create obstacles to the mobility of artists: Schengen visas, social security and cross-border taxation (European Commission 2016).

13 The group of experts who drafted the report on impediments to artists' mobility inside the IGBK network consisted of national experts on art and culture (IGBK 2010).

14 There are important exceptions: self-employed artists do not need a work permit and as posted workers artists can work in all Member States (http://europa.eu/youreurope/citizens/work/work-abroad/work-permits/index_en.htm). For the next two years EU employment regulations will also remain unchanged for UK citizens entering the EU labour market. A new regime will be established after 2019.

abroad, and in importing or exporting artworks from or to third countries no exemptions to standard procedures are applied. Customs officers treat artworks like any other goods (IGBK 2010).

In addition to the aforementioned objective issues arising in regard to artists' mobility, several subjective aspects have to be taken into consideration. When abroad and seeking international recognition, individual artists have to deal with alienation, language barriers and cultural differences, even censorship, and a lack of social connections/networks. Furthermore, they are confronted with additional costs, harder living conditions, and many times with an unsupportive social environment (Di Federico, Le Sourd 2012; Konjikušić 2016). The regulation of mobility and existing impediments to it have been critically assessed not only by various experts in the field. They have also been explored and critically addressed by mobile artists, becoming the subject of artworks. The time-consuming, often costly and therefore exhausting procedures of visa regimes have been transformed into artistic expression, for example by Tanja Ostojić, a performance artist and feminist from Serbia, and Leila Čmajčanin, artist and performer from Sarajevo. Tanja Ostojić has drawn inspiration for several artistic works from her experience as a non-European Union citizen and artist who had to travel from her hometown in Serbia to Germany through Slovenia and France. Her works *After Courbet*, *L'Origine du Monde*, also named *EU Panties* (2005), *Waiting for a Visa* (performance in front of Austrian Consulate in 2000 in Belgrade), *Illegal Border Crossing* (art-action on the Slovenian-Austrian Border in 2000) or the performance piece *Looking for a Husband with an EU Passport* (2000–2003) all express the artist's Euro-scepticism and underline the arrogance of the EU bureaucracy towards non-EU citizens. Leila Čmajčanin together with two other female artists from Bosnia and Herzegovina has created several exhibitions on the topic of the Global South (as part of the City of Women festival in 2009 in Ljubljana). If they wanted to see the exhibitions, visitors first had to obtain a visa issued by the artists on the basis of the same criteria they had to meet when entering the EU. In describing the piece, Kobolt states that "by checking if the visitors to her exhibition – artists, curators or aliens, it makes no difference to her – have enough funds, have a certified invitation, are in good health, etc., she makes visible the regulations a peripheral artist encounters when trying to enter the 'international' art market" (2008: 2).

CONCLUSION: TOWARDS THE MOBILE FUTURE

In this survey article I have analysed and compared various scientific articles, legal documents, government and expert reports with the aim to outline some key features of mobility's habitus as part of globalized art worlds and at the same time to highlight the diverse perceptions of the (artists') mobility concept. Artists' mobility can be defined through three sets of identifiers: specific motives for mobility (why artists are mobile), academic interest and formation of the interdisciplinary research field of cultural and artistic mobility, and the definition of the mobility of artists as part of the cultural and creative industries. According to the analysis of the reports on the promotional and support mechanisms for artists' mobility and their counterparts, critical assessments of these mechanisms have shown that mobility – including artists' mobility – is seen as a very positive process that needs to be financially and politically supported and further promoted on the decision-making level. It is considered as one of many "little boosters" of the EU economy, as mobile artists

and cultural producers working in the cultural and creative industries not only improve their career opportunities and earn their living, but most importantly contribute to the creation of new jobs and even to the EU's GDP.¹⁵ However, when analysing the reports of experts and expert groups involved in assessing and researching artists' mobility, the picture is not so clear and clean. According to them, artists' mobility is very important for artists and cultural professionals also for other, non-economic reasons: it enables them to gain international recognition, they can exhibit in international art capitals, they get inspiration, it spurs their creativity, they can discover new ways of expression. But there are many obstacles which hinder mobility, most of them a direct result of other political and economic decisions. Analysis has shown that mobile artists can seize a lot opportunities by being active in the transnational/globalized art worlds, but at the same time they face many challenges imposed on them by the same art world and by mobility policies *per se*.

Many of the reports reviewed emphasize that despite the rather broad legal framework and ongoing attempts at harmonization of the same framework between Member States, the EU has failed to eliminate or even diminish impediments to the mobility of artists. Social security issues, taxation, language and cultural differences, limited access to information, and visas and work permits for persons from third countries and outside the Schengen area are still defined as the main obstacles to the free movement of workers in the arts and culture sector, but also in many other sectors (Poláček 2007; Kobolt 2008; IGBK 2010; Holland et al. 2011).

Yet there is another aspect that needs to be emphasized in regard to the perception of artists' mobility. Kim, referring to the art world of the Renaissance, argues that "mobility, as an 'external' force acting upon a society, realigns the bonds among artists, patrons, competitors, audience" (2014: 6). Moreover, mobility realigns economic and power relations (cf. Pušnik 2014; Salazar 2017), which is also closely connected to the manifestation of the political on and in the arts. Artists' mobility is actually labour mobility, since within global neo-liberal power relations artists are considered labourers, most often precarious ones (Vishmidt 2011; Praznik 2016). The discourses used in the academic literature and research, but also in the arts (i.e. on information platforms for artists), emphasize this explicitly: the mobility of the arts and culture *sector*, arts and culture *professionals*, arts and culture *entrepreneurs*, highly skilled *workers* like artists, self-employed artists who use AI forms, the project *Artist on a Business Trip*, and finally, cultural and creative *industries*.¹⁶ It is important to emphasize that we are not dealing only with terminology, but with a specific discourse (and also policies) that operationally places artists in the category of labourers or workers. Artists are no longer treated as being outside conventional rules, but are subjected to modern neoliberal market mechanisms and their mobile practices are regulated by EU mobility policy. This indicates that we are dealing with the process of commodification or financialization (Vishmidt 2011) of artists' labour. However, artists that are self-employed and many others do not receive a wage for their work and many are poorly paid or working as precarious workers, whereby mobility, although depicted as an opportunity, is randomly turned into a costly and stressful endeavour. These topics are important for the further discussion of mobility and will need to be researched more thoroughly in the future.

15 See: https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/cultural-creative-industries_en

16 All quotations can be found in the various references used in this article and listed in the list of references at the end.

REFERENCES

- Andor, Laszlo (2014). *Labour Mobility in the EU*, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-622_en.htm (11. 1. 2017).
- Avcioglu, Nebahat, Flood, Finbar Barry (2010). Introduction. *Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century*. *Ars Orientalis* 39, 7–38.
- Barroso, Jose Manuel (2006). *2006 European Year of Worker's Mobility*, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-06-109_en.htm (11. 1. 2017).
- Bauman, Zygmunt (1998). *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Becker, Howard S. (1982). *Art Worlds*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Birtchnell, Thomas, Caletrio (2014). *Elite Mobilities*. Abingdon, New York: Routledge.
- Büscher, Monika, Urry, John, Witchger, Katian (2011). *Mobile Methods*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Čoralić, Lovorka, Katalinić, Vjera, Katušić, Maja (2016). Bubnjari, timpanisti, trubači i pifaristi: Glazbena pratnja u mletačkim prekojadranskim kopnenim postrojbama u 18. stoljeću. *Arti musices* 47/1–2, 27–78.
- Di Federico, Elena, Le Sourd, Marie (2012). *Artists' mobility and visas: A step forward. Final report of On the Move's workshop on artists's mobility and Schengen visas*. On the Move, www.on-the-move.org (25. 2. 2017).
- Dueter, Emma (2013). Artist Mobility and the Baltic Cities: Revealing a Transnational Art World. *Networking Knowledge* 6/4, 107–120.
- ECFIN (2015). *Quarterly Report on the Euro Area*, 14/1, http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/publications/qr_euro_area/2015/qrea1_en.htm (20. 1. 2017).
- Elliot, Anthony, Urry, John (2010). *Mobile Lives*. London, New York: Routledge.
- ERICarts (2008). *Mobility Matters. Programmes and Schemes to Support the Mobility of Artists and Cultural Professionals*. Final Report. Bonn: ERICarts.
- European Commission (2016). *Mobility of Artists and Culture Professionals*, http://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/cultural-creative-industries/mobility_en (1. 2. 2017).
- European Commission (2017). *Back to Schengen*, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-124_en.htm (1. 6. 2017).
- Eur-Lex (2006). *European Year of Workers Mobility 2006*, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/SL/TXT/?uri=URISERV:c11333> (24. 2. 2017).
- EUROFOUND (2014). *Labour Mobility in the EU: Recent Trends and Policies*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
- Goldin, Ian, Camron, Geoffrey, Balarajan, Meera (2011). *Exceptional People: How Migration Shaped our World and will Define our Future*. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Holland, Dawn, Fic, Tatiana, Rincon-Aznar, Ana, Stokes, Lucy, Paluchowski, Pawel (2011). *Labour Mobility within the EU: The Impact of Enlargement and the Functioning of the Transitional Arrangements*. Final Report, http://www.precarious-work.eu/sites/default/files/effat/files/studies/Labour_mobility_report_July_2011_en.pdf (24. 2. 2017).
- IGBK (2010). *Challenges for Mobility: Recommendations from the Visual Arts Sector*. Berlin.
- Jaki, Barbara (2010). Predgovor. *Robbov vodnjak: Zgodba mestnega simbola* (ed. Matej Klemenčič). Ljubljana: Narodna galerija.

- Kalčić, Špela, Juntunen, Marko, Rogelja, Nataša (2013). Marginal Mobility: A Heuristic Tool for Comparative Study of Contemporary Mobilities. *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* 38, 7–20.
- Kim, David Young (2014). *The Traveling Artist in the Italian Renaissance: Geography, Mobility and Style*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Kiwan, Nadia, Meinhof, Ulrike Hanna (2011). Music and Migration: A Transnational Approach. *Music and Arts in Action* 3/3, 3–20.
- Klemenčič, Matej (2010). *Robbov vodnjak: Zgodba mestnega simbola*. Ljubljana: Narodna Galerija.
- Kobolt, Katja (2008). Art and Migration – the Troubled Relations between the Centre and the Periphery. *Living on a Border*, KITCH, www.kitch.si/livingonaborder.net/node/41 (11. 1. 2017).
- Konjikušić, Davor (2016). Tanja Ostojic: Ne pristajem na cenzuro, *Novosti*, 24. 8., <http://www.portalnovosti.com/tanja-ostojic-ne-pristajem-na-cenzuro> (29. 8. 2016).
- Mendolicchio, Bashiron Herman (2013). Art and Mobility. An Introduction. *Art + mobility*, <http://artmobility.interartive.org/art-and-mobility-editorial/> (22. 3. 2017).
- OMC (2012). *Report on Building a Strong Framework for Artists' Mobility: Five Key Principles*, Open Method of Coordination, Working Group of EU Member States' Experts on Mobility Support Programmes, http://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/culture/library/reports/artist-mobility-report_en.pdf (22. 4. 2017).
- Poláček, Richard (2007). *Study on Impediments to Mobility in the EU Live Performance Sector*. MOBILE.HOME.
- Praznik, Katja (2016). *Paradoks neplačanega umetniškega dela: Avtonomija umetnosti, avantgarda in kulturna politika na prehodu v postsocializem*. Ljubljana: Sophia.
- Pušnik, Tomaž (2014). *Mobilna Evropska unija – vzpostavljane in delovanje oblasti prek mobilnosti*. Magistrsko delo. Ljubljana: Univerza v Ljubljani, Fakulteta za družbene vede.
- Recommendations on Culture Mobility (2010). From the 4 Arts Mobility Pilot Projects, http://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/culture/policy/cultural-creative-industries/documents/cultural-mobility_en.pdf (5. 6. 2017).
- Salazar, Noel B. (2017). Key Figures of Mobility: An Introduction. *Social Anthropology* 25/1, 5–12.
- Sheller, Mimi (2013). Sociology after the Mobilites Turn. *The Routledge Book of Mobilities* (eds. Peter Adey, David Bissell, Kevin Hannam, Peter Merriman, Mimi Sheller). London: Routledge, https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315857572.ch3#ref4_6.
- Sheller, Mimi, Urry, John (2016). Mobilizing the new Mobilities Paradigm. *Applied Mobilities* 1/1, 10–25.
- Thyssen, Marianne (2015). *Speech by Commissioner Marianne Thyssen on Europe's vision for fair labour mobility*, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-15-6074_en.htm (11. 1. 2017).
- Urry, John (2000). *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-first Century*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Urry, John (2007). *Mobilities*. Cambridge, Malden: Polity.
- Vandenbrande, Tom, Coppin, Laura, van der Hallen, Peter (2006). *Mobility in Europe. Analysis of the 2005 Eurobarometer Survey on Geographical and Labour Market Mobility*. Dublin: EUROFOUND.

Vishmidt, Marina (2011). Working Artists in the Greater Economy. *Motley Crew* 1, Autumn, 15–21.

Vujadinovic, Dimitrije (2008). *Mobility of Artists and Cultural Professionals in South Eastern Europe*. Trans Europe Halles, <http://teh.net/resource/cultural-mobility-studies/> (22. 2. 2017).

POVZETEK

MOBILNOST UMETNIKOV V EU: MED PRILOŽNOSTMI IN OVIRAMI

Kristina TOPLAK

Avtorica se v članku loteva različnih vidikov posebne oblike mobilnosti, to je mobilnosti umetnikov. Z namenom orisati ključne značilnosti habitusa mobilnosti umetnikov, o njej razpravlja v kontekstu evropskih politik mobilnosti in znanstvenih pogledov na mobilnost na eni in kritičnega vrednotenja mobilnosti umetnikov na drugi strani. Pri tem razmislek o mobilnosti umetnikov postavlja v presek med priložnostmi za mobilnost in ovirami zanjo. Mobilnost umetnikov v članku utemeljuje s pomočjo treh vidikov: 1) z vidika motivov za mobilnost: mobilni umetniki in ustvarjalci v kulturi navajajo poleg specifično ekonomskih motivov za mobilnost številne specifične motive, ki definirajo njihovo mobilnost (razstavljajo lahko v svetovnih umetniških prestolnicah, postanejo mednarodno umetniško prepozna(v)ni, mobilnost spodbuja ustvarjalnost, ustvarjanje novih stikov, pridobivanje navdiha za umetniška dela ipd.); 2) z vidika raziskovalnega pokritja tega področja: vse večje zanimanje za mobilnost umetnikov vlada tudi med raziskovalci, kar narekuje pojav novega interdisciplinarnega raziskovalnega polja – kulturne in umetniške mobilnosti (pri čemer so zajeti tudi mobilnost artefaktov, kulturnih vzorcev in podobno); in 3) s stališča tvorcev politike mobilnosti oziroma ekonomije kulture: prepoznavnost mobilnosti umetnikov kot posebne veje v okviru kulturne in kreativne industrije, kot jo definira Evropska komisija.

Avtorica prav tako ugotavlja, da je mobilnost, zlasti delovna, promovirana in ovrednotena kot ekonomski in politični temeljni kamen Evropske unije. Hkrati je tudi dojeta kot ključna za njuna prihodnja razvoj in rast. Ob konceptu mobilnosti se je oblikoval specifični politični, akademski in javni diskurz, ki odlikava največkrat enoplastno, velikokrat le pozitivno podobo mobilnosti. Mobilni posamezniki pa se na drugi strani soočajo z veliko ovirami, ki jim preprečujejo mobilnost, pri čemer so v transnacionalnih umetnostnih svetovih aktivni umetniki še zlasti ranljivi. Članek tako osvetljuje razkorak, ki nastaja med dojemanjem mobilnosti, kot jo oblikujejo politični in javni diskurz ter akademski pristopi k njenemu preučevanju in kot jo definirajo ter problematizirajo umetniki in strokovni delavci v analizah stanja na področju mobilnosti umetnikov. Diskusija v članku temelji na številnih in raznolikih pisnih virih (akademski članki, EU poročila, pravni dokumenti in direktive EU, poročila in priporočila strokovnih skupin, ki delujejo na področju mobilnosti umetnikov, tudi številni spletni viri).

R A Z P R A V E I N Ā L A N K I

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

ETHNOGRAPHIC REFLECTIONS OF RETURN MIGRATION IN A ROMANIAN RURAL COMMUNITY

Florentina SCĂRNECI DOMNIȘORU^I, Codrina CSESZNEK^{II}

COBISS 1.01

ABSTRACT

Ethnographic Reflections of Return Migration in a Romanian Rural Community

The objective of the research is to describe the return migration process in a Romanian rural community; we will focus here on the identity changes experienced by community members who recently returned from Italy. We conducted this instrumental case study in Drăguș, Brasov County, where we performed extensive observations. We identified all the persons who have permanently returned from Italy and studied the perceived identity effects of their migration experience. We also collected data through narrative interviews; the data was analyzed by means of coding techniques, and the results are ethnographic reflections of return migration focusing mostly on the way the identity of our participants was shaped by the experience of migration and returning to the original community.

KEY WORDS: return migration, identity crisis, identity conversions, ethnography, qualitative data

IZVLEČEK

Etnografski odsevi povratne migracije v ruralni romunski skupnosti

V članku avtorici opisujeta proces povratne migracije v romunski ruralni skupnosti Drăguș. Posvečata se predvsem identitetnim spremembam tistih članov skupnosti, ki so se za stalno vrnili iz Italije in so posledica migracijske izkušnje. S člankom sta želeli poudariti, da so povratne migracije kljub ekonomskim, socialnim in kulturnim učinkom za skupnost v strokovni literaturi najbolj zanemaren del migracijskega procesa, dokazati vrednost in pomen kvalitativnih podatkov in poudariti pomen ukvarjanja tako z individualnimi kot s skupinskimi spremembami identitet.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: povratna migracija, kriza identitete, etnografija, kvalitativni podatki

^I PhD, Associate Professor; Faculty of Sociology and Communication, Transilvania University of Brasov, Romania, B-dul Eroilor, no. 25, fl. II, hall TII9; fscarneck@unitbv.ro

^{II} PhD, Associate Professor; Faculty of Sociology and Communication, Transilvania University of Brasov, Romania, B-dul Eroilor, no. 25, fl. II, hall TII9; csandru@unitbv.ro

INTRODUCTION

We have chosen to study migration because, as Benmayor and Skotnes (2005: 4) said, “It is a basic feature of social life throughout the world today”. Many migration studies have been conducted with Europeans as the subjects, i.e. Italians, Irish, Poles, Turks, etc. However, the Romanian migration specific to the post-communist era is a complex phenomenon (Sandu 2010) and it needs further exploration. In just two decades, Romania turned itself from a closed-border country into a great “exporter” on the European labor markets, particularly Italy and Spain (and more recently, France, Germany and the United Kingdom). It is estimated that in the last two decades, 2.5 million Romanians have left their country to find work abroad, thus entering the category of *economic migrants* – people who temporarily leave their country hoping to raise financial capital (Toanchină 2006; Sandu 2006 in Horvath 2009).

The complexity of the Romanian migration phenomenon is demonstrated by its multiple social dimensions that have been analyzed in recent studies: circular migration as a life strategy (Sandu 2010), the role of remittances sent by the Romanian emigrants in the reduction of the country’s payment balance (Dăianu et al. 2001), the social protection of migrants (Toanchină 2006), migrants’ quality of life (Bălțătescu 2007), ethnic migration from Romania (Michalon 2009; Brubaker 2009), migration as a cultural pattern with a focus on the change of the cultural values and perceptions as determined by previous migration experiences in communities with a long migration history (Horvath 2009), the effects of migration on the development of original communities (Anghel 2009), the description of the “social worlds” of the Romanian diaspora abroad (Sandu 2010), gender differences in return migration (Vlase 2011) and so on. Nevertheless, none of these studies focused on the identity changes experienced by the emigrants, even though in our opinion these changes are generators of economic, social and cultural problems.

The migration experience correlates with identity because “migration is a life-long process of negotiating identity, difference, and the right to fully exist and flourish in the new context” (Benmayor, Skotnes 2005: 8). This is why we believe that Romanian studies on migration must focus on identity issues as well. Migration and identity-related studies can be found in the Far East, such as in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Indonesia etc. However, recently, in European migration-active societies like Italy, Spain or France (as host countries) and Eastern European countries (as departure zones), both of the related phenomena have been studied more frequently. Sandu (2010) examines the sense of identity of Romanians who work in Spain and shows that those who want to return home have a strong attachment to their local community. Cingolani (2010) analyzed how family and church are involved in the promotion and reproduction of national identity in the case of Romanians living in Italy. Kunuroglu et al. (2015) studied the consequences of Turkish return migration from Germany and emphasized the process of the reconstruction of the “migrant” identity into a “German-like” one. The intercultural experiences in the migration processes are discussed in several studies with reference to Sussman’s cultural identity model, in order to discuss possible adaptation strategies and various identity shifts (Sussman 2010; Chaban et al. 2011; Kunuroglu et al. 2015).

A new trend has been taking shape in Romania in recent years: some of the migrants have been returning home with the intention to stay. This phenomenon is called “return migration” or “remigration”, and was first studied as a life project. Sandu (2010) showed

that in 2008, nearly half of the Romanian migrants in the Madrid area of Spain claimed to have plans of returning to their country in the next five years. And though there are no studies to measure the amplitude of such a phenomenon at the national level, in some Romanian communities there is enough empirical proof to support the existence of this new emigrational dimension (Vlase 2011).

Globally, return migration is a well-known phenomenon, and its dimensions and effects are the subject of concern for many specialists.

The United Nations has estimated that annually as many as 100 million people return to their homelands. [...] Seasonal workers, temporary emigrants, sojourner repatriates, and return migrants are all part of a diverse but growing global phenomenon in which individuals returning to their families, workplaces and home societies must make psychological and social adjustments. (Sussman 2010: 6)

Jones (2011) claims that return migration is one of the most overlooked aspects of international migration in the specialty literature, and that in a traditional fashion it has been the object of various quantitative economic and demographic studies. Return migration is defined as the process of people returning to their country of origin after spending a significant amount of time in another country or region (King in Thieme 2012). An emigrant's return home may seem a rather simple process given their familiarity with the cultural patterns. But recent studies show that the reintegration process in one's original country has its own difficulties (Vlase 2011). An emigrant that returns after ten or twenty years of living abroad is not the same person that left (Vlase 2011). Therefore, they experience numerous and complicated re-adaptation problems. Sociologists all over the world study migration and/or remigration processes, and we believe that one of the most important subjects of study generated by those processes is linked to identity: "The experience and effects of migration are long-term and critical in shaping and reshaping both collective and individual identities" (Benmayor, Skotnes 2005: 8).

In a study regarding the transnational experience of young Taiwanese return migrants from Australia, the authors concluded that "[t]he factors affecting the self-identity of return migrants are: age of migration, family values, peer group identity, early experience of discrimination in Australia, and intensity of relations with Taiwan" (Chiang, Liao 2008: 126–127). After studying return migration in Hong Kong, Sussman (2010) notes that "[f]requently emigrants returned home wealthier than they left, which allowed them to build bigger houses, acquire land, and create new businesses offering new products and services" (p 60). In a study regarding the status of migrants in Italy, an Italian author points out that "[i]n their new country, migrants represent the workforce necessary to guarantee and validate a comfortable life-style for a majority. In exchange, they are 'tolerated' as long as the migrants' problems remain marginal and can be publicly ignored. In the country left behind, migrants represent an economic resource on which the survival of the family is often based" (Parati 2005: 41).

The work of Adelmalek Sayad (2004) on emigration-immigration processes between Algeria and France represents a great contribution to understanding contemporary migration issues, taking into account "the suffering of the immigrants" and proposing the concept of "double absence". The "double absence" of emigrants/immigrants refers to: 1) their absence in the country of origin, which itself creates a negative image of its citizens abroad,

treating them as simply absent or even traitors and 2) their symbolic absence in the host country, where they quickly become victims of social exclusion. Double absence represents a serious identity problem and often gives rise to mental health problems (Adamson 2007), especially for the children of immigrants who feel divided between their country of origin and their host country (Noiriel 2006). Methodologically, using semi-structured interviews, Sayad tried to understand the world of emigrants/immigrants and restored the complexity of their discourse, connecting “the two ends of the experience: the point of departure and the destination” (Noiriel 2006: 107). We have chosen to make a qualitative study of a Romanian rural community with an extensive history of emigration. It is an ethnographic study which focuses particularly on the process of identity transformation that we discovered; we have tried to flesh out the existing demographic and quantitative dimensions of the emigration phenomenon with testimonials and life aspects of people’s experiences.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

We chose the Commune of Drăguș in Brașov County for this study for two reasons. Firstly, it is a community with an extensive migration history. During the time period from 1901–1929, almost one fifth of the village population (218 men and 52 women) emigrated to North America. During the years of the socialist regime, emigration decreased considerably due to political constraints. After 1989, there was a significant increase in migration among the people of Drăguș. Due to extremely high unemployment, the youth of Drăguș started leaving for work in the countries of Western Europe (mainly in Italy and Spain). According to statistical data available at Drăguș City Hall, in 2010 the commune’s population was 1,260, of whom 167 were working abroad. In 2011, five families returned from Italy and three from Spain.

We selected the five families that returned home from Italy as participants in our research. With regard to emigrational aspects, this community is very much like other communities in Romania. This is why understanding return migration and its effects on identity matters is relevant for understanding the phenomenon in other similar communities in Romania and in other Eastern European countries. If one considers Anna’s migration experience from Hong Kong to Australia and back again (see Sussman 2010) and compares this with our subjects’ return migration experiences, the deep similarities are astounding. Thus, we believe that our case study could be used as means for understanding remigration identity dynamics in general (see the “instrumental case study” in Stake 1998). Of course we also have to consider the differences between cases, and this is why we think of our findings as reflections on return migration and treat some of the conclusions as hypotheses to be tested in representative studies.

A second reason for choosing this community was that the commune is familiar; it is one of the authors’ main research sites for many of her recent sociological studies regarding social changes in the post-communist era (Șandru 2005, 2009). We used an ethnographic approach. We chose ethnography because ethnographic research represents a “firsthand study of society and culture in action” and ethnographers “now have to think about how to recognize and analyze change” (Murchison 2010). Ethnography provides a valid way to find out what is happening in a community or other social setting when the

research problem has not yet been clearly identified or no data are available to understand a new social phenomenon (Silverman 2004; LeCompte, Schensul 2010).

In December 2011, three individual interviews (I1, I2, I3) and two family interviews (F1, F2), with both spouses, were conducted in Drăguș. We conducted family interviews in the cases where the whole family migrated. The participants in the research were three females and five males, aged between 27 and 45, with mid-level (secondary school or vocational school) education, who had graduated in Romania before leaving for Italy. Each of them spent between four and fifteen years in Italy. The data gathered included observations of the houses (interior and exterior), the gardens, the participants' clothing, speech, etc. We used the narrative technique for the interviews as it is generally used in biographic and narrative research (when subjects are asked to narrate a part of their life, their entire life or a historical episode that they have witnessed and so on). The conducting of the narrative interviews implies – before going out in the field – the preparation of a single question. This is called by some authors “generative” or “narrative” and has to somehow “generate” a story, to stimulate the participants to talk (see Flick 1998 or Boyatzis 1998). The narrative question that we asked was the following:

I'm very interested in the people in this village who lived abroad for a period of time and then returned. I would like you to tell me as much as you can about this experience. There are a lot of people that did not consider leaving the country or were unable to and that did not live far from their home. I would like you to explain to us how you coped with everything – emotions, feelings, experiences – good and bad. Please tell me in detail about your leaving, about the time spent away from your home and about the return home – about yourself in each of these life episodes. We are not in a hurry. I am interested in what was important to you, even though these things may seem small or insignificant.

The data were analyzed using coding procedures (see Strauss, Corbin 1990; Flick 1998) and NVivo software. Most of the resulting ethnographic reflections focus on the identity of our subjects. The results mostly describe the way the identity of our participants was shaped by the experience of migration and returning to the original community. We have tried to frame the results using different concepts and theories from identity literature, even if the theoretical approaches we refer to are different in scope, focus or historical times. It is an interpretation exercise aiming to underline the multitude and the diversity of identity processes that are associated with the migration experience. Thus an instrumental case study was conducted on the community of returned emigrants from Italy in Drăguș. The community itself is not a special case, but it is interesting in its resemblance to other cases (communities) in Romania. The case can be used as an instrument in understanding others that present similar migration traits.

DATA INTERPRETATION

The life of our subjects can be described as an experience of multiple identity conversions, as we will show below.

Being away from home

How do they think they were perceived by Italians?

The participants believed they had not caused any problems in the country they lived in and even though they were praised by the natives there, they often felt that they were treated as unwanted intruders. Many of the respondents recount experiences with discrimination. Some of the participants were praised in the workplace: “you Romanian guys, I see you are hard-working and responsible” (I1). They were praised in school: “the teachers said: look, even though he is Romanian and not Italian, he learned the language and the lesson” (I2). They were able to integrate themselves with the locals by getting to know them, speaking with them and sometimes even visiting them in their homes. However, when a Romanian immigrant was accused of having committed a crime, they were treated quite differently: “they start quickly suspecting you of this and that just because you are Romanian; these things are not ok” (I1). Dubar (2003) claims that there are two ways to identify oneself: identifications attributed by others and identifications claimed by oneself. Identifications attributed by others are objective identities, such as assigning labels and statuses. (They can also be realistic or unrealistic.) It is easily noticeable in interviews how emigrants felt they were wrongly labeled, characterized or attributed with unwanted behaviors (based only on nationality or emigrant status – “being a ‘migrant’ is often a negative identity imposed by the dominant culture” (Benmayor, Skotnes 2005: 8).

The interviewees were embarrassed that the identifications claimed by themselves did not coincide with the identifications attributed by others during their stay abroad. It is possible that they could not change this discrepancy due to one major obstacle: their means of constructing and expressing their identity was restricted (the language is hard to master and poses a serious handicap; available jobs block their hierarchical advancement and they have no means of proving their competences). Peer identification is achieved by means of labeling. The Italians compared the interviewees with other Romanians rather than trying to distinguish them as individuals. They sort them into official groups, i.e. illegal immigrants, Romanians, unqualified workers, etc. instead of putting them into specific biographic trajectories (they did not seem interested in the Romanians’ family members who were left in Romania, they did not seem to consider what could have forced our participants to decide to emigrate in the first place and also did not seem to take into account the fact that the interviewees would like to return home for the holidays to spend time with their loved ones). We believe that sometimes participants felt stigmatized due to the labeling they were subjected to.

The collective identity of Romanian emigrants in Italy seems to be generated by their social labeling (external collective definition) rather than by group identification (internal collective definition). In other words, Romanian emigrants’ collective identity seems to be built (as the interviewees declared) less through Romanians’ self-identifications and more through their external identifications that come from Italians. Romanians seem to resent this and try to avoid admitting their origins, as advertising their nationality only brings disadvantages. However, collective identification (by external assignment of common characteristics to a category of individuals – for example “Romanians are crooks”) contributes to the shaping of individual identity. Romanians in Italy became “criminals” by associating this label with nationality, and some Italians’ relations with Romanians are consistent with this label. By internalizing it, group categorization may become group identification, or as

Jenkins (1996: 88) claims, “Groups come to identify as such due to initial categorization by others”. This latter process does not seem to have happened, but the possibility is worth mentioning. Group identification always involves social categorization; conversely, social categorizations do not always involve group identification, they only create the possibility to become group identification. In Italy respondents do not identify with Romanians – in the generic pejorative label – but are often the subjects of this categorization.

Collective identity is “the ability of a community to recognize itself as a group” (Segrestin 1996: 127), and the main indicators of collective identity are living in a given territory, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, history and lifestyle (Kantner 2006). Although it would meet all the conditions to be recognized as a group, even though there are many Romanians in Italy and although such recognition would bring only benefits, a collective identity (in the sense of belonging) among those left does not form, and we claim that one reason is this categorization by generalizing negative attributes. Returning to our participants’ narratives, employers trust them and they are given high-responsibility jobs: “they trusted him a lot, he was the boss in that yard: he locked it and he unlocked it ... he knew everything ...” (I2); “I think that if the boss trusts you it’s only normal that he won’t let you leave” (F2). Problems arise when Romanians ask for a Christmas vacation or when they ask for a late payment: “we understood that there was much work during that time, but Ionel kept saying that they have to understand us as well” (F2). Sometimes they feel like second-class people not because of the work they do, but because of the attitude of those they interact with: “as long as you work, you are praised, but if you have something to ask or say, things change” (I2).

Cooley’s (cited in Chelcea 2006) theory claims that we are what we believe we are in the eyes of others, i.e. that the self is mirrored in others. We are reflected in others as in a mirror. It is likely that “mirrors” from abroad have reflected images in which Romanian emigrants do not recognize themselves. It is also possible that because of this, many felt estranged or different and unfitting. The aforementioned theory claims that when interacting with others, individuals interpret their gestures and create an image of themselves from the others’ point of view. Thus, the sense of self and self-representation is the product of what others think about them and of what they think others think about them (about who and what they are). Or these participants’ self-representation abroad was not one that would make Romanians proud of themselves (especially because most of the times the Italians’ image of them was created based on preconceived ideas). The three components of the process of creating a looking-glass self-identity are the following (after Cooley, cited in Ritzer 1996): 1. we imagine how we appear to others; 2. we imagine what their judgment of this issue is; 3. we develop feelings such as pride or shame as a result of imagining others’ judgments. Even though it is not true, the majority of the interviewees imagined that Italians considered them second-class citizens, and consequently it is highly probable that many of them developed feelings of shame during their stay in Italy.

It is possible that self-esteem, with its component of social self-esteem (see Heatherton, Vohs 2000) is the most affected characteristic among Romanian emigrants. Social self-esteem refers to the way in which people think they are perceived by others. It is possible that living abroad caused discrepancies between self-conception (what someone thinks is true about them – Italians seem to have shattered these “truths” about themselves) and their ideal selves (desired or hoped). The bigger these discrepancies are, the lower the self-esteem (see Crocker, Bylsma 1996). According to the *Gale Encyclopedia of Psychology* (Strickland

2001) there are three categories of the self: the *personal* (someone's facts or opinions about her or himself), the *social* (someone's perceptions of how she or he is seen by others) and the *ideal* (what or how one would like to be). The discrepancies between these categories present in our interviewees create identity imbalances.

How do they perceive Italians?

Our participants believe that Italians need Romanians' help. There are jobs that they will not do and for which they would pay too much by hiring locals; thus they resort to Romanians: "this family really needed a house-keeper" (I2). The majority of those people the interviewees interact with are people that help them in return: "they were really attached" (F1); "she became friends with her neighbor [...] she was a retired granny who had nobody, so they visited each other" (I1). But there are also locals that disappoint them greatly. Our participants consider many of them as being opportunistic, well-intended and understanding until the point where they need you, but clear-cut and malevolent when they do not need you: "we took our flowers with their pots, the flowers we grew; we put them in the car – and the granny said that she will call the police, the 'carabinieri', that we stole the flowers and so on; this is how they were ... everything is good when they need you" (I1).

There are a few identity concepts that can be found in our interviews: for example, peer identification (Iluț 2001), with their variants of how they think Italians identify them and how they identify Italians. Generally, these two identifications are not flattering and even though there is not enough information to support this, it appears quite clear that there are essential discrepancies between how participants think they are identified by Italians and how they perceive themselves and between how they identify Italians and how Italians perceive themselves. The two processes of identification are hetero-identification (how they are identified from the outside) and self-identification (what individuals think about them, with whom and with what they identify) (see Iluț 2001). Quite often we can notice significant differences between the categories one identifies with and those with which others identify the same person. Iluț claims that individuals dislike noticing this difference and, through multiple and varied feedback there are continuous adjustments between the two. Nevertheless, given the (qualitatively) quite limited contact between Romanians and Italians, these adjustments are also limited.

Being at home again¹

Identity problems do not end with the decision to return to Romania. Our respondents often talked about the frustrations they have when re-adapting to life in their country of origin. They thought that returning home would be a relief, but this stage is also difficult. Our findings are consistent with others: "the returnees are alienated from their compatriots and no longer feel at home in their home countries" (Sussman 2010: 7), and with the concept of "double absence" (Sayad 2004), meaning that emigrants/immigrants are considered, to a certain degree, foreigners in their country of origin, as well as in the country of emigration, where they did "not really have a place" (Noiriel 2007).

1 Some of the findings in this subsection are also listed in Șandru, Scârneci 2014: 64–75.

How do they think emigration changed them?

There are obvious things when looking at our participants that remind one of the fact that they emigrated (for example, house designs, clothing or foreign accents when speaking): all of the participants have a slight Italian accent in pronunciation, in the way they pronounce and extend certain vowels. One of our participants even uses Italian words in sentences: *bollette* ('invoices'), *spesa* ('shopping') etc. Some of these changes are conscious: one of the participants declared that on his return he avoided speaking with an Italian accent so that people did not consider him posh. The conscious changes also include elements of gastronomy, interior design and one's own upbringing:

Do you eat Italian now? Do you cook? Pasta, I ask her quite often to cook pasta. And if we go out, as we do sometimes, I prefer pasta. [...] Of course, you realize that by living there you probably copied their clothes or clothing style, or the food and we borrowed many things, at least the pasta ... (I1)

Even though they live in rural areas, their houses' interior designs are modern and urban: since returning home, one participant has invested in building a bath and installing wooden floors in all the three rooms (plus the kitchen). Another participant's house is modernized, with modern designs and furniture, with modern decorative elements (for example curtains). One female interviewee's house stands out through its conspicuously western design. Instead of a traditional wooden gate, there is an Italian-style wrought-iron gate through which one can see the inside yard, which is beautifully designed with round flower beds, traditional wooden decorative elements, a terrace and paths. She says that many of the villagers consider the gate a curiosity and often ask if they are not annoyed by "people looking inside the yard". The house's interior is quite modern: sandstone floors – typically Italian – in the living room and the kitchen, a guest room and the family's upstairs bedrooms. Their parents' house is in the same yard, but separate, and our respondent states that this is where her mother cooks for everybody and where they all eat, because her kitchen with all the modern appliances is "only a coffee place". The house is painted in bright colors, with recessed lights in the ceiling, and there are two LED TVs (one in the kitchen and one in the living room).

It is possible that those who saved up money abroad are proud of their success and might show off the influence of another culture. We can see that this influence is not noticeable among those who claimed to have had a rough time abroad and did not save very much. Clothing is an example: the "richer" are the most modern and opulent in their clothing: he – designer clothes, a big gold chain around his neck and designer shoes; she – modern clothes: black jeans and a red cardigan. Others wear sports attire; one of them wore a traditional woolen Romanian sweater and seemingly cheap boots. Food is another element: some cook pasta very often, while others that worked in Italy as pizza cooks for example say they have never cooked Italian since their return, because they are "sick" of it. Some of the most important changes brought by working abroad were the improvement of their material status and learning new job skills: "I can say that Italy changed us from this and only this point of view, that we made money; it helped us financially so we could build this house and so on" (I2); "I learned a new trade, which is good; this is my greatest achievement ..." (I3); "It was my biggest achievement, because one cannot starve with such a trade ..." (I3).

What do those at home say about emigrants?

Those who managed to improve their way of life after their return are both admired and envied by others. And those who returned also consider themselves unjustly envied, claiming that they have made great sacrifices for the money they earned. Self-discrepancies (after Chelcea 2006) are mismatches between the different states of the self: between the actual self – self-representation, ideal self – what the person him or herself desires, and the desired self as expected by significant others. It is possible that there are discrepancies between these states of the self among Romanians who emigrated and returned home. The sometimes humiliating experiences they experienced abroad create discrepancies between what they think of themselves (in those circumstances) and what they want for themselves (and think they are entitled to). When they return home, they try to make up the realities of their life abroad so that they meet the expectations of their friends and relatives. What Romanian emigrants experience can be categorized as what Goffman (1961) called “biographical ruptures” which activate and reactivate the inconsistencies between the “real social identity” (own characteristics) and the “virtual social identity” (as they appear to others in interaction). Inconsistencies are developed within interactions with others, both Italians during their time in Italy and Romanians upon their return.

What do the subjects say about other Romanian emigrants?

The interviewees talk about success stories and failures related to leaving for work abroad. There are Romanians who, according to them, worked abroad and did not save any money, and there are Romanians who saved a lot. Some confess that there is a certain competition between emigrants. They watch each other and observe the way in which they succeeded: “There were some who worked in Italy and came back with nothing. Now, I cannot say otherwise about us, or what we did ... because there are others who came back with even more than us ...” (I2); “There was a competition ... one earns more, one earns less, one wants a car, another wants two ...” (F1).

Entering such a contest, some emigrants spent their money on status symbols, while others took advantage of the relationships they built with other Romanians abroad and on their return home they started various businesses together: “We’ll get more work, let’s cooperate! [...] For example, we worked in Poiana Brașov, at Copos at his hotel and we had to merge four companies ... that is, four men who had companies ... and we had all worked abroad” (F2). Vlase (2011) shows that those who return from Italy contribute to the construction of a local imaginary by detailing their experiences and displaying various brands of this society (clothes, cars and other products brought from Italy). In our opinion these visible elements contributed greatly to the establishment of the motivation to go work in Italy, especially in the 1990s. They are status markers which cause their owners to be considered successful, and Italy a country where financial success come fast in just a few years of work.

CONCLUSION

We want through this article to draw attention to return migration, the most neglected migration process in the specialty literature. It does exist and it produces economic, social and cultural effects at the level of the communities of origin. Secondly, we wanted to prove

the richness and the immense suggestive power of qualitative data in regard to the experience of migration. The statistic and demographic data cannot describe the phenomenon in the complexity of its characteristic transformations. And thirdly, we wanted to underline the importance of focusing on the individual and collective identity phenomena that accompany migration.

The experience of migration that has been described here illustrates the post-modern view of identity. It considers that the individual has no permanent or fixed identity, but assumes different identities in different moments. This characteristic raises many identity issues: identity disruptions and fragmentations, identity crises, decentering (the existence of more identities, some of them being contradictory), with serious personal and social effects. The literature mentions identity dysfunctions. Dubar (2003) calls identity crises the disruptions which appear in self-identification and other identification. One of the main factors which generate such identity crises is sudden significant life changes, for example divorce, retirement etc. – “they disrupt the image and self-respect, the very definition one gives to oneself” (p. 159). Migration is undoubtedly such a factor, as it implies the change of bearings, models, beliefs, values and even the change of the individual itself.

One of the solutions to overcoming an identity crisis, claims the above mentioned author, is identity conversion. This necessitates the shift from one identity to another: we become someone else, we change our culture, religion etc.; it implies abandoning the old identity (protective, resulting from the original social life) and the construction of a new identity (developed from secondary social experiences). Participants' identity crises and conversions appear both upon leaving the country and upon their return. Migration generates more or less permanent identity maladjustments: in Italy they were never fully adapted (neither when they had legal papers, nor when they had learned the language or when they became indispensable to Italians): they were not Italian, but not fully Romanian either; in Romania they are not and they will never be again what they once were (they have changed and they are perceived as being different).

Even though the discourse of our interviewees is not gloomy, in general the interviews leave the impression of a quite harsh migration experience. The hardships are pretty severe, diverse and always present during this experience, and there are aspects specific to migration that have caused important problems in their identity equilibrium. In this context, the words of one interviewee would be justified: “If I had to leave, or if I had to choose, I would not leave again” (I1). Even if some of the participants were very proud of their achievements abroad and at home after their return, we can conclude that none of them would repeat the migration experience. Therefore, the experience of migration sets one back at an identity level. Our participants (and most of the times their relatives at home) experienced significant changes in identity. Some have improved their material status, others assured their future, others grew up, others sealed their family relationships, others showed Italians what Romanians are like, and others brought a bit of style to the community of Drăguș, etc. But all of them acquired experiences that made them different from the rest of Romanians. And given the increasing numbers of those who left and returned, we think that – from a sociological point of view – more attention should be given to this category of Romanians as well as to the transformations of the communities to which they return.

REFERENCES

- Adamson, Kay (2007). Emigration-immigration: Abdelmalek Sayad's Sociology of Migration. *North African Mosaic: A Cultural Reappraisal of Ethnic and Religious Minorities* (eds. Nabil Boudraa, Joseph Krause). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 119–134.
- Anghel, Remus Gabriel (2009). Schimbare socială sau dezvoltare? Studiu de caz într-un oraș din România. *Sociologia migrației. Teorii și studii de caz românești* (coord. Istvan Horvath, Remus Gabriel Anghel). Iași: Polirom, 249–267.
- Bălțătescu, Sergiu (2007). Central and Eastern Europeans Migrants' Subjective Quality of Life: A Comparative Study. *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies* 2, 67–81.
- Benmayor, Rina, Skotnes, Andor (2005). Some Reflections on Migration and Identity. *Migration and Identity* (eds. Rina Benmayor, Andor Skotnes). New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1–18.
- Boyatzis, Richard (1998). *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Brubaker, Rogers (2009). Migrațiile dezeterogenizării etnice în “Noua Europă”. *Sociologia migrației: Teorii și studii de caz românești* (coord. Istvan Horvath, Remus Gabriel Anghel). Iași: Polirom, 65–85.
- Chaban, Natalia, Williams, Allan, Holland, Martin, Boyce, Valerie, Warner, Frendehl (2011). Crossing Cultures: Analysing the Experiences of NZ Returnees from the EU (UK vs. non-UK). *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 35, 776–790.
- Chelcea, Septimiu (coord.) (2006). *Psihosociologie: Teorie și aplicații*. Bucharest: Editura Economică.
- Chiang, Lan-hung Nora, Liao, Pei-Chun Sunny (2008). Back to Taiwan: Adaptation and Self-Identity of Young Taiwanese Return Migrants from Australia. *Journal of Population Studies* 36, 99–135.
- Cingolani, Pietro (2010). Prin forte proprii: Vieti transnationale ale migrantilor romani in Italia. *Sociologia migrației: Teorii și studii de caz românești* (coord. Istvan Horvath, Remus Gabriel Anghel). Iași: Polirom, 176–194.
- Crocker, Jennifer, Bylsma, Wayne (1996). Self-esteem. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Psychology* (eds. Anthony Manstead, Miles Hewstone), http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode?id=g9780631202899_chunk_g978063120289921_ss1-10 (6. 4. 2017).
- Dăianu, Daniel, Voinea, Liviu, Tolic, Mugur (2001). *Balance of Payments Financing in Romania: The Role of Remittances*. Bucharest: Romanian Centre for Economic Policies, http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00002165/_21.2.2012.
- Dubar, Claude (2003). *Criza identităților: Interpretarea unei mutații*. Chișinău: Editura Știința.
- Flick, Uwe (1998). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Goffman, Erving (1961). *Stigma*. EngleWood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Heatherton, Todd, Vohs, Kathleen (2000). Self-Esteem. *Encyclopedia of Sociology* (eds. Edgar Borgatta, Rhonda Montgomery). New York: Macmillan Reference.
- Horvath, Istvan (2009). Aspecte ale culturii migrației în România. *Sociologia migrației. Teorii și studii de caz românești* (coord. Istvan Horvath, Remus Gabriel Anghel). Iași: Polirom, 156–175.
- Iluț, Petru (2001). *Sinele și cunoașterea lui: Teme actuale de psihosociologie*. Iași: Polirom.
- Jenkins, Richard (1996). *Social Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Jones, Richard (2011). The Local Economic Imprint of Return Migrants in Bolivia. *Population, Space and Place* 17, 435–453.

- Kantner, Cathleen (2006). Collective Identity as Shared Ethical Self-Understanding: The Case of the Emerging European Identity. *European Journal of Social Theory* 9/4, 501–523.
- Kunuroglu, Filiz, Yagmur, Kutlay, Van de Vijver, Fons J. R., Kroon, Sjack (2015). Consequences of Turkish migration from Western Europe. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 49, 198–211.
- LeCompte, Margaret D., Schensul, Jean J. (2010). *Designing and Conducting Ethnographic Research: An introduction*. Lanham: Alta Mira Press.
- Michalon, Benedicte (2009). Cât de specifice sunt migrațiile germanilor din România? Etnicitate, rețele și circulație migratorie. *Sociologia migrației: Teorii și studii de caz românești* (coord. Istvan Horvath, Remus Gabriel Anghel). Iași: Polirom, 86–104.
- Murchison, Julian M. (2010). *Ethnography Essentials: Designing, Conducting, and Presenting Your Research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Noiriel, Gérard (2006). Colonialism, Immigration, and Power Relations. *Qualitative Sociology* 29/1, 105–110.
- Parati, Graziella (2005). *Migration Italy: The Art of Talking Back in a Destination Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ritzer, George (1996). *Sociological Theory*. McGraw Hill Inc.
- Sayad, Abdelmalek (2004). *The Suffering of the Immigrant*. Cambridge UK, Malden Mass: Polity Press.
- Sandu, Dumitru (2010). *Lumile sociale ale migrației românești în străinătate*. Iași: Polirom.
- Segrestin, Denis (1996). Identitate colectivă. *Larousse dicționar de sociologie* (coord. Raymond Boudon, Philippe Besnard, Mohamed Cherkaoui, Bernard Pierre Lecuyer). Bucharest: Univers Enciclopedic.
- Silverman, David (2004). *Interpretarea datelor calitative*. Iași: Polirom.
- Stake, Robert (1998). Case Studies. *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry* (eds. Norman Denzin, Yvonna Lincoln). London: Sage Publications.
- Strauss, Anselm, Corbin, Juliet (1990). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. London: Sage Publications.
- Strickland, Bonnie (ed.) (2001). *The Gale Encyclopedia of Psychology*. Michigan: Gale Group.
- Sussman, Nan (2010). *Return Migration and Identity: A Global Phenomenon, a Hong Kong Case*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Șandru, Codrina (2005). Formarea noii elite economice a satului Drăguș în perioada post-comunistă. *Catalyse. Cunoaștere, participare și dezvoltare în spațiu comunitar* (coord. Mihai Pascaru). Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 147–169.
- Șandru, Codrina (2009). *Studii și confesiuni despre Drăgușul contemporan*. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană.
- Șandru, Codrina, Scârnci, Florentina (2014). *Italia-Romania – l'esperienza completa della migrazione*. Calimera, Italy: Kurumuny.
- Thieme, Susan (2012). Coming Home? Patterns and Characteristics of Return Migration in Kyrgyzstan. *International Migration*, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2011.00724.x/abstract> (23. 2. 2012).
- Toanchină, Camelia (2006). *Migrația internațională și politicile sociale*. Iași: Lumen.
- Vlase, Ionela (2011). Migrația de întoarcere a românilor din Italia: Studiu de caz în Vulturii, Vrancea. *Revista Calitatea Vieții* 2, <http://www.revistacalitateavietii.ro/2011/CV-2-2011/03.pdf> (21. 2. 2012).

POVZETEK

ETNOGRAFSKI ODSEVI POVRATNE MIGRACIJE V RURALNI ROMUNSKI SKUPNOSTI

Florentina SCÂRNECI DOMNIȘORU, Codrina CSESZNEK

Avtorici sta v etnografski študiji romunske ruralne skupnosti z dolgo zgodovino emigracij s poudarkom na procesu spreminjanja identitete demografske in kvantitativne podatke dopolnjevali s pričevanji in z izkušnjami ljudi. Raziskovali sta v migrantski skupnosti v Drăgușu, katere člani so se vrnili iz Italije. Skupnost omogoča primerjavo z drugimi (ruralnimi skupnostmi) v Romuniji in razumevanje drugih značilnosti migracij. S pričujočim člankom sta želeli: 1) poudariti, da so povratne migracije v strokovni literaturi najbolj zanemarjen del migracijskega procesa, čeprav imajo v izvornih skupnostih ekonomske, socialne in kulturne učinke; 2) dokazati vrednost in izjemno sugestivno moč kvalitativnih podatkov o migraciji, saj statistični in demografski podatki ne morejo zajeti večplastnost pojava; 3) poudariti pomen ukvarjanja tako z individualnimi kot s skupinskimi spremembami identitet. Migracije ljudem povzročajo identitetne težave: tisti, ki sta jih raziskovali, se v Italiji nikoli niso polno integrirali (niti v primeru urejenih dokumentov, znanja jezika ali nepogrešljivosti za domačine); v Italiji niso bili niti Italijani niti Romuni, v Romuniji pa nikoli več ne bodo, kar so bili pred odhodom (ker so se spremenili, nanje ljudje gledajo drugače): niso niti Italijani niti pravi Romuni. Vsi so se na nek način spremenili: nekateri so izboljšali svoj materialni status in si zagotovili boljšo prihodnost, drugi so odrasli in si uredili družinske razmere, nekateri pa so v Drăguș prinesli italijanska stil in modo. Izkušnja vseh je bila, da so se Italijanom predstavljali kot boljši od drugih Romunov. Glede na število tistih, ki so odšli in se vrnili, sta avtorici prepričani, da je treba – s sociološkega stališča – posvetiti več pozornosti tako tej kategoriji Romunov kot transformaciji skupnosti, v katere so se vrnili.

SLOVENIAN IMMIGRANTS AND THE ETHNIC ECONOMY IN CONTEMPORARY CANADA

Mitja DURNIK¹

COBISS 1.01

ABSTRACT

Slovenian Immigrants and the Ethnic Economy in Contemporary Canada

The Slovenian community in Canada, although a small constitutive element of the current population, has actively contributed to the economic and political development of the second-largest country in the world. Previous studies have only descriptively addressed the role of Slovenian immigrants in the construction of this important economic system. This paper argues that the development within the community has brought about some significant changes in social stratification among its members, specifically with regard to the radical global economic challenges of recent decades. On the other hand, the specific altruistic mission of Slovenian community organisations has remained largely unchanged.

KEY WORDS: migration, Slovenian immigrants, ethnic economy, Canada

IZVLEČEK

Slovenski priseljenci in etnična ekonomija sodobne Kanade

Čeprav je slovenska skupnost v Kanadi le majhen konstitutivni element sodobne države, je aktivno prispevala k ekonomskemu in političnemu razvoju druge največje države na svetu. Dosedanje študije so le deskriptivno raziskovale vlogo slovenskih izseljencev v gradnji tega pomembnega gospodarskega sistema, v pričujočem članku pa avtor analizira razvoj slovenske skupnosti in pomembne spremembe v družbeni stratifikaciji članstva glede na radikalne globalne gospodarske spremembe. V nasprotju s tem pa so organizacije slovenske skupnosti v Kanadi ohranile altruistično poslanstvo, ki je v različnih obdobjih ostalo domala nespremenjeno.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: migracije, slovenski priseljenci, etnična ekonomija, Kanada

¹ PhD in Political Science, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Administration, University of Ljubljana, Gosarjeva ulica 5, SI-1000 Ljubljana; mitja.durnik@fu.uni-lj.si

PROLOGUE

Immigration had a significant impact on Canadian post-war development, especially since it acted as a factor of transformation of the entire society and changed the structure of classes (Stasiulis 1997). The development of the nation-state was intensively planned as a mixture of economic policy and immigration (Simmons 2010). The period after the Second World War was a period of recovery for the Canadian economy, which stimulated a need for new workers, especially in resource-based industries such as mining and farming. During the last three decades or so, modern Slovenian immigrants¹ have come to Canada as a well-educated workforce, and have begun to establish intensive economic ties with their home country.

In Canada, there has been an ongoing debate on whether immigration has had solely positive impacts on economic development. Broadly speaking, numerous authors have pointed out the importance of increased overall GDP as a consequence of immigration. Less attention has been given to the “link between increasing the total size of the economy and individual well-being” (Riddell, Worswick, Green 2016). One of the mainstream theses in this sense is that to a very limited extent it influences employment levels and wage rates (*ibid.*). On the other hand, following the Liberals’ agenda, increasing immigration into the country is one of the major political goals of Trudeau’s government in the coming years (A New Plan 2016). Of course, there are different opinions about the possible impacts on the national economy. Gignac (2013), for example, showed that immigrant workers are largely well-integrated into the workforce and quickly adopt the needed skills. Dungan, Fang and Gunderson (2012) additionally note the welcome impacts on real GDP and GDP per capita, aggregate demand, investment, productivity, government expenditures, taxes etc.

The Slovenian community in Canada has contributed only a small amount to the overall national economy. Despite its smallness, we are aware how the structural dynamics of the Slovenian ethnic economy have changed throughout Canada’s history of economic development. We can conclude that some important social institutions have remained mostly intact due to their supporting role within the system of the ethnic economy – banks, associations, clubs etc. To date, small (ethnic) economies have followed the rule of sustainability and economic balance much more closely than dominant capitalist production. With regard to the contemporary economic development of the Slovenian diaspora in Canada, there are two crucial aspects. Firstly, what is the impact of the latest immigration wave of Slovenians after the global economic crisis on the development of the Slovenian community in Canada? Secondly, what is the relevancy of the ethnic community in mediating trade relations between Slovenia and Canada? As we will show below, these two parameters are undoubtedly interlinked. Newcomers to Canada bring contemporary knowledge about Slovenian society and the Slovenian economy, and about what is needed to improve their prosperity. On the other hand, pure entrepreneurial interest is often mixed with strong nostalgia, particularly among the older generations in Canada.

1 The term “immigrants” is used from the Canadian perspective to denote Slovenians who migrated to Canada.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

From a theoretical point of view, in the present study we have used the rich tradition of Canadian political and economic thought, which set immigration, ethnicity and race as one of its focal points of investigation. Additionally, the ideas of some prominent international thinkers in the field of ethnic economy and migration studies support the specific Canadian approach to the historical economic development of immigrants. A virtual presentation (Durnik 2012) made by the author, which was part of an exhibition called Images of Canadian Slovenians (Strle 2012), and which also served as the basis for the present paper, included a historical overview of Slovenian immigration. This was the first exhibition about Slovenians in Canada to use theoretical approaches and data from Canadian economic history combined with a historical approach based on immigrants' life stories and experiences (the Slovenian perspective).

With regard to economic development in the last decade or so, the database of the Canadian Slovenian Chamber of Commerce (hereinafter CanSlo) has been an excellent resource for determining the structural underpinnings of the ethnic economy in the modern era. Currently, there is no other relevant source of information concerning contemporary Slovenian entrepreneurship in Canada. This paper is unique in the sense that it traces a completely new research field relevant for the Slovenian community in Canada. However, we assume that the lack of relevant data significantly limits the development potential of ethnic entrepreneurship. Lastly, the author's fieldwork notes (Notes on Fieldwork 2016) are an important source for detecting the business patterns of the most recent generation of Slovenians in Canada, especially those who migrated to the country in the years following the beginning of the global financial crisis. The notes were written in regard to contacts with the Slovenian community at various events – business meetings, social club events, etc.

THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

The role of the state in development issues has been crucial for the development of the modern Canadian staple economy. Immigrants have also played an important and integral part, as a reservoir for the required workforce. Specifically, when immigration to Canada adopted a transnational character, the state decided to attract specifically higher-educated immigrants to fill empty posts in the banking sector, IT companies, etc. The latter trend is significantly different to all of the other post-WWII immigrant waves when Canada particularly needed miners, farmers, craftsmen and other workers who helped shore up Canada's industries and transport infrastructure, and who also responded to the growing need for housing and the developing service sector.

Simmons (2010) has pointed out that Liberalists have often linked immigration with neoclassical economics, stressing that movement of people from one place to another is usually voluntary. Here we have two possible explanations of the neoclassical view. Firstly, the macroeconomic standpoint that explains the role of the market in migration waves, where the difference in wages between the country of origin and the host country could

be a potential factor for migration.² The microeconomic aspect is strongly affected by the rational choice theory – an individual analyses the costs and benefits of moving out of the country³ (Mesić 2002). Frisbie (1975) showed how increased productivity and higher wages among Mexican farmers resulted in reduced emigration from Mexico to the US. In contrast to neoclassicism, the Marxist view, representing the dispersed heterodox school, negates the positive implications of migration. Marxist scholars insisted that the capitalist mode of production uses immigrants as a “reserve army of labour”.

The “New Economy” model has partially opposed some of the fundamental standpoints of its counterpart. Namely, neoclassical scholars agree that individuals migrate permanently to another country in order to maximize their wages. On the other hand, the new economy approach treats return migration as success (Porumbescu 2015). Families in poorer countries often send some of their members to developed economies on a temporary basis, and may depend on them for their survival. The so-called “push-pull” model referred to the question of different business opportunities (e.g. wages, working conditions) between the country of origin and the desired destination. The approach was originally developed in order to describe internal migration within countries, and as such had a limited ability to explain migration flows. The paradigm has been further explained as a two-way systemic causation in the sense of surviving households. In addition to the movement of migrants between the two countries, the flow of information between communities has also been identified as crucial (Simmons 2010).

The World System Theory has been largely critical of the exploitation of the capitalist mode of production in peripheral areas. At the same time, capitalism has provoked migrations from those territories and people have decided to migrate directly to the largest global metropolises. Subsequently, the theory of global cities advocated that urban centres have become the nexus of financial, technological and investment flows. The role of information technology and the fact that industry is no more a vehicle of world development are especially significant – we are witnesses to the process of deindustrialization and the growth of the service sector. Similarly, within the network approach scholars have investigated the potential of migrants’ networks as interpersonal connections. The members of these networks may be immigrants of different generations, their relatives and other individuals from different ethnic groups. These networks operate as diffusive structures outside the remit of governmental supervision (Mesić 2002).

2 Of course, using solely macroeconomic explanations is too narrow to describe the immigration periods between and after the two world wars. The post-war period had an enormous impact on global economic relations, whereas a large part of Europe was destroyed. WWII was followed by a prolonged degree of violence and a long period of general stabilization (see Judt 2007; Lowe 2012). It seems crucial to point out that migration patterns have been radically different in periods of peace than in times of war. In fact, in this sense the economic aspects have been mixed up with harsh political realities. Specifically, the first years after WWII in the former Yugoslavia were largely characterized by the complex political situation, and for this reason the country’s development opportunities were limited. Even in the contemporary migration context, it is almost impossible to exclude economics from politics.

3 One important parameter is the ratio of inequality between classes in a society. At the beginning of every international conflict, radical inequalities have provoked international wars. Unsurprisingly, the human race has usually learned something important after shocking historical events (see Picketty 2014; Milanović 2016).

Ethnic economies and community altruism

Without any state intervention, immigrant communities have often developed separate institutions that arrange for the basic survival of their members at the very beginning and later throughout the development process. We can speak about “micro-level” politico-economic processes at the community level. Vah Jevšnik and Lukšič Hacin (2011) showed theoretical differences in defining the contexts of ethnic economies in Europe and North America – how the (neo)liberal and social models as macroeconomic and political platforms affect the bias of ethnic economies. In this sense, the authors (2011) specifically emphasize the different roles of the state in both traditions. In the United States, immigrant/ethnic business initiatives, for example, fall under the rules of the market. On the contrary, in Europe, these business initiatives are often supported by the state, underlining the importance of better integration into mainstream society.

Light and Gold (2000: 4), prominent thinkers in the field of the ethnic economy, have explained that it “consists of co-ethnic self-employed and employers and their employees”. The influence of the structure of an ethnic economy depends on the size of the system. The ethnic economy is divided into three distinct subgroups. Firstly, in the “ethnic ownership economy” the ethnic group or immigrant community “maintains a private economic sector in which it has a controlling ownership stake” (Light, Gold 2000: 9). Family members may act as supporters to established businesses, often as unpaid assistants. Secondly, the “ethnic enclave economy” is referred to in correlation with the dual labour market theory. In contrast to neoclassical economics, scholars recognized an anomaly in the sense that the members of some marginal communities are “locked” inside a subordinated labour market and cannot enter the “primary sector” where better jobs are available. Immigrants are part of an “enclave” job market if their employers are co-ethnic. Ethnic enclave economies are territorially delimited and quasi-monopolistic. Vertical and horizontal linkages between firms and co-ethnic spending give the structure a certain advantage with respect to the external business environment. Thirdly, the term “ethnic-controlled economy” describes the situation where co-ethnic employees exercise extensive influence and power in the dominant economic system.

In fact, there are at least two radically different visions explaining the nature of the ethnic economic structure. The assimilation paradigm refers to the incremental loosening of socio-economic contacts with the country of origin. On the other hand, transnationalism has been the predominant model in the last few years for explaining new types of cooperation and information flows between the new dominion and the country of origin (Fong, Cao, Chan 2010: 445). Usually, larger ethnic groups in Canada have had far greater potential for establishing transnational ties with the country of origin. It has been shown, for example, that Chinese people and Asian Indians have not fully exploited the potential of transnational networking in terms of the internationalisation of ethnic business. Research findings have shown that only a small percentage of immigrants fully realise intensive transnational contacts (Fong, Cao, Chan 2010). The distinction between the terms “immigrant” and “ethnic” entrepreneur, clearly elucidated by Žigon (2012), seems to be fundamental. Immigrants decide to move to a new homeland and establish their basic survival subsystem there. Their ethnic counterparts are, for example, Canadian Aboriginals, who developed their distinct mode of production a long time ago. Furthermore, the

aboriginal economic system has been in a constant clash with the different development phases of capitalism, but also in close contact with this dominant mode of production.

Every ethnic community has been partially historically organised as a “living” structure which has supported its members (flawed system of social, health or accident insurance, covering of funeral costs in cases of accidents involving Slovenian miners etc.). Some of the historically important support organisations have been developed as non-profit organisations in Canada and the United States. Modern insurance cooperatives or social clubs are examples of historical solidarity between the members of the Slovenian community (Žigon 2012). We have to differentiate between “old” and “new” institutions within the development of any immigrant community. As in other communities, in the Slovenian case immigrants brought various conventional patterns as such those from the church or family, and integrated them into the new environment. On the other hand, they have established some completely new ones, for example business organisations. However, the most important social institutions are still the social clubs, ethnic associations and religious organisations. All of the above-mentioned ethnically-based organisations have accomplished tasks as solidarity facilitators, cultural-educational missions, religious and economic support groups, etc. (Pospheh 2009).

The history of Slovenian immigration in Canada

Slovenian immigration in Canada is a mixture of political and economic aspects, with the latter predominating over time (Strle 2007). Until WWII, immigrants moved to Canada mostly due to severe economic conditions in their homeland. Canada accepted its first immigrants from modern-day Slovenia very late compared to the United States, around a decade after WWI. According to some data, they worked in mining and farming; some of them were so-called “gold-seekers”. After 1924, when the USA closed borders to mass immigration, Canada became the promised land⁴ for escaping economic underdevelopment in the homeland (Genorio 1979). Genorio also observed another phenomenon relating to the latter period: many Slovenians who initially immigrated to Canada later moved to the USA. The towns of Kirkland Lake and Timmins in northern Ontario were the largest concentrated areas populated with Slovenians due to the mining industry, and in some minor parts also due to the automobile industry and the light machine industry (Strle 2009; Genorio 1979).

Following Strle (2007), the period after WWII represented the first real boom of immigration from then-communist Yugoslavia. In contrast to the pre-war period, immigrants mostly settled in urban areas instead of rural. These Slovenians possessed better educational and working qualifications than the previous wave of immigrants, despite the fact that some time was needed for certification of documents on a regular basis. Slovenian post-war immigration was also sharply divided on a political basis. Another often-neglected phenomenon was transmigration, when some individuals and families migrated back to the homeland due to negative experiences in Canada. Some of them then decided to return to Canada, disappointed with the new regime and politico-economic conditions in Yugoslavia

4 Speaking in the North-American context. For example, South American countries such as Argentina, on the contrary, encouraged immigration.

(Strle 2007). Genorio (1979) states that 1,869 individuals returned to their homeland in 1947 and 1948. In relation to other Yugoslav nationalities, Slovenians accounted for a small proportion of the overall transmigration wave.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the so-called brain-drain to a significant extent replaced the political motivations of the previous era. At the same time, the new immigrants were faced with a very new idea, nowadays known as multiculturalism. Above all, the new Canadian visa regime liberalised immigration policy towards Yugoslavia (Strle 2007). Genorio (1979) compared data for 1971 and 1976, and concluded that Slovenians represented only 6–8 percent of overall Yugoslav immigration. On the other hand, many Slovenian immigrants declared themselves as Yugoslavs during this period. 80% of Slovenians inhabited the province of Ontario. Pospesh (2014) has noted that many family members of post-war political refugees, pre-war economic immigrants and illegal fugitives immigrated into Canada during the third wave (somewhere between 1957–1970/1971). Data on Slovenians living in Canada vary from one author to another. According to Pospesh (2014), the Slovenian community in Canada includes somewhere between 35,000 and 40,000 members, 25% of whom live in Toronto. Comparing different periods in Canadian history, the larger metropolitan areas have become more attractive for settlement due to their many economic and social advantages.

In the last decade or so (from 2007 onwards), the global financial and economic crisis has radically provoked international migration to North America and other parts of the world. Under these circumstances, some Slovenians also immigrated to Canada due to better employment opportunities. What may be surprising is that the Canadian labour market has not been solely opened up to highly-educated workers; employers are aware that they can find well-qualified individuals in construction and various other conventional industries (Notes on Fieldwork 2016).

Organizations of Canadian Slovenians

When newcomers enter a new potential homeland, they often set up their own institutions and collaborative networks. Usually, they are the primary creators of these interactions, but other ethnic groups and individuals may participate. An institutional arrangement is often unavoidable due to the fear of possible isolation (Genorio 1989). Using the language of ethnic economy, immigrants try to establish a sustainable internal microeconomic system, which is more or less integrated within the dominant capitalist production. The integration level is possibly dependent on the size of the community and the power of its network structure. In our view, we understand the social and economic institutions of the Slovenian community as actively interdependent structures. The social institutions have always supported any entrepreneurial activities within the community. Some sociologists have defended the thesis that less-assimilated ethnic communities usually build up stronger institutional systems (Genorio 1989).

Genorio (1989) divided Slovenian immigrant institutions into the following categories: social/solidarity institutions, cultural organisations, political organisations, religious structures, economic associations and immigrant family circles. Some of the first organized interests were joined into so-called “support units”, which often operated as insurance companies covering basic social security services for their members. Sometimes the existence

of these “brotherhoods” was fragile due to the many internal migrations within Canada. Significant political immigration into Canada occurred after WWII, and consequently religious organisations became visible for the first time as an important institutional player within the community. When the younger population immigrated to Canada, some new cultural societies started operating. Slovenian associations in Canada are coordinated by three main umbrella organisations (Pospeh 2014):

- The *All Slovenian Committee* is a non-profit organisation managing activities of the majority of Slovenian associations in Southern Ontario (Niagara Peninsula). Established at the beginning of the 1990s, it has tried to overcome important disagreements among organisations at different ranks.
- The *Slovenian Canadian Council* was established in Toronto in 1978 and largely represents Slovenian political emigrants. One of its main duties is the process of acquisition of Slovenian citizenship, questions of denationalization of pre-war private property, voting rights of Slovenians in Canada etc. Its main disadvantage was that it could not unite the majority of immigrants in Canada due to its strict stance regarding economic emigration.
- The *Canadian Slovenian Congress* was established in Toronto in 1990 and was an attempt to facilitate collaboration between the homeland and Canada. Political orientation may have represented a significant limitation to its operations. On the other hand, it has made an important contribution to economic and scientific cooperation between Slovenia and Canada.

Media are important supports for the social life of any ethnic community abroad. A crucial turning point in the life of Slovenians was the foundation in 1991 of a radio station called *The Voice of Canadian Slovenians*, which provided the community with cultural news, news about social events and reports from the homeland (Pospeh 2014). The *Canadian Slovenian Historical Society* is a unique experiment which aims to preserve the history of Slovenians in Canada. The society is also a member of the Archives Association of Ontario and the Canadian Oral History Association, and operates as a full member of the Ontario Historical Society. The main tasks are collection of materials and historical data, cataloguing materials, and publishing various publications regarding the life of Slovenians in Canada (CSHS 2017).

Small ethnic economies have often been financed by community banks or credit unions. The Slovenian community owns Moya Financial Credit Union Limited (amalgamation of previously separated Slovenia Parishes Credit Union Limited, with offices in Toronto and Hamilton, and the J. E. Krek Slovenian Credit Union based in Toronto). The concept of ethnic economy in some sense operates similarly to other community development projects in Canada, which are not necessary based on ethnicity but involve a similar pattern of social and economic institutions. Small credit unions play a crucial role in small economies, specifically assuring sustainability by offering micro-loans and similar services to members. As we will see below, the Canadian Slovenian Chamber of Commerce (CanSlo) has promoted further development through building business relations among ethnic business owners in Canada. Furthermore, there have been some serious experiments potentially strengthening collaboration between Slovenian and Canadian companies, for example the different understanding of the term “business culture”, which

led to a situation in which some Slovenian companies did not properly perceive business logic in Canada.

Canadian economic history, immigration and the “footprint” of Slovenians

The Laurier government’s minister of the interior Clifford Sifton (1896–1905) foresaw how intensive migration could bring prosperity and further development especially in agriculture and industry. The plan was to settle the prairie areas of western Canada, especially the rural areas of present-day Alberta and Saskatchewan. In addition to British and white Americans, Sifton particularly encouraged Eastern and Central European farmers to immigrate to Canada (Strle 2009; Stasiulis 1997: 146). From Sifton’s era there is only some fragmented data about the migration and economic activities of Slovenians in North America. One of the theses is that they largely came from the United States and worked as farmers, miners and ironworkers. The name M. Frankovič is mentioned, who presumably ran a hotel during this period. Several migrants travelled up north in search of gold (the gold rush era) (Strle 2009). Even the migrant workforce was planned mostly for agricultural products such as wheat, while many migrants started to work in mines, building railways or became part of the urban proletariat (Stasiulis 1997: 146).

Several private companies such as the Canadian Pacific Railway (acting as private corporate bodies) had become an extended hand of the state. Subagents of the same ethnicity produced “polarized class conditions” at railway companies (Stasiulis 1997: 147). In 1899, the North Atlantic Trading Company was established with significant backing from the Canadian government, where agents of the company tried as hard they could to attract agricultural labourers from Europe. The New Immigration Act (1906) clearly specified which ethnic groups would be more eligible to migrate to Canada. Specifically, certain groups were excluded from the list, such as criminals, the mentally disabled, and prostitutes, and some ethnic groups were privileged over the others, such as white American and British Protestants (Stasiulis 1997: 147). During the 1920s, Canadian agriculture was in crisis and many farmers moved to the US due to the poor economic conditions. By adopting a special Immigrant Law (1922), the Canadian government attracted new immigration from Europe while trying to satisfy the needs of the construction, transportation and mining sectors. At the end of decade, the government again limited migration from Central and Southern Europe, and several thousand Europeans were deported back to Europe due to radical changes in immigration policy. The period of the Great Depression clearly impacted the lives of Slovenians in Canada. Due to high rates of unemployment (around 27 percent or more) and the severe economic situation, many of them left Canada. Slovenian women played a major role in fulfilling the needs of the family budget during the crisis by working as maids, cooks, cleaners and washerwomen in boarding houses (Strle 2009).

The period from the end of the Second World War until the 1970s was a period of strong recovery of the Canadian economy. The US economy was the main consumer of Canadian products, and its own economic prosperity depended in a large measure on Canadian raw materials, especially due to the American role in the Cold War. The two main conclusions from the period are in fact the most relevant to this argument: (1) the US established greater control over Canadian manufacturing; (2) the US government and companies invested huge financial resources in the Canadian natural resource industry (Phillips,

Watson 2001). An important goal of immigration policy at the beginning of the period was “... to allow enough immigrants to enter the country to meet domestic labour shortages but not enough to disrupt the Canadian labour market” (Knowles 2007: 163). The main goal of immigration was still increasing the prosperity of the national economy and increasing the population (Knowles 2007). The feminization of domestic work was also significant at that time (Stasiulis 2007: 151).

Important changes in Canadian immigrant policy occurred at the beginning of the 1970s. As a result of a broad consensus among the main political parties, 39,000 people from more than 150 countries were awarded the status of “Landed Immigrant”. The Immigration Act of 1976 had a significant impact on future migration policy. The Act established a code which foresaw the obligatory consultation of the responsible minister with the provinces about immigration policy (Knowles 2007). As Strle (2009) pointed out, some sort of amalgamation of the “old” and “new” occupational statuses appeared in the 1970s. The most popular jobs for Slovenians were still in construction, mining, farming etc., but at the same time, Slovenians were also working as doctors, lawyers, engineers and university professors. In the last three decades or so, Canadian immigration policy has been intensively interwoven with fundamental global challenges. As Stasiulis (1997: 154) has stated, during the process of migration transnationalism, the investigation of the phenomena is becoming more and more complex due to numerous parameters that might affect the life of immigrants. The biggest Canadian cities, such as Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, have become to some extent urban centres of international importance. Satzewitch and Wong (2003) placed transnational migrations in the context of the radical transformation of the modern Canadian economic structure.

SLOVENIAN ETHNIC BUSINESS ACTIVITIES TODAY

Having stated the above, it needs to be underlined that we could not find any relevant economic research concerning the ethnic business activities of Slovenians in Canada. The only source available is the business directory of the Canadian Slovenian Chamber of Commerce (i.e. CanSlo). Our initial assumptions are based on the analysis of 124 members of the Chamber, most of them of Canadian-Slovenian descent. A small number of companies and individuals from Slovenia are included as well. Due to this, we were able to define the structure of the Chamber as of a limited “transnational” character. The first impression is that the structure of Slovenian-Canadian ethnic business activities is highly diverse in terms of business categories even though, as shown in Table 1, some simplifications have been made using intermediate variables in order to merge some similarly-named categories. One of the most fundamental findings is that the structure of the sample is not very different to what it was in the past. There is a structural timeline difference due to the fact that many companies now use advanced technologies and entrepreneurs are far more educated, but the community does not operate solely as a business network. Some of the associations are of a non-profit nature or support community activities through business organisations such as credit unions. The latter is close to what have been defined as “social economy” tasks. The second interesting insight from the data is that there are some individual professionals employed within the mainstream economy (e.g. the banking sector) who are highly aware

of their Slovenian origin and are prepared to help establish business relations within the community and between Slovenia and Canada (Notes on Fieldwork 2016).

Table 1: Structure of Slovenian Immigrant Business in Canada (including some Slovenian companies and individuals)

Main Business Categories**	Country of Origin		Type of Membership*					
	Canada***	Slovenia	MLB	SB	P	I (SP)	NP	S
Finance, industry construction, IT and web design, machine shops, accounting, banking, human resources, consulting & marketing, real estate management, non-profit organisations, students, culture & media, credit unions.	108	16	14L/26M	54	9	6	6	6

* *Type of membership with actual fees paid for 2016*

- Medium/Large Business (more than 10 employees): \$ 250
- Small Business (1–10 employees): \$ 100
- Professionals (employees of large firms): \$ 100
- Individuals / Sole proprietor (1–10 employees): \$ 100
- Non-Profit Organisations: 0
- Students: 0

** Business categories according to the “Search Directory” browser, intermediate variables established by the author due to the fact that some categories in the Directory are quite similar.

*** Almost all of the companies have their headquarters in the province of Ontario, largely in Toronto as the most prominent business metropolis. (Source: Adapted from the CanSlo Business Directory (2016))

It is clear that the definition of a “large business” is somewhat adapted to the needs of the membership structure. The minimum number of workers employed must be above 10. This corresponds to Light and Gold’s (2000) finding that the companies in ethnic economies are usually small, and mainly employ family members, close relatives and co-ethnics. So far, the actual internationalisation of ethnic business relations is still in the gestation phase. The first significant limitation is that Slovenia and Canada are totally different in terms of size, national economic structure and level of development. However, some very interesting facts are hidden behind this data. The Chamber includes mostly Ontario-based membership. Hypothetically, in the future, so-called province-state cooperation (Ontario-Slovenia) could be of greater relevance due to the fact that Slovenia is more easily comparable to the level of a province in Canada. Here is some basic data on economic cooperation between Slovenia and Canada showing the quite modest level of business cooperation:

Table 2: Trade of goods between Slovenia and Canada, 2010–2017 (in EUR 1000) (Slovenian perspective)

Year	Export	Import	Total	Balance
2011	57,778	25,797	83,575	31,981
2012	71,217	103,875	175,092	-32,658
2013	60,422	106,102	166,524	-45,680
2014	58,820	68,521	127,341	-9,701
2015	70,115	32,022	102,137	38,093
2016	71,772	103,954	175,726	-32,182
2017*	23,342	10,012	33,354	13,330

(Source: Export Window 2017 (*data for 2017 not complete))

Regarding the possible internationalisation of ethnic business, some people believe that the current CETA agreement could be of great significance for future cooperation. It seems a quite intriguing theme, although the research that has been done (for example Damijan, Kostevc 2015) has not shown any major positive implications for the Slovenian economy, except some deregulatory disburdening. According to Pospheh (2009), we can conclude that around 250 entrepreneurs of Slovenian origin operated in the Toronto area at that time. As we have already shown above, these are more or less small family firms owned nowadays by the second generation of the original immigrants.

Another of our intentions is to show the business potential of the Slovenian community in Canada in terms of the better integration of the newcomers from Slovenia. The latter is especially important with regard to the latest wave of migration from Slovenia to Canada following the global financial crisis after 2007. Informal conversations with some Slovenians who migrated in the last decade have shown that they used the ethnic network in order to integrate more quickly into Canadian society (Notes on Fieldwork 2016).

On the other hand, Fong and Oka (2002) have offered a contrasting picture, showing in the case of Chinese immigrants in Toronto that an ethnic economy can also hold back processes of integration. A potentially relevant assumption in this sense might be that Slovenian and Chinese ethnic structures are very different, especially in terms of the size of the businesses and number of co-ethnics. Chinese immigrants have established a much larger and self-reliant ethnic economic subsystem that operates far more independently than some micro-structures such as in the Slovenian case. Fong and Oka explain that such a big subsystem may have its own language practises and intensive internal connections. In conditions of transnational entrepreneurship, previously ethnic-based organisations have become serious players in international trade. Within the Chinese community, the Toronto Chinese Business Association (TCBA) acts as an important intermediary in Canadian-Chinese business relations and serves as a platform for Chinese ethnic business activities in metropolitan Toronto (TCBA 2017). Similarly, the Chinese Business Chamber of Canada (CBCC) represents over 1300 different business establishments. It has its own Immigrant Assistance Centre offering free assistance to Chinese immigrants and those who want to set up a business in Canada (CBCC 2017). Relevant data dating back to 2006 shows that Chinese entrepreneurs accounted for 12% of the ethnic workforce and created 600,000 jobs for both Chinese and non-Chinese workers. Chinese ethnic business

activities are represented in certain specific industries: retail trade, technical services, health care and social assistance, accommodation and food services etc. (Li 2010).

According to the documents and reports of the CanSlo Chamber, activities have been oriented mostly towards organising various business events in order to promote ethnically-based and other entrepreneurship and opportunities to do business with Slovenia. A Toronto city councillor (also a Canadian Slovenian), for example, presented the city's strategic development plans for small and medium-sized companies in the near future. One of the business events (held as a workshop) was organised in order to present Slovenian wines and business opportunities for Canadian companies in the field of tourism and trade with Slovenia. Furthermore, due to the interest demonstrated among the members, a workshop on the new retirement law of the province of Ontario was held. Cooperation with large companies (such as the Bank of Montreal) has been established. The Chamber has also made extensive contacts with some Canadian politicians. It has also promoted itself at various political events, specifically in terms of networking (CanSlo Annual Report 2015). The Chamber also operates actively in Slovenia. It was presented at the MOS International Trade and Business Fair in Celje, the largest business fair in the region of Central/South-Eastern Europe. The Canadian business environment was promoted at the Slovenian Chamber of Commerce and Industry and at several other places including University of Ljubljana. An important collaboration was also established with the SPIRIT Slovenia Public Agency for Entrepreneurship, Internationalization, Foreign Investments and Technology.

CONCLUSION

We need to note that the research is limited by a lack of relevant quantitative data concerning an economic approach to Slovenian immigration. We cannot overlook the fact that the Slovenian community is small and as such is not a very intriguing subject for research in the field of political economy, where scholars prefer to explore bigger and more influential ethnic groups for the Canadian economy. One of the key conclusions is that Slovenians have never been completely assimilated into mainstream Canadian society. In fact, they have developed their own support institutions and also operated as an integral part of a dominant social economic system in Canada. The structure of the Slovenian ethnic and social economy can be understood as having strongly motivated its members to be actively involved in the prevalent capitalist mode of production.

Several other ethnic groups of much bigger size and influence have established completely isolated economic and social ethnic substructures. In this sense, the example of Chinese immigrants in Toronto described by Fong and Oka (2002) clearly illustrates the real differences between large and small ethnic economies. There is clear internationalisation of Slovenian ethnic business activities. As mentioned above, we can speak only of an extremely limited extent of transnationalism; only an embryonic network has been established. According to Žigon (2012), the lack of intensive development of similar structures is mainly a result of the fact that the so-called ethnic business relations are maintained not so much in the name of a profit but more as a result of the symbolic affiliation with the ethnic group and identity-building.

Immigration is a continuous process. Looking at the latest movement of Slovenians to Canada, it is evident that the ethnic structure is still relevant as a “support unit” for the newcomers. As the author has observed, several new Slovenian immigrants in the Toronto area have not only become members of the business community, but also quickly established successful small- and medium-sized companies. Last but not least, we should mention the widely-known case of a Slovenian entrepreneur who recently migrated to Canada and transferred his business and the related technology and know-how from Slovenia directly to the Canadian market (Notes on Fieldwork 2016).

REFERENCES

- A New Plan for Canadian Immigration and Economic Opportunity*, <https://www.liberal.ca/realchange/a-new-plan-for-canadian-immigration-and-economic-opportunity/?-shownew=1> (3. 5. 2017).
- Canadian Slovenian Chamber of Commerce (2016). *Annual Report 2016* (internal documentation). Toronto.
- Canadian Slovenian Historical Society* (CSHS), <http://www.slovenianhistorical.ca/> (4. 6. 2017).
- Chinese Business Chamber of Canada* (CBCC), http://chinesebusiness.org/chamber_en.phtml (4. 6. 2017).
- Damijan, Jože P., Kostevc, Črt (2015). *Vpliv Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement na slovensko gospodarstvo*. Ljubljana: Center poslovne odličnosti Ekonomske fakultete.
- Dungan, Peter, Fang, Tony, Gunderson, Morley (2012). *Macroeconomic Impacts of Canadian Immigration: Results from a Macro-Model*. IZA DP No. 6743. Toronto: Institute for the Study of Labor.
- Durnik, Mitja (2009). *Canadian Public Policy and Poverty of Aboriginals*. Doctoral Dissertation. Ljubljana: Faculty of Social Sciences.
- Durnik, Mitja (2016) *Notes on Fieldwork in Toronto*. Author's personal archive.
- Fong, Eric, Ooka, Emi (2002). The Social Consequences of Participating in the Ethnic Economy. *International Migration Review* 36/1, 25–146.
- Fong, Eric, Xingshan, Cao, Chan, Elic (2010). Out of Sight, Out of Mind? Patterns of Transnational Contact Among Chinese and Indian Immigrants in Toronto. *Sociological Forum* 25/3, 428–449.
- Frisbie, Parker (1975). Illegal Migration from Mexico to the United States: A Longitudinal Analysis. *International Migration Review* 9, 3–13.
- Genorio, Rado (1979). Prispevek h geografiji slovenskega izseljenstva. *Geografski vestnik* LI, 44–53.
- Genorio, Rado (1989). *Slovinci v Kanadi / Slovenes in Canada*. Ljubljana: Inštitut za geografijo Univerze Edvarda Kardelja (Geographica Slovenica, 17).
- Gignac, Clement (2016). For Canada, Immigration is a Key to Prosperity. *The Globe and Mail*, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/economy/economy-lab/for-canada-immigration-is-a-key-to-prosperity/article14711281/> (3. 6. 2017).
- Izvozno okno (Export Window) (2016). *Bilateralni ekonomski odnosi Kanade s Slovenijo*, http://www.izvoznookno.si/Dokumenti/Podatki_o_drzavah/Kanada/Bilateralni_ekonomski_odnosi_s_Slovenijo_4134.aspx (4. 6. 2017).
- Judt, Tony (2007). *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. London: Random House.

- Knowles, Valerie (2007). *Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–2006*. Toronto: Dundurn Press.
- Li, Peter S. (2010). *Chinese Entrepreneurship in Canada*. Open for Business Migrant Entrepreneurship in OECD Countries. OECD Publishing, 199–212.
- Light, Ivan, Gold, Steven J. (2000). *Ethnic Economies*. London: Academic Press
- Lowe, Keith (2012). *Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II*. London: Penguin.
- Mesić, Milan (2002). *Međunarodne migracije: Tokovi i teorije*. Zagreb: Societas.
- Milanović, Branko (2016). *Global Inequality: A New Approach for the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Phillips, Paul, Watson, Stephen (2001). From Mobilization to Contentionalism: The Canadian Economy in the Post-Depression Period. *Essays in the Historical Political Economy of Canada* (ed. Paul Phillips). Unpublished Study Material. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.
- Picketty, Thomas (2014). *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Porumbescu, Alexandra (2015). Defining the New Economics of Labor Migration Theory Boundaries: A Sociological-Level Analysis of International Migration. *RSP* 45, 55–64.
- Pospeh, Stanislav (2009). *Slovenska migracija v Kanadi*. Magistrsko delo. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede.
- Riddell, Craig, Worswick, Christopher, Green David A. (2016). *Evidence Shows that Increased Immigration has Neither Positive nor Negative Impacts on Jobs and Wages, but More Research is Needed*, <http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/november-2016/how-does-increasing-immigration-affect-economy/> (1. 6. 2017).
- Satzewich, Vic, Wong, Lloyd (2003). Immigration, Ethnicity and Race: The Transformation of Transnationalism, Localism and Identities. *Changing Canada: Political Economy as Transformation* (eds. Wallace Clement, Leah Vosko). Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 363–390.
- Simmons, Alan (2010). *Immigration and Canada: Global and Transnational Perspectives*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc.
- Stasiulis, Daiva (1997). The Political Economy of Race, Ethnicity and Migration. *Understanding Canada: Building on the New Political Economy* (ed. Clement Wallace). Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 141–171.
- Strle, Urška (2007). Odnos slovenskih izseljencev v Kanadi do matične domovine po drugi svetovni vojni. *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* 26, 117–142.
- Strle, Urška (2009). *Slovenci v Kanadi: Izselsjevanje skozi prizmo življenjskih zgodb*. Doktorska disertacija. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta.
- Strle, Urška (2012). *Podobe kanadskih Slovencev / Images of Canadian Slovenians*. Razstava, Atrij ZRC, Ljubljana (SLO), 20. jun.–20. jul. Virtualna prezentacija Mitja Durnik.
- The Canadian Slovenian Chamber of Commerce Business Directory* (2016). Internal Documentation of the Canadian Slovenian Chamber of Commerce. Toronto.
- Toronto Chinese Business Association (TCBA), <http://www.tcbacanada.com/> (2. 4. 2017).
- Vah Jevšnik, Mojca, Lukšič Hacin, Marina (2011). Theorising Immigrant/Ethnic Entrepreneurship the Context of Welfare States. *Migracijske i etničke teme* 27/2, 249–261.
- Žigon, Zvone (2012). *Etnična ekonomija in Slovenci zunaj Republike Slovenije* (unpublished).

POVZETEK

SLOVENSKI PRISELJENCI IN ETNIČNA EKONOMIJA SODOBNE KANADE

Mitja DURNIK

Avtor se v članku ukvarja z etnično ekonomijo slovenske skupnosti v Kanadi, ki je bila v strokovni in znanstveni literaturi do sedaj le deskriptivno obravnavana; primanjkujejo namreč za poglobljeno analizo nujni viri podatkov. Kljub temu je iz analize mogoče razbrati nekatere vzorce etničnega podjetništva Slovencev, ki se je vedno naslanjalo na lastne družbene in skupnostne institucije. Slovenska skupnost se v nobeni točki lastnega družbenega in ekonomskega razvoja ni popolnoma asimilirala v dominantni sistem gospodarjenja, temveč je skušala s sodelovanjem posameznikov in institucij ohranjati lastno identiteto. Avtor pritrjuje nekaterim opažanjem drugih avtorjev, da sta podjetniški interes in gospodarsko sodelovanje v preteklosti v veliki meri prevladala nad političnimi spori v skupnosti. Zlasti zadnji val priseljevanja Slovencev med svetovno finančno in gospodarsko krizo se zdi izrazito ekonomske narave. Interes gospodarsko povezati slovenske in kanadske gospodarstvenike se vedno bolj kaže tudi v kanadski etnični ekonomiji in njenih institucijah. Primerjava z največjo, kitajsko etnično skupnostjo pa jasno pokaže, da se zmogljivost etnično zasnovanih poslovnih klubov ali zbornic, ko gre za dve veliki državi, popolnoma razlikuje od slovenskih. Ne smemo prezreti dejstva, da se poslovna funkcija v slovenski etnični skupnosti kljub vsemu razvija hkrati z razvojem globalnega sveta, katerega majhen del je tudi sama.

MIGRACIJSKA KRIZA IN MIGRACIJSKA POLITIKA V EVROPI: OD DEMOGRAFSKIH NERAVNOVESIJ TER EKONOMSKE IN POLITIČNE NESTABILNOSTI DO NARAŠČAJOČIH MIGRACIJSKIH TOKOV

Janez MALAČIČ¹

COBISS 1.01

IZVLEČEK

Migracijska kriza in migracijska politika v Evropi: Od demografskih neravnovesij ter ekonomske in politične nestabilnosti do naraščajočih migracijskih tokov

Število migrantov iz Zahodne Azije in Severne Afrike v Evropo se je leta 2015 zelo povečalo. V Evropi je nastala velika migracijska kriza, ki jo je povzročila preusmeritev migrantskih poti iz južnih in zahodnih mediteranskih poti na balkansko pot. Razsežnost krize je pokazala nepripravljenost EU, da bi z ustrežno migracijsko politiko legalno obvladala nastali položaj. V Sloveniji smo v začetku množico migrantov le opazovali. Ko pa je Madžarska zaprla svoje meje, se je njihova pot preusmerila proti Sloveniji. Število migrantov, ki je hitro presešlo kapacitete, ki so omogočale nadzorovanje položaja, se je zmanjšalo šele spomladi 2016 po sprejetju dogovora med EU in Turčijo. Avtor zagovarja tezo, da je migracijska kriza v Evropi del širše krize prebivalstvene politike. Nedokončan demografski prehod v evropski soseščini s hitro rastjo prebivalstva, z vojnami in s političnimi krizami ustvarja vse več potencialnih migrantov. Ker se bodo demografska neravnovesja med temi regijami v prihodnosti še povečala, mora Evropa sprejeti primerno prebivalstveno in migracijsko politiko. Avtorjeve obrise vzdržne migracijske politike v EU bo treba preveriti v širših razpravah.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: migracijska kriza, migracijska politika, demografska neravnovesja, Evropska unija

ABSTRACT

Migrant Crisis and Migration Policy in Europe: From Demographic Imbalances and Political Turmoil to the Increasing Migration Stream

In 2015, migrations from West Asia and North Africa to Europe increased significantly. Migration streams to Europe predominantly changed directions from West and South Mediterranean to Balkan South East direction. Unprecedented migrant crisis has caused quick collapse of the European Union legal system dealing with immigration. The rules have been broken in Greece and some other European countries. Consequently, numerous undocumented immigrants have flooded Balkans and some other European countries in late 2015 and at the beginning of the next year. The number of migrants declined after the spring 2016 political agreement between the European Union and Turkey. The thesis of the paper is that migrant crisis is a part of broader population policy crisis in Europe. Differences in demographic transitions combined with political turmoil and local wars in emigration areas will generate lasting migration flows to Europe. Therefore, European Union and its member states need well designed and politically agreed population and migration policies. The author's ideas on sustainable European migration policy need further discussions and evaluations.

KEY WORDS: migrant crisis, migration policy, demographic imbalances, European Union

¹ Dr. ekonomije, upokojeni redni profesor, zunanji sodelavec Ekonomske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, Kardeljeva ploščad 17, SI-1000 Ljubljana; janez.malacic@ef.uni-lj.si

UVOD

Število migrantov iz Zahodne (Z) Azije in Severne (S) Afrike v Evropo se je leta 2015 zelo povečalo. Poleti tega leta je zato v Evropi izbruhnila velika migracijska kriza, na katero niti Evropska unija (EU) niti širša Evropa nista bili pripravljene. Moderna informacijska sredstva in množični mediji so objavljali fotografije beguncev, pomešanih z ekonomskimi migranti, ki so se iz številnih kriznih in vojnih žarišč v Z Aziji in Afriki podali preko Turčije na bližnje grške otoke in naprej po balkanski poti na Madžarsko in nekoliko pozneje tudi v Slovenijo. Njihov glavni cilj je bil priti v Nemčijo in druge bogate evropske države (in se izogniti revnim državam). Veliko število različnih nezakonitih imigrantov na balkanski poti v SZ Evropo, ki so bili pogosto brez kakršnihkoli dokumentov (Belloni 2016), je vzbudilo številne protislovne in pogosto čustvene reakcije evropske politične, strokovne in najširše družbene javnosti. Že precej dalj časa trajajoče tihotapljenje ljudi po morskih poteh čez Sredozemsko morje in dele Atlantskega oceana v EU, ki se je prav tako zelo povečalo po neuspehu »arabske pomladi« v Libiji in drugje v S Afriki in Z Aziji, v Evropi ni vzbudilo tako širokega in burnega odmeva, čeprav je v morju in na čolnih že takrat pogosto umrlo več sto nezakonitih migrantov. Evropa se ni ustrezno odzivala niti na številna kriminalna dejanja in zločine na čolnih, ki so izhajali iz odnosov med migranti in tihotapci ali pa med migranti samimi. Morje je pogoltnilo številne »brezimne« ljudi na njihovi poti v boljše življenje.

Balkanska pot se je leta 2015 nekoliko presenetljivo in sorazmerno pozno, glede na vojne v Iraku in Siriji, po spletu različnih okoliščin, ki jih bodo morali raziskovalci in politiki še podrobneje razložiti, na široko odprla. Veliko je k odprtju poti prispevala grška ekonomska kriza. Prezadolženost Grčije, neustrezno reševanje evrske krize s pretiranim varčevanjem in hudi mednarodni pritiski nanjo so prispevali k znižanju BDP, povečanju brezposelnosti, pa tudi k velikemu skrčenju javnega sektorja in hudi politični krizi. Tako Grčija ni imela več dovolj sredstev in politične volje, da bi dosledno spoštovala migracijsko zakonodajo EU in še naprej preprečevala prihod nezakonitih prebežnikov iz bližnje Turčije, preostale članice EU pa tudi niso zagotovile potrebnih sredstev. Begunski centri v Grčiji so popokali po šivih, nezakoniti migranti pa so v vse večjem številu prihajali čez makedonske in srbske meje, da bi čim prej prišli v šengensko območje EU, pa nekoliko pozneje tudi čez hrvaške. Takrat so po balkanski migracijski poti v osrčje EU začeli prihajati številni nezakoniti migranti, ki so v najboljšem primeru dobili začasna dovoljenja za prehod posameznih držav na njihovi poti v najbolj zaželene Nemčijo in druge bogate evropske države. Mobilni telefoni in drugi moderni pripomočki so novico o odprtju poti hitro prenesli v begunska taborišča v Z Aziji in v Afriki in s tem omogočili izjemno naraščanje tihotapljenja ljudi. Pri tem je prihajalo do običajne selekcije; tihotapce lahko plačajo samo premožnejši med begunci in številni ekonomski migranti. Intenzivnost migracij se je spomladi leta 2016 zmanjšala. Število dnevniških prihodov iz Turčije v Grčijo je oktobra 2015 doseglo povprečno 6.929 oseb, do maja 2016 pa se je znižalo na povprečno 47 oseb dnevno. Zmanjšanje je bilo posledica dogovora med EU in Turčijo iz marca 2016, po katerem se je iz Grčije lahko vračalo nezakonite migrante brez urejenega statusa in prosilce za azil, v zameno pa se je EU zavezala, da bo za vsakega vrnjenega Sirca sprejela Sirca, ki ni poskušal priti v EU na nezakonit način (Evropska komisija 2016: 2–3).

Raziskovalci migracij imamo premalo ustreznih statističnih podatkov o ljudeh, ki so po balkanski poti nezakonito in množično prihajali v Evropo, npr. o njihovi izobrazbi,

državi porekla, etnični in verski pripadnosti ipd. Večina teh ljudi je bila brez uradno veljavnih potnih listin, bilo pa je tudi veliko prevar z identiteto in dokumenti. Ob razpadu urejenega pravnega migracijskega sistema je prišlo tudi do številnih uporov imigrantov, ki so nasprotovali popisovanju, odvzemu prstnih odtisov in kakršnikoli drugi statistiki v državah na njihovi poti. Ta sistem je na balkanski poti razpadel, to pa se je kazalo v nespoštovanju pravnega reda EU in dogovorjenih načinov urejanja migracij v okviru OZN. Pri tem sta se na vseh členih migracijske verige razbohotila tihotapljenje ljudi in služenje denarja z nezakonitimi migracijami. Po ocenah Europolja je leta 2016 v Evropi delovalo okrog 30.000 tihotapcev ljudi, za Z Azijo in S Afriko pa ni niti okvirnih ocen njihovega števila. Njihovi zaslužki so (bili) veliki, tveganje pa majhno.

Po širšem uvodu prehajam h konkretnejšemu namenu pričujočega besedila. Zaradi dinamičnega dogajanja, nepopolnih statističnih podatkov in zamika med procesi in njihovo strokovno in znanstveno analizo v besedilu ne obravnavam podrobneje obsežnih nezakonitih migracij v letih 2015 in 2016 (v nadaljevanju 2015/16) po balkanski poti v Evropo. Namesto tega je kratek uvodni opis dogajanja podlaga za zagovarjanje teze, da je migracijska kriza v Evropi v drugem desetletju 21. stoletja predvsem kriza prebivalstvene politike EU in v Evropi nasploh. Migracijska politika je z vsemi svojimi deli eminenten del prebivalstvene politike, kar so evropske države in celotna EU v zadnjih dveh desetletjih po Konferenci OZN o prebivalstvu in razvoju v Kairu leta 1994 zanemarile. V nadaljevanju prikazujem širši demografski okvir migracijske krize v Evropi in njeni bližnji soseščini, v Z Aziji in v S Afriki. Besedilo sklenem s kratkim orisom vzdržnega modela migracijske politike EU v širšem okviru vzdržne prebivalstvene politike EU. V delu uporabljam kombinacijo induktivne in deduktivne znanstvene metode, ki mi ob uporabi kazalcev demografske in ekonomske statistike ter izbrane literature omogoča obravnavo teze in uresničitev zastavljenih ciljev.

MIGRACIJSKA POLITIKA KOT DEL PREBIVALSTVENE POLITIKE

Migracijska politika (MP) je pomemben sestavni del prebivalstvene politike (PP), kar izhaja že iz preprostega dejstva, da se PP ukvarja z vsemi demografskimi procesi (Malačič 2006: 274). Kompleksnost demografskih procesov in njihova medsebojna prepletenost pomembno prispevata k različnim pogledom na PP (Demeny 2003) in njene različne definicije. Vendar je MP zmeraj vključena v PP, ne glede na to, če na slednjo gledamo z ožjega (z vidika rodnosti in smrtnosti) ali s širšega vidika. Res pa je, da če na PP pogledamo širše, z vidika medsebojne povezanosti in vpliva demografskega, ekonomskega in družbenega razvoja, postane MP še bistveno pomembnejša.

Ob družbenem dogajanju in politični praksi v različnih predelih sveta hitro ugotovimo, da se MP razume zelo ozko. Njena povezava s PP se ne le zanemarja, ampak pogosto celo zanika. Ta kratkovidnost pa se tukaj ne konča, ampak se enako izrazito prenaša na samo MP. Znotraj MP se najpogosteje zanemarja povezanost med imigracijami in emigracijami. Dobra primera tega sta slovenska Resolucija o imigracijski politiki iz leta 1999 (Ur. list RS, št. 40/99) in Resolucija o migracijski politiki R Slovenije iz leta 2002 (Ur. list RS, št. 106/02). Slednja sicer govori širše o MP, vendar je njeno težišče še vedno na imigracijskem vidiku MP. Ozko razumevanje migracij se kaže v odnosu do ekonomskih in nezakonitih migracij pa tudi do beguncev in različnih prosilcev za azil. Njihov pravni

položaj je različen tako v mednarodnih okvirih pravnega urejanja te problematike kot tudi v posameznih državah ali skupnostih držav. Vse to se izraža tudi v v članku obravnavani evropski migracijski krizi.

MP je pod močnim vplivom ekonomskih, demografskih in družbenih razmer v emigracijskih in imigracijskih državah (Massey 2007). Večje so razlike med njimi, bolj pride do izraza osnovna težnja ljudi, da se selijo iz revnih v bogate države, pri čemer obstajajo številne omejitve. Med temeljnimi človekovimi pravicami namreč ni pravice, da bi si lahko svobodno izbirali kraj bivanja. V okviru OZN o tem govori Akcijski program konference o prebivalstvu in razvoju v Kairu leta 1994, po kateri ima človek sicer pravico izbire kraja bivanja, hkrati pa je pravica vsake države, da odloča o tem, kdo lahko vstopi na njeno ozemlje in pod kakšnimi pogoji lahko na njem biva (Akcijski program 1994: 60). Program pa pravi tudi, da bi si morale vlade držav prizadevati za ustvarjanje možnosti za vse ljudi, da ostanejo v svoji državi (prav tam: 57).

Možnosti vodenja učinkovite MP pa se med razvitimi in nerazvitimi državami zelo razlikujejo. Čeprav vse države uporabljajo sistem viz, različnih dovoljenj za bivanje, študij, delo in zaposlitev ter številne druge administrativne posege in omejitve, je rezultat v obeh skupinah držav praviloma različen. V razmerah relativno odprtih državnih meja je iz povsem ekonomskih razlogov lahko učinkovita samo imigracijska politika razvitih držav, ki praviloma vodijo selektivno MP. Naj v zvezi s tem povem le, da selekcija praviloma poteka na podlagi izobrazbe, šolanja, starosti, posebne usposobljenosti, podjetniških sposobnosti in talentov, športnih dosežkov, kulturnih in drugih tradicionalnih povezav med izvornimi in državami priseljevanja ipd. (Boeri idr. 2002: 49–52). Vendar tudi razvite države, tudi če bi to hotele, v praksi ne morejo zmanjšati ali celo odpraviti migracijskih tokov. Tudi podobe iz migracijske krize 2015/16 kažejo, da ograje in zidovi migracij ne morejo preprečiti ali celo zaustaviti. Razvite države bi morale za ustavitev migracij poseči po krutih in za demokratične države nesprijemljivih ukrepih odpovedi mednarodnih pogodb in konvencij. Kršiti pa bi morale tudi temeljne človekove pravice in poseči po različnih diskriminacijah. Danes je v svetu samo nekaj držav, npr. Severna Koreja, ki migracije preprečujejo na ta način.

Razvite države pa priseljevanja ne morejo in ne smejo ustaviti tudi iz povsem demografskih razlogov. Večina teh držav se v času po demografskem prehodu od visokih na nizke ravni rodnosti in smrtnosti sooča z nizko rodnostjo, ki skoraj nikjer ne zagotavlja niti enostavnega obnavljanja prebivalstva, v številnih državah pa se je rodnost še bolj znižala. Posledica nizke rodnosti je izrazito ali celo pretirano staranje prebivalstva, negativen naravni prirastek in v prihodnosti depopulacija večjih razsežnosti. Prenizko rodnost, pretirano staranje prebivalstva in depopulacija večjih razsežnosti je lažje omiliti ali celo odpraviti s priseljevanjem iz nerazvitih držav, kot pa pričakovati, da se bo rodnost v razvitih državah, bodisi avtonomno ali pa s pomočjo učinkovite politike spodbujanja rodnosti, dvignila na raven, ki bo zagotavljala dolgoročno nemoteno obnavljanje prebivalstva. Za razvite države bi bilo s tega vidika najugodnejše, če bi vzdržno obnavljanje dosegle kombinirano, to je z dvigom domače rodnosti vsaj na raven T_f 1,8 do 1,9 in s postopnim zmernim priseljevanjem, kar bi omogočilo primerno integracijo imigrantov in s tem tudi politično sprejemljivost priseljevanja. Vse to najlepše pokaže, kako je MP v resnici izredno pomemben del PP.

ŠIRŠI DEMOGRAFSKI OKVIRI MIGRACIJSKE KRIZE V EVROPI IN ZAHODNI AZIJI TER SEVERNI AFRIKI

Migracijska kriza sredi tega desetletja je zlasti zanimiva z vidika demografskih razlik med Evropo na eni in Z Azijo in S Afriko na drugi strani; te regije uporabljam po definicijah OZN. Evropa vključuje tudi Rusijo, k Z Aziji spada 18 držav, vključno s Ciprom, Turčijo, z Gruzijo, Armenijo, Azerbajdžanom in Irakom, vendar brez Irana, k S Afriki pa spada sedem držav, vključno s Sudanom in z Z Saharo. Demografske razlike med Evropo in njenim ožjim azijskim in afriškim zaledjem lahko najkrajše označimo z razlikami v demografskih režimih (DR) obnavljanja prebivalstva med temi regijami. V Evropi, kjer je demografski prehod končan, se je že sredi 20. stoletja oblikoval moderni DR z nizko smrtnostjo in rodnostjo, nizkim ali celo negativnim naravnim prirastkom, s staranjem prebivalstva in pozitivnimi neto migracijami. V Z Aziji in S Afriki pa demografski prehod še poteka, zato je tam prehodni DR. Smrtnost se je sorazmerno hitro znižala, rodnost pa se znižuje počasneje, kar vodi do hitre rasti prebivalstva. Neto migracije so negativne, starostna struktura prebivalstva pa izrazito mlada. Če k temu dodamo veliko razliko v gospodarski razvitosti med regijami, je jasno, da so v Z Aziji in S Afriki številni potencialni migranti, ki si želijo v Evropo. Sorazmerno velike migracije v Evropo potekajo že v normalnih razmerah, med vojnami in širšimi družbenimi krizami, ki jih sprožijo različna »pomladna« in druga gibanja, pa nenadoma nastanejo razmere, ki povzročijo masovne migracije in celo eksodus.

Odzivi množičnih medijev pa tudi evropske politične in najširše javnosti na migracijsko dogajanje na Balkanu in na poti proti osrednjemu delu Evrope v letih 2015/16 so praviloma prezrli demografsko realnost in velike razlike med Evropo in njenim zaledjem, ki se bodo v prihodnosti še poglabile. Za tri obravnavane regije OZN so na voljo zelo različni demografski statistični podatki. Ker so podatki za Evropo odlični (European Data Sheet 2014), za njeno zaledje pa veliko slabši, še zlasti za države v vojni, tukaj uporabljam podatke OZN, ki tudi za manj razvite in krizne države pripravljajo najboljše možne ocene. S pomočjo realnih podatkov, ocen in projekcij obravnavam stoletno obdobje 1950–2050, kar omogoča OZN z več desetletji trajajočim ocenjevanjem in projiciranjem podatkov o prebivalstvu za svet, njegove regije in posamezne države. Zadnja verzija dela, znanega kot *World Population Prospects* (WPP), je na voljo za leto 2015 (WPP 2015 Revision). Izbrani demografski podatki za tri obravnavane regije so prikazani v Tabeli 1.

Tabela 1: Izbrani demografski podatki za S Afriko, Z Azijo in Evropo za leta 1950, 2015 in 2050¹

IZBRANI KAZALEC	Severna Afrika			Zahodna Azija			Evropa		
	1950	2015	2050	1950	2015	2050	1950	2015	2050
P v mio	49,2	223,9	354,3	51,0	257,2	395,5	549,1	738,4	706,8
Mediana starosti	19,9	25,1	32,2	20,8	26,3	34,3	28,9	41,7	46,2
r v %	2,5	1,9	0,9	2,6	2,0	0,7	1,0	0,1	-0,2
j v ‰	26,2	20,7	8,9	24,8	17,6	7,4	10,3	-0,3	-3,6
Ekonomska odvisnost	75,6	59,7	56,8	73,0	54,3	55,3	52,2	50,0	74,6
T_f	6,7	3,3	2,3	6,3	2,9	2,2	2,7	1,6	1,8
e_{0,m}	41,4	68,8	75,7	41,6	70,0	77,2	60,9	73,4	80,1
e_{0,f}	43,2	72,4	79,4	46,3	75,6	81,2	66,1	80,6	85,6
nm v ‰	-1,4	-1,9	-0,3	1,4	2,5	0,1	-0,5	1,1	1,2

Vir: WPP 2015 Revision, UN, Population Division

Tukaj ne morem podrobno obravnavati vseh demografskih razlik med Evropo in zaledjem. Očitno pa je, da postopno dokončanje demografskega prehoda v zalednih regijah do leta 2050 ne bo odpravilo razlik, ampak bo mnoge še poglobilo. Največje nesorazmerje, ki je za pričujoče besedilo tudi najpomembnejše, je v rasti prebivalstva (Lutz idr. 2003). V sto letih se bo po srednji varianti projekcij OZN prebivalstvo v Z Aziji predvidoma povečalo z indeksom 775,5, v S. Afriki s 720,1 in v Evropi s 128,7. Če upoštevamo, da se zaledni regiji tudi zaradi vojn in politične nestabilnosti ekonomsko počasi razvijata, se bo migracijski pritisk na Evropo v prihodnjih desetletjih še stopnjeval. Nekatere od preostalih razlik se bodo zmanjšale, druge pa povečale ali pa bodo okvirno ostale enake kot leta 2015. Zmanjšale se bodo predvsem razlike v ravni rodnosti in smrtnosti ter v naravnem prirastku in rasti prebivalstva. Razlike v mediani starosti prebivalstva se bodo še povečale.

Pri neto migracijah je slika pestrejša. Leta 1950 je bila celo Evropa emigracijska. Na splošno pa sta Evropa in Z Azija v izbranih letih regiji s pozitivnimi, S Afrika pa z negativnimi neto selitvami. Zanimivo je, da se bo ekonomska odvisnost v sto letih obrnila na glavo. V Evropi bo leta 2050 kazalec približno tolikšen, kot je bil leta 1950 v zaledju, vendar bo struktura tega kazalca bistveno različna, saj bodo v Evropi leta 2050 odvisni predvsem stari, v zaledju pa so bili leta 1950 odvisni predvsem otroci.

1 S Afrika zajema Alžirijo, Egipt, Libijo, Maroko, Sudan, Tunizijo in Z Saharo; Z Azija zajema Armenijo, Azerbajdžan, Bahrajn, Ciper (tukaj zanemarimo, da je grški del Cipra članica EU), Gruzijo, Irak, Izrael, Jordanijo, Kuvajt, Libanon, Oman, Katar, Saudsko Arabijo, Palestino, Sirijo, Turčijo, Združene arabske emirate in Jemen; Evropa zajema tudi Rusijo. Za leto 2050 so podatki po srednji varianti projekcij OZN. Mediana starosti ter življenjski pričakovanji ob rojstvu za moške in ženske, $e_{0,m}$ in $e_{0,f}$, so v letih. r in j sta letni stopnji rasti prebivalstva (P) in naravnega prirastka, T_f je stopnja totalne rodnosti v številu otrok na žensko, nm je stopnja neto migracij, ekonomska odvisnost je razmerje med vsoto P_{0-14} in P_{65+} v števcu ter P_{15-64} v imenovalcu. Intervalni podatki, npr. r in nm , so za petletje, ki sledi navedenemu letu v glavi tabele.

Za podrobnejše poznavanje demografskih razmer v bližnjem evropskem zaledju v Tabeli 2 prikazujem štiri demografske podatke za leti 2015 in 2050 za izbrane (večje) države iz zalednih regij. Ti štirje podatki so število prebivalstva (P), mediana starosti prebivalstva v letih ter naravni prirastek in neto migracije v odtisočkih. Tudi ti podatki so iz WPP 2015. Za leto 2050 pa so podatki po srednji varianti projekcij OZN, ki se nahajajo med bolj skrajnima nizkima in visokima variantama.

Tabela 2: Število prebivalstva (P), mediana starosti (v letih), naravni prirastek v odtisočkih in neto migracije v odtisočkih za leti 2015 in 2050 za izbrane (večje) države S Afrike in Z Azije²

Država	Število prebivalstva		Mediana starosti (v letih)		Naravni prirastek v ‰		Neto migracije v ‰	
	2015	2050	2015	2050	2015	2050	2015	2050
Egipt	91,5	151,1	24,7	31,0	22,3	9,8	-0,5	-0,3
Turčija	78,7	95,8	29,8	41,8	11,5	1,7	5,3	-0,1
Sudan	40,2	80,3	19,4	26,2	25,8	14,3	-4,2	-0,1
Alžirija	39,7	56,5	27,6	37,1	19,9	5,7	-0,8	-0,2
Irak	36,4	83,7	19,3	24,3	29,8	18,5	3,3	-0,1
Maroko	34,4	43,7	28,0	38,6	15,5	3,3	-1,9	-1,3
Savdska Arabija	31,5	46,1	28,3	38,2	17,4	3,3	5,7	0,8
Jemen	26,8	47,2	19,3	29,6	26,1	8,5	-0,4	-0,4
Sirija	18,5	34,9	20,8	33,7	18,5	6,7	-41,1	-0,3
Tunizija	11,3	13,5	31,2	40,4	11,8	1,3	-0,6	-0,3
Izrael	8,1	12,6	30,3	35,2	16,1	8,8	0,5	0,7
Jordanija	7,6	11,7	22,5	32,4	24,0	8,7	6,5	-0,3
Libija	6,3	8,4	27,5	38,4	16,4	1,9	-16,0	0,5
Libanon	5,9	5,6	28,5	46,8	10,3	1,4	49,1	-0,7
Palestina	4,7	9,8	19,3	27,4	29,5	15,3	-2,0	-0,5

Vir: WPP 2015, Revision, UN, Population Division

Podatki v Tabeli 2 podrobneje kažejo demografske razlike med posameznimi izbranimi državami v S Afriki in Z Aziji in s tem dopolnjujejo Tabelo 1. Po srednji varianti projekcij OZN naj bi se do leta 2050 prebivalstvo več kot podvojilo v Iraku, Jemnu in Palestini, zelo blizu podvojitve pa sta še Sudan in Sirija. To so države z najvišjim naravnim prirastkom leta 2015 in hkrati države, ki so v vojni ali veliki politični krizi. V takih razmerah ni gospodarskega in družbenega razvoja, ki bi krepil procese modernizacije in s tem demografski

2 Za leto 2050 so podatki po srednji varianti projekcij OZN. V skladu s stališčem OZN je Palestina prikazana kot samostojna država.

prehod. Rang držav po številu prebivalstva se do leta 2050 po projekcijah predvidoma ne bo veliko spremenil. Egipt bo ostal na prvem mestu s kar 151,1 milijona ljudi, Irak se bo uvrstil na tretje mesto, Jemen bo prehitel Maroko in Savdsko Arabijo, slednja pa Maroko. Omenjam še Palestino, ki bo z blizu 10 milijoni ljudi prehitela Libijo in Libanon. Ob današnjih zaostrenih političnih razmerah v obeh obravnavanih regijah, zaostajanju arabskega sveta za razvojem v svetu in grozečih klimatskih spremembah, ki s segrevanjem planeta dvigujejo temperature, si je težko predstavljati, kako bo v prihodnjih desetletjih v S Afriki in Z Aziji živelo tako veliko število ljudi.

Konec demografskega prehoda bo v obdobju do leta 1950 privedel do modernega DR v Turčiji, Tuniziji in Libanonu. Izraela tukaj posebej ne obravnavam, saj je tam demografski prehod že končan. V drugih obravnavanih državah se zdi, da se bo prehodni DR še podaljšal, čeprav ni izključeno, da bi nekatere države pospešeno končale demografski prehod; kandidata sta predvsem Alžirija in Maroko. Migracijska slika, ki jo praviloma kažejo ocenjeni podatki o neto migracijah v Tabeli 2, je bolj kompleksna, kot bi pričakovali glede na prevladujoči DR. Negativne neto migracije v stolpcu za leto 2015 sicer prevladujejo, vendar je hkrati kar šest držav s pozitivnimi neto migracijami. Razumljivo je, da bogata Savdska Arabija privlači priseljence, čeprav ni pripravljena sprejeti beguncev iz soseščine ali pa se ji ti izogibajo. Jordanija, Libanon in Turčija so sprejeli veliko beguncev iz Sirije. Bolj negotov pa je podatek za Irak, čeprav je lahko rezultat relativne umiritve razmer v njegovem šiitskem in deloma kurdskem delu. Srednja varianta projekcij OZN za leto 2050 predvideva umiritev razmer in večjo prevlado neto odseljevanja.

Pri obravnavi migracijskih razmer pa se moramo zavedati, da lahko hitro pride do velikih sprememb. Izbruh vojne ali večja politična kriza lahko v kratkem času bistveno spremenita razmere. Po ocenah avstrijskih demografov je imela Sirija v letih 2005–2010 397.000 priselitev in 452.000 odselitev ter negativne neto selitve v obsegu 55.000 (Global Migration Data Sheet 2014), kar pa se je v naslednjih petih letih zaradi vojne povsem spremenilo. Dunajski podatki tudi kažejo, da je bilo v absolutnem številu največ neto odseljevanj iz Maroka, Egipta, Alžirije, Iraka in Jemna, največ neto priseljevanj pa v bogate zalivske države na Arabskem polotoku. V Tabeli 3 še dodatno prikazujem površino, podrobnejše izbrane demografske kazalce in bruto nacionalni dohodek (BND) na prebivalca, popravljen s pariteto kupne moči, ki na uveljavljeni statistični način izboljšuje mednarodno primerljivost podatkov o BND za iste države kot v Tabeli 2. BND je izražen v ameriških dolarjih in se nanaša na leto 2014, preostali podatki pa so za leto 2015. Izbrani demografski podatki so francoski strokovnjaki ocenili na podlagi krajšega obdobja zadnjih let (Pison 2015: 1) in se deloma razlikujejo od podatkov, prikazanih v Tabeli 2, hkrati pa so rezultat stiske zaradi pomanjkanja dobrih statističnih podatkov.

Podatki v Tabeli 3 kažejo velike razlike v BND na prebivalca v izbranih državah. Razlike v površini posameznih držav zaradi prisotnosti puščavskih ozemelj zanemarjam. BND na prebivalca je največji v državah, bogatih z nafto. Preostale obravnavane države, če ne upoštevam Izraela, pa po ekonomski razvitosti precej zaostajajo. To zaostajanje bo v prihodnjih desetletjih skupaj z nedokončanim demografskim prehodom, ki je še dodatno osvetljen z demografskimi kazalci v Tabeli 3, temeljni ekonomski dejavnik rasti števila potencialnih migrantov iz S Afrike in Z Azije v Evropo. Nadaljevanje sedanjih političnih kriz in vojn ter morebitni nastanek novih pa bo v kombinaciji z nižjo ekonomsko razvitostjo in s hitro rastjo števila prebivalstva še dodatno zaostrovalo razmere.

Tabela 3: Površina in izbrani demografski kazalci v letu 2015 ter bruto nacionalni dohodek na prebivalca v USD po pariteti kupne moči za leto 2014 za izbrane (večje) države S Afrike in Z Azije³

Regija, Država	Površina v tisoč km ²	T _f v št. otrok na žensko	m ₀ (v ‰)	P ₀₋₁₄ (v ‰)	P ₆₅₊ (v ‰)	e _{0,m} v letih	e _{0,f} v letih	BND v PKM na preb.
Severna Afrika								
Egipt	1.001	3,5	22	31	4	70	73	11.020
Sudan	1.861	5,2	52	43	3	60	64	3.980
Alžirija	2.382	3,0	21	28	6	72	77	13.540
Maroko	447	2,5	26	25	6	73	75	7.180
Tunizija	164	2,1	16	23	8	74	78	10.600
Libija	1.760	2,4	14	29	5	69	74	16.190
Zahodna Azija								
Turčija	748	2,2	11	24	8	75	79	19.040
Irak	438	4,2	37	41	3	67	71	14.670
Savska Arabija	2.150	2,9	16	30	3	73	75	53.760
Jemen	528	4,4	43	41	3	62	67	3.820
Sirija	185	2,8	16	33	4	64	76	-
Izrael	22	3,3	3	28	11	80	84	32.550
Jordanija	89	3,5	17	37	3	73	77	11.910
Libanon	10	1,7	8	26	6	76	79	17.330
Palestina	6	4,1	18	40	3	72	75	-

Vir: Pison 2015: 2–4

Na velika demografska nesorazmerja med Evropo in njenimi sosednjimi regijami sem v preteklosti že večkrat opozarjal (Malačič 2009a; Malačič 2009b), čeprav si takrat nisem mogel predstavljati, da se v Evropi lahko pojavi tako veliko število beguncev in nezakonitih imigrantov, kot jih je bilo v letih 2015/16 na balkanski poti. Vzroki zanje so zelo kompleksni in povezani tako z razmerami na emigracijskem območju kot tudi z različnimi odzivi in ravnanji v Evropi in še zlasti v EU. Pri opozarjanju na demografska nesorazmerja ne smemo pasti v demografski determinizem in na emigracijskem območju zanemariti ekonomskih, političnih, kulturnih in drugih dogajanj. Hkrati pa se moramo zavedati, da so številne ekonomske, politične in vojne krize pogosto dodatno spodbujene s hitro rastjo števila prebivalstva in njegovo mlado starostno strukturo. Zaradi tega bi morali v vseh treh obravnavanih regijah, zlasti po letu 1994, ko je bila kairska konferenca OZN, bistveno več

3 T_f je v številu otrok na žensko; m₀ je v številu umrlih dojenčkov na 1.000 živorojenih; P₀₋₁₄ in P₆₅₊ sta v odstotkih od celotnega prebivalstva; e_{0,m} in e_{0,f} sta življenjski pričakovanji ob rojstvu za moške in ženske; BND v PKM na prebivalca je v ameriških dolarjih (USD) za leto 2014. V skladu s stališčem OZN je Palestina prikazana kot samostojna država.

pozornosti in energije posvetiti gradnji primerne PP in v njenem okviru še zlasti MP. To pa se doslej ni zgodilo v nobeni od treh regij. EU je v zadnjih dveh do treh desetletjih začela počasi sestavljati mozaik PP, čeprav je ta v pristojnosti držav članic, vendar dalj od zametkov ni prišla (Geddes 2001; Malačič 2013: 29–31; EC 2005a; EC 2005b; EC 2007; EK 2008). Sedanja migracijska kriza kaže, da dosedanja prizadevanja EU na področju MP niso kos naraščajočim migracijskim pritiskom iz bližnjega zaledja in drugih nerazvitih predelov sveta (Dossier Migration 2015: 34). Takšno politiko bi morala EU pospešeno oblikovati in sprejeti, saj jo zahtevajo tako gospodarska kot politična dogajanja v Evropi.

OBRISI VZDRŽNEGA MODELA MIGRACIJSKE POLITIKE EU

EU in njene članice si morajo prizadevati za uresničevanje MP, ki bo usklajena z načeli in okviri, sprejetimi na globalni ravni v okviru OZN, pri čemer morajo upoštevati Ustanovno listino OZN in širok mednarodni pravni okvir različnih konvencij in drugih dokumentov. Pri številnih konvencijah si je treba prizadevati za pridobitev dodatne podpore in s tem za njihovo uveljavitev. Na področju MP in PP je najpomembnejši mednarodni dokument AP že omenjene konference OZN v Kairu ter sklepi, ki so jih organi OZN sprejeli ob periodičnih obravnavah uresničevanja AP. Na demografskem področju se razlike med razvitimi in nerazvitimi državami poglobljajo: število prebivalcev v prvih stagnira, v drugih še vedno hitro raste, hkrati pa se večajo razlike med državami in regijami v skupini nerazvitih. Evropa in EU bosta morali upoštevati, da bo v 21. stoletju najhitreje naraščalo prebivalstvo Afrike. Če k temu dodam že prikazane razmere v Z Aziji, vidimo, da se bo število potencialnih migrantov v Evropo v prihodnje še povečalo, kar bo morala MP EU in širše Evrope upoštevati (Malačič 2007). To pa hkrati pomeni, da je treba MP tesneje povezati s PP, kar v EU pomeni, da bo treba ustvariti razmere, v katerih bodo ljudje želeli rojevati toliko otrok, da bo zagotovljeno dolgoročno nemoteno obnavljanje prebivalstva. Treba je opustiti stališče, da rodnost v EU ni pomembna in jo bo mogoče nadomestiti s priselitvami iz prenaseljenih regij drugih celin. Demografske študije so pokazale, da bi bilo preveliko tako pridobljeno priseljevanje politično nevzdržno in bi povzročilo številne težave (UN 2000; Coleman 2007). Priseljevanje v EU naj dolgoročno ostane na vzdržni ravni, to pa naj določa sposobnost integracije priseljencev v evropsko družbo. Gotovo pa drži, da EU ne bo mogla sprejeti ne samo vseh, ampak niti ne večjega števila tistih, ki si bodo v prihodnjih desetletjih prizadevali priseliti vanjo. Zato je pomemben sestavni element MP EU način, kako zadržati ljudi iz drugih celin v njihovem izvornem okolju. To bo najlažje doseči s podporo gospodarskemu in družbenemu razvoju, ob političnih in okoljskih krizah pa tudi z oblikovanjem varnih območij in pomoči v obliki hrane in drugih življenjskih potrebščin. MP EU bi morala predvideti tudi odziv na morebitne okoljske katastrofe, ki bi v kratkem času zahtevale preselitev več sto milijonov ljudi. V razmerah intenzivnih klimatskih sprememb je s takšno možnostjo treba računati, čeprav bi si v tem primeru EU delila breme z drugimi regijami in državami sveta.

MP EU si bo lahko prizadevala nekatere svoje dosežke uveljaviti tudi v širšem globalnem okolju, vendar med njimi še dolgo ne bo prostega pretoka oseb, kot je v šengenskem območju. Že ob migracijski krizi 2015/16, ki v primerjavi z morebitnimi prihodnjimi krizami verjetno ni bila posebej velika, se je pokazalo, da je najprej ogroženo načelo prostega pretoka oseb. Dokler ne bo na svetu ene same vlade ali pa enakomerne in visoke gospodarske razvitosti,

bo treba živeti s pravico držav, da na svoje ozemlje sprejmejo ali ne sprejmejo oseb, ki bi si to želele. To pa pomeni, da bo MP držav še naprej izrazito selektivna. Še naprej bodo obstajale osnovne vrste in delitve mednarodnih migracij, MP EU pa jih bo morala upoštevati. Treba je poiskati učinkovitejše načine preprečevanja nezakonitih migracij in trgovine z ljudmi ter olajšati in povečati prihod zakonitih migrantov v EU. V Evropi bo treba prijazneje sprejeti slednje, predvsem ekonomske imigrante, da najboljši med njimi, glede na izobrazbo in nekatere druge kriterije, ne bi še naprej odhajali v ZDA. Vojno za talente, ki poteka v modernem svetu, je Evropa v zadnjih letih izgubljala. Izboljšati je treba politiko modre karte, da bo njena uspešnost primerljiva s politiko zelene karte v ZDA. Ker je težko napovedati prihodnji razvoj na trgu dela in v svetu dela nasploh, je treba mlade imigrante pritegniti v evropske šole in na univerze, jim finančno omogočiti šolanje ter spodbujati kroženje strokovnjakov med EU in nerazvitimi izvornimi državami. EU bi morala spodbujati izvoz kapitala in neposrednih investicij v države s številnimi potencialnimi emigranti. To bo prineslo delovna mesta in zadržalo ljudi v domačem okolju, hitrejši gospodarski razvoj pa bo pomagal modernizirati manj razvite države in prispeval k večji politični stabilnosti. EU lahko k temu dodatno prispeva z odprtjem lastnih trgov za kmetijske in druge proizvode iz izvornih držav potencialnih imigrantov. Na tem področju se je EU doslej preveč zapirala in se naslanjala na težavna pogajanja v Mednarodni trgovinski organizaciji.

EU si želi v prihodnje bremena in stroške pomoči beguncem, iskalcem zatočišča in razseljenim osebam ustrežnejše in pravičnejše porazdeliti med države članice (Dossier Migration 2015: 30–43) in doseči spoštovanje mednarodnih obveznosti. Ker dosedanja v Dublinu dogovorjena politika ni bila kos migracijski krizi 2015/16, jo je treba dopolniti in izboljšati. Rešitve morajo biti zakonite, spoštovanje pravne države je temelj evropskega načina življenja in združevanja. Evropa ne more dovoliti množičnega nezakonitega prestopanja svojih meja in prostega gibanja priseljencev po celini. Države ob zunanjih mejah EU in šengenskega območja bodo vedno bolj izpostavljene prihodu nezakonitih migrantov, tihotapljenju ljudi in prihodom beguncev, ki jih bodo sprožale nove vojne in krize v sosesčini ali drugje po svetu. Ker je breme migracij za te države že v sedanji krizi preveliko, v prihodnosti pa se utegne še povečati, naj MP EU določi načine zagotavljanja in uveljavljanja ustrezne solidarnosti med članicami EU.

Med migracijsko krizo na balkanski poti in pred tem na obalah Sredozemskega morja je solidarnost med članicami EU odpovedala. Veliko sta k temu prispevali nedodelanost in odsotnost MP EU, pa tudi veliko število migrantov, kar je bilo v EU podcenjeno. Politiki so podcenili tudi politični učinek množičnih smrtnih in drugih nesreč na morju. To se je še stopnjevalo, ko so se smrtno nesreče začele dogajati na cestah, v predorih in tovornjakih na ozemlju članic EU. Solidarnost je odpovedala tudi pri predlogu kvot, s katerimi bi porazdelili nezakonite migrante in prosilce za azil, ki so že bili na ozemlju EU, med članice EU. Čeprav mora MP EU natančneje določiti vlogo in način izvedbe kvot, pa so kvote bolj začasna kot trajna rešitev težav, saj narava migracij kaže, da migrantov ni mogoče prisilno zadržati dalj časa tam, kjer ti ne želijo ostati. Z MP EU je treba natančno razmejiti začasne in trajne ukrepe. Začasni ukrepi morajo biti sestavni del dobre MP že zaradi nepredvidljivosti prihodnjih migracijskih gibanj in kriz. Hkrati pa ti ne bi smeli le gasiti požarov in nadomeščati dobro zasnovane in vodene dolgoročne MP. V številnih državah se je pokazalo, da je zelo drago begunce, iskalce zatočišča in razseljene osebe nameščati v posebne centre in jih tako izločati iz lokalne skupnosti. Tudi zaradi napadov nanje mora MP EU dopuščati in predvideti alternativne načine njihove nastanitve, stanovanjsko vključenost v lokalno

skupnost pa je treba dopolniti s pravico do dela in zaposlitve. Tako se bodo tujci najhitreje integrirali, stroški MP pa se bodo zmanjšali, saj bodo tujci lahko sami poskrbeli zase.

MP EU si naj prizadeva najti načine učinkovitega preprečevanja trgovine z ljudmi. Zločine, ki se dogajajo na tihotapskih migrantskih poteh na morju in kopnem, je treba preganjati in kaznovati. Višino kazni in tveganj za tihotapce je treba močno povečati, saj so zaslužki previsoki, tveganja pa premajhna. Prav tako bo treba povečati učinkovitost policije tako v EU kot drugje v Evropi, pa tudi spodbuditi oblasti v izvornem okolju za preganjanje in kaznovanje tihotapcev. EU mora pomagati graditi politično stabilnost v svoji soseščini in širše, če je treba, tudi z vojaškimi sredstvi, saj brez reda in politične stabilnosti ni mogoče uresničevati ustrezne in učinkovite MP.

Demokratska evropska družba mora s svojo MP poiskati humane načine vračanja nezakonitih priseljencev, ki ne izpolnjujejo pogojev za sprejem, v njihovo izvorno okolje ali njegovo soseščino. Dosedanje rešitve so preveč temeljile na policijskih metodah. Kjer je le mogoče, bi bilo treba te metode kombinirati z ekonomsko pomočjo in ekonomskimi spodbudami. Grobo orisani okvir MP EU bo treba poglobiti in preveriti v širših strokovnih in političnih razpravah ter demokratično sprejeti v državah članicah EU in Evropskem parlamentu. Dobro organizirana in učinkovita EU si ne bo mogla na daljši rok privoščiti previsokih stroškov gašenja požarov ob izbruhih kriz in nepreverenih začasnih rešitvah. Sredstva namreč veliko bolj potrebuje za prihodnji razvoj, ki bo kos izzivom bliskovitih sprememb v globalnem svetu in bo hkrati v interesu državljanov EU, pa tudi vseh tistih, ki bodo po zakoniti poti prišli v EU in se integrirali v evropsko družbo. Evropejci in prihodnji imigranti v Evropo, ki jih bo ta sprejemala več kot v preteklih desetletjih, ne bo pa mogla sprejeti vseh, ki bi si to želeli, imajo dolgoročno enak interes. Čeprav naj bi bile imigracije v EU priložnost za večino, moramo hkrati vedeti, da bodo zaradi ekonomskih zakonitosti za del Evropejcev tudi škodljive. Na trgu dela se običajno znižajo plače in poslabšajo zaposlitvene možnosti domačinov, ki jim neposredno konkurirajo priseljenci (Chiswick 2005: xvi). V interesu Evropejcev in imigrantov je uspešna, učinkovita in demokratična Evropa, ki bo zagotavljala blaginjo v njej živečih ljudi. Imigranti si močno želijo, da bi bili sprejeti, pri čemer pa je Evropa žal največkrat odpovedala. V prihodnje lahko pričakujemo večje poenotenje MP v razvitih državah, sami imigranti pa se bodo morali bolj prilagoditi evropskim vrednotam in opustiti številne z evropskim pravnim redom nesprejemljive prakse.

SKLEP

Migracijska kriza v Evropi 2015/16 je pokazala, da EU in širša Evropa nista bili pripravljena na nepričakovano odprtje balkanske poti priseljevanja in hiter razpad mednarodnega pravnega sistema, vključno z zakonodajo EU za sprejemanje različnih migrantov. Informacije o odprtju poti so se hitro razširile v begunska taborišča v Z Aziji in širše, kar je sprožilo velik porast tihotapljenja ljudi in prihod številnih nezakonitih migrantov v Evropo. V drugi polovici septembra 2015 se je njihova pot preusmerila tudi v Slovenijo. Hkrati pa je, kljub dogovoru med EU in Turčijo spomladi leta 2016, v prihodnosti prihod imigrantov nemogoče predvideti.

Ob prihodu številnih nezakonitih imigrantov na balkanski poti se je pokazalo, da je EU brez MP, ki bi učinkovito in humanitarno primerno reševala nastale probleme. V zadnjih dvajsetih letih je bila v EU zanemarjena tako PP kot njen sestavni del MP, hkrati pa je

v Z Aziji in S Afriki prebivalstvo hitro naraščalo. Ta rast je skupaj z lokalnimi vojnami in krizami povečevala število potencialnih migrantov v Evropo; v naslednjih desetletjih se bo to število še povečalo. EU se že vsaj deset let zaveda pomena PP in MP, čeprav ti ostajata v pristojnosti držav članic. Migracijska kriza je pokazala, da bosta morali biti ti politiki prioriteta in da ju bo treba obravnavati povezano. Okvirno orisani model MP v pričujočem besedilu bo treba poglobiti in preveriti v širših strokovnih in političnih razpravah ter sprejeti v organih odločanja EU in njenih članic. V Evropi je v šengenskem območja uresničen prost pretok ljudi, česar drugje v svetu še dolgo ne bo mogoče uresničiti. Migracijska kriza 2015/16 in morebitne prihodnje krize tega dosežka ne smejo ogroziti. Za uresničitev prostega gibanja ljudi po celem svetu pa bo potrebnega še veliko časa, saj bi bilo treba najprej doseči enakomerno razvitost in morda celo oblikovanje svetovne vlade oziroma ukinitve državnih in širših regionalnih meja.

LITERATURA IN VIRI

- Akcijski program Mednarodne konference o prebivalstvu in razvoju*, Kairo, 5. 9. do 13. 9. 1994. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za delo, družino in socialne zadeve.
- Belloni, Milena (2016). Refugees as Gamblers: Eritreans Seeking to Migrate Through Italy. *Journal of Immigrant and Refugees Studies* 16/1, 104–119.
- Boeri, Tito idr. (2002). *Immigration Policy and the Welfare Systems*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chiswick, Barry R. (2005). *The Economics of Immigration*. Cheltenham, UK, Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar.
- Coleman, David (2007). Immigration and Ethnic Change in Low – Fertility Countries: A Third Demographic Transition in Progress? *Migration and Development. International Migration of Population. Russia and Contemporary World* (ur. Vladimir Iontsev). Moskva: Lomonosov Moscow State University, Faculty of Economics, 10–42. (Besedila v knjigi so prevedena tudi v ruščino.)
- Demeny, Paul (2003.) Population Policy Dilemmas in Europe at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century. *Population and Development Review* 29/1, 1–28.
- European Commission (2005a). *On an EU Approach to Managing Economic Migration*, Green Paper. Bruselj: European Commission, 11. 1. 2005.
- European Commission (2005b). *Confronting Demographic Change: A new Solidarity between the Generations*, Green Paper. Bruselj: European Commission, 16. 3. 2005.
- European Commission (2007). *Europe's Demographic Future: Facts and Figures on Challenges and Opportunities*. Bruselj: European Commission.
- European Commission (2015). Dossier Migration: Putting Europe to the Test. *Commission en direct*. Bruselj: European Commission, 25. 10. 2015.
- European Demographic Data Sheet 2014* (2014). Dunaj: Wittgenstein Centre, Vienna Institute of Demography, Austrian Academy of Sciences and International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis.
- Evropska komisija (2008). *Migracije in mobilnost: Izzivi in priložnosti za izobraževalne sisteme v EU*, Zelena knjiga. Bruselj: Evropska komisija, 3. 7. 2008.
- Evropska komisija (2016). *EU in begunska kriza*. Bruselj: Evropska komisija, 1–4.

- Geddes, Andrew (2001). International Migration and State Sovereignty in an Integrating Europe. *International Migration. Special Issue: International Migration Policies* 39/6, 21–42.
- Global Migration Data Sheet 2005–10* (2014). Dunaj: Wittgenstein Centre, Vienna Institute of Demography and Austrian Academy of Sciences.
- Lutz, Wolfgang idr. (2003). Europe's Population at a Turning Point. *Science* 299, 1991–1992.
- Malačič, Janez (2006). *Demografija: Teorija, analiza, metode in modeli*, 6. izdaja. Ljubljana: Ekonomska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani.
- Malačič, Janez (2007). The Role of Migration in Modern Demographic Regime. *Migration and Development. International Migration of Population. Russia and Contemporary World* (ur. Vladimir Iontsev). Moskva: Lomonosov Moscow State University, Faculty of Economics. 100–113. (Besedila v knjigi so prevedena tudi v ruščino.)
- Malačič, Janez (2009a). The Borders of the European Union and Neighbouring Areas: The Importance of Demographics (ur. Mateja Jančar), *Where are the Limits of the European Union?* Ljubljana: Inštitut Jožeta Pučnika in CES.
- Malačič, Janez (2009b). The Demographic Development in the European Union and Neighbouring Hinterland: The Importance of Growing Imbalances. *Soočanje z demografskimi izzivi 2009*. Informacijska družba – IS 2009, Zvezek B (ur. Janez Malačič in Matjaž Gams). Ljubljana: Institut Jožef Stefan, 22–28.
- Malačič, Janez (2013). Prebivalstvena politika Slovenije: Od pasivnega prilagajanja spremembam k aktivnemu oblikovanju vzdržnega obnavljanja prebivalstva. *Soočanje z demografskimi izzivi 2013*. Informacijska družba – IS 2013, Zvezek B (ur. Janez Malačič in Matjaž Gams). Ljubljana: Institut Jožef Stefan, 27–32.
- Massey, Douglas S. (2007). Toward a Comprehensive Model of International Migration. *Migration and Development. International Migration of Population. Russia and Contemporary World* (ur. Vladimir Iontsev). Moskva: Lomonosov Moscow State University, Faculty of Economics, 126–148. (Besedila v knjigi so prevedena tudi v ruščino.)
- Pison, Gilles (2015). The Population of the World 2015. *Population and Societies* 525. Pariz: INED, 1–8.
- Resolucija o migracijski politiki Republike Slovenije* (1999). Ljubljana: Ur. list RS, št. 40/99.
- Resolucija o migracijski politiki Republike Slovenije* (2002). Ljubljana: Ur. list RS, št. 106/02.
- United Nations (UN) (2000). *Replacement Migration: Is It a Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?* New York: United Nations Population Division, ESA/P/WD,160.
- World Population Prospects, 2015 Revision* (2015). United Nations Population Division, New York, <http://esa.un.org/undp/wpp/DVD> (27. 1. 2016).

SUMMARY

MIGRANT CRISIS AND MIGRATION POLICY IN EUROPE: FROM DEMOGRAPHIC IMBALANCES AND POLITICAL TURMOIL TO THE INCREASING MIGRATION STREAM

Janez MALAČIČ

European migrant crisis 2015/16 has shown serious weaknesses of the EU legal system dealing with refugee protection, asylum seekers and immigration. In spite of the fact that immigration has remained legally in the domain of EU member states the crisis exposed necessity of broader European cooperation in the field of migration and refugee protection. The thesis of the author of the paper is even broader than this. The migrant crisis is a consequence of broader demographic, economic and social situation in Europe, West Asia and North Africa. In the EU migrant crisis is a part of broader population policy (PP) crisis.

Migration policy (MP) is important part of PP. However, the connections between MP and PP are neglected in practice. In the EU and most of its member states only immigration policy attracts interest of politicians and public in general. PP and MP in its totality are much less developed in spite of the need for positive net migration in the low fertility countries to neutralize serious population ageing and future population decline. Migration processes in general and migrant crisis 2015/16 in particular are connected to huge demographic and economic differences between Europe on one side and West Asia and North Africa on the other side. One of the most important is the difference in the demographic regimes. Europe has modern demographic regime with completed demographic transition, positive net migration, stagnant population growth and population ageing. European hinterland on the other side has transitional demographic regime with high population growth, young population age structure and negative net migration. Demographic imbalances and the differences in economic development push migrants and refugees (in periods of wars, military conflicts, political and social turmoil) towards Europe.

Therefore, EU needs well designed and developed MP and PP for appropriate management of migration processes and sustainable population development in general. The author has outlined basic elements of the sustainable model of MP in the EU. The model needs further development and discussions in professional and broader political circles and institutions. However, the crucial element of the sustainable immigration to Europe is the capability of the European societies to integrate immigrants economically and socially. It is important to know also that flow of the people is one side of the medal only. The other side is export of the capital and direct investments of European countries and companies in the hinterland regions for faster economic development and better employment opportunities there. The EU also needs to lower the costs and to increase efficiency of the migration and refugee protection management. The funds are much more needed for economic and social development and modernization which will enable better life for native Europeans as well as for integrated immigrants in Europe.

KOMPLEKSNA JEZIKOVNA IDENTITETA KOT POSLEDICA MIGRACIJE V LITERARNIH DELIH BRINE SVIT IN EVE HOFFMAN

Megi ROŽIČ¹

COBISS 1.01

IZVLEČEK

Kompleksna jezikovna identiteta kot posledica migracije v literarnih delih

Brine Svit in Eve Hoffman

Prispevek predstavi primerjalno analizo literarnega opusa Brine Švigelj Merat (Brine Svit) in romana Eve Hoffman *Lost in Translation: Življenje v drugem jeziku* s temeljnim poudarkom na jezikovni identiteti, ki se v delih obeh literarnih ustvarjalk zelo izrazito pojavlja in je ključno povezana tudi z njuno avtobiografsko izkušnjo migracije ter z jezikovnim, s kulturnim in z družbenim vživljanjem v novo okolje. Literarni ustvarjalki se v svojih delih ob vprašanih jezikovne identitete dotikata tudi osebnostne gradnje literarnih protagonistov in protagonistk v novem življenjskem okolju po izkušnji migracije.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Brina Švigelj Merat (Brina Svit), Eva Hoffman, jezikovna identiteta, izkušnja migracije, identitetna gradnja, avtobiografija

ABSTRACT

A Complex Linguistic Identity as a Consequence of Migration in the Literary Works of Brina Svit and Eva Hoffman

The article presents a comparative analysis of the literary oeuvre of Brina Švigelj Merat (Brina Svit) and of Eva Hoffman's novel *Lost in Translation: A Life in a New Language*, with a fundamental emphasis on linguistic identity, which very often appears in their works and is associated with the autobiographical experience of migration of both female authors and their linguistic, cultural and social adaptations to their new environments. Both authors also present issues of the construction of the personal identity of their literary protagonists in a new living environment after the experience of migration.

KEY WORDS: Brina Švigelj Merat (Brina Svit), Eva Hoffman, linguistic identity, the experience of migration, identity construction, autobiography

¹ Dr. humanistike, asistentka za področje književnosti na Fakulteti za humanistiko Univerze v Novi Gorici, Garibaldijeva 1, SI-6000 Koper; megj.rozic1@gmail.com

UVOD

Izkušnja migracije, sprememba geografskega prostora, življenje v novem geografskem območju, ki ni isto kot tisto, v katerem subjekt doživlja svojo primarno socializacijo, in učenje novega jezika okolja neizogibno vodijo v pretresanje jezikovne in posledično tudi osebne identitete. Adaptacija novemu jezikovnemu kodu namreč sega veliko globlje od (zgolj) učenja novega besedišča, tvorbe stavkov, povedi in replik v jeziku novega okolja. Ob pretresanju jezikovnih vprašanj, dilem in razumevanja jezika, ki velja po mnenju nekaterih teoretikov za »temeljno in univerzalno komponento oblikovanja človeških identitet« (prim. Luckmann 1991: 796), neobhodno pride tudi do pretresanja celotne identitetne pozicije posameznikov in posameznic ter njihovih razmerij do primarne in sekundarne kulture. Vprašanja jezikovne identitete namreč posegajo v sam ustroj človekove osebnosti, njegovega načina delovanja in soočanja z zunanjim svetom.

Jezik, jezikovna identiteta in njuno pretresanje so izpostavljeni in ključni elementi identifikacije pri pripadnikih manjših ljudstev, ki so v svoji zgodovini doživljala etnične in lingvistične blokade ter raznarodovalne ukrepe, pri tistih deželah, ki so izgubile svojo nacionalno neodvisnost ali so šle na poti do nje in so svojo nacionalno pripadnost razvijale v okviru drugih političnih enot (Luckmann 1991: 797). Primera takih držav sta tudi Poljska in Slovenija, iz katerih izvirata avtorici del, ki so v članku v središču pozornosti: Brina Svit¹

- 1 Brina Švigelj Merat (Brina Svit) se je leta 1954 rodila v Ljubljani, na Filozofski fakulteti je študirala francosko filologijo in primerjalno književnost. Leta 1980 se je preselila v Pariz. Svojo literarno pot je začrtala šele po migraciji, svoj literarni prvenec, roman *April*, je namreč izdala leta 1984. Zgodnja dela je napisala v slovenskem jeziku, hkrati pa je postopoma postajala tudi dvojezična avtorica. Njena poznejša dela so sprva izhajala v francoščini, pozneje tudi v slovenščini. Svoj prehod k pisanju v francoskem jeziku je ubesedila tudi v svojih delih, zlasti v romanu *Moreno*. Njena dela v slovenščini in francoščini izhajajo pri slovenskih in francoskih založbah, v prevodih tudi v več drugih svetovnih jezikih. Avtoricina dela v francoščini izhajajo pri najprestižnejših francoskih založbah (npr. Gallimard) in, kakor pravi sama, sta ji literarna kritika in publika v Franciji, kljub temu da se uveljavlja na velikem knjižnem trgu, kjer pod vplivom hiperprodukcije knjige hitro tonejo v pozabo, zelo naklonjeni. Avtorica podarja tudi, da je v francoskem prostoru našla več posluha za svoje literarno ustvarjanje kot v Sloveniji. Njeno uveljavljenje v francoskem prostoru potrjuje tudi evropska knjižna nagrada Madeleine Zepfer, ki jo je leta 2011 prejela za svoj roman *Une nuit à Reykjavik (Noč v Reykjaviku)*. Njen literarni opus v slovenskem jeziku obsega naslove: *April* (1984), *Navadna razmerja* (1998), *Con brio* (1998), *Smrt slovenske primadone* (2000), *Moreno* (2003), *Odveč srce* (2006), *Coco Dias ali Zlata vrata* (2009), *Hvalnica ločitvi* (2011), *Noč v Reykjaviku* (2013) in *Slovenski obraz* (2014).
- 2 Eva Hoffman, pisateljica, novinarka, pianistka in doktorica literarnih ved, se je leta 1945 rodila v Krakovu na Poljskem. Pri trinajstih letih je skupaj z družino migrirala v Vancouver v Kanadi. Pri devetnajstih letih se je preselila v ZDA, v Teksas, kjer je na univerzi Rice dobila štipendijo in leta 1968 diplomirala iz književnosti. Istega leta je končala tudi študij klavirja na glasbeni šoli Yale, leta 1974 pa je s področja angleške in ameriške književnosti doktorirala na Harvardu. Ker si je po študiju bolj kot v akademskih vodah želela svojo poklicno pot nadaljevati kot literarna in kulturna kritičarka, je delala v različnih uredništvih *New York Timesa*. Akademsko pot je nadaljevala kot profesorica literarnih ved in kreativnega pisanja (Univerza v Kolumbiji, v Minnesoti, Tufts, CUNY, Hunter). Njeno uveljavljenje v ameriškem literarnem polju potrjujejo tudi naslednja priznanja: leta 1992 je od Ameriške akademije umetnosti in znanosti prejela nagrado Jean Stein, je prejemnica Guggenheimove štipendija, leta 2000 pa prejemnica literarne nagrade Whitting Award. Je avtorica številnih literarnih del: *Exit into History* (1993), *Shtetl: The Life and Death of a Small Town and the World of Polish Jews* (1997), *The Secret: A Novel* (2002)

in Eva Hoffman.² Jezik je tudi v izrazito avtobiografsko obarvanih delih Eve Hoffman *Lost in Translation: Življenje v drugem jeziku* (1989)³ in Brine Svit⁴ element, zelo izrazito zraščeno z identiteto in hkrati temeljno orodje za identitetno gradnjo pripovedovalk, literarnih protagonistov in protagonistk njunih del. V izbranih literarnih delih avtorici izražata močno povezanost s kategorijo maternega jezika, hkrati pa ob soočenju z izkušnjo migracije izkazuje veliko mero odprtosti, svetovljanstva in zmožnosti prilagajanja spremembam; medkulturno zavest, ki jima omogoča, da ne ostajata hrepeneče zakoreninjeni in melanholično vezani na kategorijo maternega jezika, temveč svoji osebnostni identiteti v novem geografskem in jezikovnem okolju poustvarjata prav z jezikom in s spreminjanjem jezikovnega koda.

ANALIZA LITERARNEGA OPUSA BRINE ŠVIGELJ MERAT (BRINE SVIT) IN ROMANA EVE HOFFMAN »LOST IN TRANSLATION: ŽIVLJENJE V DRUGEM JEZIKU« Z VIDIKA JEZIKOVNE IDENTITETE

Eva Hoffman v romanu *Lost in Translation: Življenje v drugem jeziku* in Brina Svit v svojih delih na avtobiografskih temeljih poudarjata problematiko soočenja z življenjem v novo okolje, v katerega sta se priselili. Okoliščine, ki so povzročile njuno migracijo so, tudi glede na časovno umeščenost, različne. Odločitev za migracijo je v opusu Brine Svit povezana predvsem z osebno odločitvijo in željo po iskanju boljših možnosti življenja in ustvarjanja v drugem geografskem območju – v Parizu. Njene, pogosto v fikcijsko pripoved vpletene in hkrati izrazito avtobiografsko konotirane pripovedovalce in pripovedovalke zaznamuje t. i. transnacionalna migracija, ki izvira iz avtobiografskih dejstev, saj je Brina Svit tudi po migraciji v Pariz intenzivno vzdrževala stike in kulturna posredništva s slovenskim prostorom. V tem kontekstu v romanu *Moreno* poudarja:

Na vsak način sem zmeraj prosto krožila med obema deželama, naš avto pozna pot na pamet. Čeprav, je treba povedati, je pozicija eksila veliko ugodnejša in udobnejša za literaturo, kot moja v avtu, ki pozna na pamet pot med Ljubljano in Parizom, pozicija riti med dvema stoloma. (Svit 2003: 97)

Medtem pa je migracija v romanu Eve Hoffman za avtobiografsko obarvano in istoi-mensko prvoosebno pripovedovalko bližje stanju eksila. V njenem primeru gre sicer za zavestno družinsko odločitev, ki jo prvoosebna pripovedovalka Eva Hoffman kot trinajstletna deklica le sprejme. Odločitev njenih staršev je bila posledica zgodovinske situacije; usoda judovske družine v Krakovu po končani drugi svetovni vojni, kjer so se sicer počutili relativno varno, vendar psihično izčrpano in s hudimi reminiscencami o

After Such Knowledge: Memory, History and the Legacy of the Holocaust (2004), *Illuminations: A Novel* (2008), *USAppassionata* (2009), *Time: Big Ideas, Small Books* (2009). V ameriških literarnih krogih je najbolj znana kot literarna teoretičarka in avtorica. Svojo literarno pot je v celoti začrtala v angleškem jeziku, saj je, kot pravi, začela pisateljevati šele, ko se je tudi njen notranji glas prilagodil novemu okolju in se oglasil v angleškem jeziku (Tokarz 2014: 314).

3 Slovenski prevod Borisa Jukiča je izšel leta 2014, spremno besedo je napisal Niko Jež.

4 Za pričujočo analizo so relevantna izbrana dela: *Navadna razmerja* (1998), *Smrt slovenske primadone* (2000), *Moreno* (2003), *Odveč srce* (2006) in *Hvalnica ločitvi* (2011).

holokavstu in drugih oblikah nasilja nad judovskimi družinami v predvojnem in medvojnem času. V Ameriko je Eva Hoffman kot trinajstletnica migrirala brez predhodnega znanja angleščine in ne da bi karkoli določenega vedela o kulturnem in socialnem imaginariju dežele, kamor je odhajala. Misel na deželo priselitve je zanjo kot mladostnico poosebljena in strašljiva praznina.

V delu *Lost in translation: Življenje v drugem jeziku* smo preko večplastne zavesti prvoosebne pripovedovalke tako kot bralci priče naporom graditve protagonistkine zavesti, njenim željam, da bi razumela »tuje in hkrati ohranila lastno identiteto« (Tokarz 2014: 313). Prav s temi poskusi se oblikuje njena identiteta, ki ji omogoča, da dojema svet brez predsodkov, z lahkotno odprtostjo in brez omejitev. Jezik in prevod ji omogočata prenašanje pomenov iz enega jezika v drugega, skladno s tem pa se dogaja tudi prenos vrednot iz enega kulturnega imaginarija v drugega (prav tam). Brina Svit pa je v Pariz odšla kot odrasla ženska, s predhodnim znanjem francoskega jezika in z vednostjo o tem, kaj lahko v novem geografskem prostoru pričakuje, predvsem pa s prepričanjem, da ji bo ta nudil boljše življenjske in poklicne možnosti. To se zrcali tudi v njenih literarnih delih, saj se v novem okolju ne sooča s pomanjkanjem zmožnosti komunikacije in prevelikim kulturnim šokom. Vstopanje francoskega jezika v njeno življenje je v njenem opusu problematizirano predvsem kot notranji monolog, ta že od njenega literarnega prvenca *April* postopoma prehaja v francoski jezik. Tako izraža: »Včasih se zalotim sredi sanj, rečem namreč amor ljubezni in soleil soncu« (Svit 1984: 14). Spoprijemanje z novim jezikom pa se izraža tudi na ravni odločanja o pisateljevanju v francoskem jeziku.

Problematiko jezikovne identitete, ki se konsistentno pojavlja v romanu Eve Hoffman, Brina Svit poudarja zlasti v romanu *Moreno*.⁵ Dogajanje romana je geografsko umeščeno v Toskano, kjer se pripovedovalka udeleži pisateljske kolonije, da bi napisala svoj novi roman – fikcijsko ljubezensko zgodbo, ki naj bi se dogajala v pariških stanovanjih. Vendar njena pripoved na podlagi doživetega v Toskani ubere drugačno pot. Pripovedovalka se namreč prepusti stvarnosti, dogodki v njeni okolici pa postanejo del pripovedi njenega novega romana. To pripovedovalko sicer preseneča, saj je vedno zapriseženo zagovarjala, da je fikcija resničnejša od življenja samega in ga zrcali v jasnejši obliki. V svojo literarno pripoved vplete resnične osebe in dogodke, ki se odvrtijo pred njenimi budnimi pisateljskimi očmi.

Ob problematiki izbire tipa pripovedi pa se pripovedovalka spoprijema s temama, ki preplavita celotno pripoved njenega romana: s pisateljskim poslanstvom in zlasti problematiko jezika ter težavami pri soočanju s pisateljevanjem v novem jeziku – francoščini. V ta jezik vstopa kot pisateljica sprva negotovo, primerja ga z vsak dan novimi oblačili, v katerih se še ne počuti udobno in domače, francoščina je zanjo preveč sofisticirana, preveč elegantna in toga, da bi jo lahko posvojila, se v njej udomačila in literarno ustvarjala: »Ne prepoznam svoje pisave, ali sem to res jaz« (Svit 2003: 17)? Z jezikom in zlasti s pisavo povezuje svojo identitetno pozicijo, pisava je najintimneje zraščena z njenim bitjem. Hkrati poudarja, da je vedno občudovala pisatelje, ki so zlahka zamenjali jezik svojega literarnega

5 Romanu *Moreno* je prelom v literarnem ustvarjanju Brine Svit, saj v njem prvoosebna pripovedovalka problematizira izbiro jezika svojega literarnega ustvarjanja, ki je skladna z adaptacijo novemu okolju. *Moreno* je zadnje avtoričino literarno delo, ki ga je izvorno pisala v slovenščini. Dela, ki kronološko sledijo, je izvorno pisala v francoskem jeziku, v slovenščini so izšla v prenosu. Jezikovni prestop, ki ga problematizira v romanu *Moreno*, tako predstavlja tudi stvaren konflikt, s katerim se je soočala pri jezikovnem prehodu v jezik svojega literarnega ustvarjanja.

ustvarjanja, saj pri literarnem ustvarjanju ne verjame v možnost srečne in uspešne dvojezičnosti. Francoščino in slovenščino namreč doživlja kot dva popolnoma različna jezika, prvega kot izrazito razumskega, natančnega in kodificiranega, medtem ko je slovenščina zanj zelo emocionalna, elastična in prožna. Prepričana je bila, da ji na polju literarnega ustvarjanja ne bo nikdar treba zamenjati jezika oz. izbirati med materinščino in jezikom novega okolja. Ta dva jezika namreč zasedata v njenem življenju dva popolnoma različna registra. Slovenščina je pri njej povezana s spomini na otroštvo, prvimi izkušnjami in z odraščanjem, vse osnovne življenjske informacije do odraslosti je namreč pridobivala in sprejemala v tem jeziku: »Meje mojega sveta so se razširile v slovenščini. V slovenščini sem se učila ljubiti, smejati, jokati, bati se« (18).

Medtem pa pripoved romana *Lost in Translation: Življenje v drugem jeziku* Eve Hoffman prikaže vpliv izkušnje migracije in menjave jezikovnega koda na odraščajočo osebnost. Roman se osredinja na avtobiografsko izkušnjo vživljanja v novo življenjsko okolje, ki sega od dobe odraščanja – od pripovedovalke trinajstega leta do odraslosti in uveljavljanja v ameriškem akademskem in pisateljskem svetu. Pripovedovalka Eva Hoffman kot posledico izkušnje migracije in spremembe geografskega prostora, kulture in jezika razvije zelo senzibilno in tudi kritično razmerje do sveta, ki jo obdaja. Skuša si ustvariti novo podobo sveta, kjer se je znašla po izkušnji migracije, svojo podobo sveta pa strukturira prav s pomočjo jezika: »Včasih, ko najdem nov izraz, ga valjam po jeziku, kot bi z oblikovanjem v ustih rojevala novo podobo tega sveta. Nič v celoti ne obstaja, dokler ni razločno izgovorjeno« (Hoffman 2014: 33). Kritičnost in občutljivost ji omogočata tudi, da se lahko oddalji od preteklosti. Na ta način lahko ohrani razdaljo od preteklih vzorcev, ki so jo zaznamovali in v okviru katerih je potekala njena primarna socializacija na Poljskem. Hkrati pa ji ti lastnosti omogočata tudi odmik od kolektivnih in kulturnih vzorcev, katerim je ves čas izpostavljena med vživljanjem v ameriško okolje. Tudi pri njeni osebnostni gradnji v novem okolju predstavlja jezik – predvsem pa kulturno, socialno in zgodovinsko pogojene razlike in vrzeli v prevodu med jezikoma ter medprostor izkoreninjenosti in izgube sidrišča, ki ga ta vrzel odpira – ključni element. Svojo osebnost gradi prav v tem neprevedljivem, kompleksnem in mnogoterem prostoru med jezikoma, ta prostor ji omogoča kritični osebnostni razvoj in kompleksno širino možnosti.

Materni jezik ima v delu Eve Hoffman in opusu Brine Svit pri pojmovanju lastnih osebnosti pripovedovalk, glavnih protagonistk, in njihovi gradnji, zelo intimne konotacije, povezan je z najbolj ranljivimi deli njihove osebnosti – z otroštvom. Otroštvo je v delu Eve Hoffman neodtujljivo povezano s Poljsko, predstavlja obdobje celovitosti in ljubezni, ki v njej živi kljub vednosti, ki si jo je pridobila z leti, in kritičnemu pogledu na razmere v deželi njene primarne socializacije. Pomeni: »tisto prvo silno ognjišče, tisto neprimerljivo, nevedno ljubezen, prvotni žar in lahkoto po oblikah sveta, za tu in zdaj« (Hoffman 2014: 85). Poljska je v njeni zavesti povezana z občutki hrepenenja po otroški naivnosti in občutki vsemogočnosti: »Dala mi je barve in brazde resničnosti, moje prve ljubezni. [...] nobena geometrija pokrajine, nobena meglica v zraku ne bo živela v nas kot pokrajine, ki smo jih videli kot prve, in ki smo se jim polno predajali, brez pridržkov« (prav tam: 84).

Podobno je tudi z navezavo Brine Svit na deželo svoje primarne socializacije, ki se zlasti izkaže v delih *Navadna razmerja* in *Smrt slovenske primadone*. V slednjem glavna protagonistka, slavna operna pevka Lea Kralj, kljub svetovljanskemu značaju poletja preživlja v domačem – slovenskem okolju. Kljub temu da se ji v tem prostoru odpirajo stare rane, boleči spomini na preteklost in se srečuje s konfliktnim odnosom z materjo. Obe

literarni ustvarjalci v svojih delih svoja miselna in dejanska vračanja v kraje otroštva in primarne socializacije ne utemeljujejo z domoljubjem, temveč s potovanjem k izviru, primarni celovitosti, v smer nedolžnega miru.⁶ V zavesti pripovedovalke Eve Hoffman Poljska zavzema primat tudi zato, ker, kakor se izrazi, ji je ta dežela podarila jezik. Jezik obe literarni ustvarjalci v svojih delih prikažeta in doživljata kot zraščenega z najbolj temeljnimi funkcijami osebnostnega razvoja posameznika in njegovega udejstvovanja, povezan je celo s temeljnimi človeškimi čutnimi odzivi, kakor se izrazi Brina Svit: »Pisati v slovenščini je odložiti orožje, je čutiti nezaceljene rane, je vedeti za svojo kri in druge tekočine, je držati za roko svoje otroštvo [...] ta jezik je občutek doma [...] edini, ki me lahko boli, ki me lahko radosti, v katerem se lahko ljubim« (Svit 1998: 126).

Eva Hoffman v romanu *Lost in Translation: Življenje v drugem jeziku* svojo ljubezen do jezika razvije že zelo zgodaj, že kot otrok je strastna bralka. V knjižnico zahaja kot v posvečen kraj, njena želja po branju je celo tako močna, da bere naskrivaj in tako kljubuje staršema, ki menita, da posveča tej dejavnosti preveč časa in da si bo s tem početjem pokvarila vid. Jezik in besede imajo zanjo poseben pomen, saj meni, da nič ne obstaja, dokler ni izgovorjeno in pretvorjeno v besede, te ji ponujajo podobe sveta v poplemeniteni obliki. Jezik ostaja temeljni gradnik njenega sveta in njene identitete, zlasti po izkušnji migracije. Je pa to tudi ključni element, ki jo v začetni fazi življenja v novo okolje najostreje priklepa na preteklost. Dejstvo izvira tudi iz razloga, da je bila pri odhodu iz Poljske še premlada, da bi se njena nacionalna in politična zavest lahko oblikovali do tolikšne mere, da bi jo pozicije moči in družbeni konstrukti lahko izrazito določali. Te komponente pa se kljub temu zasidrajo v njeno nezavedno, čeprav jih še ne razume popolnoma. V njeno nezavedno se zasidra tudi prvinska navezanost na deželo njenega otroštva, ne v domoljubnem smislu, temveč v smislu melanholije in ohranjanja kritične distance do nje.

Evin prihod v Montreal je travmatična izkušnja odraščajoče mladostnice, njenega občutka izgube sidrišča in soočanja z drugačno mentaliteto in s kanadskimi ideali kolektivnih identitet. Vsi ti dejavniki v pripovedovalkini zavesti zbudijo izrazito kritičen pristop in željo po ohranjanju distance, ki jo tudi pozneje, ko že več let živi v Ameriki, delajo tujko, izražajo njeno drugačnost in neprikrito oddaljenost od ameriškega duha in načina razmišljanja. Prihod v Ameriko zanjo pomeni popolno izkoreninjenje in izgubo sidrišča, ob tem ostajajo edina oprijemljiva točka spomini na otroštvo. Položaj še poslabša amerikanizacija njenega imena v šolskem okolju, tu jo preimenujejo v Ewo. To ime je zanjo identifikacijski privesek, ki samo označuje, označenec, ki označuje nekaj, kar bi lahko bilo predmet, nikakor pa ne oseba, s katero bi se lahko poistovetila. Besede, ki jih usvaja v prvih poskusih v angleškem jeziku, zvenijo klinično, odtrgane so od svojega pomena, niso napolnjene z bistvom in ne zbujejo asociacij. Posebej je dejstvo moreče ob besedah, ki opisujejo čustva, njeni žalost, zavist in veselje namreč nimajo nič skupnega z angleškimi poimenovanji zanje. Posebej boleče je tudi dejstvo, da v angleškem jeziku ne uspe izraziti humorja, ki je bil zanjo tako značilen pred selitvijo v Kanado. Njenemu govoru manjkajo registri duhovitosti, ki jih v angleškem jeziku še ne obvlada, tako okolica dojema, kot da vse izjavlja v uradnem tonu:

6 Dejansko in metaforično vračanje v kraje primarne socializacije in otroštva v literarnem opusu Brine Svit posledično pomeni tudi soočanje z nerazrešenimi konflikti in odnosi, soočanje s frustracijami in z bolečino.

Ta z voljo vzpostavljena samokontrola je nasprotje resničnega mojstrstva, ki prihaja iz zaupanja v lastne verbalne sposobnosti in sprostí neprisiljeni tok govora, tiste izbruhe spontanosti, hitrosti odgovora, ki se lahko dvigne do resničnega zadovoljstva in skipi v humor. (Hoffman 2014: 130)

V sebi namreč kipi od želje po izražanju svoje duhovitosti in sproščenosti v razmerju do življenja, ki ju okolica ne zazna: »Pobesnim ob svojih adolescentnih prijateljih, ker ne vidijo skozi zunanji videz, v meni ne vidijo lahkonožne plesalke, kakršna sem v resnici. Vidijo samo to nerodno bitje, ki vse prepogosto daje videz, kot bi nekaj uradno izjavljala« (131). Brina Svit se z novim jezikom v svojem opusu sooča predvsem v sferah literarnega ustvarjanja. Pri tem pa opaža – v nasprotju z Evo Hoffman – da ji odtujevanje in oddaljenost, ki ju omogočata usvajanje in pisanje v novem jeziku, kljub zapletom in preprekam, nudita tudi številne pozitivne konotacije. Omogočata ji namreč distanco in neobremenjeno pisanje o sebi, s pozicije, ko besede nimajo več svoje čustvene obarvanosti, kot ga imajo v materinščini. V francoščini se tako avtobiografska pripovedovalka romana *Moreno* neboleče dotika dejstev iz lastnega življenja, v distanci, ki jo omogoča pisateljstvo v novem jeziku, uspe spregovoriti o sebi in tudi o bolečih dogodkih iz preteklosti. Dejstvo se ji zdi pozitivno in presenetljivo hkrati: »jaz, ki sem bila [...] skoraj popolnoma prepričana, da ne bom nikoli rekla »jaz« in da mi ne bo treba igrati te igre, da sem »jaz« nekdo drug. [...] Ali me v ta jaz sili francoščina? Mogoče me blokira nostalgija mojega jezika?« (Svit 2003: 35). V francoščini lahko prvoosebna pripovedovalka romana *Moreno* predeluje svoj odnos z materjo, ki je v celotnem opusu Brine Svit prikazan kot izrazito konflikten. V romanu *Smrt slovenske primadone* je mati celo temeljni razlog za migracijo glavne protagonistke Lee Kralj iz Slovenije v Pariz.

Razmerje do prvoosebne pripovedovanja in izpostavljanja je v delu Eve Hoffman drugačno. S problematiko se pripovedovalka Eva Hoffman sooči, ko začne pisati svoj prvi dnevnik v angleškem jeziku, sprva želi uporabiti prvo osebo ednine, saj zapisuje svoje življenje in čustvovanje, vendar opaža, da ji je ta »jaz«, prva oseba ednine, odtujena, bolj jo vleče k uporabi nekakšnega dvojnika – druge osebe ednine. V tem »jazu«, ki se izraža in izpoveduje v angleškem jeziku, se še ne počuti domače in suvereno. V poziciji odtujevanja od maternega jezika in še nepopolni suverenosti v jeziku novega okolja; na ravni vsakdanje komunikacije in pisateljstva, se literarni ustvarjalki v svojih delih dotikata specifične situacije lebdenja med dvema jezikoma. Brina Svit v svojem opusu to opiše kot stanje, ko ji izpod nadzora uhaja materni jezik, ki zaradi vživljanja v novo okolje ni več tako prožen in samoumeven, hkrati pa njene besede v francoščini nimajo še svojega pravega okusa domačnosti, njena francoščina še ne omogoča izražanja v abstraktnih dimenzijah. Takrat občuti: »kot da se nobena misel, nobena podoba noče in ne more ustaviti, svet je ogromen, besed in podob je na tisoče in kombinacije med njimi so neskončne« (Svit 1998: 22–23). Podobno razmišlja v romanu *Moreno*, kjer pravi, da je: »izvenskupenska [...] Izven nacionalnih skupnosti, izven skupnosti, družin, skupin, krogov in fundacij vseh vrst ... Na robu, kot ta pot, ki se spušča v akacijev gozd« (Svit 2003: 93).

V svojem opusu Brina Svit ves čas poudarja težnjo po transnacionalni zavesti, po svetovljanstvu, ki presega omejitve nacionalnih in kulturnih imaginarijev. Poudari tudi, da je sama prvi korak v smeri odtujevanja od kategorij skupnosti in osvobajanja od konstruktov naredila z izkušnjo migracije, z oddaljitvijo od maternega jezika pri svojem literarnem

ustvarjanju pa še zadnjega in po vsej verjetnosti tudi najbolj ključnega. Podobno izraža pozicijo med jezikoma in razpoko, v kateri se je znašla, tudi Eva Hoffman:

Napoka je postala tudi špranja, okno, skozi katero lahko opazujem raznolikost sveta. Potem, ko je enkrat nastala napoka, so se razprle špranje do zaznav. Podobno kot so v številki 2 vse druge številke, tako je dvoplastna zavest nedvomno večplastna zavest. (Hoffman 2014: 304)

To vmesno pozicijo obe literarni ustvarjalki pojmujeta kot pozitivno, kot tisto, ki odpira resničen uvid v kompleksno in mnogotero naravo življenja. Jezik je v delih Eve Hoffman in Brine Svit ključni gradnik identitetne gradnje avtobiografsko zaznamovanih pripovedovalk, protagonistov in protagonistk, je neizogiben dejavnik tega, kar so postali in kar jih je z minevanjem časa in geografskih lokacij oblikovalo. Je tudi neizogibno dejstvo stvarnosti, v kateri avtorici živita, je njen odraz in, kakor izraža Brina Svit: »Če sem začela pisati v francoščini, si rečem, je najbrž to tudi zaradi tega, ker hočem pokazati svoj pravi, svoj današnji obraz, ta, ki se je spremenil v vsem tem času, odkar živim v Parizu, ki se nemara spreminja v tej noči« (Svit 2003: 64). Brina Svit s tem že nakazuje tudi na temeljno skupno značilnost obeh obravnavanih literarnih ustvarjalk; pojmovanje identitet pri obeh avtoricah je sorodno, gre za t. i. fluidne⁷ in transversalne identitete, slednje oblikuje predvsem samoizgrajevanje na ravni kulturne in jezikovne zavesti (Tokarz 2014: 316). Gre za »večplastno zavest, ki se nenehno spreminja, kar avtoric[i] zaznavata kot bogastvo in notranjo razdvojenost« (313). Tovrstno pojmovanje identitet vodi k medkulturni zavesti, sprejemanju drugačnosti, raznolikosti in h kompleksnosti življenja, ki ga obravnavani literarni ustvarjalki poudarjata v svojih delih in sta ga z izkušnjo migracije, življenjem v drugem geografskem območju in drugem jeziku tudi sami tankočutno razvili ter izpopolnili. Brina Svit v svojem literarnem opusu poudarja, da je prav med bivanjem v tujini postala bolj odprta in dovzetna za druge kulture in poglede. Poudari tudi, da z odprtostjo, ki ji jo je ponudila Francija, ni izgubila odnosa do primarne kulture – še vedno priznava njeno partikularnost in edinstvenost. Prav z izkušnjo migracije in odhodom v Francijo v delu *Navadna razmerja* poudarja celo, da je najbolj izrazito začutila svojo slovenskost. Izpoveduje, da ko v Franciji piše v slovenščini:

čutim svoj jezik, globlje in usodnejše kot takrat, ko sem živela v Sloveniji [...] Kljub temu da mi slovenščina ni več popolnoma na razpolago, slovenščina mi ni ubogljivo predana, slovenščina ni

7 Pojem v svoji teoriji, zbrani v delu *Nomadic Subjects* (1994, ponatis 2011), vpeljuje Rosi Braidotti, ki poudarja, da so sodobne identitete pogosto podvržene spremembam geografskih prostorov, modernizaciji, mobilizaciji, tranziciji in globalizaciji. Zato jih pojmuje nomadske ali fluidne. Njihova identitetna pozicija ni fiksna in dana, temveč se spreminja in izgrajuje v interakciji z različnimi socialnimi stiki, geografskimi območji in življenjskimi izkušnjami (Braidotti 1994). Tudi Stane Južnič poudarja podobno pojmovanje identitete in obstoj t. i. premikajoče identitete. Ta je nestalna, prilagodljiva in v tem smislu nekonkluzivna. Mnoge negotovosti in nezasidranosti so lahko razlog za formacijo identitete, ki bi ji lahko rekli tudi fluktirajoča – torej nestanovitna in kolebajoča. Kot temeljni razlog za razvoj fluktirajočih identitet navede mobilnost sodobne razvijajoče se družbe, spreminjanje položaja posameznika v procesih družbenih sprememb, lažje prehode iz kraja v kraj (teritorialna mobilnost), mobilnost glede zaposlitve, možnost spreminjanja družbenega statusa v raznih oblikah vertikalne in horizontalne mobilnosti (Južnič 1993: 132).

moj totalen instrument, zmožen vrtoglavih piruet in igranja s samim seboj brez konca. Slovenščina se mi upira, in njen čar je ravno v tej rezistenci. (Svit 1998: 128)

Prav v zavedanju, da ne obvladuje več popolnoma svojega maternega jezika, se zave njegove resnične vrednosti. Francije pa kljub vsemu ne pojmuje kot svoje dežele in raje od določenosti z eno nacionalno in kulturno pripadnostjo biva nekje vmes, v prostoru, ki nudi odprtost in široko paletu možnosti: »Francija kljub vsemu ni moja dežela, in če bi morala izbirati, bi raje kot Rilke apatridno tavalala od enega gradu do drugega in kot Marina Cvetajeva rekla, da tako ali tako živimo zmeraj v tujini« (Svit 1998: 115). Podobno izraža tudi Eva Hoffman: »Odrinjena sem iz svojega središča sveta, in ta svet se je premaknil iz mojega središča. Ni več preme osi, ki bi sidrala mojo ustvarjalno domišljijo; začenja nihati, jaz pa negotovo krožim okrog nje« (Hoffman 2014: 146). Negotovost in odtujenost imata v delih obravnavanih literarnih ustvarjalk pozitivne konotacije. Brina Svit odtujenost, ki ji jo omogoča milijonsko mesto, in anonimnost Pariza pojmuje kot sredstvo identifikacije, v ljudeh, ki jo obdajajo, v njihovi tujskosti, spoznava lastno tujkost, odtujenost in razliko. V delu *Navadna razmerja* tako izraža: »v tej razliki (nisem siva sivina sive množice) lahko spoznavam in tudi ljubim samo sebe« (Svit 1998: 136). Eva Hoffman v svojem delu izraža, da ji status »eksotične tujke« pogosto prinaša celo izrazite privilegije, izostri njena prepričanja in kritično distanco in nič zares ne naredi, da bi se tega statusa znebila. Ta dislocirani položaj ji nudi tudi možnost, da se, neodvisno od kulturnih in družbenih determinant novega okolja, identitetno gradi.

Literarni ustvarjalki se pri svoji adaptaciji novemu okolju osredinjata na sedanost, odmikata se od tradicionalnega pojmovanja migrantov kot tistih, ki živijo v nostalgичnem primežu preteklosti ali iluzornem slikanju boljše prihodnosti. Spopadata se s stvarnostjo, ki jo predstavlja tudi jezik priselitvenega območja. Njune prve replike in zapisi so tako oddaljeni od njune intimne, bolj racionalni in premišljeni. Kljub temu z jezikom poustvarjata svoj zapisani jaz: »Ko pišem, zares obstajam, ker za to pisanje je – obstajanje, ki se dogaja na pol poti med mano in sfero umetnije, umetnosti, čistega jezika« (Hoffman 2014: 134). Eva Hoffman gre v poustvarjanju lastnega jaza dlje, in poudarja, da se mora, da se lahko poustvari na novo, popolnoma oddaljiti od preteklosti. S ponovno vrnitvijo na Poljsko s preteklostjo tudi popolnoma obračuna. V tej drži samostojne osame ohranja le svoje vrednote in človečnost, od vseh zunanjih dejavnikov, vplivov in kolektivnih idealov se poskuša distancirati, poskuša se distancirati tudi od primerjanja z drugimi. Vendar opaža, da lahko v tem idealu izolacije biva le s težavo, saj stvarnost ne dovoljuje in omogoča popolne osame. Želji po interakciji in družbenem uveljavljanju slednjič prevladata.

Brina Svit pa se na drugi strani ne poskuša distancirati od konkretne družbene realnosti in se vanjo vključuje, pogosto pa v svojem opusu obračunava s preteklostjo. Ta je velikokrat povezana z njeno slovenskostjo, tudi bolečimi spomini in odnosi. Kljub njenim poskusom, da bi s preteklostjo dokončno obračunala, se ta vrača v njeno življenje in v njenem literarnem opusu se to kaže na različne načine. V prvi vrsti je to očitno v izvoru njenih literarnih protagonistov, ti so generalno gledano sicer svetovljani, medkulturno

zasnovani, velikokrat tudi poliglotti, hkrati pa imajo velikokrat v sebi delček slovenskosti.⁸ Prav tako se dogajalni prostori njenih del poleg svetovnih metropol pogosto dotikajo slovenskega prostora, tudi motivi in teme so pogosto vezani na slovenski prostor.

Brina Svit in Eva Hoffman v svojih delih tudi izrazito obračunavata s svojo preteklostjo – z vrnitvijo. Obe literarni ustvarjalci se v svojih delih vrneta v deželo primarne socializacije. Brina Svit to v svojem romanu *Odveč srce* ponazori s fikcijsko pripovedjo o parfumerki, ki ima slovenske korenine, vendar je zaradi dolgoletnega bivanja v Parizu že naturalizirana Francozinja. Glavna protagonistka romana Lila Sever po očetovi smrti podeduje hišo in se zato vrne v Slovenijo, na Bled. Tu pridejo na dan njena potlačena in tudi boleča razmerja s preteklostjo. Romanesko dogajanje pa se sklene z njeno pomiritvijo s preteklostjo, vrne se v Pariz. Prav vračanje v kraj, kjer je potekala njena primarna socializacija, ji omogoči, da obračuna s preteklostjo in se lahko vrne v svoje ustaljeno družinsko in poslovno življenje v Parizu.

Podobno se Eva Hoffman v svoji avtobiografski pripovedi čez leta vrne v Krakov, kjer je postavljena pred ključno vprašanje: kako bi se njeno življenje odvijalo, če bi ostala na Poljskem. Opaža, da je domet kulture tu bolj določen, osebnost posameznika pa bolj umeščena v prostor, vendar v tem okolju ne zna več živeti in si razvoja dogodkov v teh družbenih in kulturnih okoliščinah ne zna predstavljati. Prav ta povratek pa v njeni zavesti predstavlja odsev, pogled v preteklost, zaradi katerega lahko v sedanosti nadaljuje svojo življenjsko pot. Vrnitev pomeni soočenje s točko pomiritve, sidriščem, z neprilagodljivim delom njenega jaza, umerjeno točko in občutkom doma v lastni osebnosti. Koncept doma v njenem delu tako ni več vezan na konkretne, geografsko določene kraje in prostore, temveč na občutji miru in tišine. Saj, kakor izpoveduje v sklepnem delu literarnega dogajanja: »Tišina, ki nastane po besedah, je po-polnost, iz katere se lahko izkristalizira resnica naših dojemanj« (Hoffman 2014: 306). Ko sprejme različne kulturne vzorce, jih kritično predelela, ko se s pomočjo jezika prebije skozi različne pomene in jih izčisti, je mozaik njenega življenja zapolnjen. Takrat resnično doživi občutek vračanja v stanje, ki ga lahko imenuje dom. Krakov ob vrnitvi doživlja s svojimi izkušenimi, kritičnimi in odraslimi očmi, ta podoba se zelo razlikuje od tiste, ki jo ima v spominu iz otroštva, in do nje ne goji več nostalgичnega odnosa. Preteklost tako ob tej izkušnji postane le »meglina odtujitev«, ki se ne vrača več v njeno življenje. Takrat opazi tudi, da se začne njeno nezavedno oglašati v angleškem jeziku, njen notranji monolog poteka odslej v angleščini, ki se sprva pojavi kot: »preprost in skrivnosten jezik kot v srednjeveški baladi, gnostičen govor, ki se zgodi poprej in spodrine naše zapleteno razčlenjevanje« (Hoffman 2014: 269).

Prav s pisanjem obe literarni ustvarjalci gradita svojo identiteto. Z jezikom se Eva Hoffman sooča s poustvarjanjem svoje identitete na novo, na novem geografskem območju

8 V avtoričinem literarnem prvencu *April* ima pripovedovalka slovenske korenine, živi pa v Parizu. V delu, ki kronološko sledi, *Navadna razmerja*, avtorica problematizira svojo slovenskost in ob izrazitih avtobiografskih navezavah izraža svoja razmerja do nacionalnosti, konceptov meja, kulture in jezika. V delu *Con Brio* literarna protagonistka, ki ima domnevno slovenske korenine, svojo slovenskost v bolezenskem stanju izraža v obliki replik v slovenskem jeziku. V romanu *Moreno* ponovno srečamo izrazito avtobiografsko obarvano pripovedovalko slovenskih korenin, ki problematizira dileme ob jezikovnem preskoku iz slovenskega v francoski jezik. Tudi v romanu *Smrt slovenske primadone* je glavna protagonistka, operna pevka Lea Kralj, slovenskega rodu. V romanu *Odveč srce* ima glavna protagonistka slovensko poreklo, prav tako je dogajanje romana večinsko umeščeno v slovenski prostor – na Bled. Zadnje doslej izdano literarno delo Brine Svit z naslovom *Slovenski obraz* poudarja problematiko, izrazito vezano na slovenski prostor; usodo in zgodovino slovenskih izseljencev druge in tretje generacije na jugu Argentine.

in v jeziku, ki ga šele usvaja. Ne zmore se identificirati s kolektivnimi vzorci identitete, ob katere trči ob prihodu v Ameriko, ti se namreč izrazito razlikujejo od tistih, ki jih je srečevala v poljski družbi v začetku šestdesetih let, ko je odšla. Evina zmožnost komunikacije in izražanja ob prihodu v Ameriko zaradi neznanja angleškega jezika odpove že na ravni vsakdanje komunikacije. Njena identitetna pozicija se tako ne more izraziti, prav tako s pomanjkanjem in z blokado v komunikaciji identiteta, ki je relacijska entiteta in se gradi v interakciji, pri zastoju v komunikaciji ne doživlja razvoja: »kot bi bil jezik neka ogromna, fina mreža, v kateri je resničnost – in če so v njej luknje, potem lahko delec resničnosti uide, preneha obstajati« (214).

V opusu Brine Svit, zlasti pri njeni avtobiografsko obarvani pripovedovalki v romanu *Moreno*, se nezmožnost izražanja pojavi pri literarnem ustvarjanju, z aktom literarnega ustvarjanja njen avtobiografski jaz gradi svojo identitetno pozicijo na novo in se poustvarja kot osebnost. Z zadrego o izbiri jezika svojega literarnega izražanja se sooča tudi Eva Hoffman pri pisanju dnevnika; tako izpoveduje: »Če bi zdaj pisala v poljščini, bi bilo nekako tako, kot bi se zatekla v latinščino ali antično grščino [...] poljščina je vse bolj mrtev jezik, jezik neprevedljive preteklosti. Toda pisati nekaj, kar ni za nobene oči, v angleščini?« (133).

Obe literarni ustvarjalki se ob vprašanju jezikovne identitete dotikata tudi osebne identitetne gradnje v novem življenjskem okolju. Ta je v romanu Eve Hoffman bolj izrazita, saj do menjavanja življenjskega okolja pride med njenim odraščanjem in najizrazitejšim spopadanjem s samogradnjo in formacijo identitetne pozicije. Eva tudi iz precej konservativne poljske družbe preide v liberalno ameriško, kjer je gradnja njene identitete odvisna samo od njenih osebnih želja, in prav ta množina možnosti jo bega, je »zbegana zaradi preobilice izbora, ohromljena pred izbiro« (178). Opaža, da mora v tej mnogoterosti in polifoniji možnih pogledov ter kulturnih vzorcev najti svoj identitetni mozaik. Zaveda se, da je njena identiteta sestavljena: »Odslej bom sestavljena iz drobcev [...] in zavedanja teh drobcev« (183). Hkrati pa hrepeni po vzpostavitvi identitetne pozicije in sveta, ki ju niso načele determinante časa, zgodovine in družbenega okolja, kjer je edina determinanta, ki ju določa, individualna senzibilnost. Zaveda se tudi, da živi v skupnosti, v katero se hoče integrirati in se znebiti občutka odtujenosti in statusa eksotičnega subjekta. Ob tem jo je strah, da bi s to težnjo izgubila preveč individualizma in osebnega prostora; tako razrešuje dilemo: »Duša se lahko skrči zaradi preobilja kritične distance, in če nočem preostanek življenja ostati nekakšna izsušena notranja izgnanka, moram poiskati pot, da se znebim svoje odtujenosti, ne da bi pri tem izgubila sebe« (231). Uspešno iskanje ravnovesja ji omogoča samo velika mera odprtosti in seveda pravilni prevodi njenih besed in občutij, ki upoštevajo razumevanje in sočutje. Ob identitetnih vprašanih trči tudi ob vprašanje lastne ženskosti in tega, kako biti ženska v okolju, ki ima drugačne predstave o spolu, predvsem pa o zunanjem videzu žensk. Te podobe ženskosti se razlikujejo od podob in idealov ženskosti, ki jih je uspela izoblikovati in s katerimi se je soočala v otroštvu in mladostništvu na Poljskem, kljub temu da je odraščala ob materi, ki ji ni vsiljevala tradicionalnih ženskih vlog.

Jezik je v začetni fazi vživljanja v novo okolje v delu Eve Hoffman sredstvo oddaljevanja od lastne identitete, pozneje pa je hkrati tudi sredstvo za vračanje k sebi, za vnovično poustvarjanje lastne identitete: »Besede niso več ostri delci trde materije, ki živijo sami zase. Postajajo vedno bolj izčiščeno sredstvo, v katerem živim in ki živi v meni – sredstvo, ki mi omogoča, da se spet lahko povrnem k sebi in v svet« (270). Ob tem na nek način znova

odkriva svoje osebne želje, zunaj okovov in strahu pred pričakovanji: »Šele ko jezik neha potovati po svojem norem, potrganem obodu, začenjam spet pridobivati celost resničnega poguma in se osvobajati svojega nadomestnega, protifobijskega priseljenskega bravada« (prav tam). Njene angleške besede končno dobijo svoj polnokrvni pomen in bistvo, zbudajo asociativne povezave in imajo okus domačnosti, pred njo se odpirajo novi izzivi, začetki in tudi novi razcepi.

Brina Svit pa na drugi strani daje poseben pomen pisavi in v svojem opusu poudarja, da se prav z aktom literarnega ustvarjanja poustvarja, z besedami vpisuje to, kar je in kar je z izkušnjo migracije, vživljanja in bivanja v novem geografskem območju, kulturnem in socialnem imaginariju postala. Kot trdi za dela Brine Svit tudi Adele Parker: »(Meta)fikcija rabi kot instrument transnacionalnemu piscu, da lahko razume in izoblikuje svojo lastno zgodovino, ki je fragmentarna« (Parker 2014). Z aktom literarnega ustvarjanja avtorica poustvarja in pretresa svojo osebno zgodovino, svoj odnos do migracije, nacionalne, jezikovne pripadnosti in predvsem gradi lastno identiteto.

Obe literarni ustvarjalki poudarjata tudi kozmopolitizem in nadnacionalno zavest, ki sta ju pridobili z izkušnjami migracije, izkoreninjenja in bivanja med dvema jezikoma in kulturnima imaginarijema. Pridobita si tudi samozavest in svetovljanski občutek, da se lahko znajdeta kjerkoli – zaznamuje ju univerzalna in globalizirajoča zavest. Brina Svit migracijo v svojih delih motivira tako, da je Slovenija sicer lepa, celo idilična dežela, hkrati pa utesnjujoča, kjer kot mlada in perspektivna ženska ni našla možnosti za življenje in poklicno pot. Podobno Eva Hoffman med življenjem v Ameriki priznava zaostalost Poljske; čeprav v prvem delu romana, ko opisuje svoje otroštvo, tega posebej ne poudarja, ker kot otrok še ni imela razvite kritične distance in še ni ocenjevala družbenega dogajanja v svoji okolici. Obe literarni ustvarjalki prehajata z izkušnjo migracije v bolj odprto in liberalno družbo. V zavesti obeh pa ostaja neke vrste melanholija po preteklem, ne gre za hrepenenje pa minulem, gre za kritičen in pomirjen odnos do preteklosti, hkrati pa z melanholičnim priokusom ali, kakor se izrazi Eva Hoffman, gre za:

nemir ustvarjalnega duha, ki nikoli več ne pridobi neomajnega zaupanja vase [...] Ker sem izkusila relativnost pomenov na svoji koži, ne morem več nobenega pomena sprejeti kot dokončnega [...] v mojem javnem življenju bom najbrž vedno v razpokah med kulturami in podkulturami, med scenariji političnih prepričanj in estetskih nazorov. To ni najslabši življenjski prostor; daje ti arhimedov vzvod, ki ti omogoča pogled na svet. (Hoffman 2014: 305)

Kljub temu uspe najti svojo »umerjeno točko«, kakor jo imenuje, sidrišče lastne osebnosti, ki ni odvisno od prostora in časa in drugih minljivih kategorij, to točko pa lahko deloma občuti samo, če predhodno pozna in zmore obvladovati vse minljive kategorije in jih prepoznati kot take. Svojo harmonijo in željo po preteklem pa Brina Svit zadovoljuje z vračanjem v kraje svojega otroštva in primarne socializacije, kjer doživlja mir in občutek pripadnosti. Ta občutja izpoveduje tudi v svojem avtobiografskem delu *Hvalnica ločitvi*: »usedem se pred našo hišo in zagledam predse: tu imam vse, kar potrebujem« (Svit 2011: 65).

SKLEP

Ob avtobiografski izkušnji migracije se Brina Švigelj Merat (Brina Svit) v svojem literarnem opusu in Eva Hoffman v romanu *Lost in Translation: Življenje v drugem jeziku* izrazito dotikata svoje jezikovne identitete, poskusov jezikovnega vživljanja v novo okolje in literarnega ustvarjanja v jeziku priselitvenega območja. Jezik je v njunih delih prikazan kot temeljna komponenta adaptacije novemu življenjskemu okolju. Kulturni in družbeni konstrukti ter ideali kolektivnih identitet, ki vladajo v novem življenjskem okolju, v njunem opusu niso prikazani kot posebno moteči oz. se v svojih delih od njih poskušata celo distancirati in posledično strukturirata svoj sistem vrednot ali delujeta in zaživita v dimenziji, kjer ti niso določevalni. Ob tem ohranita le univerzalne in občečloveške vrednote. Te vrednote so pridobljene v času primarne socializacije in otroštva, ki imata v njunih literarnih opusih posebno mesto. Predstavljata sidrišče njune osebnosti, in kljub temu da se v preteklost in čas pred migracijo ne vračata z občutki hrepenenja po izgubljeni idili – njun odnos s preteklostjo je torej pomirjen – spremlja navezavo na preteklost in deželo njune primarne socializacije občutek nostalgije. V opusu Brine Svit je to tudi kraj, kamor se vedno znova rada vrača, tu najde mir in sproščenost.

S pomočjo jezika, spreminjanja jezikovnega koda in zavedanja njegove neodtujljive povezanosti z identiteto in njeno gradnjo, se v delih Brine Svit in Eve Hoffman prvoosebne pripovedovalke in protagonistke njunih del osebno izgrajujejo. Njihove identitete so fluidne in spremenljive glede na menjavanje geografskih pozicij in jezikovnih identitet. Obe literarni ustvarjalki kljub težavam in dilemam svojo dvojezičnost dojemata pozitivno. Ob izkušnji razdvojenosti in življenja med dvema jezikoma sta razvili zavest, da jima je prav ta vmesni položaj nepripadnosti omogočil uvid v kompleksnost in mnogoterost življenja in njegovih izkušenj. Položaj bivanja med jezikoma, velikokrat v območju neprevedljivega, destabilizacije in izgube sidrišča, predstavlja v obravnavanih delih možnost razvoja odprtosti za položaj drugega in drugačnega, tudi razvoj medkulturne zavesti. Obe literarni ustvarjalki poudarjata, da sta z izkušnjama migracije in s položajem bivanja med dvema jezikoma postali osebno hibridni, skupek vseh svojih identitetnih pozicij, ki so se z menjavanjem geografskih prostorov in jezikov spreminjale v nekakšen kolaž, ki vključuje kompleksnost in mnogoterost. Ti lastnosti priznavata in poudarjata tudi v svetu, ki ju obdaja.

VIRI IN LITERATURA

- Braidotti, Rosi (2011). *Nomadic Subjects, Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hoffman, Eva (2014). *Lost in Translation: Življenje v drugem jeziku*. Ljubljana: eBesede.
- Južnič, Stane (1993). *Identiteta*. Ljubljana: Zbirka TiP.
- Luckmann, Thomas (1991). Jezik in osebna identiteta. *Teorija in praksa* 28/7.
- Parker, Adele (2013). Writing as Mirror: Origins and Identities in the Work of Brina Svit. Transnationalism and Resistance: *Experience and Experiment in Woman's Writing*. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi.
- Švigelj Merat, Brina (Brina Svit) (1984). *April*. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga.
- Švigelj Merat, Brina (Brina Svit) (1998). *Navadna razmerja*. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba.
- Švigelj Merat, Brina (Brina Svit) (2003). *Moreno*. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba.
- Švigelj Merat, Brina (Brina Svit) (2011). *Hvalnica ločitvi*. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba.
- Tokarz, Božena (2014). *Lost in Translation: Life in a New Language. Spremna beseda v Lost in Translation: Življenje v drugem jeziku*. Ljubljana: eBesede.

SUMMARY

A COMPLEX LINGUISTIC IDENTITY AS A CONSEQUENCE OF MIGRATION IN THE LITERARY WORKS OF BRINA SVIT AND EVA HOFFMAN

Megi ROŽIČ

The experience of migration and life in a new geographical area inevitably leads to a reconsideration of the language identity and, consequently, of the personal identity of migrants. The adaptation to the new linguistic code in fact goes much deeper than (just) learning a new vocabulary, the formation of phrases and sentences in the language of the new environment. Shaking up the language issues, dilemmas and understanding the language that is according to some theorists a “fundamental and universal component design of human identity” (cf. Luckmann 1991: 796) also causes the shaking up of the entire identity positions of migrants and their relationships toward the primary and secondary culture. Questions of linguistic identity affect the very structure of human personality, its mode of operation and confrontation with the external world.

The article focuses on two women writers who in their autobiographic literary works explore their experience of migration. In the literary works of Brina Svit and Eva Hoffman the experience of migration leads to the changing of the language code and the awareness of the connection of language with identity and its construction. Their identities are fluid and changing according to the change of the geographic position and linguistic identities. Despite the difficulties and dilemmas concerning their bilingualism, both authors perceive it positively. With the experience of duality and of life between the two languages they have developed an awareness that it is precisely this intermediate position which provides them an insight into the complexity and multiplicity of life and its experiences. The situation of being caught between languages, often in the range of the untranslatable, of destabilization and loss of anchorage in the analysed literary works represents the possibility of developing an openness to the position of the other and the development of intercultural awareness. Both authors emphasize that with the experience of migration and the situation of living between two languages they became personally hybrid, the sum of different identity positions that are correlated to the change of geographical areas and languages, a kind of collage, which in itself involves complexity and multiplicity.

»JUGOSLAVIJA PO JUGOSLAVIJI«: GRAFITI O NEKDANJI DOMOVINI V NOVIH POSTJUGOSLOVANSKIH DOMOVINAH

Mitja VELIKONJA¹

COBISS 1.01

IZVLEČEK

»Jugoslavija po Jugoslaviji«: Grafiti o nekdanji domovini v novih postjugoslovanskih domovinah

Petindvajset let po krvavem razpadu socialistične Jugoslavije so zidovi postjugoslovanskih mest še vedno polni grafitov dveh domovin: aktualne nacionalne države in nekdanje jugoslovanske federacije. Glavna raziskovalna vprašanja članka, ki temelji na avtorjevem longitudinalnem raziskovanju in semioloških (kvalitativnih in kvantitativnih) metodoloških pristopih je, kako, kje in zakaj so v tej specifični urbani subkulturi Jugoslavija, njen socializem, njene protifašistične korenine in njeni voditelji (de)konstruirani, slavljani in obsojani. Na ravni denotacije se grafiti in *street art*, ki se pogosto konfrontirajo v grafitarskih bitkah, delijo na pro- in protijugoslovanske. Na ravni konotacije se pojavljajo trije glavni ideološki antagonizmi: socialistični federalizem vs. nacionalizem, Tito vs. njegovi nasprotniki in antifasizem vs. fašizem. Temu sledi analiza ekspresivnih strategij tovrstne urbane produkcije, kot so provokacija in kritika, afirmacija in kontinuiteta, označevanje terena, nenehni antagonizem in semiološka gverila.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Slovenija, Jugoslavija, grafiti, *street art*, jugonostalgija, nacionalizem, semiologija

ABSTRACT

“Yugoslavia After Yugoslavia”: Graffiti About the Former Homeland in the New Post-Yugoslav Homelands

Twenty-five years after the bloody collapse of socialist Yugoslavia, the urban walls of its successor states are still full of graffiti of “two homelands”: the present-day nation-states and the former Yugoslav federation. The main questions of the text – based on my longitudinal research and semiological (quantitative and qualitative) methodological approaches – are how, where and why Yugoslavia, its socialism, its antifascist roots and its leaders are (de)constructed, praised and condemned in this specific urban subculture. On the level of denotation, graffiti and street art can be divided into pro-Yugoslav and anti-Yugoslav, often directly confronted in graffiti-battles. On the level of connotation, three major ideological antagonisms appear: socialist federalism vs. nationalism, Tito vs. his opponents, and antifascism vs. fascism. Before presenting the final findings of the research, an analysis is made of the expressive strategies of this urban production, such as provocation and criticism, affirmation and continuity, territory marking, constant antagonisation and semiotic guerrillism.

KEY WORDS: Slovenia, Yugoslavia, graffiti, street art, Yugonostalgia, nationalism, semiology

¹ Dr. sociologije, redni profesor za področje kulturologije, predstojnik Centra za kulturne in religijske študije na Inštitutu za družbene vede, Fakulteta za družbene vede, Univerza v Ljubljani, Kardeljeva ploščad 5, SI-1000, Ljubljana; mitja.velikonja@fdv.uni-lj.si

UVOD

V enem med podhodi v središču Ljubljane je že petindvajset let na ogled grafit, na katerem je potapljaljoča ladja z imenom Jugoslavija. Čeprav so v tem času okoli njega nastali mnogi drugi novi grafiti in tagi, je v svojem bistvu ostal nedotaknjen. Razumem ga kot simptom ambivalentnega, celo polivalentnega odnosa Slovencev do svoje nedavne preteklosti, ki odpira vprašanja, kako se Slovenci danes, v svoji aktualni domovini, spominjajo svoje nekdanje, jugoslovanske domovine.¹



Grafit, Ljubljana, 2013 (foto: Mitja Velikonja)

Izhodišče pričujoče študije je prav ta drobec sodobne urbane kulture, eden med stotimi, ki sem jih v zadnjih letih fotografiral sam ali drugi *graffiti-hunterji*. Barthesu (1992: 15) vsaka fotografija prinaša, kot pravi, »nekaj grozljivega«: »vračanje smrti«. Na množici fotografij grafitov in *street arta*, ki sem jih posnel ali kako drugače pridobil za raziskavo, me zanima prav nasprotno: »vračanje življenja« motiva na njej, obstoj »Jugoslavije po Jugoslaviji«. Na kratko: zanimalo me je, kakšna je njena današnja podoba na doslej raziskovalno precej zanemarjenem področju – v sodobni grafitarski in *street-art* subkulturi. Drugače rečeno: spraševal sem se, kakšen je njen odnos do nekdanje skupne države, njenega socializma,

¹ Zgodnejša verzija besedila bo pozno jeseni 2017 pri Založbi Palgrave Macmillian objavljena v zborniku *The Cultural Life of Capitalism in Yugoslavia: (Post)Socialist and Its Other* (ur. Dijana Jelača, Maša Kolanović, Danijela Lugarić).

antifašistične borbe, njenih voditeljev in njene ideologije: tako v pozitivnem, afirmativnem smislu, kot tudi v negativnem, sovražnem. Moje osrednje raziskovalno vprašanje je, kako sodobni grafitarji in *street artisti* (de)konstruirajo jugoslovansko obdobje; kakšni so propa tudi protijugoslovanski grafiti in *street-art*; kakšne antagonizme odražajo in jih obenem ustvarjajo. Na kratko: kaj zidovi postjugoslovanskih domovin govorijo o nekdanji jugoslovanski domovini, v kakšnem odnosu sta danes domovini nekdanjih jugoslovanskih narodov – aktualna in nekdanja, jugoslovanska. Rečeno v foucaultovski terminologiji: kakšne politične subjektivnosti pri tem nastajajo. V tem smislu je pričujoča analiza komplementarna s tistimi, ki se ukvarjajo s konstrukcijo in z reprezentacijo jugoslovanskih časov v oglaševanju, popularni kulturi, dizajnu, umetnosti in navsezadnje v političnih diskurzih.

DEFINICIJE POLITIČNIH GRAFITOV IN »STREET ARTA«

Študija je del mojega širšega raziskovalnega zanimanja za kulture postjugoslovanskega kolektivnega spomina, postsocialističnih ideologij ter urbanih subkultur, torej dobesedno na njihovem stičišču. Gradivo zanjo na način »bosonoge kulturologije« od konca devetdesetih let zbiram zlasti v severnem delu nekdanje federacije (Sloveniji, Hrvaški, Bosni in Hercegovini, Srbiji). V tem času sem našel več kot 270 tovrstnih primerov grafitov in *street arta*: večino med njimi sem fotografiral sam,² manjši del pa sem našel v drugih virih (knjigah, časopisnih člankih in katalogih). Pri tem sem sledil običajni trodelni organizaciji tovrstnega terenskega dela, kot ga mdr. predlagata Collierja (1996: 167–173): pripravljalo opazovanje, strukturirana raziskava in končna analiza.

Grafite in *street art* definiram kot specifično estetsko ekspresijo v javnem prostoru, ki ima jasno sporočilo in je minljiva, uničljiva, nelegalna (s stališča dominantnih diskurzov in institucij obsojana kot vandalizem) in kritična do obstoječega. Sestavlja jo slika oziroma objekt in/ali beseda, ki je vedno v interakciji z okoljem (»tekst« grafitu moramo vedno brati skupaj z njegovim fizičnim in družbenim »kontekstom«), je v nenehni interakciji z okoljem (skoraj vedno jih najdemo po več skupaj), oblikuje svojo subkulturo (s svojo etiko, s nenapisanimi pravili, s svojimi zvezdami, z inovatorji, epigoni, imitatorji, s strokovnjaki itn.) in katere avtorji so večinoma anonimni. Njihova značilnost so (neprevedljivo) poigravanje z besedami in motivi, humor, miselni obrati, izposoje ter uporaba parafraz, rim, aforizmov in opazk. Ustvarjajo in prebirajo jih predvsem mladi ljudje – gre za generacijsko precej profiliran medij. Grafiti »nas zabavajo, provocirajo in spodbujajo razmišljanje« (Šterk 2004: 68); gre za »osebno obliko komuniciranja, osvobodeno običajnih družbenih omejitev, ki ponavadi preprečujejo ljudem, da bi neovirano izražali bogastvo svojih misli« (Abel, Buckley 1977: 3).

Grafiti so dvodimenzionalne zidne poslikave, njihove glavni tipi pa so *tag* (grafitarjev logo in podpis), *piece* (skrajšava za *masterpiece*, kvaliteten in kompleksen grafit), *throw-up* ali *bomb* (na hitro narejen grafit), *roof-top* (grafit na višjem delu stavbe), *character* (karikirani liki iz popularne kulture), *wall of fame* (stene, na katerih so drug ob drugem najbolj dovršeni grafiti širše in lokalne grafitarske scene) in *mural* (ponavadi legalne poslikave večjih delov stavb). *Street art* se je razvil pozneje, v zadnjih dvajsetih, petindvajsetih letih,

2 Druge pa so fotografirali Monika Kropelj, Rok Kovač, Elena in Mateja Fajt, Sandi Abram, Nena Močnik in Vjeran Pavlaković, za kar se jim na tem mestu lepo zahvaljujem.

zato se ga je prijelo tudi ime *post-grafiti art*. Po navadi je trodimenzionalen (šablone, nalepke, javne instalacije in vizualne intervencije, plakati, *paste-ups*, izrezki, izpraskanine ipd.). Naslednja pomembna razlika je estetska: grafit uvrščam med avratično ustvarjalnost, gre za »tukaj in zdaj« umetnine«, ima »enkratno bivajočnost na mestu, kjer je« (Benjamin 1998: 150) – vedno so na nek način edinstveni, neponovljivi. Medtem pa so nalepke, posterji in tudi šablone na nek način post-avratični: osvobojeni izvirnika in »rituala« (prav tam: 154, 155) se lahko neskončno tehnično reproducirajo, v javni prostor jih lahko postavi praktično vsak. Dalje: bistvena značilnost grafitov in *street arta* je, da gre za ilegalni medij družbenih skupin s komunikacijskih deficitom – uporabljajo ga, ker se drugače ne morejo izražati (glej tudi Chaffee 1993: 12, 16, 17).³

V tem smislu bi lahko pritrnil McLuhanovi maksimi, da je medij sporočilo: grafit sam po sebi, sam akt grafitiranja je že sporočilo, ne glede na konkretno vsebino, saj javno označnja nekaj, česar v drugih medijih ni. Prav tako pa je s tem v zvezi pomembno, kateri grafit se zbrše, odstrani, dopolni, se mu obrne pomen, in kateri oz. kateremu ne; kako hitro se to naredi, kdo to naredi in kako.

Za pričujočo študijo je bistvena delitev na t. i. estetske ali subkulturne in na politične grafite. Politični so bolj neposredno družbenokritično angažirani in jih temu primerno razumem kot pomemben politični medij: poleg običajnih značilnosti te subkulture (specifična estetska forma, ilegalnost ipd.) imajo jasno politično agendo. V političnih grafitih je vsebina definitivno nadrejena formi: estetsko so povečini slabše izdelani, v njih ni običajnih žanrskih fines ali insiderske zagonetnosti, namenjeni so politični propagandi, so poziv k akciji, mobilizaciji, *trigger* zanjo (glej Velikonja 2008 in 2013). *Crossing* (tudi *crossing out* oziroma *crossing over*) grafitiranje čez že obstoječe grafite, kar je v nenapisani grafitarski etiki sicer izjema, je tu pravilo.⁴

VPRŠANJE METODE: SEMIOLOGIJA MED KVALITATIVNIM IN KVANTITATIVNIM PRISTOPOM

Grafite in *street art*, zlasti politične, je skoraj nemogoče raziskovati s pozicije avtorja, saj so ti praviloma neznani ali zelo težko izsledljivi – grafitiranje je še vedno prepovedano in preganjano. Tudi ko sem bil, na temelju različnih informacij in virov, popolnoma prepričan o avtorstvu, avtor v pogovoru tega ni hotel priznati. V določenih primerih pa so avtorji eksplicitno znani, podpisani: desničarska krila navijaških skupin (recimo Torcide, Viol, Delij), skrajne desnice (s kraticami svojih organizacij tipa Radikalna Ljubljana ali Avtonomni nacionalisti Slovenije) ali klerofašistične skupine (recimo Srbska akcija, ki zraven pripiše še svoj internetni naslov).

3 Sijajno analizo in kritiko komodifikacije in komercializacije grafitov in *street arta* (ulica-galerija-korporacije) glej v Abram 2008.

4 Drugi slengovski izrazi za to so *backgrounding* ali *going over* (Castleman 1999: 43–46) ter *buf-fing*, enostavno 'prepleskanje grafitu'. Do tega prihaja izjemoma: v smislu discipliniranja slabih ali (do drugih grafiterjev) nespoštljivih grafitarjev, kot provokacija, kot boj za prostor (oz. njegovo markiranje) ipd.

Iz tega razloga sem pomen grafita raziskoval na mestu podobe same, ne pa na mestih njenega nastanka ali ogledovanja oziroma povzročenih učinkov.⁵ Vendar ob tem opozarjam na pomembnost njegove okolice: za razumevanje grafita ni dovolj le »dobro oko«, njegovi kompozicijska interpretacija in moč same podobe, ampak tudi njegova umestitev. Pomembno je kontekstualno znanje: ne le oblikovno, pač pa tudi ali celo predvsem socialno in ideološko. Drugače rečeno: vizualno analizo je treba delati skupaj z nevizualnim ozadjem, ki podobo estetsko in ideološko umesti v njeni celoti.



Grafit, Maribor, 2015 (foto: Mitja Velikonja)

Izbira glavne metode raziskave – semiologije – je torej logična. Ta podobe raziskuje skupaj z njihovim ideološkim okoljem – natančneje, pojasnjuje, kako podobe (de)legitimirajo obstoječa razmerja moči. Drugače rečeno: semiologija razkrinkava ideološko opravičevanje družbenih struktur, torej, kako določene skupine na temelju svojih znakov in naričaj utemeljujejo svoj vladajoči položaj in na temelje katerih ga druge spodbijajo. To se izkazuje na različnih področjih, tudi pri političnih grafutih. Pri tej raziskavi sem – sklicujoč se na dela klasikov semiologije (Barthes 1990, 1992, 1993; Eco 1998; Hall 2012; Guiraud 1983) – semiološko metodo uporabil v dveh korakih. V prvem me je zanimalo, kako se projugoslovanska ideologija konstruira v grafutih in *street artu*, prav tako pa, kako se konstruira protijugoslovanska. V aktualnih grafutih in *street artu* iz obdobja 1941–1991 sem zasledoval opise Jugoslavije, njenega socializma, njenih voditeljev, antifašizma itn.; prav tako pa opise nasprotnih, protijugoslovanskih, protisocialističnih, protipartizanskih ideologij. Naslednje poglavje obsega »denotacijsko raven« (Barthes 1990: 200), opis,

5 Rečeno z besednjakom Rose, *site of the image itself*, ne pa *site of production* oziroma *site of auditing* (2012: 19–40).

»dobesedni pomen znaka« (Hall 2012, 405), diskurzivno gradnjo pomena tovrstnih grafitov in njihovo klasifikacijo.⁶

V drugem koraku, v poglavju za denotativnim, pa me zanima njihova »konotativna raven« (Barthes 1990: 200, 201): kakšen je njihov »višji« pomen v semiološkem smislu, kako »konotacija ›frizira‹ denotirano sporočilo« (Barthes 1990: 201; 1993: 111–117; glej tudi Guiraud 1983: 33, 34). Znaki, trdi Hall (prav tam), »svojo polno ideološko vrednost – da torej delujejo odprti za artikulacije s širšimi ideološkimi diskurzi in pomeni – pridobijo na ravni svojih ›asociativnih‹ pomenov (to je na konotativni ravni).« Rečeno v Ecovem analitskem besednjaku (1998: 184): »Sporočilo se konča v konkretnem in umeščnem sprejemanju, ki ga kvalificira.« Raziskal sem, kako so pro- in protijugoslovanski grafiti vpeti v aktualne ideološke in politične spopade na postsocialističnem in postjugoslovanskem mentalnem zemljevidu, torej (tudi), kako kritizirajo in antagonizirajo druge ideološke diskurze in prakse. Ti se namreč praviloma prevajajo v kategorije nedavne preteklosti in njenih protagonistov. Rečeno drugače: v tem drugem koraku sem se ukvarjal z vprašanji, kakšno »manihejsko ideologijo«, kakšne »temeljne opozicije« (Eco 1998: 148, 168, 169) tvorijo, kaj pravzaprav danes dejansko pomeni pisanje grafitov tipa *OF*, *Tito je živ*, *Živel 29. november* ali sprejanje *rdečih zvezd* ipd., prav tako pa, kaj pomenijo danes grafiti z nasprotno vsebino (*Tito zločinac*, *NDH*, *Smrt komunistom* ipd.).

Zbrano gradivo sem temeljito in večkrat pregledal, prečistil in nato klasificiral. Pred samo analizo bi pojasnil par metodoloških specifičnosti raziskave.

Prvič, glede kombiniranja kvalitativnih in kvantitativnih raziskovalnih prijemov. Semiološko metodo se po navadi uporablja za analizo posameznih primerov, na načine *studium* in *punctum* ('kulturno sprejeto ali pa nekodirano branje podobe', Barthes 1992: 27–29, 40–52); dominantnega/hegemonskega, pogajalskega ali opozicijskega/globalno nasprotnega položaja oziroma koda (Hall 2012: 410–412),⁷ ali z »igrama opozicij« in »nespremenljive sheme«, ki se nenehno ponavlja v določenih kulturnih artefaktih (Eco 1998: 160–162). Izbral sem povezano analitično dvojico denotacija-konotacija v Barthesovem smislu, ki sem jo kombiniral s kvantitativno metodo. Z 'analizo vsebine' (*content analysis*) se beleži frekvenca pojavljanja istega motiva ali podobe. V analizi sem ju povezal: najprej sem preštel ponavljanja določenih skupin motivov, nato pa raziskal njihove denotativne (opisne) in konotativne (pomenske) razsežnosti.

Drugič, temeljna vizualna struktura grafitja je multimodalna, sestavljena iz besedila (v tem primeru so to kratice različnih organizacij in skupnosti, imena protagonistov, politični pozdravi in kratki pozivi), slike (politični simboli, znaki, zgodovinske osebnosti ipd.) in barve, s tem da se včasih pojavlja samo prvo ali samo drugo. Vedno pa jih je treba analizirati skupaj, kot celoto.

Tretjič, usoda političnih grafitov in *street arta* je, da skoraj vedno doživijo kakšno spremembo: so prečrtani, dopolnjeni, prebeljeni, popackani, dorisani ali dopisani. Politični

6 Čeprav je popolnoma jasno, da ne obstaja popolna denotacija, torej da ima vsak znak tudi na tej ravni določene konotativne razsežnosti. Zato se je treba spomniti Hallovega svarila (2012: 406), da sta ta dva pojma »zgolj koristni analitični orodji, ne za razlikovanje med prisotnostjo/odsotnostjo ideologije v posameznih kontekstih, ampak med različnimi ravnmi, na katerih se ideologije in diskurzi prepletajo«.

7 Hall je ta model sicer razvil v svojih analizah recepcij televizijskih sporočil, pozneje pa se je njegova uporaba razširila v semiološke analize tudi drugih tipov sporočil (pisanih besedil, reklam, oblačil, dizajna, uličnih kultur).

grafiti in *street art* so neke vrste zidni feljtoni, nadaljevanke: medij bitk med grafitarji, *grafiti-battles* oziroma *cross-out wars*: plast sledi plasti, izvorno sporočilo je uničeno, spet obnovljeno, spremenjeno, spet uničeno itn.⁸ Krajše rečeno, izolirano se jih skoraj ne da analizirati. Tako sem jih tudi razdelil: na tiste, ki so kljub temu bolj individualni, manj konfrontirani in antagonizirani (skupini 1. in 2.) ter tiste, ki so popolnoma antagonizirani, medsebojno konfliktni (skupina 3.)

Četrtrič, nekateri grafiti se ne navezujejo nujno samo na jugoslovansko, socialistično in partizansko izkušnjo: rdeča zvezda ni bila samo simbol jugoslovanstva, socializma in partizanstva, torej obdobja med 1941 in 1991, kot tudi nacistična in fašistična simbolika in imažerija – globalna (svastika, nacistični pozdravi, drugi nacistični simboli tipa *18, 88, Totenkopf*) ali lokalna (ustaška, četniška, domobrantska) – ne le protijugoslovanstva. Oboji so tudi splošnejši simboli sodobnih levih ali desnih subpolitik. Velika večina obravnavanih grafitov se dejansko referira na partizansko in jugoslovansko obdobje, nekaj pa ne in so bolj »brezčasni« simboli bodisi socializma oziroma komunizma ali pa nacifašizma. Isto velja za njihove obsodbe: grafiti *Smrt klerofašizmu, Jebeš nacije* ipd. se lahko nanašajo tako na nekdanje ali sedanje klerofašiste oziroma naciste, prav tako kot *Socializem je bolezen* ali *Smrt komunizmu* na takratni socializem ali na njegove sedanje ostanke (recimo na *ud-bomafijo* na Slovenskem ipd.). Upošteval sem le tiste, ki so bili na takšen ali drugačen način konotirani oziroma »prevajani« v jugoslovansko socialistično izkušnjo.

Petič, v tovrstnih analizah je to, kar ni uničeno, prav tako relevantno kot tisto, kar je takoj uničeno. Čeprav je tovrstna urbana vizualna produkcija po definiciji uničljiva – življenjska doba sodobnih grafitov je kvečjemu par mesecev, redko let – je še danes, zlasti v tradicionalno antifašističnih pokrajinah (slovenska Primorska, Istra, Kvarner) mogoče najti povojne grafite, ki klišejsko pričajo *Trst Gorica Reka Istra* (Prestranek, 2015), so posvečeni partizanski vojski (Vela Luka, 2008), najdemo tudi *Živel Maršal Tito, Hočemo Jugoslavijo* in *Tu je Jugoslavija* (vasi v Goriških brdih, 2013). Čeprav zbledeli, so še vedno berljivi in razumljivi. Sem lahko prištejem tudi ogromne, desetine kilometrov daleč vidne »kamnite grafite«, večdesetmetrske napise iz kamna, postavljene v čast Titu in Jugoslaviji v prvih povojnih desetletjih in še do danes ohranjene (nekaj primerkov sem našel na Primorskem, v Istri in osrednji Bosni). Vsa ta desetletja, celo surov obračun z informbirojem, pa sta preživela dva grafita, posvečena Stalinu: prvi zraven grafita *Tito* na glavni ljubljanski ulici, Dunajski, drugi v Kopru. Še en dokaz dejstva, da je lahko grafit ves čas na očeh vseh, a ga le redki vidijo.

Šestič, praktično nemogoče je prešteti natančno število (političnih) grafitov in *street arta*, saj so danes tu, jutri jih lahko že več ni ali so spremenjeni. Mesta, kaj šele več mest, ni mogoče enostavno in v nekem hipu »skenirati« in to ugotoviti. Kljub temu pa se v analizi ne sme zanemariti kvantitativnega vidika: če se določeni grafiti ali motivi pojavljajo večkrat, drugi pa enkrat samkrat ali nekajkrat, je tudi to raziskovalno relevantno. Zato njihovega števila, ki sem ga zajel v raziskavo, ne razumem v absolutnem smislu, ampak bolj v smislu deležev v odnosu do drugih.

Navsezadnje sem analiziral zgolj posamezne grafite in *street-art* produkte: če so se isti grafit, šablona, plakat ali nalepka pojavili večkrat, sem jih štel samo enkrat. To na neki način popači, minimalizira vtis njihove prisotnosti v urbani pokrajini: recimo šablone s Titovim portretom in pripisom *Dan republike* smo lahko konec devetdesetih

8 Metodo tovrstnega preučevanja je sijajno razvila Monika Kropelj (2008).

let v središču Ljubljane videli na vsakem koraku – pa sem tu zabeležil zgolj dve njihovi varianti (rdečo in črno). Enako je z najpogostejšimi frazami ali znaki (»železni repertoar« *SF-SN*, *Tito*, rdeča zvezda, znak *OF*, srp in kladivo ipd.), kjer obstaja ogromno variacij na isto temo, poleg tega pa še v različnih tehnikah (grafit, šablona, nalepka ...). Tudi zato je bilo treba temo nujno obravnavati kvalitativno, ne le kvantitativno, kar bi merilo zgolj frekvenco pojavljanja.

DENOTACIJSKA RAVEN ANALIZE – KLASIFIKACIJA PRO- IN PROTIJUGOSLOVANSKIH GRAFITOV IN »STREET ARTA«

Semiologija predpostavlja, tako Rose (2012: 108), »da so konstrukcije družbene razlike izražene skozi delovanje znakov v podobah samih«. Izhajajoč iz tez o fotografiji kot »samoumevnem dokazu« (prav tam: 300) oziroma »standardu natančne percepcije« (Collier, Collier 1996: 7) sem snemal ponavljajoče se skupine znakov in jih grupiral. Zbrano gradivo – 275 fotografij grafitov in *street arta* – sem tematsko razdelil na tri velike skupine znakov (prvi dve pa še na tri manjše), v katerih se precej natančno artikulirata ideologiji pro- in protijugoslovanstva. V prvi – teh sem zbral 209 – so projugoslovanski znaki, razdeljeni na tiste s tematiko partizanstva in NOB (1. 1.), SFRJ (1. 2.) in Tita (1. 3.). Druga velika skupina je nasprotje prve. Gre za protijugoslovanske znake, razdeljene na analogno tri arhetipizirane tematike: zavračanje NOB (2. 1.), zavračanje SFRJ (2. 2.) in zavračanje Tita in poveličevanje drugih voditeljev (2. 3.) – skupaj 43. V tretji veliki skupini so primeri »ikonoklazmov«, bitk med posameznimi motivi, 23 sem jih posnel: v njih je praktično nemogoče, predvsem pa nesmiselno ločevati plasti medsebojno antagonističnih grafitov in dopisovanj/dorisovanj.

1. PROJUGOSLOVANSKI	skupaj 209
1. 1. NOB	51
1. 2. SFRJ	75
1. 3. Tito	83
2. PROTIJUGOSLOVANSKI	skupaj 43
2. 1. zavračanje NOB	16
2. 2. zavračanje SFRJ	15
2. 3. poveličevanje drugih voditeljev, zavračanje Tita	12
3. GRAFITARSKE BITKE	skupaj 23
SKUPAJ	275

Veliko več kot gole številke povedo vsebine posameznih grafitov in *street arta*: kvantitativno metodo je treba nujno dopolniti s kvalitativno, vsebinsko. Glede na to, da je projugoslovanskih skoraj petkrat več od protijugoslovanskih, jih v nadaljevanju več tudi navajam. Nekatere med njimi puščam v izvirnem srbskem/hrvaškem/bosanskem ali angleškem jeziku, tekst ali opis grafitu ali *street art* produkta sta napisana v poševnem tisku, v oklepaju pa sta kraj in letnica posnetka.



Nalepka, Zagreb, 2016 (foto: Mitja Velikonja)

KONOTACIJSKA RAVEN ANALIZE

Za začetek barthesovsko vprašanje: fragmenti katerih ideologij oziroma ideoloških formacij so tovrstni grafiti? Da bi to spoznal, je bilo treba denotacijo in klasifikacijo dopolniti s konotacijo, z iskanjem širših kodov, zemljevidov pomena.⁹ Medtem ko se na prvi ravni analize vzpostavljajo predvsem podobnosti pomenov in njihovo povezovanje v skupine, pa se na drugem razlike med njimi: zdaj se bom torej bolj ukvarjal s konstrukcijo pomenov skozi njihove antagonizme. Vsak sistem znakov je namreč konotiran s svojo konstitutivno ne le relacijo, ampak opozicijo, z nasprotkom drugi strani – vsebini ideološke »teze« in »antiteze« se generirata iz nasprotovanja druga drugi. Z besedami Arthurja A. Bergerja (2014: 23): s semiologijo »iščemo binarne opozicije, saj pomen temelji na vzpostavljanju odnosov, prav opozicija pa je najpomembnejša vrsta odnosa v ustvarjanju pomena v jeziku«.

Semiološka analiza kaže, da največ grafitov ustvarja ideološki binarizem socialistični federalizem *versus* nacionalizem. Vrstijo se ime države (*Jugoslavijo!!!* / Reka, 2015/) ali njena kratica (*SFRJ* / Ljubljana, 2014/), njenih organizacij (*SKOJ* / Beograd, 2012/, *JNA* / Banja Luka, 2009/, *ZKJ* / Maribor, 2011/), simboli (*srp in kladivo* / Banja Luka, 2012/), jugoslovanski grb / Maribor, 2015/) ali prazniki (*Živel 29. november – Dan republike* / Ljubljana, 1999 in 2010 /, *27. april* / Maribor, 2014/). Protijugoslovanski diskurz pa se osredotoča na zavračanje takratnih organizacij (tipa *JNA zločinci* / Zalošče, 1996/) ali izpostavljanja nacionalnih držav južnoslovanskih narodov (*Nek se ne zaboravi 10. 4.* / Omiš, 2005/). Grafite ene strani se praviloma prečrta, preriše, dopiše: na enem je tako ustaški znak prečrtan, zraven pa je pripisan *Goli otok* in petokraka zvezda (Ljubljana, 2010). Gre torej za konfrontacijo dveh izključljivih ideologij in pripadajočih politik (držav, organizacij, praznikov in simbolov).

⁹ Konotacija je po Barthesu (1990: 154) »razvoj sistema sekundarnih pomenov«. V Halloovem besednjaku (2012: 406), kodu »pogojujejo odnose znaka s širšim univerzumom ideologij v družbi«.

Drugi ideološki antagonizem je konkretnější, spusti se na raven personalizacije ideologije in politike. Gre za boj kulta proti kultu: Tito *versus* njemu nasprotni osebnosti. Tako je najti šablone s podobami Tita (Prizren, 2008; Ljubljana, konec devetdesetih), *street-art* instalacije (z zlato bravo prebarvan star Titov kip, ki ima na prsih narisano modro srce / Maribor, 2015/), grafite z njegovim imenom v različnih izpeljankah (zasledil sem jih praktično povsod po nekdanji Jugoslaviji), po njem se imenujejo ceste (*Tito Way* / Ptuj, 2014/, *Titova cesta* / Cesta na Trnovo, 2013/), njemu so posvečena različna gesla in prisege (*Mi smo Titovi* / na magistrali Sarajevo–Doboj, 2014 /, *Tito je naš* / Zagorje, 2014/). Njegovi nasprotniki seveda poudarjajo njegove nekdanje sovražnike (*Vuk Rupnik, vstani!* / Ljubljana, 2014/, *Momčilo Đujić* / Banja Luka, 2015/, Ante Pavelić / Ljubljana, 2012/). Tudi tu se bijejo ostre zidne polemike: v Ljubljani (2015) so tako dorisani komentarji *Živio* in rdeče zvezde na izvorni grafit *Josip Broz Tito vaginalni izbljuvek*. Tito in »anti-Tito« tu nastopata kot konkretizirani, v lik voditelja »utelešeni« konotaciji prvega binarizma, socialističnega federalizma in nacionalizma.



Nalepka, Banja Luka, 2015 (foto: Mitja Velikonja)

Tretja takšna binarna ideološka os je antifašizem *versus* fašizem. Ponavljajo se partizanski pozdravi (*Smrt fašizmu* / različne variante v več krajih po celi nekdanji Jugoslaviji/), kratice organizacij (*OF* s podobo Triglava / v več krajih po Sloveniji/), slavljenje partizanstva in zavračanje kolaboracije (artivistična intervencija *Banja Luku su oslobodili antifašisti, a ne četnici* / Banja Luka, 2012/, / pro-okupatorsko usmerjen ljubljanski škof Grigorij / Rožman s pririsano svastiko / Maribor, 2015/), imena in podobe borcev (*Ivo Lolo* / seveda Ivo Lola Ribar, Zagreb, 2015/) ter obračunavanje z ideološkimi nasprotniki (*Fašisti v fobjah* / cesta proti Ilirski Bistrici, 2015/). Zagovorniki fašistične ideologije vračajo s četniškimi in z ustaškimi pozdravi, gesli in znaki (*S verom u Boga* / Banja Luka, 2015/, *Za dom spremni* / na več mestih na Hrvaškem/, s črko U s katoliškim križem / na več mestih na Hrvaškem/

ipd.), samoidentificiranjem (*Osvetnici Bleiburga* / na magistralni cesti med Ilirsko Bistrico in Ljubljano, 2014/) in s svojimi prizorišči (*Jasenovac* '43 skupaj z SS znakom / Sarajevo, 2015/). Tudi tu prihaja do grafitarskih konfrontacij: znakom *OF*, *NOB* in rdeči zvezdi sta pripisana *Smrt levemu terorju!* in znak skrajno nacionalistične skupine Avtonomni nacionalisti Slovenije (ANSi; Ljubljana, 2011). Čeprav tovrstni grafiti dajejo prvi vtis golega vračanja v (ne)razčiščene dileme o drugi svetovni vojni na jugoslovanskih tleh (okupacija/osvoboditev, upor/kolaboracija, revolucija/kontrarevolucija), pa nosijo tudi aktualne ideološke in konkretne politične konotacije zaradi vojnih devetdesetih let in še vedno napetih odnosov v sedanjosti.

EKSPRESIVNE STRATEGIJE GRAFITARSKE IN »STREET-ART« SUBKULTURE

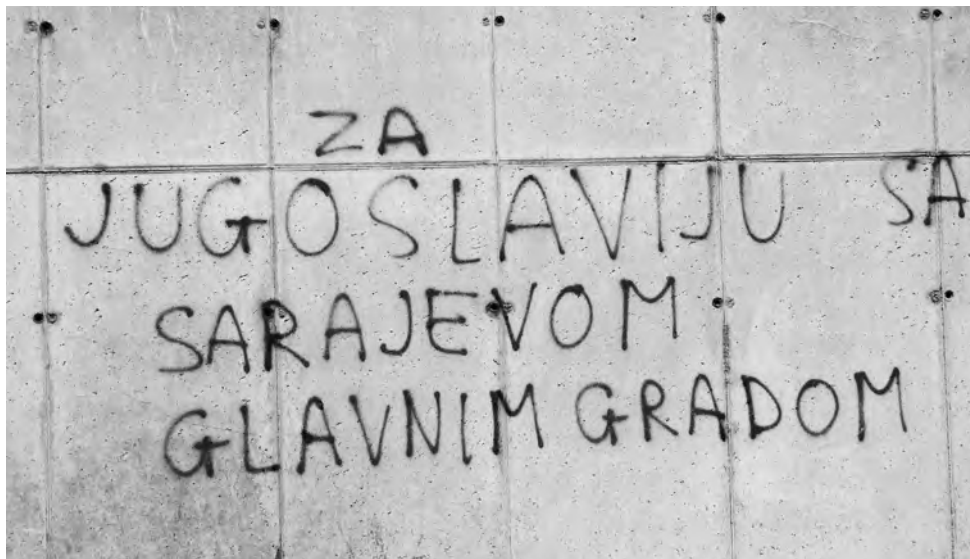
Grafitarji in *street* artisti prinašajo v politične diskurze nove načine izražanja, nov jezik, novo dikcijo in, kar podrobneje analiziram, specifične izrazne strategije. Politični grafit je »čisto sporočilo« – skoraj brez nepotrebnih pridevnikov, metafor, komplikacij, interpretativne odprtosti, ezopovske dvoumnosti. Izogiba se polisemiji in utemeljevanju. Razlikujejo se od drugih, veliko bolj elaboriranih medijev antagonistične konstrukcije preteklosti, recimo od znanstvenih in leposlovnih knjig, filmov, oddaj, pesmi, videov, spletnih strani itn. Ne samo zato, ker za to ni časa, ampak predvsem zato, ker za to ni potrebe: kar ima grafitar in *street* artist povedati, pove hitro, predrzno, ramonesovsko učinkovito, jasno, »na nož«. Rečeno z uličnim besednjakom: to je »šus«, ničesar ni za dodati, ničesar odvzeti – možno se je samo s tem (ne) strinjati. Kot taki so del vsakega sodobnega političnega aktivizma, čedalje bolj pa tudi mainstreamovskega načina komuniciranja, saj po njem pogosteje posegajo tudi zagovorniki danes vladajočih ideologij.¹⁰

Prva ekspresivna strategija pro- in protijugoslovanskih grafitov in *street arta* sta provokacija in kritika: če so estetski grafiti napad na etabrirano, »visoko« umetnost, če so torej kontra-umetnost (ostajajo zunaj galerij, so minljivi, nelegalni, nepodpisani, skratka, ne pristajajo na konvencije institucionalne umetnosti), so politični grafiti napad na dominantne institucije in ideologije. Od tod obesivna raba jugoslovanskega, partijskega, partizanskega ipd. žargona in simbolizma na mestih (in v času), kjer (in ko) to »najbolj boli«. Pomembnost lokacije izdajajo naslednji primeri.¹¹ Gesli *KPJ* in *Tito* sta bili napisani na stavbi splitske nadškofije (2005); v Ljubljani je bila ena od vladnih stavb konec devetdesetih prekrita z naborom najpomembnejših označevalcev prejšnje države (*KPJ*, *Tito*, *SFRJ*, *OF*, *Partija*); na svoj balkon doma upokojevcev, ki gleda neposredno na eno od ljubljanskih vpadnic, je do revizionizma kritična pesnica Svetlana Makarovič obesila opazno veliko rdečo zvezdo (2015). Podobno se dogaja v postdaytonski Bosni in Hercegovini, ko so z jugonostalgičnimi grafiti najbolj targetirane prav table različnih entitet, ali na Hrvaškem, kjer so neznanci ob obisku aktualnega kulturnega ministra na pročelje Hrvaškega zgodovinskega muzeja zaradi

10 Torej nacionalizma in neoliberalizma: dobesedno iste parole (recimo *Zaprimo meje!* in *Za lažji pretok kapitala ne »beguncev«*) lahko slišimo v izjavah današnjih vodilnih slovenskih politikov, izjave desničarskih aktivistov pa beremo na zidovih slovenskih ulic.

11 Isto je z »neprimernim« časom: v medijih in s strani organov pregona so posebej targetirani projugoslovanski grafiti in *street art*, ki se pojavijo med nekdanjimi prazniki (recimo ob 29. novembru) ali ki slavijo »leve« praznike (Dan žena ali Dan upora proti okupatorju).

njegove naklonjenosti temu gibanju napisali *Hassanbegoviću ustaša* (2016). Gre za tipični diskurzivni obrat, saj kontekst odločilno vstopi v polje teksta samega. Drugi strategiji sta afirmacija in kontinuiteta prejšnje identitete tudi v novih časih – torej odpor zgodovinske-
mu revizionizmu in načrtni pozabi jugoslovanskega in socialističnega obdobja. Grafiti na to temo poudarjajo, da se ni vse začelo leta 1991. Tisti na eni izmed mariborskih srednjih šol tako pravi, da so dijaki sicer *Born in SFRJ*, a *Grown in SERŠ* (2011); šablona s konca devetdesetih let na več mestih v Ljubljani pa je s štirikrat ponovljeno vrstico *Born in SFRJ* aludirala na Springsteenov refren *Born in USA*. Tretji primer je s prizorišča drvarske bitke (2009): neka sedaj nedvomno že odrasla *Džana* iz Sarajeva se je še vedno prepoznala kot *Titov pionir*.



Grafit, Podgorica, 2016 (foto: Mitja Velikonja)

Pro-in antijugoslovanski grafiti so tudi prostorsko obeležje: tretja strategija je markiranje terena. Sporočajo, da so privrženci Jugoslavije, socializma, partizanstva in Tita »še tu«. To izraža recimo grb SFRJ (Maribor, 2015) in pa preprosti grafiti *Tito* praktično vsepovsod po nekdanji Jugoslaviji. Četrta strategija je nenehna antagonizacija obstoječega, povratni udarec dominantnim diskurzom in simbolna prevlada nad njimi. Plakat iz Maribora (2014) tako opozarja na stisko mnogih mladih ljudi: *Rojen v Jugoslaviji – Šolan v Sloveniji – Nezaposlen v Evropi*. Grafit iz Labina (2007) pa poziva k resurekciji Jugoslavije: *Stvorimo je opet 1945–1990*. Zadnja ekspresivna strategija grafitarske in *street-art* kulture je semiološka gverila. Grafit iz Ljubljane s konca devetdesetih let simbolično vrača Tita v izvorno pionirski pozdrav, ki so ga slovenski pankerji konec sedemdesetih let ironično spremenili v *Za domovino s punkom naprej!* – namesto punka se spet pojavi Tito. Na Hrvaškem so izvorni proustaški grafit – veliko črko U – spremenili v napis *Nisam išao U školu* (2016). Privrženci desničarskega politika Janeza Janše že leta spreminjajo izvorno partizanski znak OF s Triglavom v JJ s Triglavom; njegovi kritiki pa ga spet vrnejo v »originalno« OF obliko, privrženci spet dorišejo JJ itn. Nesporni glavni geografski označevalec slovenstva – Triglav – ostane, je isti, skupen, menja pa se njegova aktualna politična interpretacija.

ZAKLJUČEK: PREMALO IN PREVEČ JUGOSLAVIJE

V sklepnem delu raziskave se vračam k uvodnim vprašanjem: kakšno socialistično Jugoslavijo, v vseh protislovjih njene »uresničene utopije«, na katere sijajno opozarja Suvin (2014), so ulični ustvarjalci s sprejem »našpricali« na zidove postjugoslovanskih mest? kateri njeni vidiki so slavljani, kateri obsojani? Katere ideologije so na delu v diametralno nasprotnih motivih grafitov? Ugotavljam, da sta odgovora na to dva, zgodovinski in aktualni. Prvič, nekateri grafiti se navezujejo izključno na pretekle čase. Analiza ideoloških formacij v njih kaže, da naše zgodovine to obdobje še vedno vrednotijo popolnoma polarizirano, antagonistično. Tako kot Eco na primeru popularnih romanov razlaga, kako je »shematizacija, manihejska delitev, vedno dogmatična, netolerantna« (1998, 170), tudi v tem primeru ni dialoga, ni produktivnega reševanja konflikta, ni pomiritve, ni sprave, ni alternative – obstaja samo nepremostljiva opozicija *pro-contra*, pro- in protijugoslovanska. Politični *ping-pong* se nadaljuje.

Tovrstni ideološki dvojčki odražajo, preslikavajo in obenem ustvarjajo temeljno, nerešljivo politično nasprotje tranzicije: med prejšnjima dominantnima ideologijama in praksama (jugoslovanskim multikulturalizmom v obliki bratstva in enotnosti na etnično-kulturnem področju in socializmom na družbenoekonomskem) in novima, ki sta ju zamenjali (etnonacionalizem na etnično-kulturnem področju in neoliberalizem na družbenoekonomskem). Protijugoslovanski, protisocialistični in nacionalistični grafiti so pravzaprav samo ulična apropiacija dominantnih političnih diskurzov, aktualna hegemonija »na ulični način«. Tudi grafit je lahko to, čemur Haraway pravi »oblastna komunikacija« (1999: 391). A »kjer je oblast, je tudi odpor«, bi na to lahko odgovoril s Foucaultom (1978: 95). Če ne gre drugje, se ta s projugoslovanskimi in prolevičarskimi grafiti konkretno izraža na stenah urbane krajine: ti »navdihujejo ljudi, jih opolnomočijo, dvigujejo duha in krepijo njihovo moralno moč« (Chaffee 1993: 20). To, da je na stenah precej več projugoslovanskih kot protijugoslovanskih grafitov, priča o tem, da je ta stran marginalizirana, da ima komunikacijski deficit in da je zanjo grafit eden redkih medijev izražanja. »Orožje šibkih«, če citiram učinkovit izraz Jamesa C. Scotta.

To, da ni »sinteze« med jugoslovansko »tezo« in protijugoslovansko »antitezo«, da imamo na stenah še vedno dobesedno »rdečo« in »črno« resnico (dobesedno: grafite rdeče barve proti grafitom črne barve), je sicer raziskovalno hvaležno, politično pa naporno in blokirajoče. A razlog za to ni preteklost po sebi: grafiti o razdeljeni preteklosti dejansko govorijo o konfrontacijah v sedanjosti. Druga ugotovitev se mi zdi mnogo pomembnejša in daljnosežnejša, zadeva pa aktualno stanje. Čeprav zgleđa referenčni okvir tovrstne urbane kaligrafije nedavna preteklost, torej neke vrste jugoslovanski ekceptionalizem,¹² pa je v njej eksplicitna kritika obstoječega, sedanjega, postjugoslovanskega tukaj-in-zdaj. Gre za aktualizacijo (nekdanjega) multikulturalizma, (nekdanje) socialno pravičnejše družbe, da bi se kritizirala (sedanji) etnonacionalizem in (sedanje) družbene krivice, ki se porajajo v novem kapitalizmu. Tako kot vsak drug medij tudi grafiti (re)producirajo družbena razmerja moči, na drugi strani pa jih napadajo: tudi na tem področju se dogaja nenehna (kontra)hegemonijska borba.

Drugače rečeno, sodobni politični boji se prevajajo v čase in kategorije NOB in jugoslovanskega socializma, torej v nekdanjo skupno zgodovino. »Nova« postjugoslovanska

12 Glej npr. študijo Zimmermannove o drugi Jugoslaviji kot »novem kontinentu« (2010).

domovina se ocenjuje z referiranjem na »staro«, jugoslovansko. Tovrstni grafiti izražajo razočaranje nad izidom tranzicije (*Bili smo 3 blok, sedaj bomo 3 svet* / Ljubljana, 2010, 2012/; *Poslje Tita dopala nas kita* / Zagreb, 2015/), bežijo v nostalgичne sanjarije (*Dok je bilo Tita bilo je i šita!* / Split, 2011/), se s sakrazmi lotevajo zgodovinskega revizionizma (*Janezu Janši v trajni spomin* s slikami pohabljenih žrtev nacizma / Ljubljana, 2009/; *Skini Fak Of, Če bi Hitler praznoval, ne bi ti slovensko znal* s simbolom OF / Ljubljana, 2010/), povečujejo zgodovinske voditelje na račun poznejših (*Tito je živ, a Tuđman ne!* / Reka, 2015/), preferirajo prejšnjo nad aktualno nadnacionalno skupnostjo (*Bolje Yu nego EU!* in *srp in kladivo* / nekje na Hrvaškem, 2012/), prepoznavajo fašizem v sedanjih desničarskih gibanjih (SKOJ, *srp in kladivo* nad grafitom desničarskega Nacionalnega stroja / Banja Luka, 2012/; pod grafit *Slovenia* desničarskih organizacij je bilo dodano *Antifa Area Since 1941* / Ljubljana, 2016/), šibajo oportunitizem sedanjih oblastnikov (*Druže Ramsfeld mi ti se kunemo ...* / Ljubljana, 2003/), preslikavajo aktualne politične delitve v nekdanje (nalepka s politiki desničarske SDS s pripisom *Dost je!!! domobranske vladavine* / Ljubljana, 2013/) ter ironično enačijo nekdanjo in sedanjo nadnacionalno zvezo, Jugoslavijo in EU (*E/Y/U* / Zagreb, 2015/). Podobno je tudi na protijugoslovanski strani, tudi tam prihaja do kritike sedanjosti s stališča preteklosti: aktualni dogodki se berejo skozi kategorije iz nekdanje Jugoslavije (*SDP = Jugoslavija* / Reka, 2015/).

Naj sklenem: projugoslovanski in protijugoslovanski politični grafiti in *street art* so nekakšen »lakmusov papir« perečih sedanjih družbenih dogajanj in vrednotenja preteklosti. Anonimna mnenja o teh so najprej na ogled na zidovih. Po mnenju Jugoslaviji, njenemu socializmu, voditeljem, antifašizmu itn. naklonjenih grafiterjev je vsega tega danes premalo – zato s tem simbolno »uravnotežijo« javni prostor, dobesedno vračajo stvari »na svoje mesto«. Na drugi strani je po mnenju nasprotnikov Jugoslavije in vsega z njo povezanega še vedno preveč – zato njeno »kontinuiteto«, kar je pogosta splošna ideološka mantra postjugoslovanske desnice, črtijo na vsakem koraku. Glede na zaostrovanje ekonomskega, političnega in splošnega družbenega stanja v postsocialistični post-Jugoslaviji ter čedalje globlje polarizacije vzdolž omenjenih antagonizmov (socializem vs. neoliberalizem, multikulturalizem vs. etnonacionalizem) je pričakovati še intenziviranje tovrstnih uličnih intervencij.¹³

LITERATURA

- Abel, Ernest L., Buckley, Barbara E. (1977). *The Handwriting on the Wall – Toward a Sociology and Psychology of Graffiti*. Westport (Connecticut), London (UK): Greenwood Press.
- Abram, Sandi (2008). Komodifikacija ter komercializacija grafitov in street arta v treh korakih: Od ulic prek galerij do korporacij. *Časopis za kritiko znanosti*, tematska številka *Veselo na belo – Grafiti in street art v Sloveniji* (ur. Sandi Abram, Gregor Bulc, Mitja Velikonja), 231–232, 34–49.
- Barthes, Roland (1990). *Retorika Starih: Elementi semiologije*. Ljubljana: ŠKUC, Filozofska fakulteta.

13 Domneva je upravičena glede na vzporedno naraščanje protibegunskih diskurzov in praks tako na ravni institucionalizirane politike kot na sami ulici (s porastom ksenofobnih in protibegunskih zborovanj in grafitov).

- Barthes, Roland (1992). *Camera lucida – Zapiski o fotografiji*. Ljubljana: ŠKUC, Filozofska fakulteta.
- Barthes, Roland (1993). *Mythologies*. London, Sydney, Auckland, Bergvlei: Vintage.
- Benjamin, Walter (1998). Umetnina v času, ko jo je mogoče tehnično reproducirati. *Izbrani spisi*. Ljubljana: Studia Humanitatis, 145–176.
- Berger, Arthur A. (2014). *Media Analysis Techniques*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC: Sage.
- Castleman, Craig (1999). *Getting Up: Subway Graffiti in New York*. Cambridge (Massachusetts), London (UK): The MIT Press.
- Chaffee, Lyman G. (1993). *Political Protest and Street Art: Popular Tools for Democratization in Hispanic Countries*. Westport (Connecticut), London (UK): Greenwood Press.
- Collier, John Jr., Collier, Malcolm (1996). *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Eco, Umberto (1998). *Il superuomo di massa – Retorica e ideologia nel romanzo popolare*. Milano: Bompiani.
- Foucault, Michel (1978). *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Guiraud, Pierre (1983). *Semiologija*. Beograd: Prosveta – Biblioteka XX. vek.
- Hall, Stuart (2012). Ukodiranje/razkodiranje. *Mediji in občinstva* (ur. Breda Luthar, Dejan Jontes). Ljubljana: Založba FDV, 399–412.
- Haraway, Donna J. (1999). *Opice, kiborgi in ženske: Reinvencija narave*. Ljubljana: Študentska založba.
- Kroječ, Monika (2008). Grafitarske bitke: Sprej kot sredstvo (sovražne) komunikacije. *Časopis za kritiko znanosti*, tematska številka *Veselo na belo: Grafiti in street art v Sloveniji* (ur. Sandi Abram, Gregor Bulc, Mitja Velikonja), 231–232, 255–265.
- Rose, Gillian (2012). *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC: Sage.
- Suvin, Darko (2014). *Samo jednom se ljubi: Radiografija SFR Jugoslavije 1945.–72., uz hipoteze o početku, kraju u suštini*. Beograd: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung – Southeast Europe.
- Šterk, Slavko (2004). *Umjetnost ulice: Zagrebački grafiti 1994–2004*. Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba.
- Tasić, David (1992). *Grafiti*. Ljubljana: Založba Karantanija.
- Velikonja, Mitja (2008). Politika z zidov: Zagate z ideologijo v grafitih in street artu. *Časopis za kritiko znanosti*, tematska številka *Veselo na belo: Grafiti in street art v Sloveniji* 231–232 (ur. Sandi Abram, Gregor Bulc, Mitja Velikonja), 25–32.
- Velikonja, Mitja (2013). Nadaljevanje politike z drugimi sredstvi: Neofašistični grafiti in street art na Slovenskem. *Časopis za kritiko znanosti* 251, 116–126.
- Zimmermann, Tanja (2010). Novi kontinent – Jugoslavija: Politična geografija »tretje poti«. *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, Nova vrsta XLVI, 163–188.
- Zrinski, Božidar, Štepančič, Lilijana (ur.) (2004). *Grafitarji – Graffitiists*. Ljubljana: Mednarodni grafični likovni center.

SUMMARY

“YUGOSLAVIA AFTER YUGOSLAVIA”: GRAFITI ABOUT THE FORMER HOMELAND IN THE NEW POST-YUGOSLAV HOMELANDS

Mitja VELIKONJA

The aim of the article is to research how and why the Yugoslav socialist past is present on the walls of post-Yugoslav cities in towns today: how graffiti artists and urban political activists de/construct and praise/condemn Yugoslavia, the socialist political system, partisan resistance, Tito and other symbols of those times. I collected over 270 photos, most of which I took myself, in the course of the last two decades. In the first part I define political graffiti and street art, establish basic terms and show their main types. In the second part I first explain the methodology used – the semiology of R. Barthes, U. Eco and S. Hall – and the perspective of my research (“site of the image itself”, using the terminology of G. Rose). This is followed by indicating the specifics of the research (combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches, multimodality of graffiti, the transience/endurance of graffiti and their vandalization, the polysemy of graffiti, the impossibility to establish their exact number, and the reproducibility of motifs). Third chapter brings the denotative level of analysis – the initial classification of the gathered material into two groups: pro-Yugoslav oriented (total of 209), anti-Yugoslav oriented graffiti (43) and graffiti battles (23). This is followed by a short description of some examples.

The fourth chapter proceeds on the connotative level: the analysis shows that most of the graffiti constructs the ideological binaries “socialist federalism” vs. “nationalism”, then “Tito” vs. “opposing historical personalities” and finally “antifascism” vs. “fascism”. The fifth part of the article is about expressive strategies of such politicization of urban space: provocation and criticism (problematizing dominant discourses), affirmation and continuity (resistance to historical revisionism), territory marking (proudly displaying “we are (still) here!”), constant antagonisation (confronting and overcoming present-day injustices) and semiotic guerrillism (constructing counterhegemonic meanings in an ironic and sarcastic way). There are two main findings of the analysis: one of historical relevance and the other in regard of the contemporary political situation. The first is that the evaluation of that period of our histories is still completely polarized and antagonistic: there seems to be no dialogue and no productive approach to conflict resolution or reconciliation, just the insurmountable pro- and anti-Yugoslav opposition. My second finding is that although the referential framework of such urban calligraphy appears to be the past, it also clearly reveals an explicit critique of the existent, current, contemporary, post-Yugoslav ethno-nationalist and neo-liberal condition. The actualization of the former multiculturalism, a socially more just society and antifascism in fact criticizes and proposes alternatives to current ethno-nationalism and social malpractices born out of the new economic and political system that took over since the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

ISLAM, TRANSNACIONALNA OBLEKA IN IDENTITETA: MIGRACIJE PODOB, TRANSFORMACIJE POMENOV

Mateja KROFL¹

COBISS 1.02

IZVLEČEK

Islam, transnacionalna obleka in identiteta: Migracije podob, transformacije pomenov

Migracije v globalizacija danes ključno vplivajo na redefiniranje muslimanske obleke v sodobnosti ter oblikovanje kulturne identitete žensk islamske veroizpovedi v urbanem okolju. Raznolike sodobne oblačilne sloge muslimank je danes treba razumeti v kontekstu porasta neoliberalne ekonomije v muslimanskih državah ter ponovnega oživljanja muslimanskih identitet po celem svetu. Namen članka je predstaviti transnacionalni pomen tančice (oblike naglavnega oziroma telesnega pokrivala) ter ponuditi vpogled v nove muslimanske oblačilne prakse, ki se tako simbolno kot materialno napajajo tako v »vzhodni« kot »zahodni« kulturi. Temeljita analiza tudi pokaže, da večina muslimanskih žensk nošenje tančice danes dojema kot pomemben odraz pripadnosti ter potrditev kulturne identitete. Nova transnacionalna muslimanska moda je postala večplasten koncept, ki globoko integriran v politične, družbene, osebne in navsezadnje vizualne interpretacije, odpira nove perspektive v percepciji identitete »modernih« muslimank ter tako pomembno priča o kulturnem pomenu migracij.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: islam, transnacionalna obleka, identiteta, migracije, globalizacija

ABSTRACT

Islam, Transnational Dress and Identity: Migration of Images, Transformation of Meanings

Contemporary Islamic dress as well as cultural identity of Islamic women in urban environment are today widely influenced and re-defined by migrations and globalization. Diverse contemporary clothing styles of Muslim women today must be understood in the context of rise of neoliberal economics in Muslim countries and the resurgence of Muslim identities worldwide. The purpose of this article is to present the transnational meaning of the veil (a form of headgear or body covering) and offer an insight into the new Muslim dressing practices which are symbolically as well as materially shaped by both 'Eastern' and 'Western' cultures. A thorough analysis also shows that in general, for the majority of Muslim women, the wearing of the veil today is perceived as an important expression of belonging and affirmation of the cultural identity. As a multi-layered concept, deeply integrated into political, social, personal and, nevertheless, visual interpretations, this new transnational Muslim fashion is thus opening up new perspectives in the perception of the identity of 'modern' Muslim women and thus revealing an important testimony to the cultural significance of migrations.

KEY WORDS: Islam, transnational dress, identity, migrations, globalization

¹ Univ. dipl. ing. oblikovanja tekstilij in oblačil, študentka podiplomskega doktorskega študija, smer Filozofija in teorija vizualne kulture, Fakulteta za humanistične študije, Titov trg 5, SI-6000 Koper; melussine@yahoo.com

UVOD

Migracije, kot jih poznamo v zadnjih dveh desetletjih, so tesno povezane z globalizacijo; mednarodne korporacije, kibernetna tehnologija in elektronski množični mediji danes prepletajo kulture po celotnem kontinentu. Njihov vpliv se odraža tudi v globalni percepciji oblačil glede na to, kako so ta proizvedena, marketirana, prodajana, kupljena, oblečena in odvržena. T. i. »globalni stil« (Kaiser 1999), ki se je pojavil kot rezultat globalizacije v produkciji mode, odslikava globalne trende, izražene v modnih podobah v revijah, glasbeni industriji, na filmu, internetu in televiziji. Džins, T-shirt, teniske in bejzbolske kape se danes pojavljajo vse od ulic New Yorka do afriških vasi. To fizično sposojanje stila in tekstilnih elementov, ki poteka med Zahodom,¹ Azijo in Afriko, je »globalni paradoks – pojav, ki ga opredeljujeta tako homogenizacija med različnimi lokacijami kot tudi raznolikost znotraj posameznih geografskih lokacij« (prav tam).

Globalizacija in migracije ne oblikujejo le svetovne ekonomije in globalne kulture, ampak definirajo tudi vsakdanje življenje posameznikov. Kulturni kontekst migracij, od kulinarike, športa, umetnosti, medijev do mode, v novi kulturno pluralistični družbi ustvarja nove hibridne oblike in kulturne difuzije. »Človeških družb in kultur ne moremo prav razumeti, če si jih ne zamišljamo v medsebojnih razmerjih in odvisnostih v prostoru in času (Wolf 1998: 9). Prepletenost sodobnega sveta lahko opišemo kot »interaktivni sistem« (Appadurai 1996: 27), ki ga zaznamujeta »translokalnost« ter »disjunkcija« ali mimo-bežnost globalnih kulturnih tokov, ki zajemajo ljudi, stvari, podobe in predstave, diskurze, kapital, ideologije, tehnologije, medije itd. Za preučevanje razsrediščenega svetovnega sistema Appadurai predlaga rabo dinamičnih prostorsko-kulturnih kategorij ali 'krajini' (ang. *scapes*), ki opisujejo globalne kulturno-ekonomske mimo-bežne in razhajajoče tokove (prav tam). Čeprav so krajine med seboj neločljivo povezane, jih razdeli na etnične, tehnične, finančne, medijske in idejne. Posamezniki, ki se selijo, s seboj prenašajo različne kulturne predstave, vzorce, kapital, vplive, znanja itd. (Repič 2009). V migracijskih kontekstih kultura, ali natančneje kulturne razlike, prevzamejo vlogo označevalcev kolektivne identitete, s tem pa postanejo tudi mehanizem za legitimacijo socialnega vključevanja in izključevanja (prav tam). »Kultura je dimenzija človeškega diskurza, ki uporablja razlike, da oblikuje raznolika pojmovanja človeške identitete« (prav tam: 13).

Med najrazvidnejšimi oblikami kulturne migracije je tudi kultura oblačenja. V pričujočem prispevku se osredotočam na sodobno muslimansko »tančico«,² ki je med najbolj spornimi zadevami emigrantskih žensk v deželah, v katere so se muslimani priselili. Čeprav Zahod tančico na splošno razume kot statičen in nespremenjen simbol, že stoletja povezan predvsem s segregacijo žensk, poznavanje islamske kulture odstira nove interpretacije muslimanske obleke ter ponuja nove vpoglede v raznolikost njenih posameznih funkcij in družbenih pomenov (El Guindi 1999; Haddad 2002; Harcet 2007; Hoodfar 1997;

1 Tukaj ne mislim geografske, pač pa ideološko-politično delitev na razviti »Zahod« in nerazviti »Vzhod«. Gre za temeljno razlikovanje v politični in ekonomski moči med kapitalisti in delavci, kot ga opredeli antropolog Eric R. Wolf v delu *Evropa in ljudstva brez zgodovine* (1998). S pojmom »Zahod« opredeljujem krščanski del sveta, kamor spadajo Evropa, ZDA in Avstralija (tudi Japonska) in ki je v nasprotju z nekrščanskim, torej muslimanskim »Vzhodom«.

2 Izraz »tančica« v prispevku uporabljam za vse oblike naglavnega in telesnega pokrivanja. Posamezni tipi pokrival se razlikujejo glede na različne kulture in so v nadaljevanju pojasnjeni v poglavju Tančica in islam.

Hume 2013; Kaiser 2012; Kalčič 2007; Tarlo, Moors 2007; Tarlo 2010). Sodobna muslimanska moda ne le, da izziva kulturne, zgodovinske in patriarhalne principe islama, pač pa preverja kulturno in osebno identiteto »moderne« muslimanske ženske.

Glavne dileme, ki se danes pojavljajo v zvezi z oblačilno kulturo žensk islamske veroizpovedi, so nedvomno kompleksna tematika. Ta ne deli mnenj zgolj na Zahodu, ki v luči konservativnega islama pokrivanje prepogosto razume kot zatiranje žensk, temveč tudi v sami islamski družbi. Medtem ko nekatere ženske islamske veroizpovedi verjamejo, da z nošenjem pokrivala izražajo spoštovanje in odgovornost, ki ju imajo do svoje veroizpovedi, druge zakrivanje razumejo kot simbol upora proti moderniziranemu Zahodu. Namen prispevka ni razprava o islamu, ki bi obravnavala orientalistične³ stereotipe o religiji, pač pa prikaz »transnacionalne«,⁴ na novo interpretirane muslimanske obleke v sodobnosti ter dilem v zvezi z nošenjem tančice kot simbola islama. Zanima me, kako migracijski in globalizacijski procesi vplivajo na oblikovanje sodobne muslimanske obleke in kulturne identitete muslimank. Sprašujem se o vizualnih predstavitev sodobnih islamskih oblačilnih praks in pomenu ženskega naglavnega oziroma telesnega pokrivala v odnosu do vloge in položaja žensk islamske veroizpovedi v urbanem okolju. Predvidevam, da migracije in globalizacija v percepcijo identitete sodobne muslimanke z redefiniranjem tradicionalne muslimanske noše v mednarodni prostor vnašajo alternativne perspektive.

V prispevku na raziskovalna vprašanja odgovarjam s pomočjo metod kvalitativnega raziskovanja v socialni antropologiji. Uporabljam deskriptivno oziroma opisno analizo, ki je najustreznejša glede na razpoložljive vire in samo temo naloge. Z diskurzivno metodo se osredotočam tako na primarne kot tudi sekundarne vire v strokovni literaturi, člankih in na spletnih straneh. Avtorica pričujočega članka sem modna oblikovalka in trenutno živim in delam v Indoneziji (državi z največjim številom prebivalstva muslimanske vere) in pri svojem preučevanju uporabljam metode opazovanje z udeležbo, introspekcije ter avtobiografsko metodo oziroma metodo življenjske zgodbe.

3 »Orientalizem« je termin, ki ga je leta 1978 v svojem kontroverznem kulturološkem delu predstavil Edward Said, začetnik postkolonialnih študij. Orientalizem je po njegovem načinu mišljenja, ki temelji na ontološki in epistemološki distinkciji med Orientom in Okcidentom; idej, kultur in zgodovin ni mogoče resno preučevati oziroma razumeti, ne da bi preučevali tudi njihovo moč. Nevtralna vednost ne obstaja; po Saidovem prepričanju je vsak znanstveni diskurz ne le ideološki, ampak tudi podrejen, posredno ali neposredno, centrom moči. Orient je zato konstrukt Okcidenta, saj ga ta povezuje z romantiko, eksotičnimi bitji, nepozabnimi spomini in erotičnimi doživetji (Said 1996: 15).

4 »Transnacionalizem« je povezan s konceptom multikulturalizma in vključuje ideje o mnogoterih – fluidnih – hibridnih identitetah, ki odlikavajo pripadnost mešanim skupnostim, krajem in tradicijam zunaj matične države. Predstavlja različne načine čezmejnih povezav in skupine ljudi, ki segajo preko enega samega nacionalnega, etničnega in kulturnega prostora. Transnacionalizem se lahko kaže v obliki kulturne reprodukcije, političnega udejstvovanja ter rekonstrukcije prostorskih dimenzij in lokacij. Identitete, ki se oblikujejo pod vplivom različnih nacionalnih in kulturnih imaginarijev, vključujejo tako elemente globalnega kot partikularnega (Vertovec 2001).

ZGODOVINA POKRIVANJA ŽENSK

Pokrivanje ne le žensk, pač pa tudi moških ter svetih predmetov in prostorov je skupno številnim kulturam in religijam. Čeprav je pojem tančice oziroma pokrivanja ženskega telesa danes kontroverzen predmet razprav med Vzhodom in Zahodom ter med tradicionalnimi in sodobnimi interpretacijami islama, se je praksa pokrivanja telesa kot običaj pojavila že veliko pred dejansko vzpostavitvijo islama. Praksa pokrivanja žensk naj bi izvirala iz kulture Asirije (današnjega Iraka), Perzije (Irana) in Bizantinskega cesarstva, pojavila pa naj bi se precej pred rojstvom islamske religije v 7. stoletju (Zahedi 2007). Prvi zgodovinski dokazi, ki pričajo o pokrivanju, so asirska pravna besedila iz 13. stoletja pr. n. št. Meščanke višjega razreda so tančico nosile kot znak prestiža in kot privilegirano sredstvo za zaščito pred »nečistim« pogledom običajnih ljudi. Nošenje tančice je bilo prepovedano ženskam nižjega razreda in prostitutkam. Kulturna praksa uporabljanja kosa tkanine kot naglavnega pokrivala za moške (turban) in ženske (tančica) je prišla v navado na Bližnjem vzhodu ter v predelih Afrike in Južne Azije. S prihodom islama so te prakse pokrivanja, ki so se razlikovale glede na specifične lokacije in kontekste, pridobile religiozne konotacije (prav tam).

Nošenje tančice se je najprej uveljavilo med elito. Sam koncept pokrivanja glave tako v židovstvu/judovstvu, islamu kot tudi krščanstvu je povezan predvsem s spodobnostjo in skromnostjo. V srednjem veku si je večina evropskih in bizantinskih poročenih žensk pokrivala lase s številnimi različicami naglavnih in naprsnih rut ter naglavnih šalov. Podobe zahodnoevropskih meščank pričajo o tem, da so si pokrivalle vse telo, razen obraza in dlani. Običajno so si z draperijo zakrile vrat, spodnji del vratu pa z naprsno ruto (Hume 2013). Takšna oprava je pozneje vplivala na oblikovanje vizualne podobe nun, katerih oblačilni slog velja za najkonservativnejši v krščanstvu. Tudi Devica Marija je na tradicionalnih upodobitvah prikazana pokrita. Oblačenje žensk v srednjeveški Evropi je bilo dosti bolj podobno oblačilni kulturi muslimank, kot pa je to prepoznano v sedanjem času (prav tam).

V 19. stoletju je v Evropi in Ameriki postalo popularno eksperimentiranje z različnimi oblikami naglavnih pokrival in drugimi kosi oblačil, ki so spominjali na orientalski (turški) slog oblačenja (Kaiser 2012: 95). Ameriške feministke, kot na primer Amelia Bloomer, so odvrgele korzet in nabrano krilo ter za reformirano obleko predstavile aladinke – široke, v gležnju zožene hlače. Navdušenje nad orientalizmom se je kazalo tako v baletu kot modnem oblikovanju. Ruski balet *Arabske noči*, za katerega je kostume oblikoval sloviti kostumograf Leon Bakst, je navdušil francoskega kreatorja Poireta, ki je orientalsko estetiko ponel do modno ozaveščenih Parižank. Popularnost tančice in turbana so v dvajsetih in tridesetih letih 20. stoletja nadaljevale hollywoodske filmske zvezde, katerih podoba še dandanes navdihuje številne modne oblikovalce po celem svetu (prav tam).

TANČICA IN ISLAM

Nošenje tančice ima dolgo in zapleteno zgodovino. Številne muslimanke s tančico potrjujejo svojo kulturno identiteto in afirmirajo težnje po osvoboditvi izpod kolonialne zapaščin. Z zakrivanjem glave in telesa ne izražajo le nasprotovanja vplivom Zahoda, pač pa tudi nasprotovanje pogledom moških v javnosti. Tančica za te ženske pomeni intimno povezavo med lastnim telesom in skupnostjo (El Guindi 1999). V islamu naj bi bilo pokrivanje las in glave nadaljevanje predislamskih praks. Predislamski nomadski Arabci so svoje ženske

začeli pokrivati, da bi jih zaščitili pred pogledi, napadi, ugrabitvami in posilstvi tujcev oziroma potencialnih sovražnikov. Srednji vek je prinesel številna pravila, ki so ženskam odvzela določene pravice, jim zapovedala pokrivanje in jim omejila aktivnosti zunaj doma. Pokrivanje kot statusni simbol je bilo med vladajočim razredom ter urbano elito splošno sprejeto šele z vladavino Safavidov (1501–1722) in v času Otomanskega imperija (1357–1924), ki se je raztezal na območju današnjega Bližnjega vzhoda in Severne Afrike. Zanimivo je, da so tudi muslimani začeli pokrivanje žensk upravičevati v imenu islama šele potem, ko so ga zahodni kolonialisti označili za prominentni simbol muslimanskih družb (Hoodfar 1997: 251).

Raznolikost, značilna za zgodovinsko dediščino posameznih islamskih dežel, od Turčije, Maroka, Irana, Pakistana, Afganistana do Indonezije itd., ki se razlikujejo tudi med mestnim, podeželskim, sedentarnim in nomadskim prebivalstvom, odraža heterogenost islamskega sveta tudi glede oblačenja, saj ni enotnega oblačilnega kodeksa. V ženski muslimanski noši obstajajo trije različni tipi naglavnih pokrival: »hidžab«, »al-amira« in »šajla«. Hidžab, najbolj razširjeno naglavno pokrivalo muslimank, je ruta, ki pokriva lase in vrat, obraz pa pušča odkrit. Tudi »al-amira« pokriva lase in vrat, sestavljena pa je iz dveh delov: cevastega traku, ki pokriva lase in čelo, ter širšega traku, ki sega na ramena. V zalivskih državah je pogosta »šajla«, ki je najbolj podobna zahodnemu šalu in se spenja podobno kot »hidžab« ali pa se lahko ovije okoli glave in enkrat ali večkrat okoli ramen. Pod njo se vedno nosi oprijeta čepica, ki preprečuje, da bi lasje padali na obraz. V Savdski Arabiji poleg naglavnega pokrivala ženske nosijo še »nikab«, ki je namenjen pokrivanju obraza. »Nikab« prekriva večji del obraza in pušča odkrite le oči. V primeru popolnega »nikaba« je tudi predel okoli oči zastrt s prosojno tančico, običajno pa se zraven nosijo tudi rokavice (Harcet 2007: 66).

V kombinaciji z naglavnim pokrivalom se po navadi nosi obleka, imenovana »abaja« ali »džilbab«. »Abaja« je dolga ohlapna obleka, ki jo nosijo predvsem Savdijke in ženske v zalivskih državah. »Džilbab« je soroden »abajji«, vendar je v zgornjem delu bolj podoben suknjiču, ki ga krasi ovratnik. »Džilbab«, ki ga uporabljajo v Jordaniji, Siriji, Palestini, Libiji in Alžiriji, se lahko nosi s hlačami ali z dolgim krilom nad majico ali bluzo. Od ogrinjal oziroma plaščev obstajajo »kimar«, »čador« in »burka«. »Kimar« je dolg, pelerini podoben plašč, ki pokriva lase, vrat in ramena. Navadno pada čez boke, lahko pa sega tudi pod kolena. »Čador«, ki ga nosijo predvsem porevolucijske Iranke, je podoben »kimarju«, le da je daljši in navadno sega do gležnjev. Najbolj ekstremno oblačilo islamskega sveta, ki je značilno predvsem za Afganistan, pa je »burka«, pri kateri gosta tkanina popolnoma pokriva celotno telo, vključno z obrazom, le v predelu oči je gosta mreža, ki omogoča le majhno vidljivost (prav tam 2007: 66).

Različne interpretacije islamskih svetih predpisov ter različni političnozgodovinski vidiki v posameznih islamskih državah kažejo pri ženskah na bistvene razlike glede oblik, materialov in barv oblačil. Tradicija zakrivanja izvira iz globoko zakoreninjene miselnosti patriarhalne islamske kulture, da je ženska skušnjavka, ki jo je treba zakriti. Čeprav nošnja »nikaba«, »čadorja« ali »burke« oziroma pokrivanje žensk od glave do peta v *Koranu* ni eksplicitno predpisana, je tančica postala sestavni del identitete mnogih muslimank. V nekaterih kulturnih okoljih šele popolni »nikab«, »čador« ali »burka« ženskam omogočajo prisotnost v dominantni moški družbi. Prav nošnja teh oblačil je prvi korak k vključevanju žensk v javno življenje (Hosseini 1996: 96). V *Koranu*, ki tako za ženske kot moške predpisuje spodobno oblačenje, s katerim naj bi izražali svojo vero in moralno držo, se predpisi

o oblačenju omenjajo le na treh mestih. V poglavju Zavezniki je odlomek, ki predpisuje dostojno oblačenje žensk: »O, glasnik vere! Reci svojim ženam, svojim hčeram in ženam vernikov, naj se dostojno oblačijo. Tako bodo lahko prepoznane, nihče pa jih ne bo nadlegoval. Gospod pa odpušča in je milosten« (*Koran* 30: 59). V odlomku Svetloba, ki govori o sredstvih za preprečevanje nečistovanja, je zapisano: »Reci vernikom, naj hodijo s spuščnim pogledom in naj pazijo na svoje sramne dele. Tako je bolje, saj Gospod resnično ve, kaj delajo« (*Koran* 24: 30).

Iz zapisanega lahko razberemo, da tudi za moške velja enako kot za ženske, da se ne smejo spogledovati s tujci in da ne smejo dovoliti, da bi se videli določeni deli telesa. Temu določilo sledi navodilo za ženske: »Vernicam reči, naj hodijo s spuščnim pogledom in naj pazijo na svoje sramne dele ... Tančice naj imajo čez prsi, svojega okrasja pa naj ne kažejo naokrog! ... Naj ne udarjajo s stopali, da bi se slišal žvenket nakita, ki je pod obleko« (*Koran* 24: 31). V poglavju Svetloba je tudi določilo o odevanju starejših žensk: »Za ostarele ženske, ki si ne želijo več poroke, ni greh, če odložijo svoja ogrinjala, vendar ne smejo razkrivati delov telesa z okrasjem« (*Koran*: 24: 60). Čeprav je obdobje na prelomu 19. v 20. stoletje pri pokrivanju⁵ prineslo spremembe, sta se nošenje tančice in zapriseženost skromnejši obleki, v smislu nasprotovanja zahodnemu svetu in zahodnim političnim vmešavanjem v nacionalne režime, v drugi polovici 20. stoletja ponovno začela uveljavljati. Tančico kot simbol ponovne vzpostavitve narodne identitete in pokazatelja zavračanja vrednot in stilov, ki so ali se zdijo zahodnjaški, danes še zlasti popularizirajo Indonezija, Filipini, Pakistan, Iran, Afganistan idr. (Tarlo, Moors 2007).

Islamski feminizem, kritika oblačilnih praks zakrivanja in sodobnost

Ob koncu 19. stoletja so islamski intelektualci in reformatorji, da bi muslimanske države postavili ob bok sodobni zahodni civilizaciji, začeli oznanjati nove ideje o liberalizaciji žensk. Te ideje so vključevale spremembe statusa žensk in tradicionalnih običajev, kot so pokrivanje žensk, izključitev iz javnega življenja in neenakost v izobraževanju. Leila Ahmed (1992) ta diskurz imenuje »kolonialni feminizem«. Burne razprave, ki so se začele v Egiptu, je spodbudila knjiga muslimanskega sodnika Qasim Amina *Osvoboditev ženske* (ang. *The Liberation of Women*, 1899), ki naslavlja potrebo po splošni kulturni in družbeni transformaciji egipčanske družbe, pri čemer je odprava pokrivanja žensk med ključnimi spremembami.

Za začetnici ženskih gibanj v islamskem svetu veljata Egipčanka Huda Shaarawi (1879–1947) in Libanonka Nazirah Zayn al-Din (1908–1975), ki sta med prvimi javno sneli pokrivala. Prvo uradno islamsko feministično gibanje Feministična zveza Egipta, ki ga je leta 1923 ustanovila Huda Shaarawi, si je prizadevalo za pridobitev volilne pravice žensk, možnost izobraževanja in spremembe šeriatskega prava, kar so bila primarna področja delovanja prvih aktivističnih prizadevanj v islamskih državah« (Mir Hosseini 1999: 7, 96). Kot koncept in osrednji termin, ki označuje delovanje žensk islamske veroizpovedi za izboljšanje njihovega položaja na globalni ravni, se je v devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja. »islamski feminizem« začel uporabljati v vedno večjem številu literarnih del o ženskah in islamu. Kot »feministični diskurz in praksa, artikulirana znotraj islamske paradigme, izhaja iz *Korana*

5 Glej naslednje poglavje.

in se nanj sklicuje kot na temelj pravičnosti in zavzemanja za eksistenčne pravice tako žensk kot moških« (Badran 2009: 242). Za proizvajalce in uporabnike islamskega feminističnega diskurza lahko imenujemo tiste, ki islamsko feministično etiketo oziroma identiteto sprejemajo ali pa je ne. Mednje spadajo tako verni muslimani, sekularni muslimani (katerih pripadnost islamski veroizpovedi je manj očitna za javnost) kot tudi nemuslimani. Pomembno je tudi, da historiciramo in kontekstualiziramo uporabo pojmov »religiozen« in »sekularen«, saj se njuni pomeni razlikujejo glede na čas in prostor (prav tam: 244).

Islamski feminizem je pomemben, ker naslavlja islamski patriarhalni establišment v njegovem lastnem jeziku. Predstavlja obliko upora tako proti patriarhalnemu islamu kot tudi zahodnemu (kulturnemu) imperializmu. Irshad Manji, sicer globoko verna muslimanka in javno izpovedana homoseksualno usmerjena oseba, analitična kritičarka islama in islamskega fundamentalizma, goreča borka za žensko enakopravnost in prenovo islama, v svoji knjigi v obliki odprtega pisma *Kaj je danes narobe z islamom* (2003) kritizira plemensko islamsko ureditev, samovoljno tolmačenje *Korana* in sodobno suženjstvo:

Milijoni muslimanskih žena zunaj Arabije, vključno z Zahodom, se zastirajo. To sprejemajo kot dejanje verske poslušnosti. V resnici pa je to prej dejanje kulturne kapitulacije [...] to, da si zakriva obraz, ker se to od mene pričakuje, ni nič drugega kot zmaga blagovne znamke puščavskih Arabcev, katerih slog oblačenja je postal najzanesljivejši simbol, kako se je kot muslimanka treba zapakirati. Posnemati puščavska ljudstva v oblačenju, jeziku ali molitvi ne pomeni nujno slediti univerzalnemu Bogu. Toda iz mitov, ki že stoletja propagirajo islam, tega ne morete vedeti. Ti miti so spreobrnilo nearabske muslimane v stranke svojih arabskih gospodarjev, ki morajo kupiti to, kar jim prodajajo v imenu islamske »razsvetljenosti«. (Manji 2008: 189)

Tudi Fatima Mernissi opozarja, da je razumevanje oblačil kot »sredstva za zaščito« sporno, saj predvideva, da je žensko telo izziv za moške, ki jim je dovoljeno agresivno spolno vedenje do nezaščitenih žensk. Ženska, ki ni primerno oblečena in ni v spremstvu moškega, je namreč grozeča nevarnost, ki ji je treba omejiti svobodo, jo zastreti, zapreti. Tako imenovana skrb za zaščito žensk, ki jo predpisuje islamska vera, številnim muslimankam hkrati pomeni omejevanje njihovih pravic (Mernissi 1992: 180–183). Razkrivanje in svobodna izbira o nošenju »hidžaba« mnogim muslimanskim ženskim aktivistkam in islamskim feministkam pomeni eno ključnih orodij boja proti patriarhalni islamski družbi. (Ne)nošenje tančice pa nima le politične konotacije; pokrivanje ali razkrivanje se odražata kot intimna stiska ženske, ki nima svobodne izbire. Ko je leta 1936 šah Reza Khan Pahlavi prepovedal nošenje ženskih pokrival v javnih prostorih, si nekatere ženske mesece niso upale iz hiše, ker so se počutile osramočene in ponižane, medtem ko je bila poznejša generacija žensk ogorčena nad ukrepi fundamentalistične vlade ajatole Ruholaha Homeinija, ki je prišla na oblast po islamski revoluciji leta 1979 in ženskam zaukazala ustrezno pokrivanje.

Pri tem niti ne gre toliko za samo tančico kot za vprašanje svobodne izbire. Moja babica tri mesece ni zapustila domače hiše, ko so jo sili, naj se odkrije. Jaz bom pri svojem zavračanju prav tako odločna. Le da takrat še nisem vedela, da bom zelo kmalu pred edino izbiro: ali tančica ali pa zapor, palica in morda smrt, če se ne pokorim. (Nafisi 2004: 157)

Podobno pričevanje o ustrahovanju žensk in predpisovanju strogih oblačilnih standardov zanje dokumentira tudi iranska pisateljica Marjane Satrapi (2008). Satrapi v romanu

s humorno obarvanimi stripovskimi sličicami prikaže svoje otroštvo v revolucionarnem Iranu s konca sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja, nato pa svoje najstništvo na sekulariziranem Dunaju. V njej se prepletajo bolečine in strahovi, hrepeneče upanje po reševanju sveta, upor proti nesmiselnemu omejevanju osebne svobode ter iskanje lastne identitete, ki ga doživlja kot najstnica. Veščina njene narativnosti in sposobnosti prikaza različnih čustev ter vpogledov v družbeno življenje z veliko mero prodorne inteligence in humorja razpršuje mite ter potrjuje strahove, ki jih je preganjalski politični režim včrtal v oziroma na telo posameznika in naroda.

Nafisi in Satrapi z avtobiografskima pripovedma, vsaka na svoj način, razkrivata kompleksno prepletanje osebnega in političnega, individualnega in družbenega. S tem »muslimansko« žensko oblačilo predvidita kot dinamičen proces, ki se pogaja o meji med omejenimi področji. Njuni intimni zgodbi utelešata predstavo obleke kot posrednika pogajanj med svobodo in kontrolo, estetiko in politiko. Obe zgodbi in številne druge, ki se nanašajo na subjektivno percepcijo oblačilnih praks žensk islamske veroizpovedi, izražajo potrebo po tem, da vsaka ženska svobodno izbira svojo vizualno podobo. Svobodna odločitev glede oblačenja je le del obširnejših prizadevanj za enakopravnost žensk v muslimanski patriarhalni družbi, za katero si prizadevajo islamska feministična in druga ženska aktivistična gibanja ter posameznice po celem svetu. Diskriminacija in rasizem, ki ju pogosto doživljajo pokrite muslimanke na Zahodu, sta namreč prav tako zatirajoča, kot je ponižujoča splošno uveljavljena percepcija mnogih zahodnih feministk, ki kolonialistične podobe muslimank in muslimanskih družb uporabljajo kot orodje v boja proti seksizmu. Hooma Hoodfar, profesorica Oddelka za sociologijo in antropologijo na Univerzi Concordia v Montrealu v Kanadi in Iranca, v enem svojih člankov zapiše bridke besede svoje sonarodnjakinje, izrečene na eni od feminističnih konferenc: »Trpele smo v imenu napredka, potem v imenu revolucije, nato v imenu islama, pozneje emigracijo in rasizem, zdaj pa moramo trpeti še v imenu feminizma« (Hoodfar 1997: 267).

Čeprav so številne muslimanke aktivne v javnosti in vidno sooblikujejo islamsko družbo, neenakosti med spoloma v dostopu do izobraževanja in zaposlovanja še vedno obstajajo in ovirajo njihovo svobodno izražanje, obnašanje in oblačenje. Številne islamske feministke verjamejo, da mora osvoboditev žensk izvirati iz religije, pri čemer se zavzemajo za reinterpretacijo *Korana* ter spremembo šeriatskega prava, saj bodo muslimanke le tako lahko dosegle svojo emancipacijo. Čeprav se prizadevanja islamskega feminizma za enakopravnost tako ali drugače dotikajo islama, pa v središču ni vera, temveč ženske.

PERCEPCIJA ZAHODA

Verska obleka je že po sami definiciji vidni označevalec razlike. Prinaša sporočilo o določenemu naboru ideoloških ali verskih načel in praks. Specifične, religiozno obarvane oblačilne prakse določeno versko skupnost ločijo od drugih verskih skupnosti, hkrati pa je tudi v skupnosti treba razlikovati hierarhijo, strukture oblasti, razlike med spoloma, ideje o skromnosti, posamezne vloge, običaje, identitete, prepričanja in ideologije« (Hume 2013: 1). Zahodni svet na splošno razume tančico kot zatiralno orodje konservativnega in patriarhalnega islama. Z natančnejšim opazovanjem življenjskega horizonta postane zgodba kompleksnejša.

Ruta je simbol islama, vendar nič manj tudi simbol upora samozavestnih in razsvetljenih žensk, ki so se opredelile za islam tudi zato, da bi se branile pred diskriminacijo, zahtevami po asimilaciji in da bi si izborile pravico do samostojne, neodvisne identitete, ki se sme razlikovati od vsiljenih identitet, ki jih predpisuje večinska kultura. (Kalčič 2007: 271)

Nošenje pokrival v nemuslimanskih državah je za javnost pogosto problem, saj ga zahodna družba v glavnem razume kot simbol zavračanja asimilacije, grožnje islamskega fundamentalizma in navsezadnje terorizma. Zaradi omenjenih interpretacij muslimanke, ki živijo na Zahodu in so pokrite oziroma želijo biti pokrite, pogosto postanejo žrtve diskriminacije in obtožb. Ne le, da na primer večina evropskih držav prepoveduje popolno pokrivanje las in obraza v javnih ustanovah, mnoge ženske, ki se ne želijo (ali ne smejo) odreči pokrivalu, ne dobijo zaposlitve. Seveda je težko določiti meje, kdaj gre za svobodno odločitev in kdaj za prilagajanje družinskim ter družbenim normam.

Za številne imigrantke islamske veroizpovedi Zahod, vsaj teoretično, predstavlja svobodo »biti muslimanka« po lastni izbiri. Toda ali Zahod dejansko izpolnjuje njihova pričakovanja, da bodo svobodne tudi pri izbiri oblačenja? Gotovo ne v vseh primerih. In skoraj v vseh državah, kjer se muslimanske manjšine povečujejo in postajajo vidnejše, se zaradi tančice pojavljajo vse razvidnejši primeri diskriminacije (Haddad 2002: xiv). V knjigi *Veil: Mirror of Identity* (2009) sociolog Christian Joppke ponudi precej provokativno razpravo o mnogoterih pomenih tančice v povezavi z vzponom islama v svetovni perspektivi, muslimansko integracijo in s trenutnim evropskim zavračanjem večkulturnosti. Zanj je tančica ogledalo prepleta nacionalnih in liberalnih identitet, kar pa postavi tančico za paradoks sam po sebi: tako kot je tančica v zahodnem pogledu predstavljena kot žalitev liberalnih vrednot, je neliberalno zatiranje tančice (Joppke 2009). »Islamsko naglavno pokrivalo deluje kot ogledalo identitete, ki sili Evropejce, da vidijo, kdo so in da ponovno razmislijo, kakšne javne institucije in družbe želijo imeti« (prav tam: 2).

Islamska tradicija je v oblačenju kot okrašanju teles diametralno nasprotna zahodni oblačilni kulturi. Sodobna »zahodnjakinja« svojo ženstvenost kaže s pozornostjo, ki jo namenja svojemu telesu in oblekam: »muslimanka« naj bi svojo ženstvenost pokrila in jo skrila za tančico. Lahko bi rekli, da »muslimanska ženska« predstavlja »sveto telo«, »zahodna ženska« pa »estetsko telo«. Prizadevanje za skromno in nevpadljivo podobo verne muslimanke danes ni najbolj usklajena s porastom dobičkonosne islamske modne industrije, ki je postala simbol novega islamskega potrošništva. Za podrobnejšo analizo sodobne islamske mode kot transnacionalnega in populariziranega pojava pa se je treba najprej poučiti o zgodovini 20. stoletja, ki je v islamskih državah na vseh področjih prinesla velike spremembe.

SODOBNA ISLAMSKA MODA IN MODNA INDUSTRIJA

Danes muslimani na Zahodu svojo kulturno identiteto in vero veliko bolj izražajo z obleko, bodisi pri nošenju tradicionalne dolge črne obleke bodisi novih modnih stilih, ki vključujejo pisane naglavne rute. Multikulturnost in hibridni »hidžabi« so del prenove oziroma 'remodeliranja' (ang. *refashioning*) islama na Zahodu. Sodobne muslimanske ženske različne stile oblačenja izbirajo iz širokega kulturnega repertoarja, ki definirajo načine, kako biti »musliman v Londonu« (Tarlo 2010).

V tem kontekstu se pojavljajo nove klasifikacije in kontekstualizacije muslimanske obleke, od »neislamske« in slogov, ki se povezujejo z bližnjim vzhodom in Afriko, do avtentično »islamskih«. Vsi ti raznoliki slogi soobstajajo s še bolj eklektičnimi kombinacijami »islamske mode«, oblikovanimi posebej za potrebe zahodnega trga. (Tarlo 2010: 7)

Od začetka 20. stoletja je med prebivalstvom centralnih držav bližnjega vzhoda priljubljeno oblačenje v zahodne modne oblačilne sloge, kar je sprva povzročilo opuščanje nošenja tančice čez obraz, nato pa še naglavne rute. Po političnih spremembah⁶ v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja so številne ženske v Turčiji začele nositi nov slog »pokrite« obleke, ki se je imenovala »nova tančica« (Tarlo, Moors 2007: 339).

Ker je dejansko šlo za nov stil obleke, razvidno drugačen od predhodnih pokritih oblačilnih slogov revnejših urbanih in podeželskih žensk, so bile te prakse prepoznane kot nove. Ženske, od katerih se je pričakovalo, da bodo nosile zahodno modo, so zavestno izbrale vrnitev k islamskemu slogu pokrite obleke. Nekatere ženske, ki so začele nositi ta stil obleke, so bile del nabožnega gibanja, ki se je pojavilo kot odziv na vse večjo sekularizacijo vsakdanjega življenja. Za druge je bilo nošenje »nove tančice« način za izražanje svoje naklonjenosti kulturni politiki islamističnih gibanj, ki niso bilo le oblika upora proti zahodni nadvladi, pač pa tudi kritičen pogled na lokalne avtoritarne režime, ki so v prakse oblačenja vnašali zahodne identitete in naraščajočo materialistično kulturo. Kot del teh gibanj se je razvil uniformiran in nevpadljiv slog pokrite obleke. Z novim pokrivanjem so mnogi pripadniki omenjenih gibanj želeli za vedno opraviti z modo in še zlasti z razlikami med bogatimi in revnimi (prav tam).

V poznih osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja je trend islamizma sam po sebi postal bolj heterogen. Trend se je deloma transformiral iz antipotrošniškega radikalnega gibanja k bolj individualiziranemu reformističnemu gibanju z identitetami, ki so se vedno bolj izražale s potrošništvom. Pojav islamske potrošniške kulture je vodil v večjo heterogenost islamskih slogov oblačenja in v naraščajočo modno ozaveščenost med mladimi muslimankami višjega razreda. Estetske presoje, izbran okus ter kulturni in finančni kapital so pokazatelj procesov, ko so islamistične ženske začele nositi islamsko obleko in jo spremenile v modo (prav tam: 340).

Danes lahko tako v »zahodnem« kakor tudi »muslimanskem« okolju bližnjega vzhoda in jugozahodne Azije zasledimo raznolike, raznobarvne in nenehno spreminjajoče se sloge pokrite islamske mode. Nova vzhajajoča in dobičkonosna islamska modna industrija, ki se nanaša na proizvodnjo, distribucijo, oglaševanje in prodajo, je del potrošniškega življenjskega stila nove urbane muslimanske populacije. Pogosto glamurozni modni oglasi v ženskih revijah nikakor ne posebej skromne islamske obleke, kot jo predpisuje *Koran*. Privabljuje pogled, zapeljujejo in predvsem ne ustrezajo islamskim principom. In vendar prav oglaševanje igra ključno vlogo v ustvarjanju profitabilne tržne niše, kot je današnja islamska modna industrija. Izvor njene kontroverznosti se skriva prav v prepletu dveh navidezno neujemajočih se sistemov: mode in islama. Pokrita moda in njeni dizajni so v zadnjem desetletju po vsem svetu tudi odziv na post-9/11, geopolitično okolje in porast

6 Eden pomembnejših dejavnikov, ki je odprl pot svobodnemu ženskemu gibanju, je bil prav državni udar leta 1980; v takratnih političnih okoliščinah je namreč nastal vakuum, ki so ga izkoristile predvsem ženske. Sodobni feminizem oziroma žensko gibanje v Turčiji in drugod sta se poleg boja za enakost žensk začela ukvarjati tudi z bojem za pravico do drugačnosti žensk, kar je postalo razvidno zlasti z razvojem sodobnih kritik zahodnega »belega« feminizma (Frank 2012: 50, 51).

antiislamizma. Svetlejša in bolj všečna pokrita moda je postala pomemben predmet razlikovanja med »dobrimi« in »slabimi« muslimani.

Ko so mediji stigmatizirane podobe muslimank z ruto in muslimanov z brado označili za simbole islamistične militantnosti, je postalo še pomembnejše portretirati ugajajoč, eleganten in moderen videz. Črna in temnejša »tesettür«⁷ oblačila ter ogromni šali so postali manj priljubljeni. Novi moderni slog pokrivanja se je bliskovito razširil na večje skupine ljudi, ki pred nepokrito javnostjo niso želeli izgledati odbijajoče, oz. da bi jih ta stereotipno označila za grde, nazadnjaške in strah vzbujajoče. (Sandıkçı, Ger 2007)

»Moderne muslimanke« so postale eden najočitnejših subjektov diskurza o islamizmu, vlogi spolov in potrošništvu. S prilagajanjem in soustvarjanjem lastne kompleksne vloge, ki niha med tem, kako biti »muslimanka« in hkrati »moderna ženska«, preverjajo nove islamske identitete ter oznanjajo spreminjajoče se meje med islamsko etiko in imperativi neoliberalnega kapitalizma. V današnjih urbanih okoljih transnacionalna muslimanska obleka po vsem svetu priča o tesni povezavi med »islamsko« in »zahodno« modo in se izraža tako v njenih proizvajalcih kot potrošnikih. Ne gre toliko za »nezahodni svetovni modni sistem«, pač pa bolj za globalni islamski okvir, v katerem oblikovalci, podjetniki, potrošniki, uporabniki interneta in medijski komentatorji širijo ponudbo modnih možnosti, z razvojem značilnih islamskih stilov, s pestrim naborom slogov, spreminjanjem in kombiniranjem elementov prevladujoče mode pa tako soustvarjajo nove »islamsko občutljive« obleke (Tarlo 2007: 224, 225).

ZAKLJUČEK

Čeprav številke muslimanke poudarjajo predvsem verski pomen tančice, ki naj bi poudarjala njihovo pripadnost islamski kulturi, je dejstvo, da so prav njihova oblačila postala simbol in politična poteza. Ko izbira oblačenja ni več svobodna domneva in kjer ni svobodne izbire oblačenja, obleka postane orodje moči, ki ga upravljajo in nadzirajo verske oziroma politične institucije. Vendar tudi prisilna zavrnitev globoko zakoreninjene tradicije ni preprosta in je hkrati druga oblika diskriminacije. Nošenje pokrival v javnosti seveda ne pomenja enostavnih odgovorov, zato o pomenu in vlogi tančice ne moremo razpravljati, ne da bi razumeli pomen in vlogo patriarhalne muslimanske zapuščine ter njene verske prakse. Ko razpravljamo o oblačilni kulturi muslimank, se moramo v imenu strpnosti do današnje družbe zavedati svojega »zahodnega« pogleda na islamski svet, hkrati pa ne smemo pozabiti na omejevanje verske svobode in svobode izražanja. Sodba o pokrivanju muslimank je tako večplasten pojem, ki vlogo tančice kot čaščene ali preklete ikone islama bolj ali manj pušča odprto za subjektivne sodbe, bodisi v smislu odobravanja bodisi zavračanja.

Stalno spreminjajočo se družbeno vlogo muslimanske tančice razkriva tudi pojav nove islamske modne industrije, ki je v zadnjih dveh desetletjih kot transnacionalni pojav razvidno zaznamovala globalno družbo. Muslimanske oblačilne prakse danes vstopajo v novejšje poglavje svoje zgodovine, ki ga z novo islamsko modo in mednarodno modno industrijo pišejo nove oblike islamske etike, potrošništva in neoliberalnega kapitalizma.

7 »Tesettür« je splošni izraz za islamski način oblačenja v današnji Turčiji.

Sodobna islamska modna industrija tako v očeh javnosti pooseblja simbol islama kot političnega sistema, spodbija pa koncept pokrite ženske kot nečesa zastrašujočega, saj žensko identiteto utemeljuje na pojmih lepote, privlačnosti in seksualnosti. Moderna muslimanska ženska s svojim ozaveščenim modnim, ženstvenim in še vedno ikoničnim videzom ustvarja kontroverzne polemike o razumevanju islama v današnjem globalnem svetu. Eden razvidnejših kulturnih vidikov migracij muslimanskega prebivalstva v države Evrope in Amerike se nanaša tudi na migracijo in transformacijo pomenov oblačilnih praks. Tradicionalna, v primeru pričujoče študije muslimanska obleka igra pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju novih identitet ter odseva zapleteno povezavo med pomenom identitete in subjektivnosti. Muslimanska obleka v izrazito nemuslimanskih državah priseljenim muslimanskim ženskam pogosto pomeni ustvarjanje hibridnih form nove muslimanske obleke. Tradicionalna oblačila se ne prilagajajo le trendom glede barv in materialov, pač pa se pojavljajo v kombinaciji z džinsom, ki sicer pooseblja tipično zahodnjaški slog.

Te hibridne oblačilne prakse odsevajo kulturne spremembe, katerim smo priča v zadnjih dveh desetletjih in so povezane ne le z migracijami v materialnem in kulturnem smislu, pač pa tudi z novim konceptom medkulturne komunikacije in novimi subjektivnimi usmeritvami v percepciji današnje družbe. Oblikovanje nove muslimanske mode je povezano z oblikovanjem hibridnih kulturnih form oblačil, ki se estetsko in materialno napačajo v vzhodni (muslimanski) in zahodni kulturi ter so odvisne od priložnosti in konteksta nošenja v določenem okolju. Če sta se še pred desetletjem vizualni podobi v Londonu živeče zakrite muslimanke in v Jakarti živeče zakrite muslimanke razlikovali, danes te razlike ni več. Tančica kot del današnje oblačilne prakse muslimank ni le poosebljena manifestacija islamske vere, vpete v vizualno podobo muslimanske ženske, pač pa je večplasten pojem in koncept, globoko integriran v politične, družbene, osebne in navsezadnje vizualne interpretacije. Njena ikonična podoba ne odseva le religiozne identitete ženske, ki jo nosi; njena heterogenost razkriva mnogo kompleksnejšo in intimnejšo sfero, ki se nanaša tako na regionalne in družbene norme kot na moralne in estetske principe. Tančica je simbol in metafora, ki artikulira dejstvo, da religija, moda in politika niso nezdružljive, ampak so intimno povezane in udejanjene z obleko.

LITERATURA

- Appadurai, Arjun (1990). *Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy*. Public Culture 2(2), http://www.arjunappadurai.org/articles/Appadurai_Disjuncture_and_Difference_in_the_Global_Cultural_Economy.pdf (11. 6. 2017).
- Appadurai, Arjun (1996). *Modernity at Large*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ahmed, Leila (1992). *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.
- Badran, Margot (2009). *Feminism in Islam: Secular and Religious Convergences*. Oxford: Oneworld, http://humanities.wisc.edu/assets/misc/What_is_Islamic_Feminism.pdf (29. 7. 2017).
- El Guindi, Fadwa (1999). *Veil: Modesty, Privacy and Resistance*. Oxford, New York: Berg.
- Frank, Ana (2014). *Feminizem in islam: Turške ženske med Orientom in Zahodom*. Ljubljana: Mirovni inštitut.

- Gökarıksel, Banu, Secor, Anna J. (2009): New Transnational Geographies of Islamism, Capitalism and Subjectivity: The Veiling-Fashion Industry in Turkey. *Area* 41/1, 6–18.
- Haddad Yazbeck, Yvonne, Smith, Jane (2002). *Muslim Minorities in the West: Visible and Invisible*. Walnut Creek, Lanham, New York, Oxford: Altamira Press.
- Harcet, Marjana (2007). *Alahove neveste: Med podrejenostjo in avtonomijo*. Ljubljana: ISH, Fakulteta za podiplomski humanistični študij.
- Hoodfar, Homa (1997). The Veil in Their Minds and on Our Heads: The Persistence of Colonial Images of Muslim Women. *Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital* (ur. David Lloyd, Lisa Low). Durham, London: Duke University Press, 248–279.
- Hume, Llynne (2013). *The Religious Life of Dress: Global Fashion and Faith (Dress, Body, Culture)*. London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Joppke, Christian (2009). *Veil: Mirror of Identity*. Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press.
- Kaiser, Susan (1999) Identity, Postmodernity and the Global Apparel Marketplace. *Meanings of Dress* (ur. Mary Lynn Damhorst, Kimberly A. Miller, Susan O. Michelman). New York: Fairchild Publications, 106–114.
- Kaiser B., Susan (2012). *Fashion and Cultural Studies*. London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Kalčič, Špela (2007). *Nisem jaz Barbika: Oblačilne prakse, islam in identitetni procesi med Bošnjaki v Sloveniji*. Ljubljana: Oddelek za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani.
- Koran (2004). Tržič: Učila International.
- Manji, Irshad (2008). *Kaj je narobe danes z islamom: Poziv k poštenosti in prenovi?* Petrovčič: Znamenje.
- Mernissi, Fatima (1992). *The Veil and the Mail Elite*. New York: Basic Books Group.
- Mir Hosseini, Ziba (1999). *Islam and Gender: The Religious Debate in Contemporary Iran*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Nafisi, Azar (2004). *Prebiranje Lolite v Teheranu*. Mengeš: Ciceron.
- Repič, Jaka (2009). *Metodologija etnografskega raziskovanja migracijskih in transnacionalnih procesov*, http://Metodologija_URN-NBN-SI-DOC-SSRFTQ7T.pdf (11. 6. 2017).
- Said, Edward (1996). *Orientalizem: Zahodnjaški pogledi na Orient*. Ljubljana: Studia Humanitas.
- Sandıkçı, Özlem, Ger, Güliz (2007). Constructing and Representing the Islamic Consumer in Turkey. *Fashion Theory* 11/2–3.
- Satrapi, Marjane (2008). *Persepolis: Zgodba o otroštvu*. Ljubljana: Društvo za širjenje filmske kulture KINO.
- Tarlo, Emma, Moors, Annelies (2007). Muslim Fashions. *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 11 (ur. Valerie Steele). New York, London: Berg, 133–142.
- Tarlo, Ema (2010). *Visibly Muslim: Fashion, Politics, Faith*. London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Vertovec, Steven (2001). *Transnational Challenges to the 'New' Multiculturalism*. WPTC – 01–06. Paper presented to the ASA Conference held at the University of Sussex, 30 March–2 April 2001, <http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/WPTC-2K-06%20Vertovec.pdf> (25. 7. 2017).
- Zahedi, Ashraf (2007). Contested Meaning of the Veil and Political Ideologies of Iranian Regimes. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 3/3, <https://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsc/h/AFRICOM/Zahedi.pdf> (11. 6. 2017).
- Wolf, Eric R. (1999). *Evropa in ljudstva brez zgodovine*. Ljubljana: Studia Humanitas.

SUMMARY

ISLAM, TRANSNATIONAL DRESS AND IDENTITY: MIGRATION OF IMAGES, TRANSFORMATION OF MEANINGS

Mateja KROFL

Migration and globalisation today critically impact the redefinition of Muslim dress in the modern world and the formation of the cultural identities of women of the Muslim faith in urban environments. The purpose of the article is to present the transnational significance of the veil (in the form of headgear or body covering) and to offer insights into new interpretations of modern Muslim fashion, which reflects the interweaving of various dress practices in new compositions. The formation of new hybrid forms of Muslim dress is therefore manifested both symbolically and materially in both “eastern” and “western” culture. The article, through a concrete analysis of the problematics arising in connection with Islamic dress codes, indicates that the veil today is not just a personalised manifestation of Islamic faith expressed in the visual image of Muslim women, but a multi-layered concept which is deeply integrated into political, social, personal and also visual interpretations. The new transnational Muslim fashion in the light of transculturality opens up new perspectives on the perception of the identities of “modern” Muslim women and bears significant witness to the cultural importance of migrations.

K N J I Ž N E O C E N Ě

B O O K R E V I E W S

Elizabeth Mavroudi and Caroline Nagel, *Global Migration: Patterns, Processes, and Politics*

Routledge, London, 2016, pp. 242

The book *Global Migration: Patterns, Processes, and Politics* by Elizabeth Mavroudi and Caroline Nagel has the potential to become a new classic textbook used by scholars and students of international migration alike. The book makes the case for the complexity of global migration and presents many ambiguities surrounding the issue. Scholarly as well as hands-on, it is an interesting read from the first page (it begins by describing the protests against immigration in Tel Aviv in 2012). The book brings fresh perspectives from the current research on migration and clusters them in general themes that can be used in a university setting as well as by anyone who wants to learn more about the intricacies of global movements of people. The book systematizes the topics and links them in a logical way, often cross-referencing between different chapters. Mavroudi and Nagel offer countless interesting case studies, but in the end they concede that “embracing the messiness of migration, then, is not about miring ourselves in the details of every single migration case study” (p. 225). However, it is the specific cases that make their arguments persuasive. The authors do an excellent job presenting the scale of the phenomenon of international migration and its centrality in the current world, regardless of the geographic setting.

Elizabeth Mavroudi is a lecturer in human geography at Loughborough University, UK and Caroline Nagel is an associate professor of geography at the University of South Carolina, USA. Even though the book is multidisciplinary, it is firmly grounded in the social sciences. The added value of the book comes from drawing on the tradition of migration studies from their respective countries and presenting a coherent account of the migration narratives in the transatlantic space. Therefore, it does not fall in the trap of being too country-specific, while still managing to acquaint the readers with the main debates in migration studies. The authors do not shy away from presenting themes that are connected to the Global South and using lesser known examples. By the same token, critical approaches such as race and gender which are used to problematize the dominant discourses are incorporated in the book. One salient aspect of this work is migrant agency, which is highlighted throughout the work and especially in its concluding chapter (Migrant identities, mobilizations, and place-making practices). This final part offers a more migrant-centred perspective and tries to explore how the migrants negotiate their identities, spaces or politics. The interplay between agency and structure, as well as their potential friction, is explored from the beginning.

The book covers a lot of ground and can serve as an overview of various topics pertaining to migration literature, with a comprehensive list of further reading and references at the end of each chapter. In total, the book comprises eight chapters with the first and the last serving as an introduction and conclusion. The chapters cover global historical perspectives on migration, migrant labour in the economy, migration and development, refugees, border politics and the politics of citizenship and integration. Theoretical perspectives on international migration are briefly mentioned in the introductory chapter Making sense of global migration, right after the definitions and an explanation of why global migration matters, but more space could be dedicated to them. The concepts of transnationalism and diaspora that have become increasingly important in the past two

decades of migration research are incorporated at various places throughout the book but they are not given a separate section except for the very end of the book.

The subheadings in the title of the book – *Patterns, Processes, and Politics* – are not accidental, as they are tackled throughout the book in the same order. The beginning of the book deals with historical patterns of migration, or as the authors put it, “who moves and who doesn’t move, where they go and why” (p. 28). The authors want to highlight the universality of some of the migration patterns while bearing in mind the specifics of the individual cases. Migration processes follow the plethora of political, economic and social dynamics shaping migration, which are explored in the central part of the book. The authors acknowledge the simultaneity of different kinds of migrations and their interconnectedness. Finally, the politics of migration, attempts by nation-states to regulate migration and the ways in which migrants respond to them are covered towards the end of the book.

The chapter Global migration in historical perspective spans the period from the emergence of the modern state system to the 20th century. It covers not only the European-centred world economy, including the slave trade and indentured labour, but also focuses on non-European societies and their power relations. After covering the processes of industrialization and urbanization, it proceeds to discuss the upheavals of the 20th century. This is followed by a section describing migration to the emerging economies, recalling that in the early 20th century Japan was an important imperial power which relied on Korean labour. The next chapter Migrant labour in the economy discusses migrant participation in the labour market and the mechanisms through which migrants can be included or excluded in particular occupations and sectors. This chapter balances the role of employers, state and societal norms as well as the migrants’ participation in the economies, and presents the concepts of deskilling, labour market segmentation and middleman minority. The chapter on Migration and development explores the migration-development nexus and focuses on the ways lack of development fosters emigration and how emigration may in turn contribute to development. The chapter on Refugees compares the politics of refuge and asylum in the Global North and the Global South and the ways in which refugees respond to the efforts of the states and humanitarian organizations to “manage” them. The final two chapters on Immigration control and border politics and The politics of citizenship and integration deal with the topics of state power over mobility, securitization of migration and the dynamics through which immigrant-receiving societies define who belongs. The discussion takes the migrant perspective into account and shows that at times they can politically mobilize and claim inclusion in the national narratives.

When not looking at the individual scale, the main focus is on the countries of destination. This perspective briefly shifts to the sending societies in Chapter Four, focusing on migration and development, before it swings back to the receiving states. The second part of the book scrutinizes the role of the international human rights regime in refugee protection (and whether the current refugee regime is sufficient or how it could be changed) and state-level policies regulating migration. Finally, the book focuses on the ways in which migrants are incorporated into the receiving societies and how distinctions are created between immigrants and citizens. Some recent trends are also noted, including the difficulties in accessing naturalization and the tightening of the migration regimes in the states of the Global North. The authors point out various ambiguities concerning some

aspects of policies geared towards greater inclusion while at the same time reinforcing the exclusion of immigrants.

The book features several interesting case studies. One of them focuses on the formation of ghettos. Residential segregation has been a scholarly focus for many years. For example, the works on Jewish ghettos in Chicago as well as Vancouver's Chinatown offer an analysis of the ways in which ghettos are perceived by the dominant groups. While ghettos elicit anxieties amongst the mainstream society, scholars have tried to amend the misrepresentations of these spaces and show what does and does not constitute a ghetto. They have thereby dispelled the myth of their neat existence and showed that the formation of a ghetto is very rare.

Another case study follows the journey of the Uighurs from China to Saudi Arabia and back. After being expelled in the 1960s, they were allowed to re-enter China in the following decades. The Uighurs were still able to travel to Saudi Arabia and thus gained exposure to the form of Islam practiced there. This was seen as encouraging separatism in Xinjiang, ushering in another wave of state repression in China. Some unlikely countries became entangled in this situation as some radicals were captured during the American invasion of Afghanistan. After a long period of detention, the USA did not want to admit them (and they could not be sent back to China on the grounds of possible human rights violations) so they had to be resettled in Slovakia and Albania, among other countries.

The book includes a large amount of visually appealing graphic materials, including photos, figures and tables. The text also includes box inserts which offer in-depth explanations of various concepts and terminology (from "Japanese imperialism and Korean immigration" to "Frontex"). Some of the photos are recent, especially the ones referring to the migration situation in Europe in 2015. Apart from the pictures, one interesting figure is a copy of a sample contract signed by Filipino domestic workers going to work abroad (p. 68). According to the contract, "the man/woman worker should be ready at all times day and night; no hours assigned for rest except for sleeping, eating or praying." Examples such as this make the book exceptionally down-to-earth, tangible and humane.

Overall, the book can serve as a valuable source of information for classroom use and can be used as introductory material for anyone wishing to identify important clusters of research on various global migration issues. It will also not disappoint more well-versed migration scholars, as most of the influential results of recent research are discussed. Moreover, the book can provide valuable resources to inform anyone's teaching and lesson plans. *Global Migration: Patterns, Processes, and Politics* is a holistic book offering various perspectives on international migration and no simple prefabricated answers. This is a good thing, as the authors wish to give the readers "the wherewithal to engage critically with public discourses and to participate meaningfully and constructively in political debates on immigration" (p. 24). For careful readers, this should not be a problem.

Lucie Mackova

Alojzij Geržinič, *Od Save do Srebrne reke*

Mladika, Trst, 2015

Pavle Borštnik, *Moj čas*

Mladika, Trst, 2016

Urednik nove knjižne zbirke tržaške založbe Mladika Ivo Jevnikar na notranjem ovitku Geržiničeve knjige *Od Save do Srebrne reke* piše: »S spomini prof. Alojzija Geržiniča založba Mladika začenja novo zbirko Zapisi iz zdomstva, posvečeno knjigam, ki so jih napisali Slovenci po svetu. S tem želi še bolj načrtno izpolnjevati eno izmed poslanstev, ki sta si jih od začetka zastavili revija, nato pa še založba Mladika. Gre za dialog in povezovanje rojakov ter utrjevanje skupnega slovenskega prostora.« Praviloma naj bi vsako leto izšel po en knjižni naslov.

Naslov zbirke je založba povzela po istoimenskem naslovu knjige, ki jo je leta 1977 pri Slovenski kulturni akciji (SKA) v Buenos Airesu izdal France Papež. Žal je tudi ta knjiga doživela podobno usodo kot večina knjig, ki so v prejšnji skupni državi izšle v zdomstvu – neopazno je šla mimo bralcev. O njej se v domovini ni ne pisalo ne govorilo. Na srečo je po osamosvojitvi Slovenije doživela ponatis v zbirki Paradigme, ki jo je leta 1992 izdala Nova revija, spremno besedo k novi izdaji pa je napisal Marko Jenšterle. A tudi ta izdaja ni mogla popraviti zamujenega. Papeževi »zapisi so nastali kot odmev vživljanja v slovensko zdamsko problematiko; so odziv na zgodovinska in človeška vprašanja povojnega emigranta. Niso samo kronika – oblikovani so v literarni, včasih vizijski in poetični besedi, drugekrat prikazujejo gola zgodovinska dejstva. Morda bo knjiga tako lažje našla pot do bralca, ki se zanima za zdamske stvari, a jih išče v bolj pripovedni in občuteni obliki. V zapisih je zdomstvo razpeto od intimnega osebnega do širše zgodovinskega; zakoreninjeno je v preteklosti in morda bi se tu lahko še marsikaj dodalo in izpopolnilo.« France Papež je namreč tudi »avtor« termina »zdomstvo = biti zdoma«.

V svoji kritični analizi zdamskega življenja je posebno poglavje namenil prav knjigam: »Mislim, da je bila poleg svobodnega ustvarjanja in duhovnega nemira takrat najbolj poudarjena važnost, ki jo zavzema za nas in za vsakogar knjiga. Knjiga je vez med človekom in človekom, se pravi, vez med tabo in mano, vez med nami in vami. [...] V zdomstvu je knjiga osnovno sredstvo za ohranjanje slovenske narodne zavesti. Knjiga nas človeško in narodnostno osvešča in ohranja, obenem pa nas vodi po zemljah, v katerih bi se brez nje že davno izgubili. [...] Za nas v zdomstvu je knjiga še posebej to: skrinja slovenstva, najdražje izročilo za na pot, tolažba v trenutku samote, spremljevalka po kamnitih, peščenih poteh novega kontinenta; zapisi poti navzgor in poti navzdol; bukve, kjer stojе besede davnih dni« (str. 37–38).

Nova knjižna zbirka je prišla kot naročena. Zadnjih nekaj let smo priča usihanju »slovenskega čudeža v Argentini«, pa tudi asimilacija je naredila svoje. Ob tem pa vse pogosteje umirajo predstavniki prve in sedaj že tudi druge generacije slovenske politične emigracije (SPE). Pred nedavnim se je nenadoma posloвила predsednica SKA, dr. Katica Cukjati (1949–2016). Do sedaj sta v zbirki izšli dve knjigi spominov, obe sta napisala predstavnik prve generacije SPE, ki sta na lastni koži doživela begunsko usodo. Ta se je začela ob koncu vojne, maja 1945, nadaljevala v italijanskih begunskih taboriščih, nato pa sta se njuni poti razšli. Dr. Alojzij Geržinič (1915–2008) se je priključil večinski izselitvi v Argentino, Pavle Borštnik (1925) pa se je odločil za preselitev v ZDA. Oba sta bila ves čas aktivna člana zdamske skupnosti.

Spominski zapisi uglednega slavista, glasbenika, publicista, urednika in šolnika nam na zanimiv način predočijo njegovo lastno življenjsko pot in ob tem predstavijo tudi nemirni čas predvojne, medvojne in povojne slovenske družbe. Njegova pripoved je izredno zanimiva in še zlasti preseneča dejstvo, da je v teh zapisih tako natančen in se živo spominja še tako neznatnih dogodkov. Zato ima knjiga tudi veliko dokumentarno vrednost. Knjiga je sestavljena iz dveh delov, ki sta ločena tako kronološko kot po času pisanja. Prvi del spominov nosi naslov *Dni mojih mlajša polovica* in zajema prvo tretjino njegovega življenja: otroštvo, šolsko dobo, prvo zaposlitev, ideološke opredelitve in priključitev primorskim domobrancem. V ta del je avtor vključil tudi dve svoji zgodnejši deli: *Pouk v materinščini – da ali ne?* (*Sij*, Buenos Aires 1972) in *Boj za slovensko šolstvo na Primorskem: Za delovanja dr. Srečka Baraga pri ZVU* (Buenos Aires: SKA, 1983). Obe knjigi je avtor napisal na podlagi svojega dnevnika.

Drugi (skromnejši) del, ki nosi naslov *Dogajanja in dognanja*, pa nas seznani z njegovim odhodom iz Trsta in življenje v begunskih taboriščih v južni Italiji. Med prvimi se je nato odločil za preselitev v Argentino in se takoj aktivno vključil v politično in kulturno življenje SPE. Zlasti so zanimivi njegovi kritični pogledi na dogajanje v tamkajšnji slovenski skupnosti. S svojo načelno držo in nepopustljivostjo je aktivno sodeloval pri sporu v SKA in se priključil bolj radikalni skupini, ki je nato začela izdajati svojo publikacijo *Sij slovenske svobode*. Škoda, da avtor svoje pripovedi ni dopolnil tudi z bolj podrobnim opisom političnega dogajanja znotraj SPE, ampak se je osredotočil le na njeno kulturno delovanje. Na koncu knjige je dodana tudi obsežna avtorjeva bibliografija. Zelo dragoceni so podatki o njegovih psevdonimih oz. kraticah, ki jih je uporabljal pri svojem pisanju in ki bodo v veliko pomoč prihodnjim raziskovalcem zdomske problematike.

Tudi druga knjiga je spominskega značaja in nam predstavlja izredno pestro življenje časnikarja, pesnika, publicista, glasbenika in javnega delavca Pavleta Borštnika, ki je bil v letih 1970–1994 zaposlen v Washingtonu pri državnem radiu Glas Amerike. Ker gre za izredno obsežno (623 str.) in podrobno pisanje, je še kako dobrodošlo osebno kazalo na koncu knjige. Spomini so sicer zasnovani kronološko, vendar se nekateri pomembni dogodki v pripovedi večkrat ponovijo, a vsakič iz drugega zornega kota. Knjiga je sestavljena iz štirih poglavij: 1. del – *Mladost ... gozdovi ... taborišča*; 2. del – *V Ameriko*; 3. del – *Washingtonska leta*; sklepno poglavje – *Obračun*. Avtor, ki zna zelo spretno »sukati pero«, je v knjigi združil pravzaprav dva žanra: avtobiografijo in obsežna razmišljanja o dogodkih, ki so usodno vplivali na njegovo generacijo. Kljub mladosti so bile njegove odločitve trezne in preudarne. Pri pisanju se ne izogne tudi nekaterim bolj bolečim temam in odločitvam, a jih skuša nekako razumeti/pojasniti, ker so se večinoma zgodile v vojnem času in kot posledica pomanjkljivih informacij.

Tudi Borštnikovi spomini nam odkrito spregovorijo o predvojnem ločevanju duhov, kar se je med samo vojno samo še poglobilo in na koncu privedlo do bratomorne vojne. Sam se je priključil četnikom in se z njimi ob koncu vojne tudi umaknil preko Soče in nato nekaj let preživel v vojaških taboriščih v Italiji in Nemčiji. Srečno naključje ga je pripeljalo v Cleveland, kjer je takoj opazil velika razhajanja med predvojno in povojno emigracijo. Še bolj boleče pa je doživljal spore znotraj same SPE, ki so na koncu privedli do popolne ločitve in nastanka dveh ločenih borčevskih organizacij, ki sta se zbirali okoli glasil *Vestnik* in *Tabor*.

Kar obsežen del knjige opisuje njegovo delo pri radiu Glas Amerike (slovenska sekcija), kjer prav tako ni manjkalo razhajanj (nagajanj) med predstavniki različnih jugoslovanskih

narodov. Posebna odlika knjige je njen lep jezik, ki niti malo ne kaže na to, da je avtor zapustil domovino že davnega leta 1945. Izredno lepi so njegovi opisi narave, ki jo je kot lirik doživljal še posebej občuteno. Ne manjka pa v knjigi tudi šaljivih in hudomušnih prizorov, zlasti v času njegove mladosti. V Predgovoru nam Pavle Borštnik tudi razkrije namen/način svojega pisanja: »Pot, po kateri sem hodil med vojno in revolucijo na Slovenskem, je le nekoliko drugačna od drugih, bolj poznanih (in bolj tragičnih), čeprav sem s prijatelji hodil po njej v istem mladostnem zanosu in z enakimi upanji kakor kdorkoli drug, ki je v tistih težkih časih hrepenel po vsem, kar sta nam vojna in revolucija za vselej iztrgala in src in duš. Usojeno mi je bilo, da sem obstal. S tem sem prevzel dolg pričevalca o ljudeh in dogodkih tistega časa. Dogodki so šli včasih mimo nas, včasih preko nas, ljudje pa so bili moji bratje, na eni in drugi strani. Desetletja že počivajo v naročju domače zemlje, kjer ni ne sovraštva ne zlobe, samo mir, ljubezen in – odpuščanje ... Nanje sem mislil pri pisanju teh zapiskov« (Predgovor, str. 7).

Kot tretji zvezek nove zbirke naj bi v letu 2017 izšli spomini družine Mihevc iz okolice Cerknice, ki se je ob koncu vojne pridružila množici beguncev, ki so se umaknili na Koroško. En brat in sestra sta se odločila za izselitev v Kanado, drugi brat (domobranec) pa je bil vrnjen v Jugoslavijo in srečno preživel bivanje v taborišču Teharje.

Rozina Švent

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. Letno izideta dve številki v tiskani in elektronski obliki 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, okrepjeno);
- ime in priimek avtorja (priimku naj sledi opomba pod črto, v kateri so navedeni: 1. avtorjeva izobrazba in naziv (na primer: dr. zgodovine, znanstveni 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 1000 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 velikimi tiskanimi črkami in okrepjeno, podnaslove drugega reda z malimi tiskanimi črkami in okrepjeno; 7. (pod) poglavij ne številčimo;
- summary (angleški povzetek članka, največ 3000 znakov s presledki).

V besedilih se izogibajte podčrtovanju besed, okrepjenemu 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 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 pet ali več vrstic, morajo biti ročno oblikovani v ločenih enotah, zamaknjeni, brez narekovajev.
- Citati, krajši od petih 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; note naj bodo razvrščene po abecednem redu priimkov avtorjev, note 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.
 - 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 z vašim 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 1000 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, Heading 1 with bold capital letters, Heading 2 with bold lower-case letters; 7. (sub)sections of articles (Heading 1 and Heading 2) should not be numbered);
- Povzetek (summary in slovenian language, 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 (five 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 five 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* (ed. 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.
 - 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 .jpeg 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.

DVE DOMOVINI • TWO HOMELANDS
Razprave o izseljenstvu • Migration Studies
46 • 2017

TEMATSKI SKLOP / THEMATIC SECTION

Art and Migration /
Umetnost in migracije

Jaka Repič

The Impact of Mobilities on Visual Arts in the Slovenian Diaspora in Argentina

Nadia Molek

"Songs from the Homeland" – Popular Music Performance among
Descendants of Slovenian Refugees in Argentina: The Case of
"Slovenski Instrumentalni Ansambel"

Alenka Bartulović, Miha Kozorog

Gender and Music-making in Exile: Female Bosnian Refugee Musicians
in Slovenia

*Nadia Molek, Juan Carlos Radovich, Juan Esteban de Jager,
Amalia Perez Molek*

Representations of Memories through Art: The Artistic Work of Zdravko
Dučmelič in Argentina

Kristina Toplak

Artists' Mobility in EU: Between Opportunities and Impediments

RAZPRAVE IN ČLANKI / ESSAYS AND ARTICLES

Florentina Scârnezi Domnișoru, Codrina Csesznek

Ethnographic Reflections of Return Migration in a Romanian Rural Community

Mitja Durnik

Slovenian Immigrants and the Ethnic Economy in Contemporary Canada

Janez Malačič

Migracijska kriza in migracijska politika v Evropi: Od demografskih
neravnovesij ter ekonomske in politične nestabilnosti do naraščajočih
migracijskih tokov

Megi Rožič

Kompleksna jezikovna identiteta kot posledica migracije v literarnih delih
Brine Svit in Eve Hoffman

Mitja Velikonja

»Jugoslavija po Jugoslaviji«: Grafiti o nekdanji domovini v novih
postjugoslovanskih domovinah

Mateja Krofl

Islam, transnacionalna obleka in identiteta: Migracije podob,
transformacije pomenov

KNJIŽNE OCENE / BOOK REVIEWS

Elizabeth Mavroudi and Caroline Nagel, *Global Migration: Patterns, Processes,
and Politics* (Lucie Mackova)

Alojzij Geržinič, *Od Save do Srebrne reke*;
Pavle Borštnik, *Moj čas* (Rozina Švent)

ISSN 0353-6777



9 770353 677013