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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

BREZDRŽAVLJANSKOST V SLOVENIJI

Veronika BAJT^I, Neža KOGOVŠEK ŠALAMON^{II}

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IZVLEČEK

Brezdržavljanost v Sloveniji

Uradni podatki kažejo, da je v Sloveniji število apatridnih oseb (tj. oseb brez državljanstva) izredno majhno. Tematiki brezdržavljanosti se ne posveča dovolj pozornosti ne v raziskovalnem ne v konceptualnem kot tudi ne v praktičnem smislu. Še zlasti težavno je slabo poznavanje problema apatridnosti med nekaterimi javnimi uslužbenci oziroma *a priori* predpostavljanje državljanstva za osebe, ki se jih povezuje z nekdanjimi jugoslovanskimi republikami. Članek prinaša rezultate prve poglobljene raziskave o brezdržavljanosti v Sloveniji in ugotavlja, da je zaradi pomanjkanja podatkov raziskovanje treba nadaljevati še zlasti med romsko populacijo in izbrisanimi, ki so (bili) tveganju apatridnosti najbolj izpostavljeni. KLJUČNE BESEDE: brezdržavljanost/apatridnost, državljanstvo, migracije, izbrisani, Slovenija

ABSTRACT

Statelessness in Slovenia

The official data show that the number of stateless persons (i.e. persons without nationality) in Slovenia is extremely low. The issue of statelessness is not sufficiently attended to in a research, conceptual, and practical sense. The low level of awareness of the problem of statelessness among state officials as well as the *a priori* presumption of nationality for persons from other republics of the former Yugoslavia are particularly problematic. This article presents the results of the first in-depth study on statelessness in Slovenia and concludes that due to the lack of data, further research is needed, in particular among the Roma population and the erased persons – groups that have been disproportionately exposed to statelessness.

KEY WORDS: statelessness, citizenship, migration, the erased, Slovenia

UVOD

Na svetu živi brez državljanstva okrog 12 milijonov ljudi, ki sodijo med najbolj ranljive populacije (prim. Waas 2009). To so »dejanske ›ne-osebe‹ ali ›pravni duhovi‹«, deležni veliko manj pozornosti, pomoči in razumevanja kot 15,2 milijona beguncev in približno 26 milijonov notranje razseljenih oseb (UNHCR

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2011: 2). V Srednji Evropi je število oseb brez državljanstva (apatridov) relativno majhno, vendar so dejanske številke negotove. Pogosto namreč osebe brez državljanstva, ki niso hkrati tudi begunci, kot apatridi niso nikjer zabeležene. Na Poljskem in Slovaškem, na primer, naj bi bilo takih oseb okrog tisoč (Regionalno predstavništvo 1). Podatki za druge države Srednje Evrope niso znani, z izjemo Madžarske, ki poleg statusa begunca dodeljuje tudi status apatrida. Status apatrida na Madžarskem je tako do leta 2011 pridobilo 71 oseb (Regionalno predstavništvo 2).

V Sloveniji so bile doslej izvedene le tri raziskave o apatridnosti, od tega dve kot del mednarodnih študij: analiza madžarskega Helsinškega monitorja, ki je proučeval varstvene mehanizme, ki so na voljo apatridom, ki niso begunci (Gyulai 2007); in študija o stroških apatridnosti, ki jo je financiral ameriški State Department (Blitz idr. 2011). Regionalno predstavništvo UNHCR pa je pred kratkim podprlo nacionalno pravno študijo na temo apatridnosti v Sloveniji (Kogovšek Šalamon 2012). Vse študije so poudarile pomen nadaljnjega raziskovanja na področju brezdržavljanosti. V Sloveniji, ki je naslednica podpisa Konvencije o statusu oseb brez državljanstva iz leta 1954, ni pa podpisnica Konvencije o zmanjšanju števila oseb brez državljanstva iz leta 1961, je bila torej prepoznana potreba, da se identificira razsežnost apatridnosti v državi.

Stiska oseb brez državljanstva v Sloveniji kljub omenjenim raziskavam do sedaj ni bila deležna poglobljene pozornosti in je zato slabo razumljena. Bistvena pomanjkljivost je v pomanjkanju podatkov o dejanskem številu apatridnih oseb in njihovih potrebah. Namen članka je zato v premostitvi omenjenega manka, saj v ospredje postavlja razpravo o dejanskem stanju brezdržavljanosti v Sloveniji. Vzpostavlja pregled nad dokumentiranim številom apatridov in njihovim pravnim položajem, vključno s praktičnimi izzivi, s katerimi se srečujejo v vsakdanjem življenju. Pri tem izhajamo iz raziskave Popis stanja oseb brez državljanstva v Sloveniji, izvedene leta 2012 s podporo Regionalnega predstavništva UNHCR iz Budimpešte.

Cilj članka je temo apatridnosti tudi v Sloveniji umestiti v akademski in raziskovalni prostor, zato ponuja pregled konceptualnih vprašanj v povezavi z definicijo apatridnosti. Sledita predstavitev in kritično ovrednotenje rezultatov terenskega dela, ki je poleg podrobnega pregleda vseh razpoložljivih statističnih podatkov o apatridih vključevalo tudi intervjuje in fokusne skupine s strokovnjaki in z deležniki iz vladnega in nevladnega sektorja ter osebami brez državljanstva. Pri tem so poudarjene potrebe apatridov, ki potrjujejo naše izhodišče, da je tema brezdržavljanosti v Sloveniji premalo poznana in reflektirana ter zato obstoječe stanje kličo k političnim in pravnim spremembam in potrebi po še bolj poglobljenem raziskovanju pojava.

DEFINICIJA APATRIDNOSTI / BREZDRŽAVLJANSKOSTI

Kljub temu da so po svetu milijoni ljudi, ki niso nikoli dobili državljanstva ali pa so ga izgubili oziroma jim je bilo odvzeto in nimajo možnosti za pridobitev drugega (Kosinski 2009), ima skladno s Splošno deklaracijo človekovih pravic, ki sicer ni pravno zavezujoča, vsak pravico do državljanstva. »Razlog za to močno zavezo k pravici do državljanstva je, da predstavlja resnično in učinkovito vez med posameznikom in državo. Koncept državljanstva zagotavlja, da država izpolnjuje svojo obveznost, da »ščiti« svoje državljane in jim zagotavlja določene storitve« (Gyulai 2007: 6). Konvencija o statusu oseb brez državljanstva iz leta 1954 poda naslednjo definicijo osebe brez državljanstva: »Termin »apatrid« za namen te Konvencije pomeni osebo, ki je po svojem pravu nobena država ne šteje za svojega državljana.« Definicija je zavezujoča za vse države podpisnice, med katerimi je kot naslednica podpisa tudi Republika Slovenija.

V literaturi je pogosta uporaba široke definicije apatridnosti, ki zajema definicijo, podano v Konvenciji, hkrati pa omogoča pokritje vseh pomembnih vidikov tega pojava. V teoriji je tako pogosto razlikovanje med *de iure* in *de facto* apatridnostjo (gl. Cahn 2012; Gyulai 2012). Pojem *de facto* apatridnosti se uporablja za osebe, ki formalno sicer imajo državljanstvo, a iz različnih razlogov ne uživajo varstva države svojega državljanstva, oziroma bi potencialno lahko pridobile državljanstvo, vendar so v situaciji,

ki je popolnoma primerljiva s položajem *de iure* apatridov. *De facto* apatrid je tako oseba, »ki ne more dokazati, da je *de iure* apatrid, vendar nima urejenega državljanstva in ne uživa zaščite nobene države«, medtem ko je *de iure* apatrid »oseba, ki je nobena država po svojem pravu ne šteje za svojega državljana« (Gyulai 2007: 8). Za pojem *de facto* apatridnosti je značilno, da ga različni avtorji definirajo zelo različno, splošno sprejeta definicija pojma pa za zdaj ne obstaja (UNHCR 2010: 5).

Ena od skupin, ki so bile v Sloveniji izpostavljene apatridnosti, so izbrisani. Z izbrisom je bil 26. februarja 1992 več kot 25.000 ljudem nezakonito odvzet pravni status stalnih prebivalcev Republike Slovenije. To so bili večinoma ljudje iz drugih nekdanjih jugoslovanskih republik, ki so živeli v Sloveniji in po osamosvojitvi niso pridobili slovenskega državljanstva, ali otroci, v Sloveniji rojeni staršem iz drugih republik. Ta arbitrarni in protiustavni ukrep je bil pozneje poimenovan »izbris«. ¹ Izbrisani so večinoma imeli državljanstvo ene izmed drugih držav naslednic nekdanje Jugoslavije. Le manjša skupina med izbrisanimi se je soočila s tveganjem apatridnosti, ki pa ni nastalo zaradi izbrisa, temveč zaradi nedoslednih državljskih politik nekdanje Jugoslavije in nato državljskih politik držav naslednic Jugoslavije (Štiks 2006; Zorn 2009; Deželan 2012). Ljudje, ki so iz teh razlogov ostali brez državljanstva in bili pozneje še izbrisani, so se znašli v skrajnem položaju. To pomeni, da je izbris poslabšal položaj ljudi, ki so bili apatridi, ni pa izbris sam po sebi povzročil apatridnosti.

Medtem ko izbrisani formalno niso bili nujno tudi apatridi, so se soočili z zelo podobnim položajem: bili so nedržavljeni države, v kateri so živeli, in niso imeli urejenega pravnega statusa. Čeprav so izbrisani, ki so bili tudi apatridi, sčasoma pridobili državljanstvo katere druge države naslednice Jugoslavije, so to pogosto storili z namenom urejanja svojega statusa v Sloveniji, kjer so želeli uveljavljati svoje pravice. Sama pridobitev državljanstva druge države naslednice pa njihovega položaja v Sloveniji ni neposredno spremenila. Prav zato so se Blitz idr. v svoji raziskavi odločili »opisati udeležence v Sloveniji kot izbrisane ali *de facto* apatride« (2011: 5). Blitz in sodelavci so torej izbrisane v raziskavo o apatridnosti vključili zaradi primerljivosti njihovega vsakdanjega življenja in preživetvenih strategij z življenjskimi položaji apatridov. To je bila namerna odločitev, sprejeta s polnim zavedanjem, da večina izbrisanih ni bila *de iure* apatridov.

Tudi Zorn (2009) in Deželan (2012) govorita o izbrisanih kot *de facto* apatridih, saj – vsaj nekateri – niso imeli potnega lista oziroma državljanstva nobene države. Podobno tudi Pajnik (2009) v svoji analizi o povezavi med človekovimi pravicami in pripadnostjo nacionalni državi (prim. Jalušič 2009) opozarja na brezdržavljanost migrantov in poziva k nujnosti skupne obravnave brezdržavljskosti in begunstva, kljub temu da gre za v pravnem smislu ločena statusa. Migranti, prosilci za azil oziroma begunci in izbrisani nas tako opominjajo, da problematika brezdržavljskosti v konceptualnih razpravah vsekakor presega strogo zamejene formalnopravne predpise in definicije. Vendar pa se pričujoči članek zavestno izogiba širjenju pogleda in zaradi jasnosti obravnavane tematike opozarja na pomen enoznačnega razumevanja apatridnosti, kakor jo opredeljuje Konvencija o statusu oseb brez državljanstva.

Podrobnejši pregled situacije in branje UNHCR Smernic o apatridnosti (glej UNHCR 2012a, 2012b, 2012c) pokažeta, da je treba osebo obravnavati kot apatrida na podlagi trenutnega položaja, tj. da je nobena država ne šteje za svojega državljana. Vprašanje, ali bi oseba lahko pridobila državljanstvo, če bi želela, poskusila, se potrudila itd., dejansko ne vpliva na dejstvo, da je ta oseba trenutno brez državljanstva. To je ključna prelomnica v razumevanju apatridnosti, še zlasti v specifičnem slovenskem kontekstu. Torej je govoriti o *de iure* ali *de facto* apatridnosti odveč tudi zato, ker splošno sprejeta definicija *de facto* apatridnosti ne obstaja. Iz tega razloga članek ne razpravlja o *de facto* apatridnosti, in v primeru, ko posameznikov položaj ni jasen, predlaga rabo izraza »oseba, ki je izpostavljena tveganju apatridnosti«.

1 Za več o izbrisu gl. Dedič idr. (2003); Zorn, Lipovec Čebren (2008); Zorn (2009); Kogovšek, Petković (2010).

METODOLOŠKI PRISTOP K ZBIRANJU PODATKOV O STANJU APATRIDNOSTI V SLOVENIJI

Vprašani identifikacije in vzpostavitev stika z apatridi igrata v raziskovanju brezdržavljskosti ključno vlogo. Ali gre predvsem za migrantsko populacijo, za begunce in prosilce za azil ali za osebe, ki so bile rojene v Sloveniji? Večina »tujcev« v Sloveniji je t. i. državljanov tretjih držav in prihajajo predvsem iz držav naslednic nekdanje Jugoslavije (okrog 90 odstotkov). Uradni statistični podatki kažejo, da »tujci« predstavljajo 4 odstotke celotne populacije v Sloveniji, delež migrantov, ki niso državljanji ene izmed držav naslednic Jugoslavije, pa je majhen (Pajnik, Bajt 2011).

Težko je podati izčrpne informacije o dejanski starosti, spolu, regionalni porazdelitvi in raznolikosti apatridov v Sloveniji, saj ciljna skupina zaradi težavnega dostopa še ni bila popolnoma analizirana. Članek ta razkorak premošča z dopolnitvijo uradnih statistik s podatki, zbranimi v neposrednem stiku z relevantnimi akterji (s strokovnjaki iz vladnega in nevladnega sektorja) in – najpomembneje – z apatridi.² Primaren korak za vključevanje apatridov v raziskavo je bila metoda snežne kepe. Analiza tako temelji na kvalitativnih podatkih, pridobljenih s 40 poglobljenimi narativnimi (gl. Pajnik, Bajt 2009) in polstrukturiranimi intervjuji ter tremi fokusnimi skupinami. Pri tem smo si prizadevali za vključitev udeležencev z vrsto različnih (strokovnih) izkušenj. V smislu empiričnih podatkov se analiza opira na primarne podatke, zlasti statistike različnih relevantnih javnih institucij, predvsem Ministrstva za notranje zadeve (MNZ).

Tako zbrane uradne in neuradne ocene so povsem novo gradivo, ki vsebuje dragocene informacije o položaju oseb brez državljanstva in tistih, ki so izpostavljeni tveganju apatridnosti. Poleg tega članek, ki temelji na gradivu, zbranim na terenu, omogoča posredovanje sporočila apatridov in drugih deležnikov in omogoča naslavljanje problema apatridnosti v praksi.

Posebna pozornost je namenjena popisu stanja oseb brez državljanstva med izbrisanimi, saj dimenzija (potencialne) apatridnosti med izbrisanimi do sedaj ni bila deležna izrazitejše pozornosti, hkrati pa je bila apatridnost v Sloveniji – še zlasti v tujini – pogosto napačno razumljena kot identična izbrisu (gl. Goris idr. 2009).³ Poleg poudarka na izbrisanih članek poudarja tudi brezdržavljskost med romsko populacijo v Sloveniji, saj analize iz tujine kažejo, da je ta pri Romih nesorazmerno prisotna (Hammarberg 2009; Cahn 2012).

STATISTIČNI PODATKI O OSEBAH BREZ DRŽAVLJANSTVA

Raziskava je pokazala, da le peščica institucij vodi evidenco o državljanstvu oseb in bi lahko zagotovile uradne statistike o apatridih. Služba za zaposlovanje tujcev Zavoda za zaposlovanje RS, Inšpektorat RS za delo in Statistični urad RS ne vodijo evidenc, ki bi omogočile relevantne informacije. Po podatkih Sektorja mejne policije o številu veljavnih dovoljenj za zadrževanje (tj. status toleriranja) v Republiki Sloveniji je pri vseh 51 dovoljenjih za zadrževanje, ki so bila veljavna 30. septembra 2012, na voljo tudi informacija o (domnevnem) državljanstvu, torej nihče ni bil zaveden kot apatrid. Vodja Centra za tujce, kjer so nastanjeni nedokumentirani tujci, je potrdil, da se redko srečajo z osebami brez državljanstva in da v času terenskega dela (jesen/zima 2012) v centru ni bival noben apatrid. V preteklosti je bilo nekaj primerov, v katerih je Center za tujce osebe označil za apatride – predvsem je šlo za izbrisane osebe iz nekdanjih jugoslovanskih republik, ki jih tudi »njihove matične države« niso vodile v svojih evidencah kot svoje državljane, ali za osebe iz držav nekdanje Sovjetske zveze.

2 Zahvaljujemo se vsem sodelujočim v raziskavi. Ker so nekateri od intervjuvancev izrazili željo po anonimnosti, smo se odločili za zakritje imen vseh sodelujočih.

3 Gl. tudi European Court Strengthens Protections against Statelessness in Slovenia Ruling, OSF press release, 26. 6. 2012.

Podatki Direktorata za upravne notranje zadeve, migracije in naturalizacijo so pokazali, da je MNZ ključna institucija za dostop do uradnih statističnih podatkov o apatridih v Sloveniji. Njihovi podatki temeljijo na treh registrih:

1. Register tujcev, ki vsebuje podatke o dovoljenjih za začasno in stalno bivanje.
2. Azilni register, ki združuje podatke o prosilcih za mednarodno zaščito in tistih, ki so ta status že dobili.
3. Register državljanstev, kjer so zbrani podatki o vseh prošnjah za sprejem v državljanstvo Republike Slovenije.

Register državljanstev kaže, da je v zadnjih sedmih letih (od uvedbe omenjenega člena) devet ljudi dobilo državljanstvo Republike Slovenije na podlagi 8. odstavka 12. člena Zakona o državljanstvu (glej Tabela 1), ki omogoča pridobitev državljanstva pod olajšanimi pogoji. Ta določba omogoča apatridom, ki izpolnjujejo vse druge zahteve, da zaprosijo za sprejem v državljanstvo že po petih (namesto po desetih) letih neprekinjenega bivanja v Sloveniji. Vendar pa ta določba kot pogoj navaja tudi prosilčev urejen status tujca, za kar se zahteva veljaven potni list, ki ga apatridi že po definiciji težko dobijo (Kogovšek Šalamon 2012: 9). Leta 2007 je bila ena vloga zavrnjena zaradi prosilčevega neurejenega statusa tujca.

Tabela 1: Število ljudi, ki so bili sprejeti v državljanstvo Republike Slovenije na podlagi 8. odstavka 12. člena Zakona o državljanstvu RS v obdobju 2005–2011

Leto	Število ljudi
2005	1
2006	1
2007	1
2008	2
2009	3
2010	0
2011	1

Vir: MNZ, Register državljanstev

Dejstvo, da za ureditev statusa apatridi potrebujejo potni list, ki ga po navadi nimajo, močno ovira njihovo delovanje v družbi. Ena od možnosti, ki jo imajo apatridi brez urejenega statusa tujca, je, da poskusijo pridobiti potni list za tujca. V Zakonu o tujcih je namreč določba, ki dovoljuje, da se potni list za tujca izda tudi osebi, ki nima veljavnega dovoljenja za prebivanje v Sloveniji, če za to obstajajo utemeljeni razlogi. Do nedavnega nobena od prošenj za izdajo potnega lista za tujca, ki so jih vložili apatridi brez dovoljenja za prebivanje v Sloveniji, ni bila odobrena (Kogovšek Šalamon 2012). Naša raziskava pa kaže, da je bila v zadnjem času v posameznih primerih ta možnost že uporabljena. Po uradnih podatkih so bili leta 2011 tujim državljanom izdani štirje potni listi za tujca, in to otrokom, ki so se rodili v Sloveniji tujim državljanom in katerih državljanstvo v času izdaje potnega lista za tujca ni bilo znano. Do 31. 8. 2012 je bilo »tujcem z neznanim državljanstvom« izdanih 14 potnih listov za tujca. Terminologija, ki jo uporablja MNZ, zahteva posebno pozornost, saj njihove uradne statistike ne govorijo o »osebah brez državljanstva«, temveč o osebah z »neznanim državljanstvom«.

Čeprav podatki iz Registra tujcev kažejo, da je bilo leta 2012 14 oseb brez državljanstva, ki so imele veljavno dovoljenje za prebivanje v Sloveniji (dve osebi dovoljenje za začasno in 12 oseb za stalno prebivanje), podroben pregled razkrije, da so bili to večinoma v Sloveniji rojeni otroci tujcev (osebe, mlajše od 15 let), njihovo državljanstvo pa v času izdaje dovoljenja za bivanje odgovorni uradni osebi ni bilo znano. Od desetih oseb, ki so bile prvotno zavedene kot apatridi, so oblasti za osem oseb na podlagi prejete dokumentacije v poznejših postopkih uspele določiti državljanstvo, dve osebi pa sta pridobili slovensko državljanstvo. Tako so ostale le štiri osebe, ki se v Sloveniji uradno štejejo za apatride – vse štiri so ženske, dve sta mladoletni (glej Tabela 2).

Tabela 2: Uradni demografski podatki o osebah brez državljanstva v Sloveniji, stanje 31. 8. 2012

Starostna skupina	Moški	Ženske
0–14	-	2
15–24	-	1
25–34	-	-
35–54	-	1
55 in več	-	-
Skupaj:	0	4

Vir: MNZ, Register tujcev

Edini dosegljivi uradni demografski podatki o brezdržavljanosti so torej razvidni iz Tabele 2 in razkrivajo izjemno nizke številke. Naša predpostavka je, da v Sloveniji živi več apatridnih oseb, vendar do sedaj niso bile prepoznane kot osebe brez državljanstva. Terensko delo je namreč pokazalo določen vzorec v odzivih uradnikov glede ugotavljanja apatridnosti v različnih relevantnih postopkih. Fokusna skupina na Direktoratu za upravne notranje zadeve, migracije in naturalizacijo je pokazala, da se apatridnost razume kot prehodna faza, v kateri se posameznik znajde med dvema državljanstvom (tj., ko je bila oseba že odpuščena iz enega državljanstva, a še ni bila sprejeta v drugega), ali ko se otroci rodijo staršema z različnima državljanstvom in preteče nekaj časa, preden se odločita, katero državljanstvo naj otrok dobi, oz. pred ureditvijo dokumentov. Tovrstni primeri so zaznani v izkušnjah Oddelka za državljanstvo, predstavnik Oddelka za statusne zadeve pa je potrdil, da še niso naleteli na apatride ali reševali pritožbenega postopka v zvezi z njimi. Uradniki so pojasnili, da praksa kaže, da je »dokazovanje« državljanstva v bistvu najlažje v primeru držav nekdanje Jugoslavije, saj predpostavljajo, da je, glede na kraj rojstva ali državljanstvo staršev, oseba državljan ene izmed držav naslednic. To je ključni indic, ki ponazori, zakaj je število ljudi, pri katerih je prisotno tveganje apatridnosti, v uradnih statistikah tako nizko. Če se namreč državljanstvo *a priori* predpostavlja ne glede na dejansko situacijo, zaradi takšne prakse problem apatridnosti ostaja skrit.

Podatki iz Azilnega registra o apatridih, ki so zaprosili za mednarodno zaščito, so razvidni v Tabeli 3. Status mednarodne zaščite v Sloveniji do leta 2012 ni bil priznan nobeni osebi brez državljanstva. 21 apatridov, ki so zaprosili za azil v zadnjih šestih letih, je majhno število, predvsem glede na vse prošnje za mednarodno zaščito v istem obdobju, ki jih je bilo med 308 (najmanj v letu 2009) in 673 (največ v letu 2007) letno (MNZ 2012: 33). A to so med vsemi uradnimi podatki o apatridih v Sloveniji vendarle najvišje številke. Če oseba trdi, da je preganjana, se morajo namreč uradniki vzdržati kakršnih koli preiskav statusa in dokumentacije, ki bi lahko ogrozile prosilca. Zato je razumljivo, da je število posameznikov, ki so v

Tabela 3: Število oseb brez državljanstva, ki so zaprosile za mednarodno zaščito, 2007–2012

Leto	Število prosilcev brez državljanstva	v %
2007	14	66,6
2008	5	23,8
2009	1	4,8
2010	0	0
2011	1	4,8
2012 ⁴	0	0
Skupaj	21	100

Vir: MNZ, Azilni register

4 Podatki vključujejo informacije, zbrane do konca avgusta 2012.

uradnih postopkih razvrščeni kot osebe brez državljanstva, tu višje kot v drugih evidencah in postopkih, kjer imajo uradniki pravico in tudi dolžnost, da preverijo trditve prosilcev.

Na državni ravni registri niso poenoteni, saj je vsaka institucija vezana na svojo zakonodajo, vendar so podatki, ki jih zbira Direktorat za notranje upravne zadeve, migracije in naturalizacijo, usklajeni. Dejstvo, da v Sloveniji ni postopka za določanje apatridnosti in da je večina tujcev t. i. nekdanjih Jugoslovancev, za katere se državljanstvo *a priori* predvideva, pojasnjuje, zakaj je uradno število apatridov tako majhno. Kot dopolnitev uradnim statistikam je terensko delo pokazalo, da bi bilo lahko število oseb, ki so izpostavljene tveganju apatridnosti v Sloveniji, precej večje. Neuradne ocene je nemogoče povzeti v številčno sliko, opažanja strokovnjakov pa vendarle kažejo dejansko stanje, ki odstopa od uradnih podatkov in zato kliče k poglobljeni raziskavi pojava brezdržavljanosti v Sloveniji.

Mi smo se z ljudmi brez državljanstva prvič srečali leta 2007. To so bili ljudje, ki so spadali v skupino izbrisanih. Istočasno so bili žrtve trgovine z ljudmi. To so bile mlade Rominje, ki so bile ob rojstvu ali ko so bile stare pet, šest let, izbrisane, potem jih je pa oče še prodal za poroko [...] Tukaj so še štirje moški, ki so prav tako Romi, prav tako brez državljanstva in prav tako so bili v skupini izbrisanih [...] Dve ženski sta zdaj dobili dovoljenje za bivanje v Republiki Sloveniji [...] Ostali so pa po naših vedenjih še vedno brez državljanstva [...] Za njih je država ugotovila, da so državljani Republike Srbije. Ampak si niso uredili tega državljanstva, ker so rojeni v Sloveniji, izbrisani so bili v Sloveniji in Republika Slovenija jim ni dala nobenega drugega statusa razen tega dovoljenja za prebivanje. Rekli so jim [uradniki]: »Vi ste državljani Republike Srbije, pojdite si urediti svoje dokumente« (predstavnica nevladne organizacije).

Strokovnjaki iz akademske in nevladne sfere kot rizične skupine navajajo zlasti t. i. urbane oz. priseljene Rome, otroke priseljencev in starejše ljudi, ki so (bili) tveganju apatridnosti izpostavljeni zaradi pogostih sprememb v državljanskih politikah po drugi svetovni vojni. Kot še eno skupino potencialnih apatridov strokovnjaki navajajo zapornike, ki so prestajali dolgotrajno zaporno kazen, zaradi katere so bili dlje časa odrezani od možnosti urejanja statusa bodisi v Sloveniji bodisi v državi svojega rojstva ali državi državljanstva svojih staršev. Med rizičnimi skupinami so prav tako pogosto že omenjeni izbrisani in osebe, ki imajo zgolj dovoljenje za zadrževanje.

SPECIFIČNOST »NEKDANJIH JUGOSLOVANOV« IN PREDPOSTAVKA O DRŽAVLJANSTVU

Glede na spremenjen način beleženja republiškega državljanstva leta 1965 lahko sklepamo, da je bilo največ apatridov med tistimi izbrisanimi, ki so bili rojeni v Sloveniji po tem letu. Vsi izbrisani, ki so bili rojeni v drugih republikah in so dobili republiško državljanstvo teh republik, so bili namreč tudi vpisani v njihove državljanske knjige in so tako praviloma dobili državljanstvo na podlagi načela kontinuitete. Pri njih je bilo tveganje apatridnosti minimalno. Težava pa se je pojavila v primeru izbrisanih, rojenih po letu 1965 v republiki, katere državljanstva niso pridobili. Od takrat so namreč republike v svoje matične knjige vpisovale vse osebe, ki so imele v njih stalno prebivališče, ne glede na njihovo republiško državljanstvo, hkrati pa dejstva o rojstvu niso sporočile državi njihovega republiškega državljanstva. Po razpadu Jugoslavije tako država naslednica, katere državljanstvo naj bi oseba pridobila po načelu kontinuitete, o obstoju te osebe ni imela nobene informacije. Državljanstva ji ni podelila, oseba pa je postala apatridna. Žal ni na voljo nobenih podatkov o dejanskem številu izbrisanih, ki so (bili) tudi apatridi, saj do sedaj raziskovalcem dostop do baze podatkov o izbrisanih ni bil omogočen.

Na hrvaški ambasadi so rekli, da o meni ni nobenih podatkov v nobeni evidenci in da so oblasti iz Maribora pozabile obvestiti hrvaške oblasti, da sem se rodil v Sloveniji. Morali bi obvestiti Hrvaško, ker je moja mama

hrvaška državljanica in tako bi tudi mene šteli za hrvaškega državljan. Ampak tega niso storili in mene nobena država ne šteje za svojega državljan. Do leta 2008 sem bil apatrid, potem pa se me je Hrvaška usmili in sem dobil hrvaško državljanstvo. Imam rojstni list iz Maribora, v Sloveniji sem hodil v vrtec in osnovno šolo, vendar to – očitno – za Slovenijo ne pomeni nič (nekdanji apatrid).

Odisno je od tega, kdo trdi, da je apatrid. Če to trdi nekdo, ki je bil izbrisan, na policijskih postajah po navadi točno vedo, kdo so ti ljudje in kje so. Z njimi so se že prej ukvarjali in gre za to, da znova preverijo njihov pravni status. Ponavadi ne bo nič storjeno proti njim samo na podlagi nezakonitega bivanja [...] Če pa tujec govori o tem, da je apatrid in je to nekdo, ki pride in ga ulovijo zaradi nezakonitega bivanja v Sloveniji, nezakonitega prečkanka meje, je pa to nekaj povsem drugega. V takšnih primerih se takoj sprožijo vsi postopki – najprej za ugotovitev identitete osebe, po možnosti za ugotovitev, ali je oseba res apatrid in tako dalje. Seveda obstajajo postopki za vrnitev osebe v drugo državo, če so izpolnjeni pogoji glede na dogovore in tako dalje. To moramo ločiti: torej tiste naše, domače ali tiste, ki slučajno pridejo [v Slovenijo] (predstavnica Policije).

Za vprašanje apatridnosti je še zlasti pomembna specifičnost t. i. nekdanjih Jugoslovancev. Kot potrjujejo tudi zbrani empirični podatki, se za državljanstvo »nekdanjih Jugoslovancev« običajno razume, da ga je na tak ali drugačen način vedno mogoče »izslediti« v eni izmed držav naslednic. Uradniki v Sloveniji torej ne upoštevajo definicije apatridnosti, ki apatrida razume kot osebo, ki je nobena država po svojem pravu ne šteje za svojega državljan. Preprosto predvidevajo, da bi si oseba z domnevnimi vezmi s katero izmed nekdanjih jugoslovanskih republik lahko tudi danes »uredila« državljanstvo te države, »če bi se le dovolj potrudila«. Poleg tega se apatridnost razume kot najslabši položaj, zato se »urejanje državljanstva« vedno predlaga kot boljša možnost – tudi v primerih, ko posamezniki trdijo, da ni nobene možnosti za to ali ko tega ne želijo.

Oseba brez državljanstva, to ne pomeni, da ni nikjer vpisana, ampak mogoče bi morala narediti še kako dejanje v svoji državi, v tej, v kateri je vpisana, da bi bila dejansko priznana kot državljan – in tega ne naredi. Tako da nekje v pravem pomenu besede niso brez državljanstva, so samo neaktivni [...] Oseba brez državljanstva je res najslabša opcija, ki jo lahko sam izbereš, če jo že sam izbiraš. Ker dejansko jo sami izbirajo (intervju 1, Sektor za upravne notranje zadeve, Oddelek za tujce).

Pri nas sta v evidencah vodena kot državljanica bivše skupne države. Ampak če zatrujeta, če sta prepričana v to, da nista državljanica nobene države, morata to na nek način dokazati. Ni dovolj samo, da prideta sem in rečeta: »Midva sva brez državljanstva« (intervju 2, Sektor za upravne notranje zadeve, Oddelek za tujce).

Predvideva se, da je biti brez državljanstva praktično nemogoče. Prvi razlog za to je zakonodaja, ki naj bi preprečevala pojav apatridnosti, drugi razlog pa zgodovina Slovenije, ki je bila v preteklosti del širše politične enote – Jugoslavije.⁵ Dejstvo, da pristojni organi domnevajo državljanstvo osebe (še zlasti, če ima oseba vezi z eno od drugih republik nekdanje Jugoslavije), je povezano z državljanskimi politikami iz časa nekdanje Jugoslavije, ko je vsaka oseba morala imeti republiško državljanstvo, da bi bila državljan Jugoslavije. Ker je republiško državljanstvo po razpadu zvezne države postalo polnopravno državljanstvo, prevladuje prepričanje, da je posledično vsak državljan nekdanje Jugoslavije moral imeti državljanstvo ene izmed držav naslednic. Kot kaže, se ta teorija ni dosledno udejanjila v praksi, vendar kljub temu prepričanje ostaja močno zakoreninjeno. Ključno vprašanje je, kako bi se uradne statistike organov, pristojnih za migracije in naturalizacijo, spremenile, če se državljanstvo osebe, ki ima vezi z nekdanjo Jugoslavijo, ne bi domnevalo, ampak ugotavljalo. Predpostavljamo, da bi se uradne statistike

⁵ Pri urejanju dovoljenja za stalno bivanje za izbrisane se njihovo državljanstvo domneva na podlagi kraja rojstva ali nekdanjega republiškega državljanstva njihovih staršev – brez upoštevanja, ali oseba dejansko ima državljanstvo ali ne.

spremenile in v njih bi se povečalo število oseb brez državljanstva. Poleg tega domnevanje državljanstva onemogoča osebi, da se deklarira za apatrida in je zato v nasprotju z definicijo apatridnosti. Ta namreč ne vključuje nobene »klavzule domnevanja« o tem, ali bi si oseba lahko v prihodnosti poskusila urediti državljanstvo, temveč se nanaša le na trenutno državljsko stanje.

Mislim, da bi se moralo resno jemati razliko med pravno ureditvijo in prakso. Razumem, da so države sprejele vse mehanizme, da bi preprečevale apatridnost, [...] ampak ti moraš dopustiti, da zadeva ni bila takšna [...] [Posameznik] je imel na voljo birokratski postopek, kako to urediti, ni pa imel na voljo praktičnih pogojev (neodvisna raziskovalka).

»DRŽAVLJANSTVO NEZNANO« ALI »BREZ DRŽAVLJANSTVA«?

Dostopni uradni podatki kažejo, da načeloma različne institucije v svojih evidencah razlikujejo med kategorizacijo »državljanstvo neznano« in »brez državljanstva« (apatrid). Intervjuji in fokusne skupine razkrivajo, da se uradniki izogibajo uporabi slednje in se raje odločijo za prvo kategorijo, saj ta ponuja širši nabor možnosti in ni tako deterministična. Posamezni javni uslužbenci po navadi ne poznajo vseh dejstev in niso seznanjeni z vsemi razpoložljivimi informacijami in dokumenti, zato običajno – in to je zanje na neki način tudi bolj varno – osebo, katere državljanstva ne morejo ugotoviti, kategorizirajo kot osebo, katere državljanstvo je »neznano«.

Imamo to kodo [za kategorijo »brez državljanstva«], ampak očitno se je nihče ne poslužuje, ker je to tako nekaj, a veste, tako ugotovitev vnesti v evidenco, da je oseba brez državljanstva – ali je res brez državljanstva? [Ja, to bi pomenilo, da vi priznavate, da je res brez državljanstva.] Ja, tako. Mi pa šele ugotavljamo, ali je dejansko brez državljanstva (predstavnica Oddelka za tujce na Upravni enoti).

Azilni register je edina izjema, kjer je kategorija »brez državljanstva« pogosteje uporabljana, saj uradniki preprosto zabeležijo podatke, ki jih v uradnem razgovoru podajo prosilci za azil. Obstaja zanimivo neskladje med različnimi postopki, pri katerih – na eni strani – uradniki vedno preverjajo vse razpoložljive registre in digitalne zbirke podatkov, da ugotovijo status prosilca in tako njegovo (ne)upravičenost do posameznega zahtevka. Na drugi strani pa smo soočeni z dejstvom, da se, ko uradniki naletijo na osebo, ki trdi, da je apatrid, ta proaktiven »postopek preverjanja« ne uporablja več, vse breme dokazovanja pa se prenese na preverjano osebo, ki mora zagotoviti dokaz, da je apatridna:

Mi načeloma vsako stvar, ki jo zatrjuje stranka, za katero nima listinskih dokazil [...], preverjamo najprej na osnovi vpogleda v lastne evidence [...] Vse razpoložljive evidence, kjer bi se potencialno lahko pojavil podatek o državljanstvu oz. podatek, ki ga je zatrjeval on ali njegovi starši takrat, ko si je prvič urejal status. Če smo neuspešni tako prvič kot drugič, če stranka ne predloži dokazil in če zatrjuje, da je apatrid in da mi iz lastnih evidenc ne ugotovimo, da bi bilo to kakorkoli drugače, potem načeloma stranko pozovemo, da predloži prava listinska dokazila, iz katerih je mogoče ugotoviti, da je res apatrid oz. da si ob rojstvu ali ob določeni situaciji, ko si je lahko to urejal, iz objektivnih razlogov tega ni uredil [...] Če ni možno ugotoviti na noben način, se stranki izda potni list [za tujca] in se jo napoti, da si to poskusi urediti. V enem od teh dveh primerov, ki sem jih obravnaval, je prišlo do take situacije. Osebi je bilo omogočeno, da gre v matično državo [...] Zatrjeval je, da je poskusil, da se je odpravil na pot v rojstni kraj svojih staršev, pa tega ni mogel urediti. Po drugi strani pa na besedo mi pač ne moremo verjeti. Za nas je beseda premalo (predstavnica Oddelka za tujce na Upravni enoti).

Breme »dokazovanja apatridnosti« je na prosilcih, pristojni organi pa jim pri tem prizadevanju lahko pomagajo ali pa ne. Praksa Upravne enote Ljubljana kaže, da morajo, kar zadeva prošnje za sprejem v državljanstvo, prosilci, ki želijo svoje zahteve utemeljiti na podlagi apatridnosti skladno z 8. odstavkom 12. člena Zakona o državljanstvu, priskrbeti vse dokumente, s katerimi lahko potrdijo, da so brez državljanstva. Če je to potrebno, se jim morda izda potni list za tujca, z namenom, da lahko potujejo in urejajo potrebno dokumentacijo. Čeprav se takšna praksa zdi pozitivna, saj vsaj teoretično omogoča proslcem apatridom, da poskušajo dokazati apatridnost ali si urediti državljanstvo v drugi državi, pa ne upošteva širših družbenoekonomskih okoliščin. Osebe brez državljanstva so pogosto marginalizirane in so ena najmanj zaščitenih skupin, s slabotno socialno mrežo in šibkim socialnim kapitalom (Waas 2009). Ta vidik se izkaže za bistven, ko se pojavi potreba po potovanju v tujino – morda v državo, v kateri nikoli prej niso bili in kjer nikogar ne poznajo in so brez sorodnikov. Pričakovati, da obvladajo množico birokratskih postopkov in številne dodatne ovire, na katere lahko naletijo v državi, katere državljanji naj bi bili, se pogosto izkaže za preveč zastrašujočo nalogo in tako ne more zagotoviti pričakovanih pozitivnih rezultatov.

Kakšno uradno preverjanje uradnikov bi mogoče tu prišlo v poštev. Če mi namreč vemo, da nekdo zatrjuje, da je apatrid in teh je tako malo, to so tako ekstremno hude situacije, da je pravzaprav nelogično pričakovati od takega človeka, da bo šel nekam in si pridobil potrdilo, da ni državljan tiste države. Nenazadnje so potem tu lahko še določene druge okoliščine, zaradi katerih posameznik mogoče niti noče tja – in ga silimo (predstavnica Varuha človekovih pravic).

Moja mati in oče sta rojena v Bosni. Preden sem se jaz rodil, sta odšla na Hrvaško. Jaz sem se rodil na Hrvaškem in potem kasneje ... kako dolgo, ni važno, ne vem. Starša sta se ločila in oče se je vrnil v Bosno, mama pa je prišla v Slovenijo [...] In mi rečejo [v Azilnem domu v Sloveniji], da me lahko vrnejo. Kako naj mene Bosna sprejme, če pa nisem državljan Bosne in Hercegovine? Kako Hrvaška, če pa noče niti slišati za mene? Nazadnje, ko sem podal prošnjo za državljanstvo, so mi na ambasadi grozili. To pomeni, da je njim problem, da jaz to vlagam [...] Hočem povedati, da to ni samo moj problem, kar sem jim tudi povedal. Pa so me zato *istjerali* kot psa, ko sem vprašal, kako je mogoče, da Hrvat iz Bosne, ki nima zveze s Hrvaško, dobi, jaz, ki sem tam rojen, pa ne morem dobiti [državljanstva]. Torej je tu čista logika ... jaz sem Srbin in ne morem dobiti in nikoli ne bom [...] Ampak nočem. Nikakor nočem v Srbijo (apatrid).

Ob tem se odpre pomembno vprašanje, povezano z apatridnostjo; čeprav je »bolje imeti državljanstvo kot biti prepoznan in zaščiten kot apatrid« (UNHCR 2012a: 3) – kaj pa v primerih, ko ljudje ne želijo biti državljanji določene države? Ljudi se ne sme prisiliti v to, da sprejmejo državljanstvo, če tega ne želijo. Prav tako, kot beremo v Smernicah o apatridnosti (UNHCR 2012a), čeprav nekatere države prostovoljno odpoved državljanstvu razumejo kot podlago za izključitev osebe iz zaščite (tj. biti obravnavan kot apatrid), to glede na Konvencijo o statusu oseb brez državljanstva iz leta 1954 ni dovoljeno.

V večini primerov so to ljudje, ki imajo nizko izobrazbo, ki ne poznajo postopkov, zato nujno potrebujejo ob sebi nekega svetovalca, najbolje pravnega svetovalca, ki bi jih vodil skozi vse te postopke. Ker sami ne morejo nič zagotoviti, sami ne morejo nikjer nič urediti, sami lahko samo hodijo, prosijo, se jezijo, podpisujejo neke dokumente, ki jih sploh ne razumejo, hodijo na neka zaslišanja [...] Tukaj absolutno ni zagotovljeno pravno varstvo tem ljudem. Če imajo denar, si lahko plačajo pravnega zastopnika in ta lahko dela. Če pa nimajo denarja [...], si s tem ne morejo pomagati nič (predstavnica nevladne organizacije).

Poleg tega v primerih, ko je oseba brez državljanstva eksistencialno vezana na Slovenijo, vprašanje potrebe po pridobitvi priznanega statusa apatrida postane še bolj pereče. Če bi bila namreč oseba prepoznana kot apatrid, bi lahko imela korist od že obstoječih olajševalnih pravnih postopkov in bi tako vsaj sčasoma lahko vzpostavila celovit formalni odnos s Slovenijo.

ZAKLJUČEK

Raziskava je pokazala, da je poznavanje problema apatridnosti v Sloveniji slabo. To je opazno tako v nevladnem kot tudi vladnem sektorju, še zlasti pri javnih uslužbencih, ki se pri svojem delu v različnih birokratskih postopkih srečujejo z ljudmi, ki so izpostavljeni tveganju apatridnosti. Pomembno je poudariti, da se glavno vprašanje v zvezi s statusom v Sloveniji vrti okrog urejenega dovoljenja za bivanje ali statusa tujca. Če tega ni, se za posameznika odpre Pandorina skrinjica težav in ostane zelo malo manevrskega prostora za ureditev izhoda iz apatridnosti.

Osveščanje, usposabljanje in pravne prilagoditve so le najbolj očitni koraki, ki jih je treba narediti čim prej. Poleg tega je praksa, ki preprečuje, namesto da bi apatridom pomagala olajšati njihov negotov položaj, nujno potrebna reevalvacije in hitre prilagoditve. Obstajajo številni indikatorji, ki nakazujejo, da bi že omogočanje nekaterih sprememb stanje lahko izboljšalo. Bi lahko nedavne spremembe Zakona o tujcih – ki predvidevajo pridobitev statusa začasnega bivanja po podaljšanju dovoljenja za zadrževanje vsakih šest mesecev brez prekinitve v neprekinjenem obdobju dveh let – morebiti pomenile majhno spremembo za ljudi, ki jih pristojne institucije ne štejejo za apatride, vendar si ne morejo urediti statusa tujca, ker nimajo veljavnega potnega lista? Zdi se namreč, da ostaja glavno vprašanje prav omogočanje ureditve statusa tujca, ki je ključni prvi pogoj za vse nadaljnje korake. Novi zakon je v veljavi od oktobra 2011, zato bo praksa šele pokazala, če bo podaljševanje dovoljenja za zadrževanje vsakih šest mesecev v skupnem trajanju dveh let na koncu osebi dejansko prineslo dovoljenje za začasno bivanje. Tu je treba nujno dodati, da je poleg nenehne skrbi, da »status toleriranja« ne bo podaljšán, konstantnih obiskov na policiji in urejanja podaljševanja dovoljenja za zadrževanje, bistvena posameznikova nezmožnost, da bi naredil karkoli drugega, saj je ujet v tem najmanj varnem izmed vseh tujskih statusov. Čeprav poudarjamo zgolj dolgo časovno obdobje, preden bi takšna oseba končno sploh lahko začela uživati redni status tujca, je vse naštetó v vidnem nasprotju s smernicami o apatridnosti, ki zahtevajo »dostopen, hiter in enostaven« postopek, po možnosti celo postopek za ugotavljanje apatridnosti (UNHCR 2012b).

Članek ugotavlja, da obstaja možnost, da je problem apatridnosti v Sloveniji vsekakor večji, kot bi lahko sklepali na podlagi uradnih podatkov. Poleg jasne potrebe po nadaljevanju terenske raziskave še zlasti med romsko populacijo se je treba osredotočiti tudi na sedanje in nekdanje prosilce za mednarodno zaščito in si prizadevati za raziskovanje položaja oseb, ki so izpostavljene tveganju apatridnosti, predvsem med dolgoletnimi zaporniki, otroki in starejšimi, hkrati pa upoštevati dimenzijo spola.

Ob koncu je treba ponovno poudariti tudi prakso domnevanja državljanstva brez preverjanja dejanske situacije. Domnevanje državljanstva je še zlasti obremenjujoče za t. i. nekdanje Jugoslovane, ki so v situaciji, da pravzaprav ne morejo dokazati, da so apatridi. Med ključnimi potrebami apatridov v Sloveniji sta tako prepoznani odprava domnevanja državljanstva in hkrati večja aktivnost oziroma pomoč državnih uradnikov pri ugotavljanju dejanskega državljskega statusa osebe.

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MULTIKULTURALIZEM *PRO ET CONTRA*: KRITIKA LIBERALNE PERSPEKTIVE IN POPULISTIČNO-DEMAGOŠKE DENUNCIACIJE

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COBISS 1.01

IZVLEČEK

Multikulturalizem *pro et contra*: Kritika liberalne perspektive in populistično-demagoške denunciacije

Prizadevanja za večjo demokratizacijo družb s spoštovanjem različnosti so se v zadnjih štirih desetletjih v evropskem in tudi svetovnem kontekstu osredinjala okrog multikulturalizma. Optimistične napovedi liberalnih teoretikov multikulturalizma od sedemdesetih do devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja kot alternative hierarhijam, rasizmu, diskriminaciji in segregaciji manjšinskih skupin so bile v zadnjih dveh desetletjih pogosto predmet kritik. Medtem ko nekateri teoretiki, analitiki in politiki v apokaliptičnem, populističnem tonu govorijo o koncu multikulturalizma, v zadnjih letih zaznavamo porast protiargumentov zagovornikov, ki opozarjajo na primere uspešnih učinkov multikulturalizma v praksi. Besedilo kontrastira argumente in pokaže na vakuumsko ujetost *pro et contra* pozicioniranja. Zagovarja tezo, da ta odmika pozornost od »problemov z različnostjo«, ne zmore preseči nekaterih zagat multikulturalizma in tudi ne generirati novih idej v smeri egalitarnosti. Podrobnejša analiza je posvečena zlasti novejšim zagovorom multikulturalizma, ki jih predstavlja Will Kymlicka kot vidnejši protagonist liberalne tradicije multikulturalizma.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: multikulturalizem, različnost, enakost, pravice, nacionalizacija

ABSTRACT

Multiculturalism *pro and Con*: A criticism of the Liberal Perspective and Populist-Demagogical Denunciation

Efforts towards the democratization of societies that respect differences have been focused in the last four decades in the European context but also world-wide around the notion of multiculturalism. The optimistic announcements of scholars who studied liberal multiculturalism in the period from the 1970s to the 1990s as alternatives to hierarchization, racism, discrimination and segregation of minority groups have been the frequent subject of criticism in the last two decades. While some take an apocalyptic, populist tone and speak about the end of multiculturalism, in the last couple of years we have witnessed a rise of counterarguments from proponents of multiculturalism who point to successful implementation of multiculturalism in practice. This article contrasts arguments and illustrates the entrapment of *pro et contra* positionings in debates. We defend the thesis that such an approach moves attention away from "problems with diversity", is unable to overcome certain quandaries with regard

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to multiculturalism and also cannot generate new ideas towards a more egalitarian society. We devote particular attention to the defence of multiculturalism as presented in the most recent works of Will Kymlicka, one of the leading scholars of the liberal tradition of multiculturalism.

KEY WORDS: multiculturalism, difference, equality, rights, nationalization

UVOD

Razprave o odnosih med kulturami so v navezavi na pojem multikulturalizem začele nastajati v šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, v povojnem obdobju, kot odgovor na totalitarizem, rasno razlikovanje, segregacijo in diskriminacijo oziroma v navezavi na revolucijo človekovih pravic. Multikulturalizem se v literaturi pojavlja v kontekstu prizadevanj za enakost in odpravo hierarhičnega razvrščanja kultur, obremenjenega z rasno in etnično superiornostjo. Razprave v obdobju od sedemdesetih do devetdesetih let 20. stoletja, ki so se osredinjale okrog idej »liberalnega multikulturalizma« so multikulturalizem optimistično pojmovali kot pravi odgovor na hierarhije in neenakosti, ki s priznanjem pravic manjšinam omogoča prepoznavnost različnosti in njeno enakopravno umeščanje v spreminjajoče se transnacionalne družbe (Kymlicka 1995; Taylor 1994). V multikulturalizem se je polagalo upe, češ da s skrbjo za manjšinske kulture in tudi z institucionalno prenovo, ki naj bi poskrbela za vključenost manjšin v večinsko družbo po načelu enakosti, razbija predstave o monolitnosti nacionalnega. Vztrajnost nacionalnega, ki stavi na prednost 'etničnosti' (*etnos*) in producira ločevanje »pravih« od »nepravih« članov, »njih« od »nas«, iz perspektive multikulturalizma preprečuje nastanek »resnično« multikulturalnih okolij. Zagovorniki multikulturalizma nas v zadnjem času opozarjajo na okoliščine totalitarizma in izključevanja, v katerih so se kristalizirale ideje o nujnosti multikulturalizma, in zavračajo kritike, češ da multikulturalizem preveč površno obravnavajo. Will Kymlicka (2010), ki velja za enega vidnejših teoretikov liberalnega pojmovanja multikulturalizma, je v svojih novejših delih kritičen do vztrajnosti »prevladujoče naracije« o domnevnem »padcu multikulturalizma«, ki nas predvsem opozarja na njegove zmote. Avtorjeva novejša dela lahko beremo kot poskuse »reševanja« ideje multikulturalizma.

V zadnjih petih desetletjih so se razprave ciklično osredinjale, najprej okrog definicij oziroma temeljnih predpostavk multikulturalizma, ki so del idej o sožitju različnosti kultur. Optimizmu je sledil val kritik, ki še odmeva, v zadnjem času pa so kot odgovor na kritike vse bolj pogosta prizadevanja za ponovno oživitev nekaterih izvornih idej. Po letu 1990 so zlasti pogoste kritike liberalnega pojmovanja, da procesi raznacionaliziranja nacionalnih držav niso uspešni, da kljub globalizaciji ni pravih odgovorov na izključevanja in diskriminacijo; ta izhaja iz vztrajnosti nacionalno-etničnih ideologij, ki reproducirajo dualistično »mi-oni« podobo družbe. So bile napovedi o potencialu multikulturalizma kot ideje in politike preveč optimistične? Za kritike, zlasti teoretike t. i. kritičnega multikulturalizma (Modood 2007; Parekh 2002), ki opozarjajo na vztrajnost nacionalne aksiomatike, ki ne pušča prostora za enakovrednost kultur, ampak perpetuira delitve na primordialne, prve, in druge (tretje) kulture, zagotovo. Medtem ko nekatere teoretiki, analitiki in politiki danes v apokaliptičnem tonu govorijo o »koncu« multikulturalizma, v zadnjih nekaj letih zaznavamo ponovni porast protiarargumentov zagovornikov, ki opozarjajo na primere uspešnih učinkov multikulturalizma v praksi.

Multikulturalizem je postal oksimoron; pluralizem njegovih pomenov, ko ga je mogoče aplicirati na katerokoli prakso »upravljanja« z različnostmi, kar je pogosto na področju »real« politike, otežuje prizadevanja za pojmovno jasnost kot tudi za tematiziranje demokratičnih potencialov multikulturalizma. Kritiki se v zadnjem desetletju pogosto sklicujejo na dogodke, kot so 11. september 2001, bombni napad v Londonu in Madridu, umora Thea van Gogha in Pima Fortuyna, ali pa, da bi pokazali na neuspeh multikulturalizma v evropskem kontekstu, problematizirajo specifične kulturne prakse, na primer nošenje burke, umore iz časti ipd. Neuspeh multikulturalizma nekatere skrajne desničarske skupine, kot tudi (neo)konzervativne politične stranke, povezuje celo z vzponom terorizma. V tem kontekstu se srečujemo s primeri »antilogike«, na primer: prizadevali smo si za multikulturalizem, dobili smo terorizem.

Problematične napovedi smrti multikulturalizmu, denimo odmevna izjava nemške premierke Angele Merkel leta 2010, da je multikulturalizmu »dokončno spodletelo«, oziroma podoben odziv premierja Velike Britanije, Davida Camerona, se zdi, da več povejo o odsotnosti vizij in asimilacionističnih težnjah nacionalnih držav oziroma njihovih političnih elit kot o samem multikulturalizmu (prim. Lanz 2010).

Velike besede o propadu in smrti multikulturalizma lahko učinkujejo kot priročno opravičilo, češ, upravljanje z različnostjo nam je spodletelo. Takšna populistična »priznanja« lahko nevarno legitimizirajo rasizem in radikalizirajo »antiteroristične« ukrepe. Deklaracija političnih elit o smrti multikulturalizma je torej priročna za legitimizacijo politik izključevanja: ko je »maska« multikulturalizma odvržena, na teži pridobijo redukcionistične interpretacije sveta *à la* Huntington in poustvarijo mit o paralelnih svetovih, dualizem med tem in onim svetom, med zahodom in vzhodom, med krščanstvom in islamom. »Smrt multikulturalizma« postane metafora za mobilizacijo rasizmov. V iskanju grešnih kozlov, ko muslimani, migranti postanejo »nemogoči subjekti multikulturalizma« (Lentin, Titley 2011: 19), procesu, ki ne omogoča misliti alternative, je metafora o krizi multikulturalizma zelo priročna. Multikulturalizem postane krivec za težave sodobne družbe, njegova smrt navdaja z upanjem. Zavračanje multikulturalizma tako prinaša zavračanje živete, dejanske multikulturalnosti sodobnih družb; domnevni neuspeh multikulturalizma legitimizira superiornost »dobre« v nasprotju s »slabo« različnostjo (prav tam: 17–18).

Razprave o multikulturalizmu imajo večdesetletno zgodovino in jih je v prizadevanjih za pojmovno jasnost treba nadalje tematizirati. Za skrajno desnico (Ramet 1999) je multikulturalizem predvsem priložnost za tujce in manjšine, npr. muslimane, za »promocijo« njihovih vrednot in verskih prepričanj. Multikulturalizem je zavržen kot priložnost za »razmah« islama, kot privilegij manjšine, ki da se promovira, »vsiljuje« svoja manjšinska prepričanja in vrednote, namesto da bi hvaležno živela skladno z dodeljenimi dolžnostmi do »države gostiteljice«. Kritike desnice, med katerimi je bržkone najbolj populistična kritika skrajne desnice, ki smo jo slišali v Nemčiji kot odziv na izjavo Angele Merkel, da multikulturalizem spodbuja širjenje islamskega fundamentalizma, je treba razlikovati od kritik – lahko bi jim rekli konstruktivne – ki v multikulturalizmu prepoznajo inkluzivni potencial, ob sicer hkratnem tematiziranju nekaterih nasprotij samega pojma.

Omenjeno besedilo kontrastira argumente in pokaže na vakuumsko ujetost *pro et contra* pozicioniranja, prevladujočega v nekaterih novejših obravnavah multikulturalizma. Zagovarja tezo, da ta odmika pozornost od »problemov z različnostjo« v sodobnih družbah in ne more generirati novih idej v smeri egalitarnosti. V številnih objavah avtorji zasledujejo ideje različnih tipov multikulturalizma, npr. liberalnega, kritičnega, feminističnega, političnega idr. Izhodišče te obravnave je, da apokaliptične kritike, kot smo jim danes priča v evropskem političnem prostoru na eni strani, kot tudi zaneseni zagovori, ki prihajajo zlasti s strani zagovornikov liberalnega multikulturalizma na drugi, ne prispevajo k reševanju nekaterih zagat multikulturalizma. Še več, *pro et contra* pozicioniranje, ki je simptomatično v zadnjem času tako v teoretskih kot političnih razpravah o multikulturalizmu, težave na pojmovni in praktični ravni samo še pogloblja, in sicer z odvrčanjem pozornosti od vprašanj o multiplem pripadanju v različnosti, solidarnosti, ki bi jih bilo treba naslavljati v prizadevanjih za večjo demokratičnost sodobnih družb. V tem besedilu želim problematizirati aktualno populistično-demagoško zanikanje veljavnosti multikulturalizma s strani nekaterih političnih elit in gibanj. Obenem se ukvarjam z analizo zagovorov multikulturalizma, kot jih artikulira njegova liberalna perspektiva. Pri tem se polemično osredotočam na nekatera novejša dela Kymlicke in ugotavljam pasti univerzalističnih predpostavk zahodne, liberalne tradicije multikulturalizma. Zagovarjam tezo o veljavnosti konstruktivne kritike multikulturalizma, kot so jo denimo artikulirali zlasti nekateri zagovorniki t. i. kritičnega multikulturalizma, ki presega *pro et contra* pozicioniranje v razpravah in tematizira zagate multikulturalizma. Kontekst takšnih razprav po mojem mnenju ohranja prizadevanja za demokratizacijo in se obenem zoperstavlja populističnim zlorabam pojma multikulturalizem. Namen je tudi prispevati h kritiki multikulturalizma, ki »mora, če želi nadgraditi lastne emancipatorne potenciale, opraviti epistemološko rekonstrukcijo svojih izhodišč in predpostavk« (Vidmar Horvat, Učakar 2011).

MULTIKULTURALIZEM IN NACIONALIZACIJA

Na področju migracij v EU se v zadnjem desetletju na ravni politik in tudi konceptualni ravni veliko govori o integraciji. Integracija je pojem, tesno povezan z multikulturalizmom (Modood 2007); kot politična prioriteta naj bi integracija prinesla enakovreden dialog med kulturami in vključenost migrantov v večinsko družbo. (Ne)uspešnost integracije se meri različno, denimo z gledišča naturalizacijskih politik z znanjem jezika in s poznavanjem nacionalne kulture in ustave. Za pridobitev državljanstva katere od držav članic EU se od migrantov pričakuje, da uspešno opravijo integracijske teste, s katerimi se zlasti preverja njihovo poznavanje nacionalnih ideologij. Takšno razumevanje integracije nekateri kritično označujejo za »premik k asimilacionizmu« (Brubaker 2003). Integracijo sicer merijo z različnimi indikatorji, med njimi denimo z vključenostjo na trg dela, ravno socialnega varstva, vključenostjo v izobraževalni sistem, s politično participacijo, z možnostjo za združenje družine idr. (gl. npr. migracijski in integracijski indeks, Mipex). Integracija naj bi povečala vključenost manjšinskih skupin, kritiki (Anthias idr. 2013) pa opozarjajo na asimilacionistične težnje omenjenega aktualnega projekta menedžmenta migracij. Ta zahteva vključevanje migrantov pod vnaprej postavljenimi pogoji; pri čemer so migranti iz razprav o teh pogojih izločeni. Kritiki opozarjajo tudi na fragmentacijski učinek integracije, ki migrante loči glede na različne statuse in jim priznava pravice glede na posamezni status, pri čemer so pravice tudi ozko vezane na specifične nacionalne interese.

Integracija je tako usmerjena v manjšinsko skupino samo in razen na deklarativni ravni ne ponuja resnih odgovorov za presejanje persistentnosti večinskega, nacionalnega, etničnega. Zato se je tudi težko znebiti občutka, da je bolj del problema kot del rešitve in nekateri govorijo o ponovni nacionalizaciji (Joppke 2010), ki se dogaja skozi mehanizme multikulturalizma, kot je integracija. Seveda pa je o ponovni nacionalizaciji smiselno govoriti zgolj, če smo prej pritrjevali denacionalizacijskemu učinku multikulturalizma, kar je bilo sicer znano za optimistično liberalno perspektivo multikulturalizma iz osemdesetih in devetdesetih let.

Modood (2007: 64) definira multikulturalizem iz kritične perspektive kot pristop, ki na eni strani omogoča prostor za različnosti proti segregaciji in izključevanju, na drugi pa spodbuja interakcijo večine z manjšino. Zaradi *de facto* izključenosti mnogih manjših iz javnih zadev, političnega življenja, ekonomskih in socialnih pravic ipd. (Pajnik, Campani 2011; Medica idr. 2011) se sprašujemo o potencialih dihotomne zastavitve vključenost/izključenost za presejanje neenakosti. Zdi se, da dualistično (ne) mišljenje in kreiranje politik na ravni vključenost/izključenost reproducirata in ne razrešujeta neenakosti. Integracija se kot politika (liberalnega) multikulturalizma promovira kot »dvosmerni proces«, ki naj medira med večinsko in manjšinsko populacijo tako, da omogoči dialog, odpre prostor za manjšino in si prizadeva za presejanje izključevanja manjšine. Vprašanje je, koliko je integracija res dvosmerna oziroma koliko ni drugo ime za asimilacijo; predpostavlja namreč prilagoditev migranta pravilom večinske družbe, procesu, v katerem migrant nima možnosti prespraševanja integracijskih pravil (Pajnik 2007). Problem z integracijo je tudi ta, da manjšine že v samem izhodišču projicira na družbeni rob oziroma zunaj družbe – migranti, »oni«, prihajajo k »nam« od »zunaj«. Predpostavka obstoja tujega, ki penetriira v domače, je vgrajena v sam multikulturalizem oziroma v njegovo prevladujočo liberalno različico in s tega gledišča se zdijo kritike multikulturalizma kot procesa nacionalizacije utemeljene. Očitek je, da multikulturalizem – skozi aktualne mehanizme, kot je integracija – ne prepozna, da se identitete manjšin ne oblikujejo zgolj okrog tega, da pripadniki manjšin niso državljani neke države oziroma okrog etničnosti posameznika, tako da multikulturalizem nima podlage in moči za zoperstavljanje nacionalnim ideologijam o etničnosti.

Multikulturalizem izhaja iz tradicije liberalizma, utemeljenega na nacionalni aksiomati, in ima svoje zgodovinske specifične (nacionalna država 19. stoletja se seveda v marsičem razlikuje od moderne države, temeljne predpostavke delovanja pa kljub temu ostajajo enake). Zato je na mestu ugotovitev nekaterih kritikov multikulturalizma, da kritični premislek multikulturalizma zahteva kritični premislek liberalizma (prim. Young 2000). Koliko miselna tradicija, ki je inherentno utemeljena na nacionalno-dr-

žavnem, lahko preseže zamejenost nacionalno-državnega, ki producira persistenco nacionalno-etničnega? Če to dilemo upoštevamo v izhodišču, potem se razprava o de- in renacionalizaciji ne zdi tako relevantna, kot je morda videti na prvi pogled. Oziroma se zdi celo odvečna; z razpravo o nacionalnosti, ki naj je ne bi bilo več oziroma naj bi se ponovno pojavljala, dejansko relativiziramo problem vztrajnosti nacionalnega.

Na tej točki se lahko strinjam s Kymlicko (2010), da razprave o »vzponu in padcu« multikulturalizma vnašajo nepotrebno zmedo. Obenem se manj strinjam z avtorjem v evalvaciji te »zmede«: medtem ko je zame to bolj nepotreben korak (ki so ga morda nekateri morali tudi storiti) in odmik od problema oziroma njegovo, pa čeprav nehoteno, zamegljevanje, se Kymlicka ne strinja s tezo o nacionalizaciji, ki pa je po mojem ključna; liberalni zagovorniki multikulturalizma pa tega običajno ne tematizirajo. Ni torej najbolj bistveno to, da se vračamo k asimilacionizmu, ampak to, da je ta, kljub prizadevanjem multikulturalizma, še vedno tu in da ni izginil. In dejstvo, da se ne moremo znebiti občutka o nemoči multikulturalizma, da bi ta resnično rezultiral v egalitarnosti, npr. Modoodov poskus »politizacije multikulturalizma«, ali to, kar Kymlicka (2010: 36) obravnava kot 'demokratsko podržavljanje' (*democratic citizenization*), ravno njegova persistenca v nacionalno-etnični aksiomati. Ta pa za naš argument ni toliko problem sam na sebi, bolj je problematično to, da izgine v novejših zagovorih multikulturalizma.

Moj argument ni uperjen proti državi sami po sebi – ideje o *polity*, 'politični skupnosti' (v obliki države) so nujne za demokratizacijo državljanstva – opozoriti želim na dejstvo, da Kymlicka v zagovorih multikulturalizma ne govori o nacionalnem (nacionalizaciji državnega) in da je odsotnost tovrstnih razprav pomenljiva. Ravno odsotnost (zanikanje?) problematizacije nacionalno-etničnega vliva dvom o možnosti resnično demokratizacijskih učinkov multikulturalizma, pri čemer je do zdaj že jasno, da ne dvomimo v to, da se je multikulturalizem pojavil kot poskus iskanja odgovorov prav na vprašanja o večji demokratizaciji družb. Torej, kritike o nacionalizacijsko-asimilacijskih učinkih, ki jih empirično najdemo denimo v primeru migrantov in njihove integracije (Pajnik, Campani 2011), so relevantne kritike multikulturalizma. Menim, da njihova relativizacija (Kymlicka 2010) ne prispeva k razreševanju dilem multikulturalizma.

Strinjam se s Kymlicko, da je lahko govor o »vzponu in padcu« multikulturalizma »zavajajoč« in da zaradi podrejenosti takšnemu govoru izgubljam neke druge priložnosti, s katerimi se soočamo v sodobnosti. Pomenljiva je tudi misel, da mikroanalize multikulturalizma, ki opozorijo na njegove večje ali manjše uspehe v specifičnih okoljih, hkrati pokažejo, da seveda to ni pojem za na smetišče zgodovine. Prav tako pa je lahko zavajajoče, da se v zagovoru multikulturalizma (Vertovec, Wessendorf 2010; Kymlicka 2010) vračamo v zgodovino in poudarjamo demokratične namene te ideje/gibanja (česar kritiki dejansko niti ne zanikajo), pri čemer ostanejo netematizirani drugi problemi multikulturalizma kot pojma in politike »upravljanja z različnostjo«.

Aktualne razprave potekajo na dveh bregovih, med zagovorniki in kritiki, pri čemer oba pristopa perpetuirata binarizem, ki pa ponuja premalo prostora za tematizacijo alternativ ali za epistemološke preboje. Zdi se, da dialektika vključenost/izključenost (manjšin), v katero se zdi, da je multikulturalizem »ujet«, ali, kot multikulturalizem definira Modood (2007), da gre za prepoznanje izključenosti in ustvarjanje razmer za njeno preseganje (vključenost), ne razrešuje problemov neenakosti. In v razpravah o multikulturalizmu bo to tako, dokler ne bomo tematizirali ključnega: da je neenakost sistemska lastnost sodobnih družb, s katero se je treba soočiti, in ne, da jo spregledamo in (zgolj) ustvarjamo ideje in politike za njeno (domnevno) preseganje (Pajnik 2011b). Odpravljanje neenakosti v kontekstu multikulturalizma je pogojno vselej, ko ne prepoznamo sistemske narave neenakosti; neenakost ni zgolj neljuba posledica sistema, ki se jo da s trudom, s priznanjem kolektivnih pravic kot geste multikulturalizma, narediti ne-tako-neljubo. Na ta problem še najbolj konsistentno opozarjajo nekatere feministične kritičarke multikulturalizma (Young 2000), ko denimo poudarjajo, da je spolna neenakost (in patriarhalnost) lastnost sodobnih družb, ki je ne moremo resnično zaobjeti zgolj s korekcijskimi mehanizmi za preseganje neenakosti.

PARADOKS KOLEKTIVNIH PRAVIC

Teoretiki liberalnega multikulturalizma (prim. Kymlicka 1995) so vpeljali idejo kolektivnih pravic za zaščito manjšinskih skupin. Pripoznanje pravic za skupine kot nekakšne oblike pozitivne diskriminacije naj bi pozitivno prispevalo k ureditvi položaja manjšin. Problem tega pristopa je, da obravnava manjšine kot nekaj izjemnega, neobičajnega, kar migrante, muslimane, Rome idr. projicira kot težavo. Prispevek multikulturalizma k razreševanju izključevanja s priznanjem kolektivnih pravic je zato dvomljiv. Pojem kolektivnih pravic izpostavi neko manjšinsko skupino zaradi za večino bolj ali manj očitno moteče posebnosti, v večino pa ne posega. Multikulturalizem prepoznava izključenost manjšinskih skupin, a ostaja dvom, koliko je to mogoče preseči zgolj s priznanjem pravic manjšinam. Nekateri kritiki (Anthias 2002a, 2002b) menijo, da takšne politike dejansko izpostavljajo manjšine oziroma jih potiskajo v položaj, ko se morajo prilagoditi večinskim vrednotam in načinu življenja, kar reproducira manjšine kot drugorazredne državljane (glej Balibar 2004). Priznanje kolektivnih pravic namesto zaščite manjšin tako lahko nastopa kot zahteva po prilagoditvi večinskim vzorcem delovanja.

Priznanje kolektivnih pravic naj bi zagotavljalo zaščito manjšinskih kultur, njihove specifikke glede socialnih, izobraževalnih, religioznih, ekonomskih idr. aktivnosti v javni in zasebni sferi. Najpogostejše kritike koncepta kolektivne pravice, kot ga zagovarja liberalna tradicija multikulturalizma, poudarjajo, da ta obravnava skupine kot monolitne trdnjave in ne prepoznava razlik med njimi, kar ima lahko nekohezivni, ampak ravno nasprotni učinek, tj. izključenost tudi znotraj skupine. Spol, rasa in etničnost, na primer, lahko učinkujejo ločeno, v mnogih kontekstih pa se prekrivajo in pripeljejo do intenziviranja izključevanja (Lukšič Hacin 2002).

Feministična kritika izhaja iz teze, da so sodobne družbe utemeljene na spolnih razlikah in neenakosti, in opozarja, da kolektivne pravice lahko te neenakosti še poglobljajo; kolektivne pravice so prej del problema multikulturalizma in ne njegove rešitve (Okin 1999: 22). Zagovarjanje kolektivnih pravic na podlagi specifičnih kulturnih praks neke skupine ima, kot opozarja Okin, negativne posledice zlasti za ženske, ki v večji meri omogočajo in ohranjajo osebno, družinsko in reproduktivno plat življenja; to je tako ne glede na kulturne specifikke oziroma ne glede na to, ali gre za večinsko ali manjšinsko kulturo.

Avtorica opozori na persistentne patriarhalne vzorce nekaterih kulturnih in religioznih praks (nekateri so posledica kolonializma, druge religioznih in mitoloških verovanj ipd.), povezanih s procesi socializacije, odraščanja, ritualnih praks poročanja, sistema lastnine, ki vzdržujejo in reproducirajo žensko seksualnost v domeni moškega nadzora. Prakse, povezane z redukcijo ženske na njeno vlogo v zasebnem, družinskem in gospodinjstvem življenju, npr. genitalna mutilacija, poligamija, prisilne poroke, kazni za ženske za zaščito družinske časti, kot so kamenjanje, uboju, prisile v samomor v primerih prešuštva ali denimo žrtev posilstva so primeri, s katerimi Okin pokaže na zagato multikulturalizma, ki s kolektivnimi pravicami reproducira spolne neenakosti.

Ni treba posebej opozarjati, da je esej Susan M. Okin *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* (1999) nalletel na odmeven odziv in da njene teze avtorji problematizirajo iz več zornih kotov. Nekateri ji očitajo vztrajanje pri »zastarelem«*»partiarhatu (Al-Hibri 1999), s katerim naj ne bi mogli več zadovoljivo pojasniti spolnih vlog, drugi problematizirajo njeno monolitno predstavo kulture (Honig 1999; Phillips 2007), češ da jo reificira in ne prepoznava, da je kultura živeta dejavnost, ki nastaja v interakciji. Očitajo ji tudi, da prakse, ki vzdržujejo spolne neenakosti, pripiše »tretjemu svetu«, pri čemer ne prepoznava istih problemov v anglo-ameriškem kontekstu (Gilman 1999) idr. Ni moj namen tukaj analizirati kompleksno razpravo o neenakosti med spoloma, kot tudi ne ponuditi celovitega vpogleda v obsežne razprave o multikulturalizmu iz feministične perspektive. To, kar je ključno za omenjeno razpravo, je, da se kolektivne pravice, na katerih se multikulturalizem utemeljuje, lahko dejansko pokažejo kot mehanizem za reproduciranje neenakosti. Podobno kot integracija tudi kolektivne pravice kot mehanizem liberalnega multikulturalizma ne zmorejo preseči »zagat« *z neenakostjo.**

Okin na kritike odgovarja tako, da se zavzame za reartikulacijo multikulturalizma v smeri, ki bo zagotavljala enakost za ženske (Okin 1999: 131). V analizah integracijskih mehanizmov s področja migracij

(glej Pajnik 2007; Pajnik, Campani 2011) smo prišli do podobnih zaključkov, da namreč redefinicija pravic zahteva vključenost skupin, ki jih pravice zadevajo, v deliberacijo o pravicah. Okin (1999: 24) opozarja, da morajo biti ženske, še zlasti mlade, vključene v pogajanja o pravicah, sicer je velika verjetnost, da njihovi interesi ne bodo upoštevani in, še več, da bodo učinkovali negativno. Naše analize integracijskih politik v Sloveniji (in drugih evropskih državah) (Pajnik, Campani 2011; Anthias idr. 2013) kažejo na odtujenost integracijskih mehanizmov od migrantov, zato jih ti posledično doživljajo kot ovire in ne kot priložnosti za izboljšanje svojega položaja. Če pritrdim ugotovitvi, da so analize univerzalnosti in individualnosti pravic (kot temeljev liberalnih demokracij) pokazale na zahtevo po korekciji, ki gre v smeri zagotavljanja in varovanja različnosti, potem moram dodati, da bi morali o različnosti razpravljati tudi tisti, ki se jih definira kot različne. Tukaj se zato zdi na mestu kritika, da mehanizme multikulturalizma pogosto določa večina brez potrebnega posvetovanja z manjšino, kar onemogoča situacijo, kot jo opredeljuje Habermas (1998) v svoji diskurzivni teoriji prava, da se namreč naslovniki pravic prepoznajo tudi kot njihovi avtorji.

Seveda je pomemben prispevek multikulturalizma k procesom demokratizacije družb ta, da prepozna in se trudi iskati odgovore na izključenost, marginalizacijo, rasizme. Kar moti, je, da multikulturalizem z lansiranjem mehanizmov nekeke pozitivne diskriminacije dejansko reificira različnost manjšinskih skupin. Pri tem je ključno vprašanje, ki si ga Kymlicka kot zagovornik multikulturalizma ne zastavlja: različnost od česa? Vsiljuje se odgovor, da je večina, torej »mi«, tista, ki se definira v nasprotju z manjšino, »njimi«. Tako se zdi, da kolektivne pravice dejansko poudarijo »drugačnost« manjšine. S tem se oža prostor za vidnost tistih posameznikov, ki se ne prepoznavajo znotraj kolektivnih identitet. Intervjuji, ki smo jih opravili s številnimi migranti v okviru več mednarodnih projektov (Pajnik, Campani 2011; Anthias idr. 2013), pokažejo na zavračanje oznake migrant; posamezniki in posameznice, ki migrirajo v neko državo, sebe pogosto ne dojemajo kot migrante. Tu je tudi vprašanje t. i. dominantne skupine, za katero se predpostavlja, da je neka univerzalna, homogena, večinska tvorba z jasnimi kulturnimi vzorci, nasproti kateri se preverjajo razlike manjšinskih kultur.

Multikulturalizem se v tej luči ne zdi strategija za povečanje kohezivnosti skupnosti, ampak nasprotno, kot mehanizem, ki pogloblja segregacijo in »nasilno vstavlja meje tam, kjer v drugačni epistemološki strukturi lahko nastale bližine in prežemanja« (Vidmar Horvat, Učakar 2011: 155). Očitek torej je, da kolektivne pravice poglobljajo dihotomijo večinska-manjšinska kultura in predvsem, da kulturo napačno interpretirajo kot statično formo. Poleg tega so relevantna vprašanja, kdo predstavlja izkušnje neke skupine, kateri glasovi so slišani in kako na njihovo slišnost vplivajo diferenciacije na podlagi spola, etničnosti, razreda ipd., vzpostavljene znotraj skupine? Nevarnost kolektivnih pravic je torej v tem, da izpostavljajo razlike, utrjujejo meje med večinskimi in manjšinskimi skupinami in predpostavljajo konsenz o tem, kaj naj bi bile specifične neke skupine (večinske in manjšinske). *Pro et contra* pozicioniranje, v katero so ujete aktualne razprave, ne prispeva k razreševanju omenjenih zagat multikulturalizma.

RAZLIČNOST IN ENAKOST

Zagovorniki multikulturalizma naslavljajo potrebo po integraciji manjšin in vztrajajo, da mora država zagotoviti integracijo, ne v asimilacionističnem pomenu, ampak s spoštovanjem kulture, tradicije ipd. manjšin. Teh se ne sme zatirati, manjšinam mora biti omogočeno, da živijo svoje »hibridne« identitete. Institucije, kot npr. šole, in politike morajo spoštovati religiozne posebnosti skupin, običaje, praznike ipd. »Liberalna pristranost« (Modood 2007) kot značilnost multikulturalizma je prisotna v izpostavljanju položaja določenih skupin »na njihov račun« (prim. Taylor 1994), kar ima za posledico vzdrževanje *statusa quo*, ki dejansko utrjuje primat večinskega. Tako se zdi, da se multikulturalizem ukvarja izključno z manjšinami, in sicer tako, da predpostavlja njihovo nenehno vključevanje. Takšen pristop, hote ali neho-te, predpostavlja, da je proces vključevanja konstanten oziroma ga je mogoče končati, ko »oni« postanejo »pravi« člani družbe. Izziv v razpravah o multikulturalizmu je, kako ga koncipirati, da bo resnično zaobjel načelo enakopravnosti in skupnega pripadanja svetu na podlagi enakosti.

Kot sem že omenila, je eden od odgovorov multikulturalizma na izključevanje v zagotavljanju prostora za različnosti. Problem z različnostjo je v tem, da je vedno definirana v odnosu do večinskega, ki odigra distinktivno (asimilacionistično) vlogo v odnosu do uveljavljene in prepoznane različnosti. Pri tem je treba poudariti, da različnost ni lastnost skupine ali posameznika, ampak je pripisana, definirana od zunaj, in sicer glede na vsakdanje, tj. večinske vrednote in norme. Manjšine so od zunaj definirane za migrante, tujce, muslimane, kar običajno manjka v tematizacijah multikulturalizma. V prizadevanjih za vzpostavljanje življenja onkraj delitev na podlagi različnosti je ključna denaturalizacija manjšin. Biti različen torej ni intrinzična lastnost posameznika, ampak družbeni konstrukt, ki naj bi asistiral v kompleksnih procesih sobivanja. Razumevanje sebe in drugega zahteva relacijsko razmerje – s tem ne zagovarjam, da različnost ni uporaben in veljaven pojem. Pomembno pa je, da v razpravah o multikulturalizmu prepoznamo, da je različnost lahko zlorabljena za izključevanje takrat, ko je različnost skupine ali kulture uporabljena za legitimizacijo dominantne kulture kot superiorne. Večinska kultura je lahko skonstruirana na podlagi različnosti od »druge kulture« in o tej se nato presoja v nujnem odnosu do prve. Skozi različnost je večinska kultura lahko skonstruirana za homogeno, unificirano kulturo, kultura »naravne enotnosti« postane merilo, v odnosu do katerega se nato presoja druge kulture.

V razliki ni torej nič naravnega ali nevtralnega, ampak gre za konstrukt, prek katerega se ustvarjajo pomeni (Barthes 1970). Razlika je lahko skonstruirana kot »ideološko orožje in del strategije dominacije« (Anthias 2002a: 278). Zato si je treba prizadevati za takšno pojmovanje različnosti, ki te ne fiksira v neko skupino ali kulturo, ampak predpostavlja, da različnost nastaja v medkulturnem dialogu kot aktivnost v čezkulturnih razmerjih. Za revitalizacijo multikulturalizma je zato treba tematizirati različnost v pomenu »imaginacij okrog meja« (prav tam). Anthias predlaga pojem »hierarhična različnost«, ki preusmerja pozornost od splošnih problemov z različnostjo k problematizaciji asimetrij. Binarne konstrukcije mi- oni tako pomenijo manipulacijo različnosti, ki konstruira in reificira dominantno kulturo kot naravno, v odnosu do katere se vrednoti druge (manj naravne) kulture. Namesto tega velja različnost v razpravah o multikulturalizmu tematizirati na točki »multidimenzionalnosti pozicioniranja in lociranja glede na različnost v odnosu do spola, etničnosti, razreda ipd.« (Anthias 2002a: 279).

Tudi ko govorimo o enakosti, moramo prepoznati, da gre za produkt tradicije razsvetljenstva, ki predpostavlja idejo »podobnosti«, tj. enaki/podobni smo si po naravi. Če nekdo »drug« ni podoben, potem ni »enak«; egalitarizem se je dejansko uporabljal za inferiorizacijo žensk in manjšinskih skupin. Ko zagovor prinaša podobnosti na račun različnosti, je zagovarjanje enakosti lahko kontraproduktivno. Egalitarizem je bil zato predmet kritik, češ da opozarja na zlorabo razlik, ko se opravičuje neenakost, hkrati pa uporabi razlike za zagovarjanje podobnosti. Kljub nekaterim pastem ostaja pojem enakosti ključen in nepogrešljiv. Pomaga nam prepričevati procese, ki pripeljejo do hierarhizacije kultur, inferiorizacije in izkoriščanja, ki subjektu odvzemajo avtonomijo.

Pri tem omenjam zanimiv Modoodov (2007) poskus ohranjanja potencialov multikulturalizma z njegovo politizacijo, s »političnim multikulturalizmom«, ki ga avtor utemeljuje na načelih zagotavljanja različnosti in enakosti. Podobna so prizadevanja Anne Phillips (2007), ki problematizira »kulturni rasizem« multikulturalizma in »multikulturalizem brez kulture« temazira na načelih enakosti, pravic in delovanja posameznikov. V nasprotju s Kymlicko (1995), ki multikulturalizem zagovarja kot »izum in dosežek liberalizma«, Modood (2007: 7) poskuša pojem revitalizirati na točki njegovega »demokratskega potenciala«, ki ni (nujno) povezan s tradicijo liberalizma oziroma se od nje tudi oddaljuje; zlasti s priznavanjem kritike, da vključevanje na univerzalni ravni lahko reproducira neenakost in je ne razrešuje.

PROBLEM KULTURE: KAKŠNA IN ČIGAVA KULTURA?

Kritike, uperjene v konceptualizacijo kulture v multikulturalizmu, poudarjajo dvoje: na eni strani se pojavljajo kritike, da multikulturalizem predpostavlja sožitje kultur na podlagi seštevka kulturnih praks relativno monolitnih in zaprtih skupin. Gre za kritiko, češ da multikulturalizem obravnava manjšinske

kulture kot enklave, zaprte v svoje tradicionalne vrednote in kulturne skripte in da ne prepozna fluidnosti kulturnih praks. Takoj naj omenim, da je ta pozicija doživela kritike tudi znotraj kritike: rešitev, ki jo tematizira in obravnava kulture kot nekaj odprtega, fluidnega, interaktivnega, je bila problematizirana, ker odvrača pozornost od strukturnih neenakosti; fluidnost kulture je lahko prikladen argument za maskiranje neenakosti (Pajnik 2011a). To nas pripelje do druge vrste argumentov, tj., h kritiki »kulturalizacije multikulturalizma«, češ da gre za podpiranje manjšinske glasbe, oblačil in kulinarike ob odsotnosti ekonomskega in političnega egalitarizma, kar je bilo na primer problematizirano kot »trivializacija«, »disneyfikacija« kulture (Bissoondath v Kymlicka 2010: 34). Gre za kritiko, da multikulturalizem poudarja to, kar je v kulturi neproblematično oziroma kar lahko večina z užitek pokonzumira, in da se odmika od pravih izzivov, ki jih prinaša vprašanje različnosti. Takšen multikulturalizem utrjuje »avtentničnosti« neke kulture oziroma kulturne kode, npr. kako naj se vede pravi musliman, ki nima konsenzualne podpore med člani skupine. Kymlicka prepozna relevantnost kritike, a zgolj, kot pravi, če bi pri multikulturalizmu »res šlo za to«. Po njegovem so to bolj »karikature« multikulturalizma (Kymlicka 2010: 34–35) – teza ki, kot že omenjeno, iz ust protagonistov liberalnega multikulturalizma ne zveni pretirano prepričljivo.

V problematizaciji »kulturalizma v multikulturalizmu« Modood (2007: 43) predlaga, da bi pojem kultura nadomestili z različnostjo, s čimer bi v izhodišču priznali problem hierarhičnosti kultur oziroma dejstvo, da je različnost družbeno konstruirana. Pripomba se zdi smiselna, sproži pa vprašanje, ali sploh še govorimo o multikulturalizmu, če se odpovemo kulturi. Kaj je multikulturalizem brez kulture oziroma ali ni različnost kultur temeljna vrednota multikulturalizma?

Vprašanje je, kako misliti enakost oziroma enakost skozi različnost in ali multikulturalizem ponuja dovolj prostora za deliberacijo o tem vprašanju. Kritiki multikulturalizma, ki menijo, da gre zgolj za enega od »izmov«, za ideologijo, ki skuša integrirati različne kulture, ne da bi se preveč dotaknila dominantne kulture, bi verjetno menili, da takšnega prostora ni. Nekateri drugi, ki želijo »rešiti« multikulturalizem, bi menili drugače. Modoodov (2007: 61) odgovor je politizacija multikulturalizma, ki jo avtor utemeljuje s konceptom »negativne različnosti«, ki da jo je treba preseči za doseganje pozitivne različnosti, in sicer z odgovorom na negativizem in rasizem. Če kritiki v zagovoru konca multikulturalizma zlahka zapadejo v cinizem, potem je vprašanje, ali »rešitelji« multikulturalizma ne predlagajo politizacije nečesa, česar se ne da politizirati. Kako zagovarjati političnost teorije, ki stavi (zgolj) na kulturo oziroma na različnost kultur? Pokazala sem, da je pojem različnosti lahko dejansko uporabljen za legitimizacijo večinske kulture in ne za zaščito manjšinske, kar vzbuja dvom o veljavnosti prizadevanja za reševanje multikulturalizma. Koliko prostora pušča kultura v multikulturalizmu za tematiziranje strukturnih neenakosti, hierarhičnih razmerij moči ipd.? In koliko, ne nazadnje, omogoča udejanjanje kulture kot »živete izkušnje«, ki nastaja v interakciji in z izmenjavo in ne kot fiksni atribut neke skupine?

Osredinjanje na kulturo v multikulturalizmu lahko pomeni tudi zanemarjanje hierarhij in neenakih razmerij moči. Liberalni protagonisti multikulturalizma radi spregledajo, da so bile univerzalistične predpostavke o enakosti in svobodi kritizirane, češ da so izključujoče, seksistične in rasistične in da zato ne moremo sveta in odnosov v njem presojeti izključno z gledišča univerzalističnih predpostavk zahodnega liberalizma. Ti protagonisti so tako pogosto na stališču, da je povsem naravno, da presojava druge kulture glede na domnevno univerzalne norme. Multikulturalizem se na primer povezuje z aktualnimi reformami šolskega sistema v ZDA in Evropi oziroma – z namenom preseganja rasizma ter razrednega in etničnega izključevanja – s prizadevanji po prepoznavanju migrantov druge generacije oziroma drugih manjšinskih skupin. Multikulturalna sprava v izobraževanju je bila kritično sprejeta v nekaterih krogih ravno zaradi neprepoznavanja »hierarhične različnosti« (Anthias 2002a) na račun slavljenja univerzalizma.

Kritični multikulturalisti (Parekh 2002) so prepoznali zagato in si prizadevali za politike multikulturalizma, ki so usmerjene v odpravljanje ovir za legitimizacijo različnih modalitet bivanja. Vendar so bila v njihovem središču kultura in prizadevanja za pripoznanje hibridnih identitet, zanemarili pa so probleme z neenakostjo. Slavljenje kulturne različnosti v multikulturalizmu pogosto ne gre skupaj s prepoznavanjem etničnih, spolnih, razrednih ipd. neenakosti v kulturi.

O čem govorimo, ko govorimo o kulturi v multikulturalizmu? Kdo torej definira kulturo, kdo jo predstavlja? Je predpostavka, da vse kulture zagovarjajo denimo enakost med spoloma? Na podlagi česa je skupina definirana, kakšni so primarni označevalci in/ali kakšna je povezava z etničnostjo, kjer je ta skupni imenovalac za skupino, z vprašanji razredne ali spolne neenakosti. Kritiki (Anthias 2002a) poudarjajo, da multikulturalizem, zlasti liberalna pojmovanja, ne zmore preseči homogenizirajočih učinkov kulture. Multikulturalizem tako izhaja iz predpostavke, da je vse delovanje že vpisano v kulturne kode. Subjektne pozicije niso fiksne in enovite, ampak nastajajo v številnih različnih kontekstih (Anthias 2002a, 2002b), česar zagovorniki multikulturalizma ne prepoznajo. Reificiranje kulture in različnosti kultur oziroma skupin dejansko reificirajo meje med kulturami in spodbujajo presojanje odnosov na način binarizmov – si ali v kulturi ali zunaj nje.

Poudarila sem že, da kultura ni nekaj fiksnega, stalnega; v tem pogledu je multikulturalizem v pomenu obstoja različnosti realnost sodobne družbe. Problem je tako v prejšnjih interperetacijah multikulturalizma kot zlasti v aktualnih, ki kulturo razumejo kot stvar in ne kot proces. Tako so na primer prisilne poroke, umori iz časti, nasilje v družini ipd. pojmovani kot elementi neke kulture (»muslimanske«), kar se nato pogosto uporabi kot argument za tezo o propadu multikulturalizma, češ, zahodna kultura ne more sprejeti takšnih barbarskih praks. Simptomatično je, da v teh razpravah običajno umanjajo kritike kulturnih praks zahodne kulture. Predvsem je problematično to, da smo proti multikulturalizmu, češ, če smo za multikulturalizem, potem moramo sprejeti na primer umore iz časti. Problem je, ko se določena kulturna praksa, ki jo izvaja neka skupina, tudi v imenu kulture, projicira kot »kulturna pravica«, brez katere bi neka kultura izginila ali bi bila ogrožena (Anthias 2002a). Predvsem je pomembno to, da osredotočanje na skrajne prakse, ki se odvijajo v imenu kulture in so tudi del zahodne kulture, niso argument za zavračanje kultur in idej multikulturalizma. Ne smemo namreč pozabiti na vlogo države in pravico vsakega, da je zaščiten pred nasiljem, diskriminacijo, izključenostjo ipd.

SKLEP

Poglejmo si glavni argument, ki ga Kymlicka v zagovor multikulturalizma poudarja v nedavno objavljenem besedilu. Avtor sicer smiselno predlaga, naj se razprave o multikulturalizmu osredotočajo na konkretno (v izogib situaciji, ko lahko zdronejo v posploševanje), vprašanje pa je, ali so njegovi primeri prepričljivi. Uspeh multikulturalizma avtor na splošno vidi v izboljšanju položaja manjšinskih skupin, češ da ponuja prave odgovore na možnosti sobivanja različnih skupin, kar podkrepi s tezo o odsotnosti pravih alternativ tej perspektivi. Za Kymlicko se uspeh multikulturalizma kaže na primeru staroselcev in narodnih manjšin, ki so po njegovem v zadnjih štirih desetletjih ravno zaradi idej multikulturalizma veliko pridobile. Prvi, npr. Maori na Novi Zelandiji, aborigini v Kanadi in Avstraliji, Sami v Skandinaviji, in to s priznanjem pravice do zemlje, samovladanja, priznanja kulturnih, jezikovnih posebnosti, običajev, reprezentacije v političnih telesih idr. Drugi primer, ki ga navaja, so narodne skupine, npr. Baski in Katalonci v Španiji, Flamci v Belgiji, Škoti in Valičani v Britaniji, Švedi na Finskem ipd., z različnimi oblikami teritorialne avtonomije, s priznanjem jezika, politično reprezentacijo v vladnih telesih, financiranjem šol in medijev idr.

V literaturi bi seveda našli argumente, ki nasprotujejo optimizmu Kymlicke. Razmere so za nekatere skupine precej bolj kritične, kot jih vidi, npr. nepriznanje zapatistov v Chiapasu v Mehiki, podrejenost aboriginskih skupin ipd. Lahko podvomimo tudi v ugotovitev, da so dosežki, ki jih Kymlicka opisuje, posledica ukoreninjenja idej multikulturalizma; ali niso bolj rezultat bojov manjšinskih skupin, horizontalnega delovanja in iskanja alternativ »od spodaj«?

Tretja skupina, ki jo Kymlicka omenja, so migranti. Kritikom očita, da jih ne zanimata prvi dve skupini, ampak zgolj tretja, s katero je lažje prikazati neuspeh multikulturalizma. Uspeh je po Kymplicki mogoče iskati v afirmaciji multikulturalizma na parlamentarnih in regionalnih ravneh, sprejemanju multikulturalizma v šolah, dvojnem državljanstvu, financiranju programov etničnih skupin ipd. Ni neobičaj-

no, da avtor ne omenja manj prijetnih primerov, kot so fenomen ilegalnih migrantov, kvotni sistemi za reguliranje trga dela, selektivne politike združevanja družine.

Ali niso prav na videz mejni, obrobni primeri zelo pomenljivi in ali nam prav ti ne omogočajo, da bolj progresivno razmišljamo o demokratizaciji družb v prihodnje? Iz te perspektive se ponovno pokaže, da ujetost v *pro et contra* pozicioniranje, v kateri eni multikulturalizem napadajo in drugi branijo, ne omogoča progresivnega v razpravi.

Morda razprave o multikulturalizmu niso tako kontroverzne zato, ker se kritiki osredotočajo na migracije, ampak zato, ker ti primeri pokažejo na nekatere njegove zagate. Tako ni na mestu niti pretirani govor *à la* Merkel o smrti multikulturalizma niti pretirano zagovarjanje multikulturalizma zgolj s pomočjo zgodb o uspehu. Kymlicka sicer v svoji tipologiji ne omenja ključnega, namreč, da sta tako pojma staroselcev kot narodnih skupin/manjšin teritorialno in etnično zamejena. Za te skupine se predpostavlja, da morajo imeti neke predpravitve, ki pa postanejo problematične v primeru migrantov. In tu se vrne na vztrajnost nacionalnega v multikulturalizmu. Zdi se, da je multikulturalizem »uspešen« v primeru integriranja »življa«, ki je bilo (nekoč) povezano z etničnim, nacionalnim, s prvobitnim. Alternative je treba iskati pri migrantih samih – preseči je treba položaj, ko so nekatere skupine izključene iz pravic, ki so »staroselcem« pripisane »po naravi« (v pravicah seveda ni nič naravnega).

V svoji kritični analizi govora o padcu multikulturalizma Kmylicka (2010: 42) poudarja, da medtem ko se v Nemčiji odmikajo od multikulturalizma, praznujejo izboljšanje položaja danske manjšine, in čeprav naj bi se Britanija odmikala od multikulturalizma, vendarle priznava nove oblike samovladanja na Škotskem in Walesu ipd. Kaj pa, če to niso primeri uspeha multikulturalizma, ampak nekaterih njegovih zagat? Ob navedenih primerih se postavlja vprašanje, kako zagotoviti egalitarnost onkraj nujnosti povezav z etničnim, monolitnim kulturnim in reificiranim različnim. Šele prevpraševanja na tej ravni lahko prinesejo nove izzive multikulturalizmu.

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VLOGA IZSELJENSKE/PRISELJENSKE KNJIŽEVNOSTI IN LITERARNE VEDE PRI RAZISKOVANJU MIGRACIJ

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IZVLEČEK

Vloga izseljenske/priseljenske književnosti in literarne vede pri raziskovanju migracij

Članek obravnava nekatera ključna vprašanja pri preučevanju književnosti migrantov v sklopu raziskovanja migracij. Avtorica uvodoma povzema zgodovino vključevanja književne produkcije migrantov kot raziskovalnega gradiva v okviru preučevanja migracij v Sloveniji in v mednarodnem merilu. Posebno pozornost posveča polemikam glede uporabe termina priseljenska/izseljenska književnost ter razlikam med disciplinarno (literarnovedno) in interdisciplinarno obravnavo književnosti migrantov. V nadaljevanju obravnava nekatere metodološke izzive na tem področju, dosedanje dosežke slovenske literarne zgodovine v okviru migracijskih študij, nesorazmerje med raziskanostjo slovenske izseljenske književnosti in književnosti priseljencev v Sloveniji ter vprašanje statusa izseljenske/priseljenske literarne produkcije v tujih jezikih.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: izseljenska/priseljenska književnost, migracijske študije, terminologija, tujejezična literatura, interdisciplinarni pristop

ABSTRACT

The Role of Emigrant/Immigrant Literature and Literary Science in Migration Research

The article discusses some key questions regarding the study of migrant literature in the context of migration research. In the introduction, the author outlines the history of the use of migrant literary production as a source in Slovenian and international migration studies. Particular attention is paid to various polemics concerning the use of the term emigrant/immigrant literature and to major differences between disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches to migrant literature. In the following sections, the article discusses some methodological challenges in this field, the achievements of Slovenian literary history in the framework of migration studies, the disproportion between the academic research into Slovenian emigrant literature compared to the literature of immigrants to Slovenia, and the question of the status of emigrant/immigrant literary production written in foreign languages.

KEY WORDS: emigrant/immigrant literature, migration studies, terminology, foreign-language literature, interdisciplinary approach

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UVOD

Vključevanje književne produkcije migrantov kot raziskovalnega gradiva v okviru interdisciplinarnega raziskovalnega področja migracijskih študij je bilo od začetka znanstvenega utemeljevanja tega področja do danes odvisno predvsem od tega, ali so v aktualnih teoretskih izhodiščih prevladovali kvantitativni ali kvalitativni dejavniki in merila, ter od tega, kateremu polu je bilo raziskovanje migracij v okviru določene metodološke usmeritve bliže: ekonomsko-družboslovnemu ali humanističnemu. Tako kot velja za druga večdisciplinarna raziskovalna področja, tudi za migracijske študije lahko ugotovimo, da so začele spodbujati prave interdisciplinarne raziskave šele z razvojem prvih lastnih interdisciplinarnih metodoloških modelov. Tako so se v drugi polovici šestdesetih let 20. stoletja, ko lahko že govorimo o začetkih znanstveno utemeljenih migracijskih študij kot samostojnega raziskovalnega področja, ukvarjali s teorijo migracij in z metodologijo raziskovanja migracij predvsem ekonomisti, sprva zlasti zagovorniki t. i. neoklasičnega pristopa in pristopa nove ekonomije. Z uveljavitvijo pojmovanja »človeškega kapitala« (Sjaastad 1962) pa se je začela razvijati tudi humanistična konceptualizacija migracij, ki izhaja iz predpostavke, da je treba migrante obravnavati tudi kot posameznike. Ta smer raziskovanja migracij se osredotoča na motive migrantov, opira pa se med drugim na njihove izkušnje in življenjske zgodbe (Gombač 2005: 17–21).

S tem so postale zanimive za interdisciplinarne raziskave migracij že tudi literarne vede z različnimi interpretativnimi tehnikami, vsekakor pa tudi ustna zgodovina s t. i. narativno metodo in zgodovino-pisje s preučevanjem izseljenske korespondence, biografij, avtobiografij in različne spominske literature o nastanku in organiziranosti ter delovanju migrantskih skupnosti in posameznikov. Ko je Wilbur Zelinsky (1971) v začetku sedemdesetih let razvil hipotezo o tranziciji mobilnosti, je v raziskavi združil ekonomski, demografski, geografski in sociološki vidik. Poznejše teorije migracij, zlasti teorija dvojnega trga delovne sile oziroma segmentiranosti trga delovne sile (Piore 1979) ter teorija svetovnih sistemov (Wallerstein 1999; Castles, Miller 1998), izhajajo iz Marxovega historično-strukturalističnega pristopa, predvsem njegove epistemologije in ekonomije. Te raziskovalne usmeritve so v precejšnji meri puščale ob strani motive in izkušnje posameznika ter posameznih skupin migrantov. Šele teorija kumulativne vzročnosti (Massey 1990) in teorija mrež (Boyd 1987) sta v preučevanje migracij znova vključili tudi posameznika (Gombač 2005: 27–30). Tako je vodilni literarni zgodovinar na področju migracijskih študij, multikulturalizma in integracije že leta 1987 objavil svoje referenčno delo *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture*, ki predstavlja eno prvih presečišč literarne vede, kulturologije in migracijskih študij in v katerem avtor med drugim komentira tudi dela najodmevnejšega slovenskega izseljenškega pisatelja Louisa Adamiča.

V tem preglednem prispevku želim umestiti proces vključevanja književne produkcije migrantov kot raziskovalnega gradiva v okviru interdisciplinarnega preučevanja migracij v Sloveniji v širši proces tovrstnega vključevanja, ki je sočasno potekal v mednarodnem merilu. Posebno pozornost bom posvetila polemikam glede uporabe termina priseljenska/izseljenska književnost ter razlikam med disciplinarno (literarnovedno) in interdisciplinarno obravnavo književnosti migrantov. V nadaljevanju se bom dotaknila nekaterih metodoloških izzivov na tem področju, dosedanjih dosežkov slovenske literarne zgodovine v okviru migracijskih študij, razkoraka med raziskanostjo književnosti slovenskih izseljencev in priseljencev v Slovenijo ter vprašanja statusa izseljenske/priseljenske literarne produkcije v tujih jezikih. Osrednji namen tega preglednega članka je izpostaviti pomen interdisciplinarnega raziskovanja književnosti v kontekstu migracijskih študij.

POLEMIČNOST TERMINA IZSELJENSKA/PRISELJENSKA KNJIŽEVNOST

Izraz izseljenska/priseljenska književnost¹ se je tudi v globalnem merilu uveljavil za označevanje posebnega tipa književnosti tako v akademski kot najširši rabi: v nacionalnih in lokalnih knjižnicah (seznamih knjig v tej kategoriji, posebni knjižnični oddelki), klasifikacijah v katalogih založb, v raziskovalnih projektih in univerzitetnih študijskih programih. Izseljenski pisatelji pa pogosto odklanjajo to oznako. Ali ima književnost izseljenskih/priseljenskih avtorjev – oziroma vsaj del te književnosti – z vidika literarno-estetskih meril in družbene vloge res dovolj unikatno specifično, da je raba izraza izseljenska/priseljenska književnost upravičena? Živahna diskusija o tem se v zadnjem času seli iz tradicionalnih priseljenskih dežel v nove države sprejema, s svojimi argumenti za in proti rabi tega termina pa kliče po bolj poglobljeni obravnavi.

Dejstvo, da književnosti priseljencev v ZDA do sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja niso upoštevali kot del glavnega toka ameriške književnosti, omenja William Boelhower (1982: 8). To velja tudi za večino drugih držav množičnega priseljavanja, za nekatere pa to lahko rečemo še danes. V ZDA danes velja priseljenska književnost za zelo pomemben sestavni del ameriške književnosti, ki pa jo še vedno obravnavajo ločeno od preostale ameriške književnosti (npr. Boelhower 1982; Li 1998; Mendoza in Shankar 2003; Nelson 2005; Cowart 2006; Hassan 2011; Kanellos 2012). Tudi v Sloveniji je bila književnost izseljencev obravnavana ločeno od preostale slovenske književnosti (npr. Pogačnik 1972; Žitnik, Glušič 1999). Celo takrat, ko jo literarna zgodovina obravnava v okviru splošnih pregledov slovenske književnosti, jo največkrat predstavlja v ločenih poglavjih (npr. Pogačnik, Zadravec 1973; Pogačnik idr. 2001). Isto velja za obravnavo književnosti priseljenskih avtorjev v Sloveniji (npr. Mugerli 2005; Dimkovska 2005; Žitnik Serafin 2012). Odprto ostaja vprašanje, zakaj je kljub občasni diskusiji slovenskih literarnih zgodovinarjev o potrebi po integrirani obravnavi teh avtorjev večinoma še vedno tako.²

So državne meje, ki ločujejo izseljenske pisatelje od rojstne dežele, dovolj tehten vzrok za njihovo ločeno literarno obravnavo? In na drugi strani – je tudi drugačna materinščina priseljenskih avtorjev, ki iščejo svoje mesto ter poti do priznanja in sprejetosti v kulturi nove domovine, dovolj tehten vzrok za njihovo ločeno literarno obravnavo? Ali pa je morda predvsem literarno-estetska (zlasti tematsko-motivna in deloma tudi slogovna) specifičnost izseljenske/priseljenske književne produkcije dovolj prepričljiva, da lahko vsaj pogojno utemeljuje ločeno obravnavo teh avtorjev? Ali ločena obravnavo zavira enakopravno integracijo izseljenskih in priseljenskih avtorjev v literarni sistem izvorne kulture in družbe sprejema? In končno: ali je njihova enakopravna integracija v določen literarni sistem sploh mogoča tudi v primeru, ko so njihova dela napisana v drugih jezikih?

Nekateri literarni zgodovinarji (npr. Jurak 1983, 1988; Petrič 1995; Avsenik Nabergoj 2005; Dimko-

1 V nekaterih deželah, npr. Združenih državah, je pridevnik priseljenski v tej vezi bolj običajen kot izseljenski. Pa vendar le redki avtorji, med njimi denimo Boelhower 1982, Cowart 2006, Kanellos 2012, Mendoza in Shankar 2003, uporabljajo v naslovih svojih del besedne zveze priseljenska književnost, priseljenska avtobiografija in podobno. Na splošno se v ZDA največkrat uporablja pridevnik etničen (etnična književnost, etnični tisk ...), pojem priseljenska književnost ima tam ožji pomen, medtem ko pojem izseljenska književnost v tradicionalnih deželah priseljavanja skorajda ne obstaja, kar je razumljivo. V Sloveniji in mnogih drugih deželah (nekdanjega) množičnega izseljavanja je ravno obratno. Za Slovenijo lahko rečemo, da je bilo o t. i. priseljenski književnosti (književni produkciji priseljenskih avtorjev v tej deželi) komaj kaj napisanega, medtem ko lahko o slovenski izseljenski literaturi preberemo celo množico znanstvenih del.

2 Ta diskusija se je prvič razvila v razpravi, ki je sledila prispevku o slovenskem izseljenskem pesniku, pisatelju in dramatik Levu Deteli in nekaterih značilnostih sodobne književnosti izseljencev na simpoziju Obdobja leta 2010 (Žitnik Serafin 2010b), nato pa znova v diskusijah simpozija Obdobja v letih 2011 in 2012. Ker udeleženci teh razprav niso dosegli soglasja, bo tudi v splošnem pregledu *Slovenska književnost 20. stoletja*, ki je v ruskem prevodu in pod uredništvom Nadežde Starikove pravkar v pripravi za tisk pri založbi INDRIK, izseljenska književnost predstavljena v posebnem poglavju.

vska 2005; Žitnik Serafin 2012) ugotavljajo, da so za opazen delež literarnih del izseljenskih/priseljenskih avtorjev izrazito značilne – poleg njihove kulturno-identitetne specifičnosti – tudi nekatere tipično izseljenske teme, kot so vprašanje pripadnosti, domotožje, hrepenenje (Avsenik Nabergoj 2005), izkoreninjenost, osamljenost, razdvojenost, posebnosti medgeneracijskega prepada v izseljenstvu (Žitnik Serafin 2010a), širše vprašanje identitete (Dimkovska 2005) ipd. Opažajo tudi večjo kulturno odprtost zlasti dvojezičnih izseljenskih pisateljev, njihov občutek domačnosti in suverenosti v dveh kulturah in njihovo samoumevno sprejemanje kulturne raznolikosti. V manjši meri se v študijah omenjajo tudi slogovne posebnosti, npr. specifična metaforika, posebni simbolni pomeni naravnih elementov, kot so reka, morje, nebo (Žitnik Serafin 2010b), drevo (Avsenik Nabergoj 2005) ipd., ki v izseljenskih situacijah dobijo nove razsežnosti. Prav tako besede, kot so *dom, doma, domov, od doma*, dobijo v izseljenstvu izrazito dvojni pomen. Podobno je z besedo tujina. Ta ima pri matičnih pisateljih povsem nedvoumen pomen, pri izseljenskih pa vse prepogosto pomeni kraj, kjer živijo že desetletja.

Vse tri skupine specifičnih značilnosti – kulturno-identitetne, tematske in slogovne – izhajajo iz posebnega družbeno-kulturnega položaja avtorjev, tj. iz njihove priseljenske oziroma manjšinske situacije. Ta pa med drugim vključuje njihov jezikovni položaj, ki se odraža tudi v njihovih publikacijskih možnostih in tesneje zamejeni ciljni publiki. In vendar mnenja literarnih zgodovinarjev o tem, ali tematsko-slogovna specifična književna produkcija migrantov upravičuje rabo terminov izseljensko/priseljensko slovnstvo oziroma književnost, ostajajo deljena. Termin se pojavlja kot geslo v različnih enciklopedijah, med drugim v *The Encyclopedia of the Great Plains* (Wishart 2011) in *Enciklopediji Slovenije*. Vzporedno s tem se pojavljajo tudi besedne zveze izseljenska/priseljenska poezija, lirika, epika, proza, dramatika ipd., ki se v literarni zgodovini pogosto uporabljajo, vendar jih imajo nekateri raziskovalci, literarni kritiki in sami priseljenski pisatelji (npr. Jin 2013; Caplan-Bricker 2013; Stanišić 2008) za sporne. To odpira nadaljnja vprašanja, med drugim:

- 1) Ali ima tematsko-slogovna specifičnost literarnih del izseljenskih in priseljenskih avtorjev tudi povratni učinek na specifični družbeno-kulturni položaj teh avtorjev in ni le njegov odraz? Nekateri raziskovalci (npr. Dimkovska 2005) namreč ugotavljajo, da so tipično izseljenske/priseljenske teme (še zlasti domotožje) pa z njimi povezana metaforika itd. manj zanimive za večinsko bralstvo kot pa za bralce, ki se lahko poistovetijo z njimi. Posamezni primeri izjemno uspešnih del, ki obravnavajo to tematiko, pa postavljajo to pravilo recepcije (Grosman 2004) pod vprašaj.
- 2) Če predpostavljamo, da je vsaka izseljenska/priseljenska književnost dvonacionalna (Stanonik 1999: 17), kakšna je in kakšna naj bi bila vloga države in osrednjih literarnih oziroma kulturnih institucij pri prizadevanjih za lažjo uveljavitev in kanonizacijo književne produkcije priseljenskih avtorjev v državi sprejema in izseljenskih avtorjev v izvorni deželi izselitve?
- 3) Ali bi prevajanje, uveljavitev in kanonizacija književne produkcije priseljenskih avtorjev v državi sprejema (tudi kot simbolno dejanje) lahko prispevali k razvijanju medkulturne zavesti na nacionalni ravni in posledično h krepitvi večkulturne nacionalne identitete, ki je prvi pogoj za varno in stabilno družbo v vsaki državi?

Ta vprašanja kajpak presegajo okvir pričujočega prispevka. Omenjam jih zato, ker na zgovoren način zrcalijo pomen priseljenske književnosti (in njenega položaja) za obravnavo različnih vidikov še vedno prepogoste jezikovne, kulturne in socialno-ekonomske marginaliziranosti migrantov, vprašanj torej, s kakršnimi se ukvarjajo domala vse znanstvene discipline znotraj migracijskih in etničnih študij. Večdisciplinarno raziskovanje književnosti izseljenskih/priseljenskih avtorjev torej ni pomembno v okviru migracijskih in etničnih študij le kot preučevanje dodatnih virov (zgodovinskih, etnoloških ipd.), ki vsebujejo faktografske podatke o migracijah in življenju migrantov, temveč tudi kot eden od pristopov k osvetljevanju vzrokov in posledic položaja migrantov ter različnih (jezikovnih, kulturnih, socialno-ekonomskih) vidikov preteklih in sedanjih integracijskih politik.

RAZVOJ INTERDISCIPLINARNIH MIGRACIJSKIH ŠTUDIJ V SLOVENIJI IN VKLJUČITEV NOVE PRIMERJALNE DIMENZIJE

Začetek sistematičnega preučevanja zgodovine slovenskega izseljenstva sega v šestdeseta leta 20. stoletja, začetek koordiniranega interdisciplinarnega raziskovanja migracij pa v osemdeseta leta. Tedaj sta v Sloveniji poleg številnih manjših raziskav³ potekala tudi dva večja interdisciplinarna raziskovalna programa oziroma projekta na tem področju, in sicer na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani in v Znanstvenoraziskovalnem centru Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti (SAZU). Na SAZU je prišlo do ustanovitve posebnega inštituta za raziskovanje izseljenskih vprašanj prav na pobudo literarnih zgodovinarjev, poleg tega pa je bil literarni zgodovinar tudi njegov prvi predstojnik. Raziskovalna skupina tega inštituta danes pokriva večino humanističnih in družboslovnih vidikov raziskovanja migracij, saj njeni člani zastopajo skoraj vse najpomembnejše znanstvene discipline v okviru migracijskih študij.

Tudi pri Znanstvenem inštitutu Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani so že leta 1979 začeli izvajati interdisciplinarni raziskovalni projekt *Slovensko izseljenstvo in kultura*. Vanj so se vključili geografi, umetnostni zgodovinarji, muzikologi in etnologi (Slavec 1990: 309), predvsem pa tudi literarni zgodovinarji, največ iz vrst anglistov in amerikanistov. Projekt je dal mnogo rezultatov, ki pa še vedno predstavljajo disciplinarno znanstvene objave. Kljub temu so večinoma zelo uporabni kot vir pri današnjem interdisciplinarnem raziskovanju slovenskega izseljenstva, kar še zlasti velja za rezultate etnoloških raziskav slovenskega izseljenstva (npr. Bogovič, Canjko 1983; Slavec 1982; Sulič 1983). Danes se v Sloveniji ukvarja z raziskovanjem migracij mnogo več raziskovalnih skupin kot v osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, ko je bilo znanstveno raziskovanje slovenskega izseljenstva na začetku naglega vzpona, priseljenstvo v Slovenijo pa tedaj še ni bilo predmet obsežnejših raziskav.

V državah nekdanjega množičnega izseljevanja in sodobnega množičnega priseljevanja so poleg arhivov, muzejev in raziskovalnih ustanov, posvečenih izseljencem, začeli ustanavljati vse več raziskovalnih institucij, ki se ukvarjajo z novimi priseljenci v te države. Tako so denimo na Švedskem poleg inštitutov za raziskovanje švedskega izseljenstva, kot sta Sverige Amerika Centret (Švedski ameriški center, ustanovljen 1960), ki vključuje tudi izseljenski arhiv, in Svenska Emigrantinstitutet (Švedski izseljenski inštitut, ustanovljen 1965), ki vključuje arhiv, knjižnico, muzej in raziskovalni center, v sedemdesetih letih ustanovili celo vrsto organizacij in ustanov za priseljenška vprašanja, med drugim Immigrant Institutet (Priseljenski inštitut, ustanovljen 1973). V Sloveniji, ki prav tako sodi med države nekdanjega množičnega izseljevanja (zlasti ob koncu 19. in začetku 20. stoletja) in množičnega sodobnega priseljevanja (zlasti do konca sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja), še nimamo raziskovalnega inštituta, ki bi se posvečal izključno vprašanjem priseljenstva v to deželo. Tako danes izvajajo raziskovalne programe in projekte s tega področja inštituti, ki so se doslej ukvarjali s sorodno tematiko, predvsem izseljensko in manjšinsko. Za vse te inštitute je značilna izrazito večdisciplinarna kadrovska sestava, ki omogoča tudi samostojno izvajanje interdisciplinarnih projektov in programov.

Do podobnega prehoda od raziskovanja izključno izseljenske tematike k bolj inkluzivnemu raziskovanju migracij nasploh je v istem času kot v Sloveniji prišlo tudi v številnih drugih dotlej le »izseljenskih« raziskovalnih ustanovah, muzejih in arhivih po Evropi. Prav ta prehod pa je izredno pomemben za razvoj nove primerjalne dimenzije v okviru migracijskih študij, ne le znotraj drugih ved, ampak tudi znotraj literarnovednega raziskovanja na tem področju. Slovenija in druge evropske države imajo namreč kot dežele množičnega izseljevanja v preteklih obdobjih in hkrati kot dežele obsežnega priseljevanja v no-

3 Ena takšnih je sociolingvistična raziskava jezika slovenskih Američanov, ki jo je v drugi polovici osemdesetih in začetku devetdesetih let opravila Nada Šabec (1995) in ki velja za pionirsko delo slovenske sociolingvistike na tem področju.

vejšem času zelo dobro priložnost za dvostranski vpogled v vprašanja prevajanja, integracije in kanonizacije priseljskih pisateljev in njihovih del, saj njihov vpogled lahko vključuje oba nasprotna zorna kota. Na ta način lahko bolj nepristransko ocenjujejo uspehe in poraze pri poskusih enakopravne uveljavitve njihovih izseljskih pisateljev v drugih državah sprejema in jih primerjajo z uspehi in s porazi pri poskusih enakopravne uveljavitve drugih priseljskih pisateljev v lastni državi.

KNJIŽEVNOST V KONTEKSTU MEDDISCIPLINARNEGA RAZISKOVANJA MIGRACIJ

Na večdisciplinarnem raziskovalnem področju migracijskih študij so v mednarodnih akademskih krogih najmočneje zastopane znanstvene discipline sociologija, ekonomija, demografija in statistika, od humanističnih ved pa geografija, zgodovinske, rodoslovje, etnologija, kulturna antropologija in sociolingvistika, vse bolj pa tudi muzeologija in arhivistika. Posamezne mednarodne predstavitve interdisciplinarnih rezultatov vključujejo tudi literarnozgodovinske raziskave (Storhaug 2006), muzikološke (Hemetek 2004), umetnostnozgodovinske (Lambkin 2007) in druge humanistične raziskave. Največ literarnozgodovinskih raziskav s področja izseljskega leposlovja se posveča ruski, poljski, češki, ukrajinski, slovenski, škotski in libanonski izseljski književnosti ter emigrantski književnosti baltskih in azijskih narodov, zelo malo pa je posebej za to področje prilagojenih teoretskih, metodoloških in primerjalnih študij, ki bi zajele izseljske literature različnih narodov in njihov pomen za interdisciplinarno raziskovanje izseljenstva.

Interdisciplinarno raziskovanje izseljske književnosti so omogočile predvsem nekatere interdisciplinarno usmerjene literarne teorije in metodologije, med njimi npr. polisistemska (Even Zohar 1990; 1997). Even-Zoharjev koncept polisistema namreč omogoča in zahteva bolj enakopravno vključitev objektov, ki so bili prej spregledani ali odrinjeni na rob pozornosti. Na področju književnosti spodbuja npr. bolj enakopravno vključitev otroške, trivialne in prevodne literature, v našem primeru pa stopi v ospredje potreba po enakovredni funkcionalni vključitvi književne produkcije izseljencev/priseljencev, ki ima zaradi nekaterih specifičnih značilnosti pogosto obrobno položaj ali pa se lahko znajde celo zunaj vsakega literarnega sistema in kritične obravnave.

Slovenija danes sodi med države, v katerih je obseg tistega raziskovanja izseljske književnosti, ki poteka v okviru disciplinarnih literarnovednih raziskav,⁴ bolj ali manj uravnotežen z obsegom kompleksnejšega raziskovanja izseljske književnosti, ki poteka v sklopu različnih večdisciplinarnih in interdisciplinarnih raziskav. Med zaključene disciplinarne raziskave na tem področju sodijo – poleg dveh večjih projektov⁵ – npr. raziskava Jožeta Pogačnika ob koncu šestdesetih in v začetku sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja, ki jo je objavil v knjižici *Slovensko zamejsko in zdomsko slovstvo* (Pogačnik 1972), ter nekatere njegove poznejše študije. Sem sodi še cela vrsta raziskav sodelavcev Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani od konca sedemdesetih let ter različne samostojne študije posameznih literarnih zgodovinarjev, med njimi

4 Meja med literarnovedno (disciplinarno) in interdisciplinarno obravnavo izseljske/priseljske književnosti je še vedno pomanjkljivo definirana. Značilen primer prve je npr. študija Irene Avsenik Nabergoj (2005), čeprav tudi ta deloma posega na polje psihologije in študij spola. Med značilnimi primeri druge pa so – poleg nekaterih slovenskih študij, ki so rezultat interdisciplinarnih raziskovalnih projektov – npr. odmevno Sollorsovo delo *Beyond Ethnicity* (Sollors 1986) ter dela Leonida Livaka (2003), Lise Ryoko Wakamiya (2009) in Davida Cowarta (2006).

5 Gre za temeljna raziskovalna projekta *Slovenska izseljska književnost* (1993–1996) in *Vrhovi slovenskega emigrantskega slovstva* (1997–1999), katerih rezultat je literarnozgodovinski pregled književne produkcije slovenskih izseljencev v treh zvezkih (Žitnik, Glušič 1999).

Tarasa Kermaunerja, Franceta Pibernika in Denisa Poniža.⁶ Mnogo manj je doslej objavljenih rezultatov disciplinarno zasnovanih raziskav literarne produkcije priseljencev v Sloveniji.

Na drugi strani pa so največkrat interdisciplinarno zasnovane tiste raziskave izseljenske in priseljenske književnosti, ki so tesno vpete v raziskovanje širše migracijske problematike.⁷ Sem sodijo tudi nekatere magistrske in doktorske raziskave mladih raziskovalcev na področju izseljenske in priseljenske književnosti, ki so sestavni del interdisciplinarnih raziskovalnih projektov ali programov in pri katerih lahko nastopajo kot mentorji in člani komisij predstavniki različnih znanstvenih disciplin. Vloga literarnih ved znotraj teh projektov variira od osrednje do nekoliko obrobnejše, književna produkcija migrantov pa v vseh teh projektih predstavlja pomemben del raziskovalnega gradiva.

IZSELJENSKA/PRISELJENSKA LITERARNA PRODUKCIJA V TUJIH JEZIKIH: VKLJUČEVANJE ALI MARGINALIZACIJA?

Z interdisciplinarnim pristopom k raziskovanju izseljenske/priseljenske književnosti je imela slovenska literarna zgodovina odločilni vpliv pri nekaterih pomembnih odločitvah kulturnega resorja slovenske vlade ter civilnih literarnih institucij in kulturnih organizacij. Javna opozorila slovenskih literarnih zgodovinarjev na ignoriranje izseljenskih in priseljenskih pisateljev v učbenikih slovenskega jezika in književnosti ter še posebej na zapostavljenost tujejezične književne produkcije slovenskih izseljencev in priseljencev v Sloveniji v osrednjih slovenskih literarnih revijah in založbah, pri podeljevanju pisateljskih štipendij, promociji njihovih del na osrednjih literarnih srečanjih in festivalih ipd. so obrodila zelo konkretne sadove. Od začetka prejšnjega desetletja so v nekatere potrjene učbenike slovenskega jezika in književnosti ter druga učna gradiva zdaj vključeni tudi slovenski izseljenski pisatelji. Poleg tega je bila v sodelovanju slovenske literarne vede z organizacijskim odborom Vilenice, največjega mednarodnega literarnega festivala v Sloveniji – poleg že tradicionalne vključitve književne produkcije slovenske manjšine v sosednjih državah – v program festivala naposled vključena tudi literarna ustvarjalnost slovenskih izseljencev v drugih evropskih državah in Argentini ter priseljencev v Sloveniji. Ob tem pa so se znova odprle polemike glede vključevanja tujejezične književne produkcije slovenskih izseljencev in priseljencev v Sloveniji v nacionalni literarni sistem.

Temeljni pregledi zgodovine slovenske književnosti običajno vključujejo tudi v tujih jezikih napisana leposlovna dela tistih avtorjev, ki so glavino svojega literarnega opusa vendarle ustvarili v slovenskem jeziku. Manj dorečeni pa so kriteriji vključevanja literarnih opusov tistih izseljenskih piscev, ki so ustvarjali oziroma ustvarjajo izključno v tujih jezikih, vendar njihovo delo v pretežni meri izhaja iz slovenske kulture, slovenskih literarnih tradicij, narodno pogojenih ustvarjalnih pobud, slogovnih, tematskih in motivnih asociacij s preteklo in sodobno slovensko kulturo. Dejstvo, da je najuspešnejši slovenski izseljenski pisatelj Louis Adamič, ki je pisal samo v angleškem jeziku, kot nekakšen poseben fenomen kar samoumevno uvrščen v leksikografske in praktično vse pomembnejše literarnozgodovine-

6 Med pravkar potekajočimi disciplinarno zasnovanimi raziskavami izseljenske književnosti je npr. doktorska raziskava o slovenski izseljenski kratki prozi v Argentini po drugi svetovni vojni, ki jo je kandidatka prijavila na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani, čeprav – kot piše v odločbi dekana – poteka znotraj »interdisciplinarnega doktorskega študijskega programa Humanistika in družboslovje, področje: slovenistika«. To seveda nikakor ni v nasprotju z interdisciplinarno naravo študijskega programa, ki sicer omogoča interdisciplinarnost individualnih študijskih programov, vendar je ne zahteva. Na drugi strani pa je v okviru doktorskega študija na Univerzi v Novi Gorici v pripravi tudi bolj meddisciplinarno zasnovana disertacija s področja literarne vede in migracij.

7 Npr. *Položaj kulturno-umetniške dejavnosti slovenskih izseljencev in njeno mesto v sodobni slovenski kulturi* (CRP, 1999–2000), *Stanje in perspektive slovenskega povratništva* (temeljni projekt, 2000–2002), *Literarna in kulturna podoba priseljencev v Sloveniji* (aplikativni projekt, 2004–2007), *Ustvarjanje spomina in ohranjanje kulturne identitete med slovenskimi izseljenci in njihovimi potomci* (aplikativni projekt, 2009–2012).

ske preglede slovenske književnosti, drugi tujejezični pisatelji, katerih delo je prav tako utemeljeno v slovenski kulturi, pa ne (z nekaj bolj ali manj slučajnimi izjemami v posameznem pregledu), samo še dodatno potrjuje nedefiniranost pojma slovenska književnost. Helga Glušič (1999: 357) se tega zaveda: »Ob vprašanju jezika izseljenske književnosti je za raziskovalce književnosti zanimivo širše vprašanje vključevanja književnosti, ki jo izseljenski pisatelji slovenskega rodu pišejo v neslovenskem jeziku, v okvir slovenske nacionalne kulture.«

Za izseljenske pisatelje prinaša kvalitetna literarna dvojezičnost, ki je sicer praviloma privilegij izobražencev, še najzanesljivejšo možnost za prodor do različnih ciljnih publik, čeprav prinaša tudi določene težave. Izrazito dvojezični slovenski izseljenski pisatelji so v jeziku nove domovine zaradi slabših osebnih povezav z založniki običajno težje objavljali kot tamkajšnji matični pisatelji. S svojo priseljensko skupnostjo in njenimi mediji pa se večinoma niso povezovali, kar bi sicer lahko olajšalo njihovo pot do objav v materinščini. Njihov literarni prodor je bil odvisen predvsem od njihove podjetnosti, samopromocije in lobiranja v dominantnih založniških krogih v stari in novi domovini. Novejši avtorji slovenskega rodu so se začeli vključevati tudi v tujejezične pisateljske in kulturne organizacije in društva. Določeno število kakovostnih izseljenskih piscev, ki so pisali samo v materinščini – zlasti tistih, ki so ustvarjali v prvih desetletjih po drugi svetovni vojni – pa je vse do njihove smrti in še pozneje ostajalo dostopnih le pripadnikom njihovega lastnega matičnega naroda oziroma jezika. Ker večina evropskih držav v tem času še ni priznavala integracijskih načel o medkulturni prehodnosti na nacionalni ravni, ki vključujejo tudi gmotno spodbujanje prevajanja in objavljanja manjšinske oziroma priseljenske literature, je bil literarni prispevek povojnih slovenskih zdomskih avtorjev v njihovih novih evropskih domovinah marginaliziran. Njihovo literarno delo v materinščini predstavlja značilen in zanimiv, čeprav izoliran, neintegriran tujek v njihovi novi domovini, ki jih je sprejela v svoj gospodarski, pravni in politični sistem, ne pa tudi v svojo kulturo.

V zelo podobnem položaju so bili še do nedavnega tudi priseljenski pisatelji v Sloveniji, saj njihovega literarnega dela, napisanega v njihovih materinščinah, slovenski bralci niso imeli priložnosti spoznati (Dimkowska 2005). Nekaj njihovih krajših del je sicer izšlo v literarni reviji *Paralele* (Dimkowska 2006), medtem ko so prevodi njihovih knjižnih izdaj bolj izjema kot pravilo (Mugerli 2005). Leto 2010 pa je vendarle prineslo opazen zasuk v odnosu slovenske literarne institucije do priseljenskih avtorjev. Tako je v statutu Društva slovenskih pisateljev še pred kratkim pisalo: »Član društva lahko postane vsak slovenski pisatelj, pesnik, prozaist, dramatik, esejist, ki piše v slovenščini.« Z novim Temeljnim aktom Društva slovenskih pisateljev, ki so ga člani sprejeli na občnem zboru 29. aprila 2010, pa je ta pogoj mnogo bolj odprt:

Član društva lahko postane vsak slovenski pisatelj (pesnik, prozaist, dramatik, esejist), ki piše v slovenščini ali tudi v kakšnem drugem jeziku, ali državljan Republike Slovenije oziroma pisatelj s pravico bivanja v Sloveniji, ki ni Slovenec po narodnosti, vendar piše v slovenskem *ali v svojem maternem jeziku*. Člani društva so lahko tudi slovenski pisatelji, ki ne živijo na območju Republike Slovenije, ne glede na državljanstvo, pod enakimi pogoji (Temeljni akt DSP 2010: 3; poudarila avtorica).

Sprejetje te spremembe pa je imelo izrazito dvojen odziv. Prevajalec, urednik, esejist in literarni kritik Aleš Berger je v članku Društvo vseh jezikov (Berger 2011) »kritično zavrnil ekumenska pravila in se zavzel za vrnitev v prejšnje stanje, ko je društvo še bilo društvo enega jezika« (Johnson Debeljak 2012). Erica Johnson Debeljak v nadaljevanju piše:

... zame je Društvo slovenskih pisateljev storilo nekaj absolutno izjemnega. S to radodarno gesto, ko me je sprejelo za članico navzlic jeziku, v katerem pišem, je pokazalo, da nastopa z mesta, ki ni mesto šibkosti in podrejenosti, ampak mesto moči in varnosti. Pokazalo je, da niti sebe niti slovenskega jezika ne vidi na robu eksistenčnega brezna. Pokazalo je, da se ne boji raznolikosti in odprtosti.

Tudi sama sem prepričana, da lahko omenjeno dopolnilo Temeljnega akta Društva slovenskih pisateljev vsaj nekoliko okrepi pozitivne procese v slovenski kulturi, ki je očitno še vedno v prehodnem obdobju oblikovanja medkulturne zavesti in večkulturne nacionalne identitete njenih pripadnikov. Morda bodo književniki, ki so se priselili v Slovenijo iz drugih držav, s članstvom v različnih, vsekakor tudi slovenskih kulturnih organizacijah in literarnih društvih, dobili tudi kake konkretne nove priložnosti za širšo uveljavitev v kulturi nove domovine.

Ekskluzivno upoštevanje jezika literarnega ustvarjanja kot odločilnega dejavnika pri tolmačenju pojmov, kot sta slovenski pisatelj/slovenska pisateljica in slovenska književnost, je kajpak povsem razumljivo. Celo Marijan Dović, ki sicer kaže izrazito odprtost do interdisciplinarne obravnave in večkulturnega razumevanja t. i. »nacionalne književnosti« (Dović 2009), je skeptičen do vključevanja tujejezičnih del slovenskih izseljenskih pisateljev in priseljenskih avtorjev v Sloveniji v korpus slovenske književnosti v širšem pomenu besede (Dović 2010). Z vidika inkluzivnosti in preprečevanja marginalizacije tujejezičnih izseljenskih/priseljenskih piscev je Društvo slovenskih pisateljev naredilo korak dlje od (verjetno glavne) slovenskih literarnih zgodovinarjev in teoretikov, pri čemer se slednji ob svojih pomislekih ravno tako opirajo na dovolj trdne argumente. Vprašanje torej ostaja eno tistih, o katerih si bomo, upam, še naprej dopuščali različne poglede.

SKLEP

Raziskovanje migracij v okviru raziskovalnih skupin s pestro zasedbo različnih znanstvenih disciplin je v zadnjih dvajsetih letih v Sloveniji zaključilo prehod od večdisciplinarnega k interdisciplinarnemu pristopu. To med drugim potrjuje tudi akreditacija novih interdisciplinarnih študijskih programov na tem področju.⁸ O metodoloških izzivih interdisciplinarnega raziskovanja migracij sem prvič pisala pred skoraj četrt stoletja (Žitnik 1990). V svojem tedanjem razmišljanju ugotavljam, da so bili raziskovalni programi v Sloveniji v prvih letih bolj večdisciplinarni kot interdisciplinarni in da so dovoljevali »bolj ali manj naključno združevanje posameznih raziskav brez problemske povezave in brez pravega interdisciplinarnega pristopa, ki je sicer do neke mere bil prisoten pri vsaki posamezni raziskavi, ne pa tudi pri celotnem programu« (prav tam: 170).

Migracijske študije so v Sloveniji od tedaj prehodile dolgo pot. Danes so mnogi nacionalni raziskovalni in pedagoški projekti in programi interdisciplinarni v pravem pomenu besede, saj njihovi rezultati ne predstavljajo več multidisciplinarnega mozaika rahlo med seboj povezanih sestavnih delov, temveč metodološko enovito celoto. Skoraj brezupno oviro pri prijavljanju tistih projektov Inštituta, ki so pretežno literarno usmerjeni, na nacionalne projektne razpise v Sloveniji pa po moji izkušnji v zadnjih letih predstavlja evalvacijski sistem, ki nima pravega posluha za tovrstne interdisciplinarne projekte. Če so taki projekti prijavljeni na področju literarnih ved, jih ocenjevalci kar odkrito zavrnejo zaradi njihove »preširoke« interdisciplinarnosti. Če so prijavljeni na področju narodnega vprašanja, ki je podpodročje družboslovja, jih ocenjevalci zavrnejo, ker so preveč literarnovedno usmerjeni. In če je bila prijava odana na področju interdisciplinarnih raziskav, sem imela vtis, da jo obravnavajo tako, kot da bi tja zašla le pomotoma. In vendar je slovenska literarna zgodovina v okviru disciplinarnih, večdisciplinarnih in interdisciplinarnih projektov v zadnjih dveh desetletjih 20. stoletja opravila celovito in kompleksno raziskavo slovenske izseljenske književnosti, ki se lahko primerja npr. z rezultati ruske literarne zgodovine na področju raziskovanja ruske izseljenske književnosti. Rezultate tovrstnih slovenskih raziskav danes uporabljajo vse znanstvene vede s področja migracijskih študij, o njihovi odmevnosti znotraj in zunaj nacionalnega prostora pa priča tudi njihova široka domača in mednarodna citiranost.

Kljub temu pa je treba priznati, da je bilo sorazmerno malo slovenskih raziskav posvečenih vprašanju tematske, slogovne in družbeno-kulturne specifičnosti književne produkcije slovenskih izseljenskih

⁸ Npr. program »Slovenistika II. stopnja« na Fakulteti za humanistiko Univerze v Novi Gorici.

pisatelj in priseljenskih pisatelj v Sloveniji. Nekaj parcialnih študij na to temo, ki bodo vsekakor dobro izhodišče za nadaljnje raziskave, so med drugim prispevali Jurak (1983, 1988), Petrič (1995), Lenček (1992), Dumas Rodica (1997), Štuhec (1998), Avsenik Nabergoj (2005) in Žitnik Serafin (2010a, 2010b). Seveda pa se vse omenjene študije omejujejo na posameznega avtorja, geografsko območje, literarno vrsto ali posamezno tipično izseljensko temo, kot so domotožje, hrepenenje, posebnosti medgeneracijskega prepada v izseljenstvu, kot se odraža v književnosti, ipd. Celovitejša obravnava vprašanj, kot so specifičnost književne produkcije migrantov, pomen te produkcije za kompleksnejše preučevanje migracij in utemeljenost same uporabe besedne zveze priseljenska/izseljenska književnost, pa je naloga, ki jo bo vsekakor treba uresničiti v bližnji prihodnosti.

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ZLATA PRAGA ZOFKE KVEDER

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IZVLEČEK

Zlata Praga Zofke Kveder

Članek se osredotoča na premalo raziskano praško obdobje pisateljice Zofke Kveder in njeno literarno upodabljanje velemestne Prage. Topološka analiza je motivirana s študijami, ki se lotevajo raziskovanja literarne kategorije prostora in literarnega upodabljanja mesta. Horizontalno topološko usmerjeno raziskovanje je umeščeno v širši kontekst in se z raziskovanim predmetom ukvarja tudi v razmerju do t. i. praškega teksta, pri čemer poudarek ostane na literarnozgodovinskem obdobju moderne. Za analizo podobe tujega mesta s perspektive tja priseljene slovenske pisateljice so bila pomembna tako avtoričina fikcijska kot nefikcijska prozna besedila. Iz pisateljinih kratke proze, romanov in časopisnih sestavkov o češki prestolnici se izriše podoba »zlate Prage«, zgodovinskega mesta z značilno panoramo. KLJUČNE BESEDE: praško obdobje Zofke Kveder, podoba Prage, literarni prostor, mesto v literaturi

ABSTRACT

The Golden Prague of Zofka Kveder

The article focuses on the previously insufficiently researched Prague period of the writer Zofka Kveder and her literary depiction of the great city of Prague. The topological analysis is motivated by studies examining the literary category of space and literary depiction of the city. The horizontal topological research is placed into a broader context which also tackles the research subject vis-à-vis the so-called Prague Text, while the focus remains on the Modernist literary period. The analysis of the image of a foreign city through the perspective of an immigrant Slovene writer includes the author's fiction as well as non-fiction prose. Through the writer's short prose, novel, and newspaper articles about the Czech capital emerges an image of the "Golden Prague" – the historic city with its distinctive skyline.

KEYWORDS: Zofka Kveder's Prague period, image of Prague, literary space, the city in literature

UVOD

Praško obdobje Zofke Kveder je premalo raziskano in poznano; doslej je njeno življenje v Pragi najizčrpejše raziskala Božena Orožen (1978: 220–32), o pisateljinih praških letih je v monografiji o Zofki Kveder in podobah ženskosti pisala tudi Katja Mihurko Poniž (2003: 175–186). To obdobje bom poskušala predstaviti predvsem iz zornega kota avtoričinih literarnih in neliterarnih zapisov o mestu, tudi s

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posebnim poudarkom na literarnozgodovinskem kartografranju praškega prostora, ki je zaznamoval notranji intimni prostor mlade slovenske priseljenke.

Pristopanje h kategoriji prostora v literaturi je, kot je v pregledni študiji pokazal Stawiński (2002: 116–129), mogoče iz različnih perspektiv; prav literarne upodobitve mesta se kažejo kot zanimiv predmet proučevanja (Hrbata 2005; Derdowska 2011). Fiziognomija mestnega okolja se je v zgodovini zelo spreminjala, ravno tako tudi reprezentacije in invencije mesta v literarnih tekstih; literarni konstrukti mest raziskovalcu ponujajo obsežen preplet protislovnih podob in pomenov urbane izkušnje (Lehan 1998).

Topološko analizo del Zofke Kveder o Pragi bi lahko označila kot horizontalno (Hodrová 1997: 5–24), ker se raziskovanje osredotoča na osebno topiko, vendar se avtoričino upodabljanje Prage v določenih segmentih osvetljuje tudi v razmerju do t. i. praškega teksta (prim. Bobrakov-Timoškin 2006), kar odpre vprašanje osebne topike v primerjavi s kolektivno topiko (Hodrová 1997: 5–24).¹

Literarna Praga oziroma imaginarij tega zgodovinskega urbanega prostora navadno ostaja določen s Franzem Kafka ali povezan s podobo magičnega mesta. Oživljanje velikega mita Prage, ki se je dokončno izoblikoval in uveljavil na prelomu 19. v 20. stoletje, pa sovpade prav z ustvarjanjem Zofke Kveder, saj je na začetku 20. stoletja v tem češkem velemestu živela in o njem pisala.

PISATELJIČINO PRAŠKO OBDOBJE (1900–1906)

»Prago sem morala videti v solncu, ko se vsi stolpi zablešče,« beremo v sestavku Zofke Kveder (1904b: 65), ki se je ob različnih priložnostih spominjala (Kveder 1904a, 1904b, 1906), kako je z velikimi pričakovanji prispela v mesto v megli in dežju. »Prišla sem v Prago začetkom zime. Umazano žolta megla je pokrivala mesto, ulice so bile puste in dolgočasne. Bila sem razočarana. To ni bila ona zlata Praga [...] kraljevska Praga, srce in ponos češkega naroda, najlepše mesto srednje Evrope.« Vtisi o mestu so se dolgo množili in spreminjali, saj se je pisateljica, ki je bila na začetku svoje ustvarjalne poti, v tistem zimskem začetku leta 1900 v velemestni Pragi naselila za daljše obdobje.²

Prvi češki dom je našla v praškem predmestju Vinohrady,³ ki je bilo takrat upravno še samostojno mesto, in takoj začela pisati svojo prvo knjigo *Misterij žene*. Ta je še istega leta, junija, v samozaložbi izšla v Pragi. Tega ustvarjalnega obdobja se je večkrat spominjala, zanjo so bili to »čudni časi«, ko ni imela denarja za ogrevanje in jo je celo zimo grelo le pisanje, ki je bilo zanjo tako zelo posebno delo, da zaradi njega v svoji mali sobi skoraj ni čutila mraza. Pred izidom prve knjige je doživela svojo prvo, prelepo praško pomlad in dopolnila dvaindvajset let. Bila je polna ustvarjalne vneme in življenjskega zanosa.

In potem je prišla tista sanjarska pomlad, ko sem si domišljala, da je ves svet moj in da imam zares talent, da enkrat nekaj napišem, nekaj tako čudovitega, da bo ganilo tisoče src. To je bila posebna pomlad: bila sem zelo srečna, vesela in ponosna, čeprav sem imela eno samo lodnasto krilo, staro bluzo in na glavi čepec, kakršnega so takrat nosile ruske študentke (Kveder 1904a: 17, prev. P. Kavčič).

Po izdaji prozne zbirke se je preselila⁴ nekaj ulic zahodnje, v sosednjo praško mestno četrt Novo mesto (češ. Nové Město), ki je bila in je še vedno pomemben predel ohranjenega srednjeveškega mestnega jedra na desnem bregu Vltave. Živela je v podnajemniški sobici v starem stanovanjskem poslopju na

1 V članku bom predstavila, kaj je bilo značilno za literarizacijo Prage v literarnozgodovinskem obdobju moderne, pri čemer bom izhajala iz izsledkov tujih (po večini čeških) raziskav o literarnih upodobitvah mesta.

2 O odhodu v češko prestolnico je razmišljala že dolgo pred tem, v Pragi se je želela izobraževati, od tam potovati proti vzhodu, v tem mestu je študiral njen prijatelj in bodoči mož Vladimir Jelovšek (Orožen 1978; Mihurko Poniž 2003, 2010).

3 Sklepajoč po naslovu (Vinohrady, Palackého třída 53/III), objavljenem v časopisih z najavo knjige (Kveder 2005: 463); tudi Cankar naslovi pismo (maja 1900) na ta naslov (Cankar 1972: 353).

4 Na novi naslov je bilo 19. decembra 1900 poslano tretje Cankarjevo pismo (Cankar 1972: 354).

Katarinski 13 (češ. Kateřinská), nasproti stare univerzitetne bolnišnice, do skromnega stanovanja se je prišlo z notranjega dvorišča, v kuhinji je živela stara gospa Mašková, v majhni sobi pa pisateljica (Hásková 1920: 5).

V prvi pesmi v Zofki Kveder posvečeni pesniški zbirki *Cestou [Na poti]* se je Hásková pozneje spominjala, kako je kot predsednica študentskega krožka Slavia⁵ na tem naslovu pisateljico obiskala po izidu njenega prvenca, da bi jo povabila za gostjo literarnega večera. Med njima se je takrat rodilo globoko in dolgo prijateljstvo (Hásková 1923: 1). Zadržana in do okolice nezaupljiva Hásková⁶ je Zofko Kveder doživela kot nadvse zanimivo, odprto in pozitivno osebnost »s posebnim žarom v očeh« ter z izjemnim darom za pripovedovanje – zelo rada je govorila o sebi in svojih načrtih – po drugi strani pa je bila človek, ki mu je bilo mogoče zelo hitro zaupati (Hásková 1920: 5–6). Postalí sta zelo povezani in značajsko drugačni sta vplivali druga na drugo.

Februarja 1901 je Zofka Kveder v Pragi rodila hčerko Vladimiro Jelovšek.⁷ S hčerkico sta večinoma stanovali ločeno od Vladimírja Jelovška, bili pa so v stalnih stikih (Kveder 1978; Cankar 1972). Zofka Kveder je bila samostojna ženska, ki ni verjela v skupno gospodinjstvo (Cankar 1972: 362). Kljub včasih ne preveč srečnemu razmerju, ki so ga grenili prepiri in Jelovškova nezvestoba, je trdno verjela v obstoj njune ljubezni. Z Jelovškom sta bila skupaj celo praško obdobje, leta 1903 sta se na praškem magistratu tudi civilno poročila (Mihurko Poniž 2003).

Naslovi pisateljicinih praških bivališč postanejo z vidika literarnozgodovinskega kartografranja pomemben podatek.⁸ Ustvarjalno žensko, ki je ljubila svojo svobodo in lastni ustvarjalni prostor, je še zlasti razveselila selitev v prostorno stanovanje na Kamenicki ulici v predmestju Holešovice, kamor se je preselila junija 1904; pred tem je z Jelovškom stanovala na Ječni 5, v starem delu mesta v stavbi ob znamenitem Karlovem trgu. Cankarju je po selitvi pisala, da ne stanujeta »z Vladom nič več skupaj«, navdušena je bila nad novim bivališčem, nad veliko sobo z balkonom in razgledom na park; »potem se sedem na balkon (– to je prav za prav »Erker: in ima okna) – Veš glavo si položim na roko, da gledam tako od strani v oblake [...] Dolgo sanjarim tako. Včasih že pozno v noči sedem na mizo – na mizo, ker je tako bolj veselo. Črno kavo si skuham in iz dolgega čibuka pušim cigarete« (Cankar 1972: 362).

5 Že takoj po prihodu v Prago je Zofka Kveder začela zahajati v prostore študentskega društva Slavia, ki so bili takrat v stari hiši na Konviktski ulici; Hásková (1923: 1) se je v članku Jihoslovanské přátelství [Južnoslovansko prijateljstvo] spominjala, kako so v društvo zahajali tudi južnoslovanski študenti, med katerimi je bilo nekaj časa opaziti zanimivo dekle s kratko pristrizženimi črnimi lasmi. Bila je resna in redno je prebirala časopise, potem pa je nekaj časa ni bilo in začelo se je govoriti, da je izdala knjigo. Sicer pa so v klub zahajali npr. Viktor Dyk (1877–1931), pesnik, pisatelj, dramatik; Hanuš Jelínek (1878–1944), pesnik, esejist in gledališki kritik; František Škácélík (1873–1944), pesnik, dramatik, pisatelj in gledališki kritik; Zdenka Hásková je z njimi literarno sodelovala pri časopisu *Lumír* (Forst 1993). Zofka Kveder je bila v praškem obdobju v stikih s številnimi znanimi sodobniki, tudi z uveljavljenimi češkimi književniki in književnicami (Orožen 1978; Kavčič 2011).

6 Ko sta se spoznali, je bila Zdenka Hásková (1878–1946) študentka zgodovine in literarne zgodovine. Pred srečanjem z Zofko Kveder, kot je sama zapisala (Hásková 1923: 1), ni z lahkoto sklepala prijateljstev in se je raje zasanjana zadrževala v knjižnici Náprstkovih, v družbi starih knjig in dam, ki so prihajale v odprti dom slavne gospe Náprstkovke. Pozneje je postala ena prvih doktoric znanosti in je v knjigi *Mládí [Mladí]* opisala nove družbene okoliščine na univerzi (Heczková 2010); bila je del kroga za žensko emancipacijo pomembnih čeških intelektualk, kot so bile npr. Marie Gebauerová, Pavla Moudrá, Helena Čapková (Novák, Novák 1936; Dorovský 2008). Celó življenje je ostala zavezana literaturi in gledališču, po smrti moža V. Dyka je poskrbela za njegovo literarno dediščino (Forst 1993). Delovala je tudi kot prevajalka. Kot se je sama spominjala (Hásková 1923: 2), je začela prevajati dela Zofke Kveder v češčino, ko sploh še ni znala slovensko, na pobudo Zofke, ki je takrat še slabo pisala češko.

7 Po spletu tragičnih okoliščin je pozneje rojstno mesto njenega prvega otroka postalo tudi kraj njegovega prazgodnjega groba. Oktobra 1919 je osemnajstletna Vladoša prišla v Prago študirat, vendar je sredi zime 1920 umrla za špansko gripo. O korespondenci Zofke Kveder in Vladoše Jelovšek gl. Tucovič (2006).

8 Zabeležbo praških bivališč Zofke Kveder najdemo pri Boženi Orožen (1978: 231). Med naslovi bivališč ne navaja prvega pisateljicinega bivališča na Vinohradih, zato zaradi tega manjkajočega podatka omenja kot prvo tisto na Katarinski ulici – sicer pa naslovom od aprila 1904 lahko sledimo v Listnicah uredništva v reviji *Domači prijatelj*, kjer je mogoče razbrati tudi kronologijo pisateljicinih preseljevanj.

S hčerko sta radi hodili na dolge sprehode v Stromovko, Vladoša se je igrala »pod čudovitimi vrbami in krmila labode« (Kveder 1978: 239). Stanovanje je bilo v neposredni bližini novega poslopja likovne akademije, kjer so se tudi v začetku 20. stoletja šolali znani Slovenci. »Na najvišjem mestu nad parkom se dviga popolnoma novo poslopje umetniške akademije. Prekrasen razgled je od tu po zelenem parku, po dolini z Vltavo in na nasprotne bregove. Idealno mesto za ognjišče umetnosti. Tudi Jugoslovani pridno obiskujejo ta zavod. Od naših so bili tu: Jakopič, Vavpotič, Žmitek, Žabota, Tratnik i. dr.« (Kveder 1906: 184.)

Pisateljica je bila velika ljubiteljica likovne umetnosti; o razstavah in kulturnem življenju v takratni Pragi, ki je postajala eno pomembnejših mednarodnih žarišč kulturno-umetniškega dogajanja,⁹ je pogosto poročala v slovenski periodiki (Orožen 1978: 232). Družila se je z umetniki in umetnicami različnih profilov, ob popoldnevih so se radi shajali tudi v gostilnici U Zlaté Studně v Mali četrti. »Popoldne smo hodili k »Zlatemu studentu«. Mala gostilna, visoko gori pod zidom kraljevega gradu. Umetniki se shajajo tu, zakaj pogled iz malega vrtiča na Prago je čaroben. Rdeče gore strehe malostranskih palač, srebrno se blešči Vltava in za njo se razgrinja bogato mesto s stoterimi stolpi [...] Zamišljeno sediš gori visoko nad mestom, ves omamljen od lepote, poln romantičnih sanj« (Kveder 1906: 70–71).

Z ubeseditvami pojava zahajanj v za ta čas značilno kavarniško okolje – prelom 19. v 20. stoletje je bil vrh kavarniške dobe, druženje in prebiranje časopisov v kavarnah je postalo del vsakdanjika takratne praške meščanske družbe (Hoffmeister 1958; Bendová 2008) – se srečamo tudi v zapisih Zofke Kveder, ki poleg običajnega druženja v kavarnah, gostilnah, klubih in salonih še posebej izpostavi domačnostna shajanja zaprte družbe glasbenikov, kiparjev, literatov, intelektualcev, ki se je zbirala v mansardnih atelijih na Smetanovem nabrežju, kjer se je pisateljica zelo dobro počutila (Kveder 1904a, 1910). »Pestra družba nas je bila. Par literatov, nekaj glasbenikov, igravec, dve igralki, dva vseučilišna docenta, nekaj kiparjev [...] Vsi smo živeli, kakor da živimo le za te večere [...] Prinesli smo malo sira seboj, malo šunke masla, naredili smo »zakuske« in to je bila za nas z malo sadjem in čajem prav imenitna večerja« (Kveder 1910: 31–34).

Zofka Kveder je celo praško obdobje želela ostati neodvisna, sebe in otroka je preživljala s pisanjem, prevajala je v nemščino, leta 1904 je postala urednica revije *Domači prijatelj* (1904–1915), urejati je začela tudi hrvaško različico *Sijelo* (Mihurko Poniž 2003). Njeno praško obdobje je bilo zelo ustvarjalno; poleg vseh časopisnih in revijalnih objav¹⁰ ter *Misterija žene* je izdala še dramski prvenec *Ljubezen* (Trst, 1901), zbirko povesti in črtic *Odsevi* (Gorica, 1902), prozno zbirko *Iz naših krajev* (Ljubljana, 1903) in zbirko črtic *Iskre* (Praga, 1905). Pisala je o usodi žensk, emancipaciji, nujnosti izobrazbe, se ukvarjala z ženskim vprašanjem nasploh in seanimala za širše družbeno-politično-kulturno dogajanje; postala je ključna figura za pojav slovenskega ženskega gibanja in bila v stikih s pomembnimi feministkami srednje- in jugovzhodnoevropskega prostora (Mihurko Poniž 2006); kot književnica je postala znana širši javnosti. Leta 1905 je bila v krajšem prispevku v razdelku Literatura a umění [Literatura in umetnost] revije *Ženský svět* omenjena kot v Pragi živeča slovenska pisateljica, že znana tudi češkemu bralstvu (»Chorvatsko-slovinské spisovatelky současné« 1905: 209).¹¹

Nazadnje je, preden se je maja 1906 odselila iz Prage v Zagreb (Mihurko Poniž 2003: 186), od poletja 1905 z družino živela na naslovu Slezská třída 32 sredi modernega predmestnega predela Vinohrady. Avtobiografske drobce iz teh mesecev lahko beremo tudi v črticah o Vladoši. Ko je zapuščala Prago, kjer

9 Predvsem zaradi pomembne vloge društva likovnih umetnikov Mánes, o tem tudi Kveder (1903).

10 V praškem obdobju in pozneje je veliko objavljala tudi v češki periodiki: *Nové pařížské mody*, *České slovo*, *Hlas národa*, *Vesna*, *Ženský svět*, *Národ*, *Ženský obzor*, *Vydrovy Besedy*, *Lidové noviny*, *Rudé květy*, *Zlatá Praha*, *Nová doba*, *Národní politika*, *Národní listy*, *Československá republika*, *Slovanský přehled*, *Čas* (Miklavčičová 1998); v praškem časopisu (v nemškem jeziku) *Politik* (Kveder 1904a). Poleg tega je bila ena najbolj prevajanih slovenskih avtoric v češčino (gl. še Mainuš 2005).

11 V sestavku Chorvatsko-slovinské spisovatelky současné [Hrvaške in slovenske sodobne pisateljice] je bila navedena skupaj s hrvaškimi književnicami Adelo Milčinić, Marijo Jurić Zagorko in Camillo Lucerno, ki se omenjajo kot češkemu bralstvu neznana imena (»Chorvatsko-slovinské spisovatelky současné« 1905: 209).

je preživela šest ključnih let svojega življenja, je odhajala kot osemindvajsetletna gospa, mati, publicistka, urednica, prevajalka, uveljavljena ustvarjalka in izoblikovana osebnost, mesto in praška leta so ostali njen navdih in rada se je spominjala »vse lepote«, ki jo je »nekoč našla v Pragi« (Kveder 1978: 239).

V zapisih o Pragi se pisateljica razkriva kot svobodna sprehajalka po ulicah tujega mesta, ob čemer se odpirata še neko novo poglavje o ustvarjalnosti (Mihurko Poniž 2007) in vprašanje odkrivanja tujih prostorov, njihovih zgodb, prenosa podobe tujega mesta in z njim povezanih lastnih notranjih pokrajin.

LITERARIZACIJA PRAGE

Prva asociacija, ki jo sproži vprašanje literarne Prage, je povezana s Franzem Kafka. »Tisti, ki danes obiščejo Prago, in sodobni pisatelji, kakršni so Ivan Klima, Milan Kundera in Václav Havel, mesto še vedno določajo skozi Kafka. Če je kdaj kakšen pisatelj skoraj nehote vtisnil prozo v geografijo in zgodovino, je to s Prago naredil Kafka« (Bradbury 1999: 164). In čeprav je navadno imaginarna topografija labirintske Prage najprej določena s kafkovsko tesnobno prostorsko zatohlostjo in obenem fantastično hipertrofijo (Hrbata 2005: 427) ter hkratno ujetostjo in izgnanstvom (Insua 2002), ostaja celotna diahrona slika literarnega upodabljanja Prage še bolj zgovorna. To je literarni prostor velikih imen, od Karla Hyneka Máche, Jana Nerude, Gustava Meyrinka, Rainerja Marie Rilkeja prek Vítězslava Nezvala, Jaroslava Seiferta, Vladimíra Holana, Františka Hrubína, Bohumila Hrabala, Milana Kundere do Daniele Hodrove, Michala Ajvaza, Jáchyma Topola itd. V zgodovini češke književnosti vsaj od 19. stoletja ni generacije, ki ne bi pisala o Pragi; vendar literarizirane Prage ne odkrivamo le pri čeških avtorjih, ampak tudi pri tujih literatih, in med njihovimi podobami mesta so tudi tiste, ki jih je ustvarila Zofka Kveder – podoba mesta, ki kot monolit ostajajo priče človeštva skozi stoletja, mogočne v primerjavi s človeškim življenjem. »Dopolodne se zastaviš v majhni odlegli ulici. Otroci se igrajo okrog tebe, kakor so se igrali pred stoletji. Resno stoje hiše naokoli; mrke in temne. Ej, malo sledu pusti človeško življenje tukaj. Kolikokrat se zavrsti mladost, starost, otroški smeh in starčevi vzdih predno se omajejo stari zidovi« (Kveder 1906: 70)!

Mogočnejša od kamnite realnosti lahko postane le njena »velika podoba«, ki ima vedno hkrati zgodovino in prazgodovino, kot piše Gaston Bachelard, to sta obenem spomin in legenda (2001: 60). Z obema je obarvana tudi podoba Prage, ki jo podaja avtorica. Kraji, speti z osebno izkušnjo, so vedno doživljeni pod vplivom njihovega »mita« (Hodrová 1997: 21). Meditacije o duhu mesta, ki je rasel v dolgih stoletjih, so v prozi Zofke Kveder pogoste, kažejo pa tudi na to, da osebna topika navadno implicira kolektivno, zaradi česar se osebna naracija krajev nagiba k mitizaciji (prav tam). Mesto tako pridobiva svojo globino oziroma značilno prostorsko emanacijo.

Stoletja že molče ti zidovi. Veter vzdihne v visokem stolpu in tebi se zdrzne srce. Kakšni spomini hodijo tod, kakšni strahovi vstajajo iz starih, minulih stoletij?! ... Tam čepe tihe korarske hiše, a za njimi se stiska krdelo hišic, ki jim sežeš z roko na streho. Tiho se plaziš naokoli in gledaš v temna okna. Kaj se ne bo nekaj zasvetilo? Kaj ne boš ugledal starega alkimista, ki vari zlato, išče kamen modrosti in kuha skrivnostne pijače ljubezni in smrti (Kveder 1940: 115)?!

Angelo Maria Ripellino monografijo o literarni Pragi začne prav z liričnim opisom nočnih duhov, ki živijo na praških ulicah, v gostilnah, na bregu Vltave – v tej praški literarni atmosferi, na katero pritiska teža zgodovine, tavajo Franz Kafka, Jaroslav Hašek, Vítězslav Nezval, literarni liki Josef K., Josef Švejek, alkimisti, astrologi, rabini, rusalke, Golem; »Praga ne izpusti nikogar in ničesar«, po Kafkovo, po Nezvalu je to »mesto knjiga«, »magična Praga« (Ripellino 1992: 9–14) in »mesto mit« (Hodrová 2006).

Zofka Kveder je Prago spoznavala ravno v času, ko sta se v češki umetnosti ustalila znamenita emblema »zlata Praga« in »magična Praga« – na prelomu 19. v 20. stoletje sta pomenila nasprotje civilizacijskim in urbanističnim spremembam, preoblikovanju starega zgodovinskega mesta in moderno velemesto z industrijskimi predmestji (Hrbata 2005: 403).

Kot ugotavlja Bobrakov-Timoškin (2006) v svojem preučevanju »praškega teksta«,¹² je mesto v tem obdobju dokončno preraslo v svoj lastni mit. Z literarno govornico del čeških avtorjev (Jakub Arbes, Jan Neruda, Julius Zeyer, Vilém Mrštík, Jiří Josef Karásk, Antonín Sova, Karel Matěj Čapek – Chod, Ivan Olbracht, Gustav Meyrink, Paul Leppin, Franz Kafka), ki so pisali o Pragi, je v širšem obdobju preloma 19. v 20. stoletje zrasla trdna mitična podoba svetega, mejnega, magičnega in usodnega mesta, ki je prerasla emblem češtva in postala simbol, metafora posvečenosti. Mit »magične Prage« je ostal prisoten v češki kulturi in z različnih vidikov tematiziran vse do danes (Derdowska 2011: 115–119).

Kot je prepričana Hodrová (1994: 35–61, 94–96), je skrivnostnost Prage najprej mogoče povezati z deli Karla Hyneka Máche, nanj so se pozneje navezovali pomembni češki literarni ustvarjalci, npr. Jakub Arbes: njegova Praga se pojavlja kot kulisa skrivnostnega dogajanja. K literarni podobi Prage je pomembno prispeval tudi Jan Neruda – njegova prozna zbirka *Povídky malostranské* [*Zgodbe Male četrti*] (1877), ki pripoveduje o meščanih znane praške četrti in mesto predstavi s slikovitimi opisi ulic, gostiln, cerkva, meščanskih domov itd. (Neruda 2008), je postala eno najznamenitejših literarnih del češke književnosti, ki ga je dobro poznala tudi Zofka Kveder (Kveder 1906: 72).

Poleg podobe skrivnostne Prage, »mesta z atmosfero«, se je v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih 19. stoletja pojavila tudi tipična stilizacija Prage kot boginje oz. kraljice (Hodrová 1988, 1994, 1997). V devetdesetih letih 19. stoletja, ko se je pod vplivom mračnih zgodovinskih okoliščin naroda razvil deziluzionistični domoljubni roman, literarno mesto prvič izstopi kot subjekt, ki je v tesni zvezi z razpoloženjem glavnega lika (v Mrštíkovem deziluzionističnem romanu *Santa Lucia* (1893) npr. najdemo erotiziran prostor mesta, Prago kot poželjivo ljubico ali hladno, nepristopno damo), v različnih romanih različnih avtorjev se spol mesta menjuje, antropomorfizirano mesto lahko nastopi kot dvojnik (npr. demonična Praga v Meyrinkovem *Golemu* (1915), kjer se izpostavi skrivnostnost praškega geta) (Hodrová 1988, 1994, 1997, 2006).

Mesto se v literaturi lahko razbira kot objekt, dogajalni prostor in literarni lik; ti načini se običajno kombinirajo (Hodrová 1994: 94). V kratkoproznih delih in v romanu Zofke Kveder se Praga pojavlja kot kulisa literarnim dogajanjem, v nekaterih pasusih tudi kot objekt.

Že preden je Zofka Kveder zares odšla v Prago, je pod vplivom velikih pričakovanj in sanjarjenj o odhodu napisala povest *Ivan in Ljuba* (1899). Med letoma 1903 in 1906 so ji sledile črtice (s prostorsko kuliso Prage) o hčerki Vladoši, in sicer *Moja mala* (1903), *Naša mala* (1904), *Naša Vlada* (1904), *Vladoša* (1905), *Epizodice* (1905), *Otroci* (1905), *Učenje* (1905), *Vladoša dela komedije* (1906), *Najin dan* (1906). Umeščenost v prostor Prage, mikrolokacija sobe, v kateri prvoosebna pripovedovalka podaja svoje refleksije in spomine, je prisotna v črtici *Pisma* (1904). Potem se Praga pojavi v črtici *Slikar Novak* (1905); še zlasti zunajliterarni kontekst nas k Pragi napelje v noveli *Na kliniki* (1906); z dogajalnim prostorom Prage sta določeni noveli *Dogodek s potovanja* (1908) in *Slučaj* (1910). Poleg predstavljene kratke proze je z vidika ubesedovanja Prage pomemben tudi roman *Hanka* (1918).

Prispevek Zofke Kveder k slovenski kratki pripovedni prozi v prvem desetletju 20. stoletja je velik (Kocijan 1997) in tudi izstopajoč zaradi novih, zanimivih tematizacij. Če je bilo za slovensko kratko pripovedno prozo v obdobju moderne v prvem desetletju 20. stoletja značilno, da se je snovno-motivno gibala na področju kmečko-vaškega življenja, trško-malomestne družbe in proletarskega okolja (Kocijan 1996, 1997), je snovno-motivno črpanje iz velemestnega življenja še ena od posebnosti literarnega ustvarjanja Zofke Kveder.

V prozi Zofke Kveder podoba magičnega mesta zasledimo le v obrisih, na posameznih mestih prepričljivih opisov praške skrivnostnosti, zelo pa izstopa podoba »zlate Prage«, slikanje mesta z izrazito deskripcijo tradicionalnih dominant, kot so grad, stolpi, katedrala sv. Vida, Vltava, Karlov most itd.

»Predivna mesečna noč se je razpenjala nad zlatim mestom. In ves kraj se je vrnil v stare romantič-

¹² O semiotičnem terminu tekst gl. Jurij Mihajlovič Lotman (1984), Vladimir Nikolajevič Toporov (2009); Toporov je v študiji *Peterburški tekst ruske literature* preučeval mit Sankt Peterburga na podlagi zbirke del (o tem mestu) iz ruske književnosti, ki jo je kot semantično enoto imenoval tekst.

ne čase« (Kveder 1940: 114), začenja pisateljica enega od impresionističnih opisov v črtici *Slikar Novak*; »Zlata Praga, kraljevska Praga!« beremo v sestavku o mestu (Kveder 1906: 15), »Praga nudi že po svojem položaju in po prebogatih zgodovinskih ostankih zanimivega užitka vsakemu tujcu, ki jo obišče«. S to predstavo o »zlati Pragi« je Zofka Kveder v mesto vstopila prvič: »To je zlata Praga? – mi je prišlo na misel in moje oči so bile razočarane. Ali – posvetilo je solnce drugi dan, modro nebo se je raspelo nad mesto, sto stolpov se je zlatilo v solncu, oživila je Praga v celi svoji krasoti« (Kveder 1906: 15).

Literarizirana Praga Zofke Kveder je »mesto s spominom«, kot lahko poimenujemo upodobljena historična mestna središča.¹³ Glavni vir pisateljčine literarne imaginacije postane staro mestno jedro, še posebej zgodovinska mestna predela Hradčani in Mala četrt (češ. Malá Strana). Veliko avtoričino prevzetost nad starim mestnim jedrom in njegovo zgodovino izpričuje tudi (za njeno upodabljanje mesta) značilna središčna panoramska perspektiva.¹⁴ Poleg izpostavljene središčne perspektive pisateljica uporablja tudi »periferno perspektivo«, ko mesto slika z bočnim pogledom hodca ali s horizontalnim pogledom od strani.¹⁵

Bachelard (2001: 206) o sanjarjenju piše, da »črpa iz različnih prizorov, iz nekakšnega prirojenega nagnjenja pa rado opazuje veličino. Opazovanje veličine sproža tako posebno držo, tako izjemno stanje duše, da sanjarjenje sanjarja prestavi iz bližnjega sveta v svet, ki nosi znamenje neskončnega.« Prostrana mestna panorama je spodbujala avtoričino sanjarjenje in odpirala globoko neskončnost njenega intimnega prostora, ki se je ujel z neizmernostjo sveta in vesolja (prim. črtica *Slikar Novak*). »V takšnih sanjarjenjih, ki obidejo premišljujočega človeka, se podrobnosti zabrišejo, slikovito se razbarva, ura ne zvoni več in prostor se brezmejno razširi[...] [t]akšna sanjarjenja lahko mirno imenujemo sanjarjenja o neskončnosti« (prav tam: 212). Pri Zofki Kveder se zlijejo z »gigantsko veličino in s krasoto neizmerja« – »neznane, neizmerna in čudovitega svetovja« (1940: 116). Neizmernosti zunanega in notranjega intimnega prostora se dotakneta in pomešata posebno takrat, ko »se velika človekova samota poglobi« (Bachelard 2001: 226).

Na prej omenjeno značilno pozicijo epskega subjekta in pomembno vlogo starega mestnega jedra kot inspirativnega objekta opazovanja se lahko navežemo tudi z naslednjim primerom iz novele *Slučaj*. Prvoosebna pripovedovalka se spominja praških ateljejev, ki jih je še posebno ljubila zaradi širokih oken s pogledom na staro mesto:

Če pa imajo oči svojo naslado, umiri se duša, kakor otrok, kadar mu zapoje mati sladko pesem. Zato sem še posebno ljubila praške ateleje, ki se je iz njih širokih oken odpiral pogled tja čez Vltavo na malostranske staroslavne palače in njihove aristokratske vrtove, na kapele in cerkve, na kraljevi hradčanski grad in katedralo svetega Vida, ktere gotska silhueta se je črtala na svetlem večernem nebu, lepa in vzvišena, kakor vresničene sanje umetnika (Kveder 1910: 31).

V topološkem raziskovanju so za »horizontalno topološko analizo« (Hodrová 1997),¹⁶ ki se posveča raziskovanju osebne topike oz. literarnih krajev v posameznih delih obravnavane avtorice, poleg fikcijskih proznih del pomembna tudi nefikcijska prozna besedila, med njimi še zlasti (v *Domačem prijatelju* obja-

13 Nove zgodovinske in družbene okoliščine ter urbanistični razvoj mesta so vplivali tudi na spreminjanje koncepta mesta v literaturi – v upodabljanju mest se je pojavilo nasprotje med mestnim središčem, »mestom s spominom (zgodovino)«, in mestnim obrobjem, ki so ga predstavljala nova industrijska predmestja, t. i. »mestom brez spomina (zgodovine)« (Hodrová 1994: 100–101).

14 V nadaljevanju npr. primer iz novele *Slučaj*. Takšna »centralna perspektiva« (z okna, mosta, s hriba) je bila tipična za češko deziluzionistično in novoromantično prozo, ravno tako tudi pojavljanje Prage z njenimi tradicionalnimi dominantami (Hodrová 1988, 1994).

15 Lik sprehajalca oz. sprehajalke po mestu zasledimo npr. v črtici *Slikar Novak*, v črticah o Vladoši.

16 Ko so težišče kolektivna topika, dinamično razmerje med kolektivno in osebno topiko ali npr. opazovanje zgodovinskega spreminjanja literarnih krajev v odvisnosti od dobi in žanru zavezane strukture, pa govorimo o »vertikalni topološki analizi« (Hodrová 1997: 21).

vljena) članka Praga (1904) in Zlata Praga (1906). Oba se bereta kot natančna vodnika po mestu, avtorica se razkrije kot navdušena sprehajalka po mestnih ulicah, dobra poznavalka mestne zgodovine, mestnega življenja in značaja. Posebno se navdušuje nad Malo četrtjo, »[č]lovek se zaljubi v ta del Prage, kakor osemnajstleten fant v svojo ljubico. Nikdar jo ne poznaš zadosti, nikdar se jo ne naveličaš, vselej odkriješ kaj novega« (Kveder 1906: 70). Celotni stari del mesta pisateljico predstavlja v stanja sanjarjenja, »lepo se sanjari«, »zamižiš malo in stari časi vstanejo v tvoji duši, kakor pestra pravljica«, pogled na Vltavo jo spomni na beneške kanale: »Zvečer je, lahka megla leži nad Vltavo. Visoko mole topole na malostranski strani pod Karlovim mostom. Na vltavskem rokavu, ki se vije v stran med visokimi hišami tesno od zida do zida pluskajo čolni, mladi fantje pojo zaljubljene pesmi, na drogu se ziblje pisan lampijon – in spomin ti pride na slavne beneške kanale, na poetične italijanske noči«.

Praška panorama je pisateljico povsem očarala: »Menda ga ni mesta, ki bi imelo tako krasno in karakteristično panoramo, kakor Praga. Od koder jo gledaš, skoro od povsod jo vidiš celo pred seboj v vsi njeni mogočni in veličastni lepoti« (Kveder 1904: 65); »Prago imamo pred seboj, oni kraljevi, očarujoči pogled, ki ga odnese seboj vsaki, ki je stal enkrat na tem mestu in ga ne pozabi nikdar. Poznam mnogo mest, ali ne poznam mesta, ki bi imelo to divno, ponosno in tako karakteristično panoramo. Nemo navdušenje napolni dušo nad to čudovito lepoto pred vami« (Kveder 1906: 39).

Zelo rada je opazovala mestne vedute v spreminjajočih se letnih časih, v različnih svetlobah dneva, v večerni in nočni osvetljenosti: »Vsak dan lahko stojite na tem mestu in oči vaše se ne nagledajo. V prvem snegu, v letnem solncu, v jesenski megli, pri solčnem zahodu, v bliskoviti nevihti in v sanjajočem miru pomladnega popoldneva – vedno enako krasen in očarujoč je ta pogled« (Kveder 1906: 39–40). »Koliko stoletij je slikalo to sliko, koliko milijonov ljudi se je izmenilo tu od časa [...], koliko jih še pride in bo stalo tu enako zamišljenih,« se je spraševala, »[k]akor kaplja vode v morju je človek-edinec v človeštvu ...« (Kveder 1906: 40). Velikokrat je prav v opazovanju mesta iskala navdih ali tolažbo, vendar so bila včasih krizna obdobja tako huda, da v mrazu in lakoti to ni moglo biti dovolj.

Zimski čas, bilo je mraz. Pogled je lahko navdihujoč, te lahko tolaži. Praga je lepa. Po črnih policah sneg, vrtovi razcveteni v srebru in Vltava je kot zelen kristal pod jasnim nebom. Ampak razveselite se, oči, če je v glavi polno skrbi. Razveseli se človek, ko molčeč hodiš in ne veš, kam, ko tiho gledaš, ne da bi mogel videti (Kveder 1904a: 17; prev. P. Kavčič).

Slavna stara Praga je v zgodovinskih časih avstrijskega cesarstva in poznejše Avstro-Ogrske veljala za nekakšno materinsko slovansko mesto. »Zlata mati Praga« (Kveder 2010: 325) je bila svetli cilj južnoslovanskih narodov, »meka malih slovanskih narodov«, ki je privabila tudi slovensko pisateljico, kot je zapisal Josef Svatopluk Machar (1905: 44). Zofka Kveder je v Prago prispela z zelo pozitivnimi predstavami o mestu, vendar je po razočaranjih (Kveder 1904a),¹⁷ ki jih je doživela v praških letih, mnenje spremenila. Kot je mogoče razbrati iz članka Zlata Praga, je naklonjenost sicer ostala (»nam Slovanom je to srce češkega naroda posebno milo. Posebno nam na jugu [...] Sijajen vzgled nam vsem je«; Kveder 1906: 15), toda iluzija o vseslovanski vzajemnosti se je razblinila (prav tam: 204). Spreminjanje pisateljicinega pogleda na Prago se odraža tudi v literarnih besedilih: mesto najprej idealizira, v poznejših delih pa ne več.¹⁸

Praga se v analizi pripovednih struktur in razvoja literarnih oseb (v literarnih delih *Ivan in Ljuba*, *Dogodek s potovanja*, *Hanka*) kaže tudi kot mejno mesto, »kronotop meje«, ki je »v literaturi zmeraj metaforičen in simboličen, včasih v odkriti, včasih v zastrti obliki« (Bahtin 1982: 362) in »nabit z močno čustveno-vrednostno intenzivnostjo«.

Za horizontalno topološko analizo upodobljenega urbanega prostora so pomembni posamezni toposi, ki ostajajo povezani s tem širšim praškim prostorom. Pisateljčina Praga je zaznamovana z estetikom lepega, z umetnostjo in življenjem umetnikov, kot dva »srečna« in »hvaljena prostora« (Bachelard

¹⁷ Več o tem Kavčič (2011: 11, 12, 14).

¹⁸ V povesti *Ivan in Ljuba* se npr. pojavi idealizirana podoba »Prage matere«.

2001) oz. »kraj« (Hodrová 1994, 1997) se pojavljata atelje in lastna soba, ki sta oba prostora umetniške ustvarjalnosti. »Poetični« ateljeji, ki jih je napolnjevala »neka sanjava fantastičnost«, so bili za pisateljico vzvišeni prostor »visoko pod strehami palač« in »visoko nad skrbmi in tegobami dneva, visoko nad glasnim, vsiljivim šumom ulic« (Kveder 1910: 31). Posebno vrednost pripiše tudi lastni sobi ustvarjalne ženske (npr. črtice o Vladoši, *Hanka*), sobi kot enemu od temeljnih krajev človeške eksistence, ki ima, podobno kot mesto, neko svojo emanacijo (Hodrová 1997: 217–238).

Vendar pisateljica ne prikazuje le privlačnih strani (vele)mestnega prostora in srečnih krajev, temveč tudi njihovo nasprotje – zaprte, negativno konotirane kraje, kot sta bolnišnica in porodnišnica. Tako v noveli *Na kliniki* kot v romanu *Hanka* zasledimo zanimiv način slikanja tega zadušljivega zaprtega prostora, iz katerega se ne odpira pogled navzven, kar je mogoče prepoznati kot značilnost upodabljanja srečnih prostorov, temveč ravno nasprotno: to je prostor, ki ne more komunicirati z zunanjsčino, »[o]či so se nagonsko izogibale oken, pogled skozi nje je bil neprijeten kakor pogled v belo, ugaslo slepčevo oko« (Kveder 1940: 51). Literarno grajenje zaprtega prostora se tako zastavi s temeljno potezo meje, z nepredirnostjo, ki je v takih primerih najpomembnejša topološka lastnost prostora (Lotman 2010: 291).

Prostor se v avtoričinih literarnih besedilih pogosto razkriva kot konstitutivni element besedila. Prepoznati ga je mogoče kot pomemben element pripovedne strukture v konstelaciji z literarnim dogajanjem in notranjim intimnim dogajanjem literarnih oseb. Kot ugotavlja tudi Katja Mihurko Ponž (2003), pisateljici literarne prostore vedno spremljamo z natančno razdelanimi fokalizacijami, prostor, v katerem se gibljejo literarne osebe, je vselej povezan z notranjimi občutji, podoba interierov in eksterierov zrcali notranjost literarnih oseb. Na ta način pisateljica izbira in upodablja tudi druge topose, npr. gostilno, most, park.

SKLEP

Podoba »magične Prage« se v literarnih besedilih Zofke Kveder izriše le v posameznih odlomkih prepričljivih opisov praške skrivnostnosti, medtem ko v pisateljici prozi izrazito prevladuje podoba »zlate Prage«, ki se pojavlja tudi v kombinaciji s podobo »Prage matere«. V refleksijah o Pragi in literarnih meditacijah se avtorica razkriva kot navdušena sprehajalka po mestnih ulicah, dobra poznavalka mestne zgodovine, mestnega življenja in značaja. Glavni vir pisateljici literarne imaginacije postane zgodovinsko mestno jedro. Mesto se pojavlja kot kulisa ali objekt literarnega dogajanja. Kronotop zgodovinske Prage je v avtoričinih literarnih besedilih ubeseden v različnih perspektivah, izstopajo središčna perspektiva, pogled skozi okno, ki je usmerjen k tradicionalnim praškim dominantam, in panoramska perspektiva; pisateljica uporablja tudi obrobno perspektivo z bočnim pogledom hodca ali s horizontalnim pogledom od strani.

Poleg značilnih praških toposov (npr. hradčanski grad, katedrala sv. Vida, Karlov most, Vltava, stolpi) se v avtoričinih besedilih pojavljajo splošni toposi, kot so na primer kavarna, gostilna, bolnišnica, porodnišnica, atelje, soba, dom. Pri tem je zanimivo, da se v literarnih besedilih, ki so determinirana s praškim prostorom, dom ne pojavlja kot dominantni kronotop, literarna dogajanja so postavljena tudi na območja, kjer se meje med javnim in zasebnim zabrišejo (npr. kavarna, gostilna, trgovina), poleg tega pomembno vlogo pridobi zunanji prostor (npr. ulica, parki). Sicer pa je intimni interier doma pogosto vezan na delovno oz. ustvarjalno sobo in atelje. V obeh prepoznamo, bachelorodovsko rečeno, primer »srečnega prostora«. V pisateljicih besedilih postane praški zunanji in notranji prostor uglašen z intersubjektivno resničnostjo, z notranjim intimnim prostorom epskega subjekta.

Za analizirana prozna besedila Zofke Kveder smemo reči, da v njih »beremo« mesto in da hkrati z njim »beremo« tudi pisateljico samo, njena občutja, izkušnje, praško obdobje njenega življenja; razširja se nam pogled na tuje mesto, slavno Prago, in sicer iz perspektive priseljenke, ustvarjalke in izjemne ženske, ki je na začetku 20. stoletja Prago doživela prav v njenem spreminjanju v pomembno srednjeevropsko moderno velemesto. Literarna topologija in topološka analiza se soočita s topiko, ki je osebno

zaznamovana s pisateljičinim doživljanjem prostora, a hkrati izreka specifično občutje dobe, v kateri je ustvarjala, zato lahko avtoričine prikaze Prage razumemo tudi kot pomemben prispevek k literaturi srednjeevropske moderne in retoričnim konstrukcijam prestolnic v njej.

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POTICA IN NJENE ZGODBE: SLOVENCİ V SRBIJI IN SIMBOLNI POMEN HRANE

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COBISS 1.01

IZVLEČEK

Potica in njene zgodbe: Slovenci v Srbiji in simbolni pomen hrane

Hrana ni le sestavina materialnega sveta in sredstvo za zadovoljevanje osnovnih fizioloških potreb, ampak je tudi pomembno področje kulture in družbenega življenja neke skupnosti. Skupna priprava in uživanje hrane ljudi povezuje, vzpostavlja nova razmerja med njimi in utrjuje položaj posameznika v družbi. Hrana pa je tudi pomembno sredstvo diferenciacije, ki ljudi ločuje glede na spol, starost, religiozno, socialno in etnično pripadnost. Za pripadnike etničnih skupnosti, ki živijo v večinskem tujem okolju, pa so hrana in prakse prehranjevanja tudi sredstvo ohranjanja ali vzpostavljanja etnične identitete. Tudi za Slovence v Srbiji, za katere so nekatere slovenske jedi, npr. potica, pomembno sredstvo za utrjevanje etnične pripadnosti. Hrana, podobno kot nekateri drugi predmeti, oblikuje in vpliva na življenje članov etnične skupnosti, a tudi ti pomembno sooblikujejo pomene posameznih jedi in jim dajejo novo vsebino in obliko.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: hrana, migracije, Slovenci, Srbija, potica, identitete, dediščina

ABSTRACT

Potica and Its Stories: Slovenes in Serbia and the Symbolic Significance of Food

Food is not only a component of the material world and a means to satisfy basic physiological needs but also plays an important role in the culture and the social life of the community. Collective preparation and consumption of food connects people, creates new relations, and strengthens the position of individuals within the community. In addition, food is an important means of differentiation that separates people according to their sex, age, and their religious, social, and ethnic affiliations. For members of different ethnic communities living in majority societies, food and food practices also represent a means of establishing and maintaining their ethnic identity. This holds true for Slovenes living in Serbia, whose ethnic affiliation is further consolidated by certain foods and dishes, such as the potica cake. Like some other elements, food shapes and impacts the lives of the members of ethnic communities, and in turn these members participate significantly in the creation of the meaning of certain dishes, giving them new form and content.

KEY WORDS: food, migrations, Slovenes, Serbia, potica, identities, heritage

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UVOD

Hrana je področje materialnega sveta, a ne le tega, ki ljudi v različnih kulturnih in socialnih okoljih močno povezuje in tudi ločuje, vpliva na njihova čute, čustva in razpoloženje. Že arheološke najdbe pričajo o pomenu skupnega uživanja hrane na posameznih ob smrti ali različnih obredih, ki so pripadnike posameznih plemen povezovali, a tudi ločevale od članov drugih skupin. Vendar so bile razlike v prehrani po mnenju raziskovalcev razmeroma majhne, večjo diferenciacijo s pomočjo hrane zasledimo le v izrazito razslojenih družbah, npr. v indijskem kastnem sistemu, v srednjeveški fevdalni družbi in v razredni razslojenosti sodobnih industrijskih družb (Goody 1982: 28). Večja razslojenost oz. nerazslojenost družbe ne vpliva samo na nekatere najbolj vidne elemente materialne kulture, npr. oblačilno in bivalno kulturo, ampak tudi na prehrano. Človek je namreč pri izbiri, uporabi, pripravi in uživanju jedi, pa tudi pri vrednotenju hrane, vpet v socialno mrežo svojega kulturnega okolja. Skupno uživanje hrane in pijače ni le zunanja podoba družine, sorodstva in prijateljstva med udeleženci tega dejanja, temveč ga pogosto prav to povzroča, izoblikuje in utrjuje. Uživanje hrane ima torej predvsem funkcijo socialnega zблиževanja ljudi, vendar je pomembna tudi njena nasprotna vloga – vloga socialnega razločevanja (Godina Golija 2012: 91).

Angleška antropologinja Mary Douglas je zapisala, da s pomočjo hrane ustvarjamo mostove in meje, ker so sporočila, ki jih hrana prinaša, sporočila o družbenem dogajanju in odnosih ter družbeni hierarhiji, pa tudi o vključevanju, izključevanju, razmejevanju in prestopanju meja (Douglas 1984). S pomočjo hrane vzpostavljamo, ohranjamo, kažemo in obnovljamo sistem družbenih razlik in razdalj med posameznimi osebami in družbenimi skupinami. Kot so že v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja opozarjali nekateri etnologi, pa ta delitvena funkcija prehrane nima vedno samo negativne konotacije, ampak ima tudi zelo velik pomen pri izoblikovanju različnih oblik povezovanja in identitet, npr. pri tvorbi religioznih in etničnih identitet (Tokarev 1972: 165). To še zlasti velja za pripadnike migrantskih skupin, tudi za Slovence v tujem kulturnem okolju.

Med jedi, ki pomembno vplivajo na oblikovanje intimnih in etničnih identitet Slovencev, uvrščamo praznično pogačo potico. Po nastanku so potice mlajše oblike kolačev, v zgodovinskih virih jo omenjajo že leta 1575 (Makarovič 2004: 453). Kot slovensko posebnost jo leta 1689 omenja tudi Janez Vajkard Valvasor v svojem delu *Slava vojvodine Kranjske*. Poznamo več kot dvajset vrst potic, pripravljenih iz različnih vrst testa in nadevov. Največkrat pripravljajo potico z orehovim nadevom, pa tudi s pehtranovim, z makovim, lešnikovim, medenim, ocvirkovim, s čokoladnim in z rozinovim. Prvotno so pekli potico v okroglih lončenih modelih – »potičnikih«, danes je bolj razširjena peka podolgovatih potic. Ponekod pripravljajo tudi potice iz ajdovega in koruznega testa (Grum 1964: 39). Izraz potica izvira bodisi iz starega izraza povitica, torej poviti, zaviti testo, ali iz latinske besede *potissimus*, ki pomeni 'nekaj najboljšega, najvišjega'. Slovenci razumemo potico kot simbol slovenske kulinarične dediščine, čeprav je makova potica zelo zgodaj izpričana tudi v Avstriji. Že leta 1696 je bil v Avstriji zapisan recept za pripravo makove potice, zelo priljubljena dvorna jed je bila v času vladanja Marije Terezije, z njenega dvora pa se je širila tudi v druge kraje monarhije. Danes potica ni znana le v Sloveniji, ampak tudi na avstrijskem Štajerskem in Koroškem, v Hrvaškem Zagorju in v severni Italiji, predvsem v Furlaniji in Beneški Sloveniji. Ker velja potica za značilno slovensko narodno jed, je znana tudi v krajih, kamor so se Slovenci izselili.

Narodne jedi, ki so se pri evropskih narodih oblikovale prav sredi 19. stoletja in so sledile revolucionarnim vrenjem v Evropi, so, podobno kot drugi predmeti, npr. noša, ljudska arhitektura, nacionalne barve in ornamentika, igrale pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju nacionalnih identitet in nacionalnih držav (Buchli 2002: 7). Vendar etnične in nacionalne identitete niso homogene, saj imajo tudi pripadniki etničnih, socialnih ali religioznih skupin različne socialne in kulturne kontekste svojih izkušenj. Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik je v svoji študiji o spominih, povezanih s hrano v kontekstu migracij, o heterogenosti identitet zapisala:

Življenjske pripovedi so vključevale številne primere takšnih izključevanj, izpuščanj in zavračanj: včasih etnične identitete, drugič ameriške ali obe, vendar v različnih življenjskih obdobjih. Poleg tega so razlagale zvezajenost

identitet, njihovo heterogenost, večplastnost in dinamiko konstruiranja njihove »notranje homogenosti«. Življenjske zgodbe in avto/biografske pripovedi so razkrivale identitetne strategije, ki so določile kategorije raziskovalnega projekta »v množini«: ne ena identiteta, kultura, dediščina, temveč številne identitete, konstruirane v dinamičnem procesu vseživljenjskih strategij ustvarjanja blagostanja v intimnem migracijskem toku (Milharčič Hladnik 2010: 52).

Posamezne sestavine prehrane, npr. nekatere jedi, začimbe in tehnike priprave jedi, so še zlasti pomembne za oblikovanje in ohranjanje etnične in individualne identitete članov migrantskih skupin. Hrana, podobno kot drugi predmeti, npr. noša, glasbeni inštrumenti, predmeti notranje opreme ipd., pripadnike etničnih skupin razmejuje, to se kaže tako v intimnem okolju, kot je npr. dom, kot tudi v javnosti ter na različnih prireditvah. Priprava in uživanje hrane pa ljudi tudi povezuje, saj so sestavine prehrane in nekatere tako imenovane etnične jedi pogosto predmet afirmacije in obdarovanja, sredstvo, s katerim skušajo posamezniki ali skupine vzpostaviti ali utrditi socialne stike in povezave. Pri tem gre za predmete oz. tiste sestavine prehrane, ki etnično skupino simbolno zastopajo in jo zelo prepoznavno ločijo od pripadnikov drugih etničnih skupin. Jernej Mlekuž je simbolni pomen hrane razložil na primeru bureka:

Konkretno v burekarovanju neburekljudem burek reproducira etnična razmerja med skupinama, ki sta v darovanje vključeni. Ob pogoju, da katerikoli del družbe burek prepozna kot predmet, ki zastopa neko etnično skupino. In po zgornji analogiji navzočnost etnične skupine kot celote ni pomembna – daruje, menja se namreč predmet, ki to etnično skupino simbolno zastopa (Mlekuž 2010: 74).

Tudi drugi raziskovalci ugotavljajo, da je mnogo različnih jedi, ki označujejo pripadnost izseljenjskim skupinam. Omenimo samo ciprski sir Halloumi, ruske piroške ali slovaške cmoke haluske ... Sestavine prehrane oz. posamezne jedi so pogosto simbol njihove etnične pripadnosti oz. z njimi materializirajo svojo nacionalno identiteto (Buchli 2002: 17).

S tem je povezano tudi povečano zanimanje za tako imenovane značilne etnične sestavine kulture oz. kulturni fundamentalizem, ki se je rojeval v Evropi zlasti od devetdesetih let 20. stoletja, ko se je začela poudarjati potreba po izpričevanju svoje pripadnosti, torej po poudarjanju svoje identitete (Rowlands 2002: 105). Jedi in druge sestavine prehrane so za to še kako pripravne, z njimi so se nacionalne oz. etnične identitete izpričevale že v preteklih stoletjih. Še zlasti pomembne so za migrantske skupine, za katere raziskovalci ugotavljajo, da skušajo v novem okolju čim dalj ohraniti svoje prehranske navade in načine priprave hrane, in to tudi v okoljih, kjer so izpostavljeni različnim pritiskom; to jih tako medsebojno povezuje kot tudi ločuje od večinske skupnosti (Levenstein 1985; Mennell 1993). Pri tem sta prav pripadnost etnični skupini in skupno uživanje hrane s člani te skupnosti tista dejavnika, ki najodločilneje vplivata na prehrano članov neke migrantske skupine. Drugi dejavniki, npr. socialni položaj, spol in starost posameznika, so pri tem manj pomembni (Mennell 1993: 90).

OKUSI IN VONJI SLOVENIJE V SRBIJI

Gradivo o pomenu slovenskih sestavin prehrane in jedi za Slovence v Srbiji sem med obiski in terenskim delom v Beogradu zbirala v letih 2008 in 2012, v Rumi pa leta 2012.¹ Med dvema obiskoma v Srbiji sem s pomočjo različnih raziskovalnih metod (poglobljenih intervjujev, metode z opazovanjem in dela z odprtim vprašalnikom) zbrala gradivo o slovenski migrantski skupnosti v Srbiji ter pomenu slovenskih

¹ Razprava je delni rezultat raziskovalnega dela v okviru skupnega bilateralnega projekta Inštituta za izseljenstvo in migracije in Inštituta za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU in Etnografskog instituta SANU »Srbi in Slovenci: Migranti, manjšina, kolektivne identitete in spomini (2012–2013)«, ki ga financira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

sestavin prehrane za posameznike in skupnost kot celoto. Pri tem moram omeniti, da je bila večina zbranega in izpisanega gradiva ter ustnih virov zbranih med beograjskimi Slovenci, ki živijo v izrazito urbanem okolju. Manj gradiva in ustnih virov je bilo zbranih v Vojvodini, med Slovenci v Rumi in okolici, ki so šele pred kratkim začeli organizirano delovati v svojem društvu.

Še zlasti povedni so odgovori na deset vprašanj o ohranjenosti slovenskih jedi in sestavin prehrane ter odnosu do slovenske hrane devetnajstih slovenskih migrantov in migrantk iz Rume in okolice ter triindvajsetih slovenskih migrantov in migrantk iz Beograda.² Odgovori, ki so jih zaradi slabega znanja in razumevanja slovenskega jezika včasih tudi s težavo zapisali nekateri člani društev Slovencev »Emona« in »Sava«, kažejo na veliko navezanost na nekatere, predvsem praznične slovenske jedi. Potica in kranjska klobasa se v odgovorih pogosta pojavljata kot označevalca oz. simbola, v posameznih primerih celo tvorca nacionalne identitete, respondenti so ju pogosto navedli kot označevalca drugačnosti. Pomembnost hrane kot simbola nacionalne identitete za Slovence v Srbiji, pa tudi kot sredstvo samoreprezentacije na nekaterih prireditvah, ki ji obiskujejo tudi pripadniki drugih nacionalnosti, so potrjevali še drugi viri in gradivo, ki sem ga izpisovala decembra 2012 v knjižnici Instituta za etnografijo SANU in v društvu »Sava« v Beogradu. Zapise o hrani, slovenskih jedeh in načinih priprave je mogoče prebrati tudi v društvenih glasilih Slovencev v Srbiji. Nekatera glasila so redno objavljala tudi recepte za pripravo slovenskih jedi. Pri tem se je ponovno izkazalo, da je nujno raziskovati migracijske prostore kot povezane in združene v en sam prostor. Delitev na ločene prostore, kjer bivajo Slovenci, je neustrezna, ker je perspektiva »tu« in »tam« od začetka povezana, združena v nov, en sam prostor (Povrzanović Frykman 2009: 109).

V biltenu Slovenske kulturne skupnosti »France Prešeren« v Nišu so v zadnjem desetletju objavili recepte za pripravo ajdove gibanice s skuto, trentarskih krafov, belokranjske pogače, marmornega kolača, jote, kislega zelja s krompirjem in ajdove orehove potice, v glasilu Slovenske kulturne skupnosti Timoške krajine »Ivan Cankar« pa recepte za pripravo ljubljanske obare, dolenskih kep, matevža s suhim mesom, štajerske kisle juhe, svinjskih reberc s kislim zeljem in orehove potice. Občasno so recepte za pripravo slovenskih jedi objavljala tudi druga društvena glasila, npr. bilten Društva Slovencev »Kula« iz Vršca, bilten Društva Slovencev »Sava« v Beogradu in bilten Društva Slovencev v Novem Sadu »Kredarica«. Navedeni recepti pogosto izhajajo iz regionalne kulinarike, npr. belokranjske, prekmurske, dolenske, ki je bila značilna za kraje v Sloveniji, od koder so izvirali starši zapisovalke oz. zapisovalca. Da so recepti preizkušeni in zapisani po maminih navodilih oz. receptih, je v biltenih, ki objavljajo navodila za pripravo slovenskih jedi, tudi večkrat zapisano. V ospredju so bili recepti iz domačega okolja, ne pa recepti, značilni za slovensko kuhinjo nasploh, kar potrjuje dejstvo, da se pri migrantih intimne in etnične identitete prepletajo oz. v nekaterih primerih intimne celo prevladujejo. To osvetljujejo tudi odgovori respondentov na vprašanje, kako so se naučili pripravljati slovenske jedi. Velika večina jih je zapisala, da jih je slovenske jedi naučila pripravljati mama, le nekaj je zapisalo oz. navedlo, da so jih naučili babice ali dedki in prijateljice, manjši pomen pri učenju priprave slovenskih jedi so imeli tudi kuharske knjige in recepti, objavljeni v revijah in časopisih.³

O slovenskih jedeh, prodajalnah in restavracijah v Srbiji v preteklih desetletjih so objavljeni zapisi, še večkrat pa krajše navedbe, tudi v že obstoječi strokovni in znanstveni literaturi o slovenski migrantih v Srbiji. V Beogradu so pred drugo svetovno vojno delovali nekateri slovenski trgovci s kolonialnim blagom, med njimi tudi veletrgovec Jože Jagodnik, ki je imel znano prodajalno v Karađorđevi ulici, in slovenski pek Ferdinand Juteršu, ki je imel v Beogradu dve prodajalni (Žvan 1932: 71).

Okusi in vonji Slovenije so se v tem času vsaj deloma ohranjali in prenašali tudi s pomočjo gostinskih lokalov, ki so jih vodili Slovenci v Beogradu in drugih srbskih mestih. Med beograjskimi naj

2 Odgovori na vprašalnik Slovenske jedi med Slovenci v Srbiji, december 2012, so shranjeni v dokumentaciji Instituta za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU.

3 Primerjaj gradivo, zbrano z vprašalnikom Slovenske jedi med Slovenci v Srbiji, december 2012, arhiv ISN ZRC SAZU.

omenimo gostilno »Zlatorog« na Frankopanski ulici, ki je bila znana po dobri kuhinji in vinu in je bila priljubljeno shajališče slovenskih izobražencev, ali gostilno Križner v Sremski ulici, ki je slovela po domači kuhinji. V gostinske lokale, ki so jih v Beogradu vodili Slovenci, so radi zahajali tako srbski kot slovenski obiskovalci, a so se zaradi navad, povezanih z druženjem, v gostilnah in restavracijah razlikovali:

marsikdo (od Slovencev, op. a.) je navezan na gostilniško hrano, ali zmerno okrepčilo. Naša slabost je sicer, da včasih v tem oziru nekoliko pretiravamo, ker smo pač Slovenci, veseli in družabni ljudje. Radi tega nam Beograjčani radi podtikajo nagnjenje k pijači (Žvan 1932: 37).

Zanimivo gradivo o prisotnosti slovenskih jedi med Slovenci v Srbiji v novejšem času so tudi opisi prireditve slovenskih društev. Tako se na primer Slovenci v Beogradu že nekaj let zbirajo na tradicionalnem martinovanju v prostorih Društva Slovencev v Beogradu – Društvo »Sava« na Terazijah 3. Prireditve se udeležujejo tudi nekateri srbski sorodniki Slovencev, društveni podporniki in slovenski politični predstavniki v Beogradu. Beograjski nadškof msgr. Stanislav Hočevar že tradicionalno podari za to prireditve cviček, člani društva pa pripravijo kranjske klobase, kislo zelje, zaseko in potice. Prav ta družabna prireditev je verjetno vplivala na veliko priljubljenost in poznavanje kranjske klobase med beograjskimi Slovenci; med Slovenci v drugih delih Srbije je ne zaznavamo v tako veliki meri. Treba pa je omeniti tudi dejstvo, ki so ga večkrat poudarili informatorji. V beograjskem nakupovalnem centru Mercator je mogoče kupiti tudi nekatera slovenska živila, npr. kranjske klobase in kislo zelje, kar Slovincem, živečim v drugih krajih Srbije, ki morajo nakupovati živila pri drugih trgovcih, ni omogočeno. Preskrba s slovenskimi živili zunaj Beograda je torej slaba, zato na oblikovanje in uživanje slovenskih živil in jedi ter njihovo priljubljenost poleg drugih dejavnikov pomembno vplivata dostopnost živil oz. mreža trgovin, ki ponujajo slovenska živila.

Tudi sama sem obiskala nekatere društvene prireditve v Beogradu in Rumi in opazovala odnos obiskovalcev do ponujenih jedi, še posebej slovenskih. Poleg slovenskih članov društva se prireditve udeležujejo tudi nekateri Srbi, predvsem ožji sorodniki članov slovenskih društev, ki radi posegajo po slovenskih dobrotah. Mnogi prav na teh prireditvah spoznajo raznovrstnost slovenske kulinarike in prvič preizkusijo nekatere slovenske jedi, zato so te pomembne tudi za samoprezentacijo Slovencev in prezentacijo slovenske kulture v Srbiji.

Na društvenih prireditvah najpogosteje postrežejo različne potice, predvsem orehovo in makovo, in drugo doma pečeno pecivo. Med njimi so tudi jedi, ki so samo izpeljave omenjenih, kar je posledica nedostopnosti nekaterih sestavin za pripravo jedi, vplivu sodobnih receptov in živil, kreativnosti in iznajdljivosti posameznika ter različnega znanja o njihovi pripravi. Na vsakoletnem decembrskem miklavževanju v beograjskem društvu otroke obdarijo tudi s ptički iz boljšega kvašenega testa, ki jih že več let pripravlja ena od članic društva. V pogovoru mi je povedala, da se ptičkov spominja z rodne Dolenske, ki jo je zaradi poroke z Beograjčanom zapustila leta 1952. Pri tej vrsti peciva jo navdušuje predvsem njegova estetska plat, saj so po njenem mnenju med najlepšimi slovenskimi pekovskimi izdelki, s katerimi so nekoč – ponekod jih še danes – razveseljevali otroke.⁴ Čeprav so ptički v Sloveniji znani predvsem kot velikonočno pecivo, so v tujem okolju dobili novo funkcijo, postali so simbol slovenstva, decembrskih praznikov in slovenske boljše – praznične hrane.

Testeni ptički so tako postali dober primer tvorca identitete, simbola oz. označevalca okusa po drugačnosti in drugosti. Jed, ki je znana le v nekaterih predelih Slovenije, postrežena ob drugih koledarskih praznikih in omejena na zelo omejeno skupino konzumentov, to je nekaterih otrok, je postala simbol etnične identitete. Vendar lahko ugotovimo, da je razumevanje našega in drugega odvisno od konteksta ali celo od tega, iz katere regije prihajamo. Jedi, ki se jih posamezniki spominjajo iz domačega okolja, postanejo simbol slovenske kuhinje, čeprav se lahko zgodi, da na večini slovenskega ozemlja sploh niso poznane. Več je o tem v že omenjenem članku zapisala Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik:

⁴ Terenski zapiski, Beograd, 7. 12. 2012.

Tradicija dobrodošlice s kruhom, soljo in žganjem je morda slovenska, a meni se je zdela srbska in še to iz nekih drugih časov. Razumevanje našega in drugega je odvisno od konteksta. Pri hrani je odvisno celo od tega, iz katere regije prihajamo, kajti med načini priprave hrane v slovenskih pokrajinah – pomislimo samo na koruzne žgance in polento – so velike razlike. Ti primeri kažejo, kako so pri hrani, jedi in uživanju identiteta, označevalec, simbol in okus vedno v množini, kako se interpretacije razlikujejo, saj je mnogo različnih trditev o avtentičnosti, okusi so umišljeni, simboli pa se neprestano reinterpretirajo v dinamičnih kontekstih (Milharčič Hladnik 2010: 54).

S slovenskimi jedmi, zlasti s potico in štruklji, Slovenke v Srbiji rade postrežejo tudi gostom. Ena od sogovornic mi je ob intervjuju v društvenih prostorih uprizorila kar malo slovensko pogostitev: postregla mi je z orehovo potico in rogljički ter s čajem z rumom, ki se je v hladnem in zasneženem beograjskem večeru še zlasti prilegel, ter poudarila, da orehovo potico pripravi tudi za nekatere društvene prireditve in pogosti z njimi svoje bližnje in slovenske prijatelje. Skupaj sva zaužili pripravljene dobrote, govorili o nekdanjih in zdajšnjih razmerah v Sloveniji ter tudi s pomočjo zaužite hrane vzpostavili kontekst skupne tradicije. Peki potic za srečanja Slovencev v Beogradu se je sogovornica v zadnjih letih posvetila zelo poglobljeno. Iskala in preizkušala je različne recepte za pripravo orehove potice.⁵ Izboljšanje recepture zanjo je terjalo veliko časa, potrpljenja in preizkušanja, vendar je z na novo sestavljenim receptom sogovornica končno zadovoljna, čeprav se nekoliko razlikuje od najbolj uveljavljenih in objavljenih receptov za pripravo orehove potice v slovenskih kuharskih knjigah.⁶

Tudi druga pripovedovalka iz Beograda, ki je več kot pet desetletij živela v mešanem zakonu s Srbom, mi je omenila, da slovenske jedi pripravlja zlasti za goste, ki njeno družino obiščejo na domu v Beogradu. Za vsakdanje in nedeljske jedilne obroke pripravlja različne jedi iz srbske in mednarodne kuhinje, ker rada preizkuša recepte iz kuharskih knjig. Od slovenskih jedi pa za posebne priložnosti pripravlja le sirove štruklje. Nad tem se je med najinim intervjujem potožila njena že odrasla hčerka, ki je menila, da bi lahko za goste, ki jih obiščejo v njihovi hiši, pripravili tudi nekatere druge jedi, ker se štruklji pri njih že prevečkrat ponavljajo. Informatorica se je priprave sirovih štrukljev naučila od mame, ki je bila Dolenjka in je nanjo prenesla svoje znanje. Čeprav v Beogradu ne more kupiti dobre skute, ji je z nekaj iznajdljivosti in kreativnosti uspelo pripraviti dobre sirove štruklje tudi iz v Srbiji dostopnih sestavin. Testo pripravlja sama, namesto skute pa uporablja feta sir, ki še najbolj pričara iz otroštva ohranjeni spomin na okus dolenjskih štrukljev.⁷

Danes Slovenci, ki živijo v Beogradu in Rumi, uživajo slovenske jedi predvsem ob koledarskih praznikih. Potico, šunko s hrenom in jajca pripravljajo ob veliki noči, nekateri pripravijo za ta praznik tudi menihe in šarkelj. Ob božiču postrežejo s pečenko in z orehovo potico, ponekod pečejo tudi medenjake in sadni kruh. Koledarske praznike želijo praznovati na podoben način kot Slovenci v Sloveniji. Večina med njimi želi ohraniti tradicionalne sestavine praznikov, še posebej tradicionalne jedi, ki praznike zelo močno označujejo. Pri tem je treba poudariti pomen subjektivnega v procesu prehranjevanja in spominjanja, še zlasti znotraj prazničnega konteksta, ter pomen subjektivnih odločitev pri pripravi in izboru tega, kaj jesti, da bi se v določenem kontekstu spominjali. Etnologi v študijah o praznični hrani ugotavljamo, da je prav področje praznične prehrane zelo konzervativno. Praznične jedi kažejo skoraj v vseh družinah, ne le migrantskih, močno navezanost na dom in na jedi iz otroštva in so na naslednje generacije prenesene v skoraj nespremenjeni obliki (Godina Golija 2008: 126; Wiegelmann 2006: 19).

Tudi v mešanih zakonih v Beogradu in Rumi ob koledarskih praznikih pripravljajo slovenske in srb-

5 Terenski zapiski, Beograd, 6. 12. 2012.

6 V mislih imam predvsem recepte za pripravo orehove potice v najbolj priljubljeni slovenski kuharski knjigi *Velika slovenska kuharica* (Kalinšek 2011) in v knjigah *Kuhinja Slovenije* (Bogataj 2000) in *Prazniki in praznične jedi na Slovenskem* (Kuhar 1992).

7 Terenski zapiski, Beograd, 7. 12. 2012.

ske jedi, predvsem tiste znane iz otroštva. Respondentka, ki je bila rojena leta 1962 v mešanem zakonu v Beogradu, je navedla, da za vsakdanje jedilne obroke iz slovenske kuhinje pripravljajo le kranjske klobase in obaro, ob božiču potico, ob veliki noči pa šunko, hren in potico, respondentka iz Rume, rojena leta 1958 v mešanem zakonu, je zapisala, da pripravlja od slovenskih jedi ob novem letu potico, ob veliki noči pa pirhe in potico. Slovenske jedi so tudi pri večini srbskih zakoncev dobre sprejete, uživajo jih doma in na prireditvah slovenskih društev.⁸

Na vprašanje, katere slovenske jedi ali sestavine slovenske kuhinje najbolj pogrešajo, so sogovorniki oz. respondenti odgovorili zelo različno. Nekateri pogrešajo izdelke slovenske živilske industrije, npr. zlate kroglice, nekateri pa vrtnine in kmetijske pridelke: motovilec, zelene solate, kisko repo, koruzno moko za žgance in slovenski krompir. Slovenka iz Beograda mi je v intervjuju potožila, da v Beogradu ne moreš dobiti dobrega in okusnega krompirja, in še ta je zelo drag.⁹ Največ vprašanih pa je poudarilo, da pogrešajo nekatere slovenske jedi, ki jih v Srbiji ne morejo kupiti ali jih pripraviti doma. Med te so uvrstili: zaseko, krvavice, kašnate klobase in kranjsko klobaso, pečenice, potico, božični kruh, cesarski praženec, pršut in žemlje.

Zanimivo je, da se med naštetimi jedmi niso znašle nekatere, ki so zelo reprezentativne za slovensko kuhinjo, npr. sirovi štruklji, idrijski žlikrofi, blejska rezina ali prekmurska gibanica. Pa tudi ne nekateri zelo znani in tudi v Evropski uniji zaščiteni proizvodi, npr. bučno olje, nanoški in tolminski sir, savinjski želodec ali prekmurska šunka (Godina Golija 2012: 95). Med jedmi in živili, ki jih pogrešajo, so predvsem tisti, ki jih spominjajo na otroštvo, na dom in starše, in ne tisti, ki so v Sloveniji in zunaj nje največkrat priznani in propagirani kot značilne slovenske sestavine prehrane.

Pomen subjektivne razlage, individualnih spominov in skritih pomenov hrane in določenih jedi ugotavljajo tudi drugi avtorji (Sutton 2001; Petridou 2001). Spomin na preteklost se prenaša in ohranja s pomočjo ritualov oziroma predstav. V teh obredih so pripravljanje hrane, skupno uživanje hrane in drugi načini rokovanja s hrano (npr. obdaritev z jedmi ob božiču ali veliki noči) med najmočnejšimi. Spomin na vonj in okus odpre bolj zapleteno strukturo spomina, ki ni sestavljen le iz dejanj in oseb, ampak številnih vtisov naših čutov. Hrana ne simbolizira zgolj družbenih vezi in delitev: sodeluje pri njihovem ustvarjanju in ponovnem rojevanju. In prav v tolikšni meri kot kuhanje in spominjanje implicira tradicijo, implicira tudi spremembo, refleksijo, izbiro in variacijo.

»NAŠA SLOVENSKA POTICA«

Med pomembne spremembe dojemanja hrane in prehranjevanja v novejšem času lahko uvrščamo tudi različna tekmovanja neprofesionalnih kuharjev v pripravljanju jedi. V zadnjih treh desetletjih je postala hrana pomembno področje izkazovanja lokalne, etnične, religiozne ali nacionalne pripadnosti. Sprva so se tekmovanja neprofesionalnih kuharjev v pripravi značilnih etničnih jedi razširila v Združenih državah Amerike in nekaterih zahodnoevropskih deželah. Pojavili so se festivali hrane priseljencev in tekmovanja v pripravi etničnih jedi, npr. festival kislega zelja, festival grških in libanonskih jedi, festival borovničeve pite (Antill 2002; Hanson 2006).

Želja po izkazovanju lokalne identitete in drugačnosti je močna tudi zunaj okolij, kjer živijo večje skupnosti migrantov, npr. v nekaterih deželah Evropske unije, kjer je zelo živo gibanje za lokalno prepoznavnost in samobitnost znotraj unije. Lokalne jedi so prepoznane kot sestavina kulturne dediščine pa tudi kot pomemben del stremeljenj za višjo kakovost bivanja v sodobnem svetu in prizadevanj za bolj zdravo, avtentično – s kemikalijami neobremenjeno in ekološko pridelano hrano (Godina Golija 2012: 100). To ni izraženo le v uradni politiki Evropske unije, ki z različnimi projekti in ukrepi podpira in

⁸ Primerjaj gradivo, zbrano z vprašalnikom Slovenske jedi med Slovenci v Srbiji, december 2012, arhiv ISN ZRC SAZU.

⁹ Terenski zapiski, Beograd, 6. 12. 2012.

financira razvoj evropskih regij in zaščito lokalnih posebnosti ter raznolikosti, ampak tudi v vedno bolj živi in razvijajoči se ideji o ohranjanju in oživiljanju nekaterih evropskih regij, ki se kot odgovor na globalizacijo in kreolizacijo močno uveljavlja predvsem med izobraženci v Zahodni Evropi (Köstlin 2010: 38). Hrana je pojmovana kot pomemben del dediščine, a ne samo te, poudarjena je tudi njena povezava z naravnim okoljem in zdravim načinom življenja in prehranjevanja ter oblikami bivanja ljudi v tem okolju in njihovimi gospodarskimi prizadevanji. Področje prehrane je v teh sodobnih prizadevanjih v Evropi najtesneje povezano s teritorialnim vidikom, ki ga ščiti in ureja že Unescova konvencija iz leta 1972. Pri obravnavi hrane, še zlasti lokalnih jedi, je treba upoštevati več prevladujočih vidikov: vidik teritorialnosti, vidik kolektivnega znanja in tradicije ter vidik prizadevanj za zdravo hrano, ki se povezuje z diskurzi o avtentičnosti biološko pridelanih živil.

Prehrana je torej pomembno področje družbenega in ima velik pomen za delovanje lokalnih skupnosti, še zlasti tistih, ki se zaradi svoje majhnosti ali kulturne drugačnosti čutijo ogrožene v zvezi večjih držav, npr. v Evropski uniji ali v večnacionalnih državah, pomembna pa je tudi za življenje migrantskih družin v kulturno tujih deželah njihove priselitve. Prehrana omogoča vzpostavljanje občutka varnosti in oblikovanje ter utrjevanje občutka pripadnosti in vključenosti. Skupni spomini na domači kraj, predvsem na dom, pripadnike migrantskih skupin povezujejo in jim pričarajo občutek harmonije in razumevanja. Vendar je, kot so antropologi v raziskavah že pokazali, pojem doma največkrat krajeno neopredeljen prostor, povezan z vrsto drugih označevalcev (Douglas 1991). Namesto tega pojma bi bilo ustrezneje uporabljati drug pojem, npr. prostor oz. kontekst človekovih izkušenj, izoblikovanih v praksi: prostor spomina, srečevanja in druženja. Dom je torej prostor, ki pridobi svoj pomen šele s pomočjo različnih praks in je kot tak pomembno soudeležen v vsakodnevnem procesu lastnega izoblikovanja (Petridou 2001: 88).

Čeprav migranti pogosto izhajajo iz različnih domačih okolij, krajev oz. pokrajin neke dežele, ki se v kulinarčni podobi in značilnih jedeh lahko tudi zelo močno razlikujejo, pa jih bivanje v tujini in spomini na dom povezujejo v na videz enotno in tudi po kulinarčni plati enovito skupnost. Tako sem med terenskim delom v Srbiji sodelovala z migranti iz različnih delov Slovenije, predvsem iz Dolenjske, Štajerske in Gorenjske, ki imajo iz domačih okolij različne spomine in izkušnje o slovenski kulturi in kulinariki, vendar so v novem okolju prevzeli nekatere do tedaj neznane sestavine slovenskih regionalnih kuhinj kot svoje oz. kot značilno slovenske. Kot ugotavljajo raziskovalci, vpliv migracij, izgnanstva, različnih oblik mobilnosti in tudi turizma, ki so značilne izkušnje naše dobe, vplivajo na to, da se lahko koncept doma realizira v kompleksu različnih praks (Dawson, Rapport 1998: 7), pri čemer ima pomembno vlogo tudi hrana.

Vsi ti dejavniki, povezani s pomenom hrane za migrantske skupine, so spodbudili člane društva Slovencev »Kula« iz Vršca, da so konec leta 2009 prvič organizirali tekmovanje »Naša slovenska potica 2010«. Manifestacija naj bi bila, kot so poudarjali v različnih objavljenih zapisih organizatorji prireditve, posvečena predvsem ohranjanju slovenske kulinarčne tradicije in srečanju članov slovenskih društev v Srbiji. Zato so prireditve podprli tudi Urad za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu Vlade Republike Slovenije, avtonomna pokrajina Vojvodina in občina Vršac (Čolakov 2010: 7). Oktobra 2010 je v Vršču potekalo prvo tekmovanje »Naša slovenska potica«, ki so se ga udeležile tekmovalke iz Društva Slovencev »Planika« iz Zrenjanina, Društva Slovencev »Sava« iz Beograda, Društva Slovencev »Emona« iz Rume in Društva Slovencev »Kula« iz Vršca. Članice naštetih društev so na prireditve, na kateri se je ocenjevalo različne vrste potic, prinašale na njihovih srbskih domovih pripravljene potice. Zanimivo je, da je bilo med njimi manj orehovitih in pehtranovitih potic, ki jih imamo Slovenci v Sloveniji za svojo kulinarčno posebnost in značilno slovensko praznično jed, prevladovale pa so druge vrste potic. Nekatere med njimi so nastale pod vplivom srbske in madžarske kulinarike oz. skupnega življenja v večnacionalnih okoljih in mešanih družinah, kar je glede na izvor udeleženihih tekmovalk, večina je bila iz Vojvodine, razumljivo. O tem je s Slovincem poročena udeleženka tekmovanja pripovedovala:

Jaz sem rojena v Srbiji in sem Madžarica ... Slovenske in madžarske jedi so slične. Po mojem mnenju so slovenske jedi bolj zdrave, a so pikantne, tako kot madžarske. Čeprav ne poznam zelo dobro slovenske kuhinje, pripravljam juhe in potico, ki so značilne za Slovenijo.¹⁰

Morda so bile prav zaradi življenja tekmovalk v mešanem okolju in v mešanih družinah na prireditvi predstavljene in ocenjene zlasti makove potice oz. »štrudle s makom«, ki so priljubljene tudi v madžarski in vojvodinski kuhinji, pa tudi sirove, rožičeve, orehove, lešnikove in celo višnjeve potice. Potice so bile največkrat v obliki kvašenih zavitkov ali šarklja in pečene brez modla »potičnika«.

O prireditvi so poročali različni mediji, predvsem društvena glasila Slovencev v Srbiji. Ker so se poleg društvenih funkcionarjev in članov slovenskih društev v Srbiji prireditve »Naša slovenska potica« udeležili tudi predstavniki veleposlaništva Republike Slovenije v Srbiji, predstavniki Nacionalnega sveta in nekateri gostje iz Vršca, je bila prireditev pomembna tudi za predstavitev slovenske kulture v Srbiji. Prireditev je postala tradicionalna in v Vršču poteka vsako jesen (Spremo 2011: 34). Po tekmovanju prireditev ob koncu popestrijo tudi nastopi kulturnih društev, npr. pevskih zborov iz Slovenije, in družabno srečanje vseh udeležencev tekmovanja. Večina sogovornic, s katerimi sem opravila narativne intervjuje, ima do prireditve pozitiven odnos. Zdi se jim dobra priložnost za srečanje članov slovenskih društev v Srbiji in za predstavitev slovenskega kulinaričnega bogastva, pritožujejo pa se nad za nekatere pristranskim ocenjevanjem potic. Potice ocenjujejo srbski strokovnjaki iz živilske šole v Vršču, ki ocenjujejo predvsem njihove senzorične značilnosti, manj pa obliko, videz in izvirnost receptov. S tem morda lahko pojasnimo tudi to, da so na ocenjevanje sprejete zelo različne vrste potic, pripravljene z različnimi nadevi in dodatki, nepoznanimi v tradicionalni slovenski kuhinji, in to kljub temu, da je cilj prireditve negovanje tradicionalne slovenske kuhinje in njenih značilnih jedi (Sabo 2010: 9).

O nezadovoljstvu z delom komisije, ki ocenjuje potice na tekmovanju »Naša slovenska potica«, govorijo tudi izjave sogovornic iz Beograda. Več članic beograjskega društva »Sava« mi je omenilo, da se je njihova članica s svojo orehovo potico, ki pa je bila po njihovem mnenju najlepša in tudi najokusnejša, uvrstila le na drugo mesto. Potica je bila tudi po videzu najbolj podobna slovenskim prazničnim orehovim poticam. Toda komisijo je prepričala makova potica tekmovalke iz Vojvodine, ki je na tekmovanje prišla oblečena v slovensko narodno nošo. Prav to je po mnenju sogovornic pripomoglo k njeni zmagi. Govorica hrane je torej tudi na tem kulinaričnem tekmovanju, podobno kot še na nekaterih drugih, za uspešno predstavitev jedi premalo. Pomembna je celostna predstavitev društva oz. sodelujočih kandidat. To potrjuje tudi fotografsko gradivo, objavljeno na spletni strani društva Slovencev »Kula« iz Vršca. Na fotografijah si lahko ogledamo raznovrstne ocenjevane potice. Poleg različnih oblik potic in nadevov ter načinov njihovega zavijanja, pozornega gledalca presenetijo tudi nekateri predmeti, ki so jih tekmovalke uporabile za čim boljše predstavitev te slovenske jedi. Na eni od fotografij je zanimiv prtič, na drugi je na potici vejica cvetoče vijolične viseče pelargonije, znane pod domačim imenom »Slovenka«, na tretji je ob potici še rdeč nagelj.¹¹

Tekmovalke so potici priložile še nekatere druge predmete, ki naj bi utrjevali in predstavljali slovensko tradicijo in kulturo ter na zelo nazoren način poudarili pomen kulturne dediščine za nacionalno pripadnost in identiteto. Podobno kot raziskovalci ugotavljajo pri prireditvah drugih migrantskih skupin, lahko tudi pri tej prireditvi Slovencev v Srbiji sledimo oblikovanju in izumljanju dediščine z namenom doseganja političnih, socialnih in drugih ciljev, ki vodijo v homogenizacijo in manipulacijo dediščine (Lukšič Hacin, Toplak 2012: 112). Pri tem potica in predmeti, kot so npr. noša in ornamentika, niso izbrani naključno. Potica je značilna slovenska praznična jed, ki jo v Sloveniji pripravljajo ob največjih praznikih, predvsem ob božiču in veliki noči. Ker sta to za mnoge Slovence najpomembnejša družinska praznika,

10 Primerjaj gradivo, zbrano z vprašalnikom Slovenske jedi med Slovenci v Srbiji, december 2012, arhiv ISN ZRC SAZU.

11 Slikovno gradivo si je mogoče ogledati na *Naša slovenska potica* (2013).

so s potico povezani številni spomini na dom in člane ožje družinske skupnosti. Prav ti spomini pa so, kot smo že pokazali, ključni za vzpostavljanje in utrjevanje etnične identitete migrantskih skupin.

Etnologi, ki se bolj podrobno ukvarjajo z etnološko dediščino in zgodovino njene uporabe ter prezentacijo etničnih in nacionalnih skupin, ugotavljajo, da so imele prav praznične pogače, npr. potica, že v 19. stoletju pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju identitete Slovencev in drugih Slovanov ter predstavitvi njihove kulture. Če so bile sredi 19. stoletja nekatere sestavine materialne kulture spoznane kot pomembni pokazatelj nacionalne pripadnosti in samobitnosti v večnacionalnih monarhijah (Schippers 2002: 127), potem lahko ugotovimo, da je danes vloga materialnih dobrin v državah z migrantskimi skupnostmi podobna. Nekoč od izobraženstva konstruirane in propagirane narodne jedi, ki so rabile izražanju in poudarjanju nacionalne pripadnosti (Makarovič 1991: 127), zlasti slovanskih narodov v drugi polovici 19. stoletja, so danes pomembne predvsem za vzpostavljanje, utrjevanje in ohranjanje etnične identitete ter reprezentacijo različnih migrantskih skupin. To navezovanje na tradicijo, dom in sestavine vaškega življenja v predindustrijski dobi je povzročilo, da je modernost, ki v klasičnem razumevanju uničuje tradicijo, v epistemološkem smislu ustvarja tradicijo in jo s tem naredi za produkt modernosti (Anttonen 2005: 13). Moderni pojavi, kot so globalizacija, turizem in migracije, so povzročili rojstvo in ponovno oživljanje zanimanja za kulturno dediščino in tradicijo.

SKLEP

Gradivo, ki sem ga zbrala s terenskim delom med Slovenci v Rumi in Beogradu, govori o izrednem pomenu prehrane, še posebej nekaterih slovenskih jedi, za ohranjanje in utrjevanje etnične identitete Slovencev, ki živijo v Srbiji, njihovo povezovanje in predstavitve. Čeprav sem jih spraševala tudi o praznikih in praznovanjih, se je izkazalo, da so ta in spomini na dom in domovino povezani predvsem z različnimi okusi in vonji, torej z jedmi, ki so jih spoznali v domačem okolju. Slovenska kuhinja je kuhinja babic in mam, in ne kuhinja, ki jo država Slovenija uradno predstavlja kot slovensko kulinarčno bogastvo, ali kuhinja, opisana v slovenskih kuharskih knjigah. Kuhinja, jedi in njihova priprava so področje najbolj intimnega materialnega sveta, povezanega z nekdanjim domom in najožjimi sorodniki, a ne le s tem, saj ljudi v različnih kulturnih in socialnih okoljih močno povezuje, pa tudi ločuje, vpliva na njihove čute in razpoloženje. To še zlasti velja za pripadnike etničnih skupnosti, ki živijo v tujini in so iztrgani iz svojega prvotnega kulturnega in socialnega okolja. Večja razslojenost in raznolikost družbe močno vplivata tudi na prehrano posameznika, še zlasti v etnično mešanih okoljih in mešanih družinah. Posamezne sestavine prehrane, npr. nekatere jedi, začimbe in tehnike priprave jedi, so še zlasti pomembne za oblikovanje in ohranjanje etnične in individualne identitete članov migrantskih skupin, tudi Slovencev, živečih v Srbiji, pa tudi za njihovo javno prezentacijo. Sestavine prehrane in nekatere t. i. etnične jedi so pogosto predmet afirmacije, samoprezentacije in obdarovanja teh skupin. Zato je prehrana ne le sestavina materialnega sveta, ampak tudi nematerialnega, na lokalni pa tudi mednarodni ravni. Jedi, njihovo pripravljavanje in načini uživanja, so del kolektivnega znanja in zavedanja, tradicije in inovacij, povezanih s pripravo, postrežbo in z uživanjem hrane.

Med Slovenci v Srbiji zavzema to mesto predvsem slovenska praznična pogača potica, ki jo pripravljajo za vsa večja družinska slavlja in prireditve. Potico kot predmet obdaritve prijateljev in članov društev iz lastnih vzgibov pečejo tudi nekatere članice društev Slovencev v Srbiji, in sicer kot obliko osebne in društvene afirmacije, v peki potic pa se od leta 2010 pomerijo na vsakoletnem tekmovanju »Naša slovenska potica« tudi članice slovenskih društev v Srbiji. Slovenci v Srbiji so izbrali potico kot simbol slovenstva, ki jih v tujem okolju zelo prepoznavno loči od pripadnikov drugih etničnih skupin. Spominja jih na preteklost, otroštvo in dom, na kulinarčno dediščino in tradicijo Slovencev, ki se prenaša in ohranja s pomočjo ritualov oziroma predstav tudi v novem, tujem okolju. Hrana, še posebej praznične jedi, npr. potica, ne simbolizira zgolj družbenih vezi in delitev: sodeluje pri njihovem ustvarjanju, utrjevanju in ponovnem rojevanju. Po drugi strani pa tudi pripadniki slovenske skupnosti v Srbiji pomembno soo-

blikujejo podobo in življenje te materialne prvine. Pomen tradicionalnih jedi za pripadnike posameznih etničnih skupin se spreminja, zlasti še, ko jedi postanejo del prepoznane kulturne dediščine, oz. ko postanejo izraz – simbol identitete. Barbara Kirschenblatt Gimblett je poudarila, da dediščinske intervencije spreminjajo odnose med ljudmi, njihovimi dejanji in kulturnimi sestavinami. Različni posegi in rokovanje s sestavinami dediščine vplivajo na to, kako ljudje razumejo kulturo in samega sebe. Vplivajo pa tudi na spreminjanje temeljnih pogojev za produkcijo in reprodukcijo kulture (Kirschenblatt Gimblett 2004: 58). Na videz drobne in nepomembne sestavine kulture, ki niso rezultat vrhunskih ustvarjalcev, ampak sestavine vsakdanjega in prazničnega življenja, postanejo simbol identitet. Tako kot potica, ki priča o etnični pripadnosti slovenskih migrantov v Srbiji in materializira njihovo nacionalno identiteto.

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TEMATSKI SKLOP

Multicultural Heritage and the Nation State:

Dynamics, Tensions and Negotiations

Multikulturalna dediščina in nacionalna država: Dinamika, konflikti in pogajanja

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

MULTICULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE NATION STATE: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THEMATIC SECTION

Tanja PETROVIĆ¹

With the increasing importance of cultural heritage and its role in contemporary societies,¹ an increasing number of researchers and heritage experts are calling for an understanding of heritage that would more adequately reflect the complex and often contested social processes and engagements with the past and be more sensitive to the needs, visions, negotiations, and experiences of communities and individuals. These voices are part of an already well-articulated critique of the normativity, one-directionality and past-orientation of the mainstream heritage discourses and institutionalized practices in the Western World (Smith 2006).

Another important point in critically reassessing heritage concerns its naturalizing link to the nation state and national identity. Over the last decade, many disciplines have started to reconsider heritage issues and critically address the emergence of heritage discourse within the context of 19th-century nationalism, in which the primary form of identity associated with heritage was that of the nation (see Macdonald 2003; Graham, Ashworth, Tunbridge 2005).

The new approaches to cultural heritage have made strong claims about the localizing affects of the process of heritage making, whereby locality has become a central concept in terms of identity work (Chang et al. 1996; Escobar 2001; Berking 2003). These approaches point to the local appropriations and everyday performances of the canon of cultural heritage, simultaneously challenging its ideological, official and canonical nature. They question traditional interpretations of heritage practices and offer new understandings of the very concept of heritage (Hayden 1997). In particular, they criticize traditional and authorized conceptualizations of heritage which are mainly focused on nationalizing stories that simply do not reflect the cultural or social experiences of subaltern and less visible groups (Smith 2006: 36), such as women, minorities, workers, ethnic and other community groups.

In this thematic section the authors focus on various aspects of negotiation, (re)appropriation and (re)localization of heritage in Slovenian society, not least because these aspects are largely absent from "official" and institutional discussions of cultural heritage.² Focusing mainly on three Slovenian border areas characterized by multiculturalism – Prekmurje, Bela Krajina and Primorska – this set of articles ques-

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¹ In Europe, increased interest in cultural heritage is part of a broader trend: the European Parliament included cultural heritage among the priorities of the European Commission's Horizon 2020 programme; at the EU level, there is also the Joint Programming Initiative on Cultural Heritage and Global Change: A New Challenge for Europe (Cultural Heritage).

² This thematic section is a result of the research project "Multicultural Heritage and the Nation State: The Cases of Prekmurje, Bela Krajina and Primorska" financially supported by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS) in the period 2011–2014 (Multicultural Heritage).

tions the often overemphasized and seemingly unproblematic link between cultural heritage and national identity, whereby heritage is believed to assist a society and its memory. The specific historical, social and cultural circumstances that prevailed in these regions, the variegated intertwined historical legacies, as well as the fluctuation of the population, frictions and continuous interaction with neighbouring cultures, make these regions an exceptionally good “laboratory” for the study of multicultural heritage. Multicultural heritage is understood as a category determined by *dynamic narratives, practices and symbolizations* that take place within diverse fields of activity of many protagonists and as the locus of incessant contestation and invention (Hobsbawm, Ranger 1983). Furthermore, it is seen as an ongoing process that involves many voices and protagonists who co-create its meaning (Parekh 2000: 152–153), rather than a fixed and selective structure that combines given and unchangeable content and interpretations. In other words, this section starts with an understanding of cultural heritage that is not a limited, self-sufficient and self-preserving structure, but a dynamic and hybrid one. Rather than seeing heritage as a preferred historical narrative about the past, the authors emphasise its processuality, everyday relevance and dynamics shaped by various subjects. Therefore, the authors focus on the roles of the actors of heritage negotiation and insist not so much on “artefacts and facts”, but on a spectrum of affects and subjectivities (re)shaped in the process of engaging with practices and narratives that are negotiated as heritage.

Writing about the *Guča na Krasu* music festival, Ana Hofman highlights music heritage as immaterial, elusive, difficult to tie to a certain locality and easy to relocate, but simultaneously points to the capacity of music and sound to be “appropriated by a space influenced by local discourse and heritage discourses in a variety of assemblages”. Her article discusses the ways the existing branding strategies of Balkan music on the world music market become affective tools of identification and affiliation, and brings a newly emergent global-local dynamics to the heritage management of the community living in the Italo-Slovene border area. In this space, with its own troubled histories, music, brought there through the flows of globalization and migration, is an important vehicle of complex, affective and multifaceted heritage negotiation, which in turn provides a means for the empowerment of the local community.

In her article on representation and negotiation of heritage among the Serbian Orthodox community in Bela Krajina, Tanja Petrović examines the ambiguities that heritage discourses strongly linked to national identity face in geographic areas strongly characterized by ethnic and cultural diversity. The author traces the ways in which the community’s practices and appropriations of heritage interact with dominant ethnographic, folkloristic and heritage discourses about this community. She highlights the discrepancy between the image of the Serbs of Bela Krajina as a homogenous and discrete community suggested by these discourses heavily informed by an ideology of authenticity and nostalgia, and the community’s heritage experience which is characterized by “diversity, polyglossia, simultaneity and undulating between spaces, codes and belongings”. The multicultural heritage practiced and experienced in this community not only provides its members with “tools” for making sense of the present (whereby the community by no means act as a harmonious whole), but is also substantially shaped by other communities and actors, by various layers of collective memory and different linguistic codes.

The historical approach to multicultural practices in the Prekmurje region taken by Oto Luthar provides us with an insight into the complex and multidirectional interactions between individual practices, habits and tastes on the one hand, and official policies of national homogenization on the other. Through the analysis of two volumes of a handwritten cookbook from Prekmurje dating from the turn of the last century, Luthar illustrates the socio-political processes in “the most multicultural part of Slovenia” that led to the shaping and reshaping of the grassroots and multicultural literary practices of its inhabitants (for these concepts, see Collins 1995; Blommaert 2004); in his view, Prekmurje, like other peripheral multicultural regions of Europe, managed to “postpone” the coming of modernity, with its centrality of national frames of identification and unifying cultural practices, as long as until the Second World War, and to preserve a “pre-modern cultural landscape of linguistic mobility and continuous metamorphosis”.

The perspective of the individual, and the way she engages with the complex web of linguistic codes, cultural meanings and modes of identification, draws a connecting line between the pre-modern and the postmodern. This line connects the story of Marija Hujs, who wrote her cookbook in the late 19th and early 20th century not only in order to record recipes for her own use, but to preserve the knowledge from the past, tested and reflected through her own experience, for future generations of housewives, with countless, dispersed but intertwined stories of individuals who use digital technology “to co-create stories, databases, archives of their memories and the everyday to assert their identity claims and positions within wider socio-cultural coordinates”, as Martin Pogačar writes in his article on multicultural digital heritage and its bottom-up negotiations in Slovenia. The official framings of digital cultural heritage, Pogačar argues, retain the normative and authenticating approach characteristic of the official (bureaucratic) conceptualization of cultural heritage in general terms, thus failing to recognize the dramatic changes in the ways we make and perceive heritage caused by digital media and their ubiquity and interactivity. As the author stresses, “the representability that might have worked in pre-digital national settings/state heritage discourses are largely inapplicable in the digital era as they dismiss massive amounts of social/cultural activities”. The highly mobile, de-territorialized and temporally dispersed contents of digital cultural heritage make it largely a poor fit with nationally defined frames of heritage, and for the same reason, digital space provides a space for communities, practices, memories and narratives that do not fit into the desired grand narrative of the national collectivity. No less significantly, the decisively interactive nature of digital heritage necessarily shifts the focus from material objects, heritage sites and products (“stuff”) to the ways people *engage* with the past, memories, stories, sounds and images in the process of heritage making. The centrality of engagement, affect and empowerment of the marginalized, on the other hand, urges those involved in heritage institutionalization not to ignore heritage practices that come “from below”.

The four articles in the “Multicultural Heritage and the Nation State: Dynamics, Tensions and Negotiations” thematic section address diverse instances of heritage negotiation among different communities in Slovenia. As a whole, they all point to several important aspects which need to be taken into account when we think about cultural heritage. The phenomena described in these articles inevitably lead to the questioning of some concepts that underlie institutionalized heritage discourses – such as the materiality of heritage, its aesthetic value, authenticity, divisions such as tangible vs. intangible heritage, and practices such as classification and evaluation. They all observe cultural heritage as a means of negotiation, empowerment and a space of engagement and affective interaction. They highlight three important aspects of the contemporary that must not be overlooked in institutionalized heritage conceptualizations and policies, namely globalization, migration, and the impact of new media technologies on heritage making.

Through the concept of multicultural heritage, the articles in this thematic section position heritage negotiation outside the dominant concepts of heritage, which is usually closely related to national identity. Such an approach reveals several aspects that remain ignored in dominant, nation-state related concepts of heritage: globalization, interaction between different groups of migrants, between different communities, between different media employed in the process of heritage negotiation, etc. In addition, observing heritage as a dynamic and multi-actor process reveals new meanings and attachments that occur in the process of the relocation, re-claiming and re-framing of socio-culturally fixed meanings, values and practices.

With such a focus, we hope to open up a space for discussion which transcends the boundaries created by legitimizing heritage policies exclusively through discourses of expert knowledge, and take into consideration affect, engagement and the empowerment of people who participate in (re)shaping cultural heritage. To make cultural heritage a more inclusive concept and to shift the focus from objects of heritage to the people essentially interested in it are, we believe, necessary steps which are not only of professional importance, but also have much broader moral and political implications.

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MUSIC HERITAGE IN RELOCATION: THE “GUČA NA KRASU” FESTIVAL

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ABSTRACT

Music Heritage in Relocation: The “Guča na Krasu” Festival

This article attempts to turn from describing heritage in the framework of official and everyday discourses of identity and politics of belonging towards acknowledging its spatial nature. As an example, I use the *Guča na Krasu* festival in order to explore two main questions: how a strong notion of locality is mediated by the non-locality of sound, and the ways in which globalization and mobility are remodelling music heritage protocols, particularly in the case of migrant communities. I explore the ways in which trumpet orchestra music, as one of the main genres of Balkan music on the world music market, is becoming an affective tool of identification and affiliation, and bringing a newly emergent global-local dynamics to the existing heritage management of the Serbian community living in this area. The discourses of heterogeneity and transnationality in branding Balkan music have led to an ambivalent identification with the festival among community members. Navigating between sound environments, music heritage protocols, globalization processes and affective technologies, the space is approached through an examination of the complexity of relations among communities, affective spatio-temporal sound collectivities, and music globalization processes.

KEY WORDS: Guča na Krasu, spatio-temporal sound collectivities, trumpet orchestras, Balkan music, heritage protocols

IZVLEČEK

Premeščanje glasbene dediščine: Festival Guča na Krasu

Članek poskuša preseči opisovanje dediščine v okviru uradnih in vsakodnevnih diskurzov identitete in politik pripadnosti ter raje poudariti pomen prostora v odnosu do dediščine. Avtorica za primer vzame festival *Guča na Krasu*, prek katerega razišče dve vprašanji: kako je močan občutek lokalnosti posredovan skozi ne-lokalnost zvoka ter kako globalizacija in mobilnost, še zlasti v primeru migrantskih skupnosti, preoblikujeta protokole glasbene dediščine. Avtorica raziskuje, kako glasba trubaških orkestrov, kot osrednji označevalec balkanske glasbe na globalnem tržišču glasb sveta, postane afektivno orodje identifikacije in pripadnosti, s čimer so označene nove dinamike med globalnim in lokalnim v obstoječih procesih upravljanja dediščine srbske skupnosti na tem območju. Diskurzi heterogenosti in transnationalnosti v 'označevanju' (branding) balkanske glasbe namreč izzivajo ambivalentno identifikacijo članov skupnosti s festivalom. Med zvočnimi okolji, protokoli glasbene dediščine, globalizacijskimi procesi in afektivnimi tehnologijami avtorica prostor obravnava skozi kompleksnost odnosov med skupno-

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stmi, afektivnimi prostorsko-časovnimi zvočnimi kolektivitetami in procesi glasbene globalizacije.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Guča na Krasu, prostorsko-časovne zvočne kolektivitete, trubaški orkestri, balkanska glasba, protokoli dediščine

SOUNDS, SPACES, HERITAGES

Where the once a song of rattling tank engines was sung, the young music will resound. Until a few decades ago, the land at the airport at Rouna near Briščiki was a tank training area. Heavy military armoured vehicles ploughed the karst land with their tracks, drawing wavy brown lines on it, the rumbling of their engines audible all the way to the village. Then they went quiet and left; the land was beginning to heal, but it was left alone until a year ago... (Tam, kjer so ropotali tanki).

In the fifties of the twentieth century, when Trieste was divided into A and B zones, if one would have imagined the stadium for baseball and American football and an airport for allied forces to be filled with the sounds of Serbian trumpets, it would have been characterized as pure fiction. Sixty years later, trumpets and drums can be heard by the infantry tactical training areas. Today, there are no more zones, [and] the Karst is a zone of entertainment and the Serbian trumpet (Guča na Krasu).

"Briščiki is transformed into no man's land where you do not know whether you are in Italy, Slovenia or Serbia" (Gučo na Krasu bodo odprli).

These quotations describe in an almost pure Lefebvrian manner the ongoing re/formation of space sonic materiality of space (Lefebvre 2004) and, in the words of Edensor, "reflect the multiplicity of flows that emanate from, pass through and centre upon space, and contribute to its situated dynamics" (Edensor 2010: 3). In this article, I would like to turn from describing heritage in the framework of official/everyday discourses of identity and politics of belonging towards acknowledging its spatial nature. Not only is certain music heritage attached to certain spaces, but heritage itself is invariably constituted as a material spatial practice. As Thrift warns, a sense of the concreteness and materiality of the situation undoubtedly complicates what is assumed to be a simple empirical fact (Thrift 2008: 16), drawing not just on all kinds of representational and non-representational registers (digs, ethnographies, various maps and diagrams, buildings, software, performances) but also because they simultaneously explore how particular spaces resonate and obtain their particular 'atmosphere' (Brennan 2004). In accordance with that, this article attempts to develop an argument based on the strong interrelation between symbolic geography and the imagination of space on one hand and its real materiality on the other. I would here draw again on Thrift, who sees space not as metaphoric or transcendental nor simply as material space (Thrift 2008: 16).

Another important question arising from this is how a strong notion of locality is mediated by the non-locality of sound.¹ Spaces of musical performance as specific "geographies of music" (Wood et al. 2007) – material spaces with specific histories, locations, and acoustical contexts – are irretrievably entangled in particular social, cultural, economic and political frames, which, on the other hand, forces us to think beyond ethnographic localization. In order to demonstrate the ways that the social, the aural, and spatio-temporality are interconnected, I observe sound as both filling space and as filled by the spaces into which it is projected (Thrift, Dewsbury 2000).

The third question concerns the issues of globalization and mobility which have significantly remodelled the relations between music heritage and space. In the last few decades, migrations have enabled profound new connections between sound and space in the sense of a dynamics of detach-

¹ For a discussion of the non-locality of affect see Clough et al. (2007: 67), and of sound as ubiquitously affective, Thompson, Biddle (2013: 15).

ing and repositioning. Much has been written in recent years about the conceptual limitations of sites particularly in the arts; about the homogenization, fragmentation and alienation resulting from globalization; and about an understanding of space as an unstable and shifting set of contested relations. In times of musical globalization and hybridization, music detaches itself from its space of origin and tends to exist as a material (non-spatial and non-identifiable) object. Simultaneously, sound becomes appropriated by space influenced by local discourses and heritage politics. This produces sonic images of certain spaces which co-exist with the actual setting of the performance as a kind of sonic environment in a variety of encounters.

By paying attention to its character as a spatial phenomenon we cannot explore how lived practices of music heritage interact with the space without claiming the falsity of the formal division between intangible and tangible heritage. Cultural practices promoted and defined within the category of intangible heritage are equally physical, while tangible objects and artefacts are ubiquitously immaterial and shaped by symbolic meaning. Navigating between sound environments, musical heritage protocols, globalization processes, and affective technologies, the space is approached in this text through an examination of the complexity of the relations among musical communities, affective spatio-temporal sound collectivities, and music globalization processes.

MUSIC AND SOUND AS HERITAGE

The discourses of heritage as a multilayered social performance (Smith 2006: 3) mediated by the global heritage protocols and politics are epitomized in the UNESCO rhetoric and actions. The establishment of the category of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) as embodied knowledge and practice tries to put the emphasis on fluid and dynamic cultural processes and overcome the static prescriptive notion of "heritage": "Understanding heritage as the tangible and static construction of the past often leads to undervaluing intangible assets and non-physical resources which are also a fundamental element of heritage" (Park 2011: 521). Still, despite moving from objects and artefacts to events, artistic activities and performances, these definitions actually have not challenged the demarcation line between the separate practices of heritage (intangible and tangible). New critical deliberations regarding UNESCO's categorizations point to the inseparable interrelation between these two concepts, arguing that it is not possible to distinguish objects from events and vice versa (see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 59).

With regard to music and sound practices, the dominant heritage protocols prove to be even more challenging. Apart from safeguarding disappearing musical practices, the most important part of the UNESCO agenda is mapping the existent, vital, living practices. The main idea is that the music heritage is not only preserved and safeguarded through recording and archiving, but is also passed on through performance (transmitting of the musical repertoire through live performances). These examples also illustrate the shift in the conceptualization of heritage previously selectively associated only with 'folk' or so-called 'high culture'² which therefore prevented the heritage mapping of other kinds of music and sonic forms. Such an approach is most visible in the heritage protocols on popular music, usually limited only to private collectors and archives of enthusiasts and fan groups, separate from established national and international institutions (museums, galleries and trusts). Only in the last decade have museums started collecting and preserving popular music, including independent and major label artists and acquiring recordings from collectors, artists, record companies, publishers and distributors from around the world.³

² In the dominant heritage management protocols, particularly in the European context, shaped by the official and scholarly discourses situated in the national/ethnic approach, the concept of music folklore has been a synonym for music heritage.

³ In the UK, popular music has been redefined as a national heritage and the institutions previously neglecting that field of cultural production have started including popular music in their projects (such as the protection

Critical heritage studies also emphasize the contentious or disturbing nature of heritage production. These approaches warn of the sensitive nature and the effects of the various heritage representations, whose management resonates with multiple actors – those whose heritage is represented, government officials, UNESCO, experts, the general public. They also reflect the mechanisms of heritage production, understanding heritage as a selection from a selection: “a small subset of history that links to a given group of people in a particular place, at a specific time” (Dann, Seaton 2001: 26). Heritage is deemed to be something inherited, passed on or transferred from the past, but with an emphasis on a sense of *ownership* of the past (see Kong 1998). The concept of *inheritance*, as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett points out, brings “added value” and is an important aspect of the institutional recognition, legitimization and valuation of certain representations of the past (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995: 370). This emphasis on the preservation and continuity from one generation to another shows how heritage is commonly linked not only to group identity but also cultural prestige. The production of heritage is thus associated with complex readings and representations of the past and incorporates the revising of past objects, events and actions in order to make a coherent story.⁴ Such interpretations have also been based on the dominant paradigm of cultural heritage as focused on objects or events and not on the culture bearers themselves (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 56) and the perception of heritage as a static representation of the past, without taking into account its vital nature. This view repudiates any agency of those who perform, although they are not necessarily conscious of being carriers and bearers of the heritage. Because of this, it has been mobilized by various actors and agendas, and used as a crucial element in the politics of belonging, enabling group legitimacy and cohesion. However, starting from the understanding that heritage is a mode of cultural production, of living practice associated with everyday activities, we have to be aware of the paradox of how “life becomes heritage”, sometimes even before it has a chance to be lived – to put in Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s words, “to be aware of the problem of synchronizing the heritage clock with the historical clock” (ibid. 189–200).⁵ Such an almost ironic condition makes both the theory and practice of the management of music heritage more complex, and imposes conceptual, methodological and safeguarding challenges.

GUČA NA KRASU: RESOUNDING “SPACES BETWEEN THE POSTS”

The *Guča na Krasu* (“Guča on the Karst”) festival is organized by the “Other Music Music and Cultural Society” (*Glasbeno-kulturno društvo Druga muzika*) from Zgonik (It. Sgonico) in cooperation with the Vuk Karadžić Serbian Cultural Association from Trieste. The idea came from Andrej Petaros, the president of the Society, which is involved in organization of several projects, among them “Music Without Borders” (*Glasba brez meja*), a network of musicians, organizers and fans of Balkan music, flowing between of-line and online spaces.⁶ The festival has been held annually since 2009, usually in mid-July, and lasts

of Paul McCartney’s former home in Liverpool and its development into a tourist attraction in 1997; installing blue plaques at the former London residence of rock guitarist Jimi Hendrix in 1998 or John Lennon in 2001). These initiatives also raise questions about how the popular musical past is being constructed and represented, perceived and valued. The best example is the exhibition “David Bowie is”, an international retrospective of the career of David Bowie at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in March 2013.

4 From Hobsbawm, Ranger (1983); Hewison (1989); Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995) to Smith (2007).

5 Different temporalities of things, persons or events provide a tension between contemporary and contemporaneous.

6 In the course of my research I conducted several live and online interviews with people involved in the organization of the festival. I was also invited to be a jury member for the preliminary competition of trumpet orchestras, but due to other obligations I was not able to attend.

13/15 JULY 2012

GUČA NA KRASU
GUČA SUL CARSO
BRIŠČIKI / BORGOGROTTA GIGANTE
TRST / TRIESTE

GUČA
NA KRASU
SUL CARSO

13/07 venerdì / petek
Gogol Bordello
Ork. Elvis Bajramović
Balkan Beat-i

14/07 sabato / sobota
Boban i Marko Marković ork.
Ork. Nema Problema
Ork. Elvis Bajramović
Dj Stoner

15/07 domenica / nedelja
Gipsy Queen Esmā Redžepova
& Balkan Brass Band
Ork. Elvis Bajramović
Dj Stoner & Coco Dub

BALKAN MUSIC & FOOD FESTIVAL

GLASIA BREZ MEJA
MUSICA SENZA CONFINI

guča muzika
sveta muzika

FRUILLI VENEZIA GIULIA

Heineken

Comune di Spionico
Občina Zgornik

Figure 1: *Guča na Krasu* 2012 – promotional poster

for 3 days, with a winter version called *Guča na Krasu Winter Edition*, and many other musical events with similar content are held throughout the year (such as Caravans of Friendship, the *Karsolina* Food and Wine Race and so on).⁷ The initial goal was to introduce trumpet orchestras from Serbia to the Italian audience.⁸ By the time the festival started bringing internationally recognized artists and the most popular stars of Balkan music⁹ and the Balkan beat genre, DJs, such as Goran Bregović, the Boban and Marko Marković Trumpet Orchestra, DJ Shantel, Gogol Bordello, Emir Kusturica and the No Smoking Orchestra, Esmā Redžepova and the winners of the Serbian Trumpet Festival in Guča (such as the Elvis Bajramović Orchestra, Bojan Ristić, Dejan Lazarević Orchestra etc.), as well as new talents from the Balkan scene and local, regional performers from Serbia, Germany, Belgium and Italy. The event was

⁷ See more on their revamped website (*Guca na krasu-gucasulcarso*) and Facebook profile (*Guca Facebook*).

⁸ Dejan Nikodijević of the Serbian Cultural Association is responsible for booking trumpet orchestras from Serbia, while the festival's main organizer, Andrej Petaros, books performances of bands and performers from other countries, including Europe and the US.

⁹ Balkan music here does not refer to traditional music from the Balkans as such, but to the "world music" label which combines diverse forms of popular music with the traditional music practices of the Balkans. Balkan music has already been present on the popular/world music scene for decades, starting with the popularity of the Bulgarian group *Le Mystère des Voix Bulgares* in the 1970s. But particularly after 1990, Western European audiences were presented with one of the interpretations of Balkan music through the films of Emir Kusturica, through which Balkan music gained international popularity. According to Aleksandra Marković, over time the Balkan scene began to appeal to more and more non-Balkan audiences, and this trend is continuing (see Marković 2008).

marketed as “a unique experience with the legends of Balkan music”, “each for their own specific field of reference as protagonists of the music scene that draws inspiration and an amazing life force of artistic transformations mainly from the Balkan and Eastern European music traditions.” Their performances were presented as “high quality music and real artistic treats”, and the event itself as a “unique meeting with the artists whose names are inscribed in golden letters in the history of world music” (Kraško poletje). Representatives of local, national and foreign media have followed the development of the festival with great interest, and the festival has become a reference event for regional fans of this music genre. In addition to the music programme, another important part of the event are the offerings of “typical” Balkan cuisine.¹⁰

The village of Briščiki (It. Borgo Grotta Gigante) where the festival takes place is one of the spaces characterized by a specific “traffic between the posts” (post-socialist, post-conflict, post-industrial, post-capitalist) (Verdery 2009), where current global transformations are generating complex local transformational narratives, producing new multi-layered levels of belonging. Being not only a borderland between Slovenia and Italy, but also no-man’s land between two Cold War blocs, two economies and systems (capitalist/socialist) and former military training ground, it provokes multifaceted meanings. Following the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the EU integration policy, the internal border between Slovenia and Italy was removed, which provoked new spatial discourses and practices. This makes this border zone a territory which over time changed uses and meanings both physically and discursively, enabling dynamic ways of coexistence, meetings and encounters of various “lives” of the space, created through a variety of histories, memories and experiences. Such narratives are also used in the promotion of *Guča na Krasu* by organizers, media and officials. The municipality and the regional authorities highly support the event, which is included in the range of tourist attractions of the Municipality of Trieste and the Friuli Venezia Giulia region, with particular help from the mayor of Sgonico (Zgonik): “I am very happy that we have revitalized the former military territory with the help of culture and concerts at a very high level” (Gučo na Krasu bodo odpri).

At *Guča na Krasu*, the trumpet (primarily considered to be a military instrument) has replaced the sound of military vehicles. But why this kind of music is used in the prefiguration of this space? And why has this, as the journalists enthusiastically call it, “Balkan oasis” appeared in the middle of the Karst? According to the organizers, there are two main reasons: the popularity of Balkan music genres in Italy and Europe in general, and the important historical and cultural links between this area and the Balkans. The extreme popularity of Balkan music in Italy and the number of trumpet orchestras founded in the last ten years have established new musical links between Italy and the Balkans. Moreover, the popularity of trumpet orchestras music not only in Italy but also in Slovenia makes this event particularly attractive for cross-border cooperation. The organizers of *Guča na Krasu* used that popularity to promote the event as the place where regional musicians and bands can popularize their music.¹¹ However, *Guča na Krasu* was presented not only as a transborder event dedicated to local visitors, but as a gathering of Balkan music fans and performers from across the country: “Many people come to our festival even from the south of Italy, because Balkan music is very popular there. I explain this as a consequence of the fact that in the south a lot of music is produced by brass instruments, which makes music in southern Italy related to the Balkans” (Petaros 2013).

10 A tent is located behind the stage with several food stands where people can try Serbian specialities.

11 According to Mojca Kovačič, who conducted research on two bands, Strizzy and Dej še'n litro, at least six of these bands have been formed in Slovenia since 2000. The growing popularity of Balkan brass music among listeners in Slovenia (particularly Bregovič) was expressed to be main impetus for them to establish the bands (Kovačič 2009: 141). It is interesting that members of both bands had already performed in Slovenian trumpet orchestras and that this kind of shift was actually a form of widening their repertoire, since they perform pop and jazz tunes and traditional trumpet and folk-pop music (ibid. 142).

GUČA – "A PLACE OF NETWORKING MUSIC CULTURES"¹²

Guča na Krasu appears to be the first and the most successful event inspired by the Dragačevo trumpet festival in Guča (a small town in Western Serbia), organized in this region in the last five years.¹³ The Guča festival¹⁴ is the most popular and biggest music event dedicated to the promotion, distribution, production and consumption of trumpet orchestra music. Started as an event dedicated to the preservation of the trumpet orchestra tradition from the Dragačevo region and later on south-eastern and north-eastern Serbia, nowadays the Guča festival is an annual 5-day world music spectacle with two main competition programmes (*Best Trumpet* and *Best Orchestra* being the most significant) and revue performances, with around 800,000 visitors annually.¹⁵

The international popularity of Guča coincided with the popularization of Balkan music on the international market and the changes in cultural politics in Serbia after 2000. This was also reinforced by the increased popularity of Roma orchestras from south-eastern Serbia which were already present on the international market through Goran Bregović's projects and whose music has become one of the main sound markers of Balkan music within the world music industry.¹⁶ In 2000, trumpeters from Italy and Sweden appeared at the Guča festival for the first time and by 2006 people from different countries (such as Germany, France, Israel, Poland, USA, Slovenia, Macedonia) started performing. The organizers recognized this as an extremely potent strategy which led to changes in the repertoire policy and programme conceptualization.¹⁷ Guča has become a national brand and has been used in the promotion of Serbian culture internationally, which has often provoked ambivalent public discourses on the national cultural policy and the involvement of political and intellectual elites in its shaping.¹⁸ Trumpet orchestras have been attributed the notion of national music heritage important for post-1990s nation-

12 From the title of an article about the Dragačevo trumpet festival by Lajić-Mihajlović, Zakić (2012).

13 Taking into account numerous events inspired by the Guča festival held in Slovenia such as *Guča po Guči* [Guča after Guča], *Zlatna trobenta Dravograda* [The Golden Trumpet of Dravograd] and so on. For more about these events, see Šivic (2013: 71–72).

14 *Dragačevski sabor trubača* u Guči [the Dragačevo Trumpet Festival in Guča]. In this text I will use the popular name "the Guča festival."

15 The Guča festival was founded in 1961 by the Cultural-Educational Association of Guča (*Kulturno-prosvetna zajednica Guča*). At the beginning it was a part of the wider cultural review of traditional folk heritage called *Dragačevo kroz pesmu i igru* [Dragačevo through Music and Theatre] (Lajić-Mihajlović, Zakić 2012: 225). It was founded with the goal to preserve the endangered part of Dragačevo's musical heritage – trumpet orchestras. From 1964 on, Guča became republic-wide event expanding the range of participating bands from Dragačevo and Western Serbia to ones from south-eastern and north-eastern Serbia (usually consisting of Roma and Vlachs), where this type of music also became popular at the beginning of the 20th century (Babić 2004: 159–270).

16 Particularly after Kusturica's movie "Underground" from 1995 won the Golden Palm award, the market breakthrough of the trumpet orchestra sound was made by Goran Bregović and his cooperation with Slobodan Salijević's orchestra.

17 Timotijević defined five phases in the cultural politics of the festival from its foundation: "preservation of tradition and gaining popularity", "folk heritage under the veil of ideology", "long death march to Tito", "the national elite 'discovers' Guča" and "the birth of the world's carnival" (Timotijević 2005). For studies of the Guča festival see Milovanović, Babić (2003); Babić (2004); Lukić-Krstanović (2006); Tadić (2010); Lajić-Mihajlović, Zakić (2012); Gligorijević (2012).

18 The Guča festival was used as one of the main cultural policies in the re-branding of Serbia after 2000 by individuals - producers, music promoters, advertising agencies, media, restaurateurs and others. Their efforts were invested in designing a new type of spectacle and show business. The most important tactic was the involvement of a German agency in the network of cultural promoters. This was part of a strategy of promoting a new democratic face of Serbia (see Mijatović 2012). For the festival's multiple and contradictory meanings see also Gligorijević (2012).

building and a sense of continuity and coherence with the national history,¹⁹ yet this has often been contradictorily interrelated with world music discourses and their internalization (Gligorijević 2012: 4).

This led to the main shift in the programme conceptualization, announced at the 50th anniversary of the festival in 2010 when Guča became the “World Capital of the Trumpet” by introducing an international competition in terms of both orchestras and the jury selected to assess their performances.²⁰ This was also reflected in the performances of the most popular stars of Balkan music who started performing at the Guča festival after 2010 (such as Goran Bregović, Esmā Redžepova, Emir Kusturica and the No Smoking Orchestra, DJ Shantel and a number of other performers). This shift in the branding of the festival made the event one of the symbols of the promotion and popularization of trumpet orchestras and their visibility on the world music scene.

Using Guča as one of the biggest Balkan world music festivals and a high-ranked brand to promote the event as its “foreign version”, the organizers of *Guča na Krasu* employ the already-existing discourses used in promotion of the Guča festival itself. While at the beginning referring to Guča was more symbolic and market-led, over time the organizers of *Guča na Krasu* established a stronger link with the Guča festival organizers and management. This resulted in pronouncing *Guča na Krasu* to be a pre-competition event for the international competition in Guča in 2013. In this way, the link with Guča festival has become more direct, while the “unique experience” of Balkan music became “closer to the original” and its “authenticity” was sonically and symbolically multiplied. Still, the organizers emphasize that they see the festival more as a developed version of Guča, which introduced a new focus on “world music” and a more liberal approach to genres by combining Gypsy trumpet orchestras from the Balkans, the ones from Europe and pop-bands such as Dubioza Kolektiv or Magnifico: “You know, in making a program you have to achieve a certain balance in order to satisfy the tastes of everyone – Italians, Serbians, Slovenian minority in Italy, Slovenes: to be innovative but not forget tradition and to think about all of that... and because of that we are successful” (Petaros 2013).²¹

However, in the promotion strategies of *Guča na Krasu* as a part of the range of cultural tourist attractions, narratives of the Guča festival as a place of preserving the trumpet as the traditional heritage and a source of Serbian national identification are completely absent. Trumpet orchestra music is, namely, set exclusively within the framework of Balkan music: “We talk about Balkan music, we put the emphasis on Balkan music, not Serbian music. In Guča you hear different music. That is Serbian, but here the emphasis is on Balkan music. If we say Balkan music, more people will attend, if we reduce it only to Serbian we cannot attract so many people” (Nikodijević 2013).²² The festival’s main organizer, Andrej Petaros, explains that the focus on the “Serbian-Roma trumpet” has been at the centre of the festival concept from the very beginning, as well as various performers and bands inspired by Roma music from the Balkans.

In such promotional strategies, the image of the Roma appears as one of the most exploited in accordance with the needs of the global entertainment industry and the existing market strategies regarding Balkan music. The organizers actually employed the most ubiquitous way of branding world

19 The trumpet is a symbol of Serbian liberation events dating from the 19th century and is strongly associated with the Serbian cultural memory of a “glorious historical past” (Gligorijević 2012: 8).

20 It is interesting that the proposition for the international competition requires that foreign groups play one piece from their own music tradition apart from one traditional piece from Serbia (Lajić-Mihajlović, Zakić 2012: 230).

21 Starting in 2014, the festival will have a slightly changed concept and has been renamed the “Guča na Krasu World Music and Culture Festival 2014.”

22 This is also visible from the lineup of Guča na Krasu 2013: Goran Bregović and his Wedding & Funeral Orchestra’s tour was called “Champagne for Gypsies”, while of the other performers more than half were Romani orchestras and bands from Serbia and Italy: Elvis Bajramović, Kal, Zlatna jabuka, Gipsy Abarth Orchestra, Radio Zastava, Bim bum balaton, Caravan orkestar, Fanfara Giufà, Kaligola Disco Bazar, Zig Zag orkestar, Babbutzi Orkestar, Ottoni Animati.

music festivals, where “Gypsiness” is evoked by the sponsors and the media to promote festivals as an authentic, unique musical experience.²³ As Aleksandra Marković (2009) writes, the commercial label of Gypsy music often used as a synonym for Balkan music is actually the “sound” of the Balkans in Western Europe.²⁴ Carol Silverman also asserts that “Gypsy music” has become both a commodity and a discursive symbol in the trafficking of “authenticity” and “exoticism” in context of world music festivals and tours” (Silverman 2012: 241). Counting on success within the world music industry, the organizers of *Guča na Krasu* placed the association of trumpet orchestras with Gypsy musicians at the forefront, taking advantage of its resonant market potential.

GYPSY MUSIC: AFFECTIVE SOUNDS OF RELOCATION

As mentioned, the branding strategies of Balkan music on the world music market are associated with the notion of Gypsiness, where stereotypes about Gypsies are exceptionally prominent. This conceptualization is also used by the Gypsy musicians themselves and other performers of Balkan music, who although aware of the stereotypes behind it actively employ that image in order to benefit on the market²⁵ (Silverman 2011: 13). Aleksandra Marković outlines three main stereotypes associated with Gypsiness used as selling points of Balkan music: Gypsies as nomads who are free from the constraints of modern life; as naturally gifted musicians who are capable of experiencing extreme emotions and of communicating them to their audience; and as innovators due to their trafficking in music styles (Marković 2009: 111–113). Drawing on her findings, I will present how these kinds of stereotypical images were used in the co-creation of sound and space at *Guča na Krasu*, as strategies of specific sound relocation:

1. The “specific affective power of Balkan music”

Balkan music is present in market discourses as “famous” for its ecstatic ability/potential (Gourgouris 2005: 343–344), with its moving dance rhythms and high energy. Also, it is seen by its consumers/fans as filled with specific drives, emotions, soul and passion – in general with strong emotions, followed by euphoria which can also lead to lack of control, wildness and loss of self: “in the emotionally contrasting Balkan music, the accompanying factors are quite contrary, such as a different atmosphere, dancing, food and an overall sense of positive chaos” (Šivić 2013: 65). This is charged by a stereotypical assumption that plays a very important role in the discourse surrounding Balkan music, where the Balkans are marketed as a blurry yet exotic space inhabited by people who live in the moment, and live their lives “full to the brim” (Bregović). As van de Port asserts, this “insight into the irrational, wild human being” is particularly associated with the figure of the Gypsies, who are characterized by deep emotionality that they are able to convey through music: “The Gypsies are in this picture painted as the appealing, exotized European other, and their music is a way for the consumer to “re-inject the self with otherness” (Port 1999: 306). Carol Silverman points out that Roma emotionality is constructed in ambivalent terms: on one hand “wild”, irrational and uncivilized, and on the other as a manifestation of their passion and sexuality²⁶ (Silverman in Steinberg, Sobol 2011: 13).

23 For more about tropes about the authenticity of Gypsy music in world music marketing see Silverman (2012: 246–47).

24 It should be emphasized that the term “Gypsy music” is a commercial label that does not necessarily refer to Romani music or music performed by Romani musicians. Nevertheless, many of these bands’ members are declared or perceived as Gypsies. For more about problematic usage of the idea of Gypsiness by Bregović see Marković (2009).

25 We have also to be cautious here since Romani musicians themselves are often faced with the paradoxes of such representations: on stage they are adored because of these stereotypical images, but as soon as they step outside of the concert hall they are seen as suspicious (Silverman 2011: 234).

26 Also strongly associated with gender roles.

Therefore, through participating in Balkan music events, people are provided with the possibility of relocation to an exciting imaginary world, enabling the listeners to enter another reality through a “hot-blooded” Gypsy performance.²⁷ This is particularly visible at *Guča na Krasu*, where some of the most passionate fans and festival attendees dress like Gypsies (men with the obligatory hat and women in long skirts), and dance in a particular “Gypsy way”.²⁸ This also includes transgressing of the boundaries between performers and listeners through dance, when the physical relocation from the listeners’ position to the very place of music performance – the stage: by performers dancing on stage and demonstrating enjoyment in the music in the same way as the audience, and when audience members join the performers on stage, thereby becoming active participants in the performance.²⁹ In this sense, the dancing, listening and performing bodies during the festival articulate not only symbolic relocation but also certain bodily histories.³⁰

2. Narratives of the heterogeneity and transnationality of Balkan music

A big selling point for Balkan music on the world music market is the idea that Balkan music in general, but particularly when performed by Gypsies (Gypsy music), can create a platform for expressing and negotiating multiple identities. Within the Balkan region, constructed and imagined through Balkan music events, there is a recurring image of Gypsies as “free nomads, unbound by the constraints of (Western) civilization, unattached to any specific location” (Marković 2009: 111). These narratives of the translocality of Balkan music also enable social relocation through enacting global musical subjectivity.

In the case of trumpet orchestras, this is also reinforced by the notion of the inherent ability of instrumental music to more easily transgress boundaries and mediate cultural dissonances: the trumpet is already identified as a tool of intercultural communication not only among the regional musical idioms and styles but also in the wider context of globalization (Lajić-Mihajlović, Zakić 2011: 233). In this case, Roma musicians/orchestras in particular are seen as capable of performing this specific type of networking among musical cultures through hybridizing different musical elements. This hybridization on the micro-level is visible in improvisations on the rhythmical pattern of *čoček* or using a specific techniques to imitate the colour of other instruments such as *zurla* or saxophone), and on the macro-level by mixing various regional musical genres and styles: “Their trumpet expressions represent an amalgam of different styles of playing, from folk to jazz, and musical practices from Serbia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Macedonia” (ibid.).

3. Resistance, disobedience, acting against norms

The role of emotional discourses and especially the “unconstrained” nature of emotions have been also seen as a platform for resistance and negotiation (Silverman 2011: 226). Roma are often associated with the living beyond the prescribed rules, as the masters of “alternative living practices”. Coded as being beyond the control of and outside the norms of any state or society, the Gypsies are presented as the carriers of implicit social knowledge: “Gypsies embody this inner, secret knowledge... music transmits

27 Particularly associated with the sexuality of Roma women (Silverman 2011: 227).

28 This visual identification with Balkan brass music is also seen in the case of trumpet orchestra members who occasionally use this style of dress or incorporate other elements of behaviour such as sticking money to their foreheads and playing “among the people” (Kovačić 2009: 142).

29 The most passionate fans usually dance on the stage in the course of the performance, which is often also encouraged by the performers themselves, as was the case with Emir Kusturica and the No Smoking Orchestra.

30 As Mirjana Laušević’s research shows in the case of Balkan music in the US, a large majority of people involved in Balkan music through dancing, performing or simply attending events express their desire to “invent” their ethnic background (in her words “adopted ethnicity”) – in this case, an imagined Balkan identity (Laušević 2007: 21–22). This thesis is also proposed by Silverman, who claims that Western audiences are particularly receptive to the trope of the authenticity of Gypsy music, because “they feel they have lost their own authenticity and folklore” (Silverman 2012: 247).

this knowledge via emotion" (ibid. 232). This narrative is also incorporated in the representational strategies of the Guča festival as a "hedonist paradise", a place of good but unpredictable and even "crazy" people, which is illustrated by a statement by one of the visitors to the festival:³¹ "You are crazy people! Absolutely crazy! You are made out of the confusion of the entire system of existence [...] Speaking of death, to supply at least that I'm going to raise the middle finger and smile, and not hypocritically and scared like the rest of the world" (*Trubom na junački megdan*).

GUČA NA KRASU: SLOVENES, SERBS, ITALIANS IN A TRANCE

What do these relocations mean for the local communities' members living on the Slovenian/Italian border and the migrants from former Yugoslavia, particularly those from Serbia? Using that existing sonic image and the transnational notion of Balkan music on the international world music scene, the promoters of *Guča na Krasu* used the discourses of social relocation of the people involved in the musical event, representing Brišćiki as a global space, with the idea of blurring identities which operate in border environments. And this affective management reflects a dynamics of multilayered levels of belonging – local, regional, national, transnational. Therefore, it cannot be neglected that in these kinds of sound relocations within the musical event, the relations between communities are also reshaped. Although the festival organizers are individuals or small groups, the event is also a place for the local society to assert their visions of local heritage management. The main communities which take part in the organization of the event are members of the Slovenian minority as the main organizers in charge of technical support, drinks and security, and the Serbs, who are responsible for the food (preparing the most popular dishes of Balkan cuisine). They have obtained different positions within the local society: while the Slovenes are a declared minority, the Serbian community consists of people who migrated to Northern Italy mainly during the 1990s. But working together to organize an international festival enables both communities to make a significant contribution to the region's range of tourist attractions and make a certain profit from it.

Regarding the local community members among the festival's attendees, the situation is quite different (particularly in the case of the Serbian community): of the approximately 3000 people attending the event from the very beginning,³² the largest proportion consists of Italians (according to my interlocutors around 80%), mainly students and younger people between 20-30 coming from all over Italy (Bari, Rome, etc). Another large group consists of young Slovenes from both sides of the border. These are people who have already heard about Guča or visited the festival with the help of tourist agencies which promote it as one of the most popular destinations for young people.³³ However, with regard to the Serbian audience or Serbian community members the number of visitors is surprisingly low. As Dejan Nikodijević explains, people simply do not identify with this music genre. Although almost 100 people from the Vuk Karadžić Cultural Centre are involved in the organization, he claims that other members of the community are not interested in such cultural activities.³⁴ According to the president of the Serbian association, although this is a way of "recognition and promotion of the Serbian community

31 I will not go deeply into the discussion already widely deliberated by numerous scholars of the discourses on the Balkans since the early twentieth century, which presents a picture of a place whose residents do not care about standards of conduct and norms prescribed by the "civilized world" (see Todorova 1997).

32 The concert by Goran Bregović was the most attended, with 10,000 people.

33 According to Urša Šivic, the number of people from Slovenia who visited Guča during the festival reached its peak in 2005 (Šivic 2012: 70).

34 In his view, this is a result of the fact that the Serbian community in Trieste mainly consists of working-class, less-educated migrants from eastern Serbia (the town of Požarevac and the neighbouring villages).

and its culture” which could enable them to be present in the social web “as a chance for better inclusion in Italian society”, community members do not see the festival as such an opportunity. Such situation indicates the ambivalent heritage narratives regarding trumpet orchestras and Balkan music in general. The Vuk Karadžić Cultural Centre is one of the biggest Serbian cultural organizations in Italy and presents itself as a leader in the preservation of the cultural heritage of the Serbian community in this part of Europe. As is typical of other institutions of this type, the cultural centre’s leaders’ agenda is exclusively national, directed toward the maintenance of traditional culture and music, primarily through the activities of folklore groups. In this sense, Balkan music as conceptualized and branded within both the world music market and *Guča na Krasu* is rather difficult to incorporate into the existing heritage regimes. The transnational notion of Balkan music, and particularly its association with the image of Gypsies, appears as inappropriate with respect to the existing means of the (self-) identification of the Serbian community and its heritage strategies.

SPATIO-TEMPORAL COLLECTIVITIES ON THE BORDER

The spatio-temporal collectivities and network socialities shaped by music events in physical spaces/geographies as specific places of meeting and interaction provide a specific contribution to an affective politics and politics of relation. Music performances are networking, relational and situational (LaBelle 2010: xviii) – they create spatio-temporal collectivities at all scales from the most local level to the most global. Simultaneously these activities constitute the individuals involved in them – the ways individuals engage with or participate in musical events, ascribing them with the psychic-emotional experiences they have (Anderson 2006). Taking Bakhtin’s stance that listening is not passive but active preparation for response-reaction (Bakhtin 1986: 69), music events produce networks, shaping social interaction and intra-action between performers and listeners. The sociality of music (Turino 2003) and its participatory potential built through sonic affect³⁵ enables people to synchronize with the “collective atmosphere”. The commonly used “tuning-in” to describe of a process of coming into a shared experiential flux (see Garcia 2011: 181) through music and sound is an interconnectedness between social, sonic and affective. However, “being in tune” as Garcia asserts, “does not necessarily mean that one identifies with that body or that one has the same understanding of what this attunement means” (ibid.). In this sense, sound collectivities can be seen simultaneously as non-identitarian forms of belonging, where individuals’ ethnicities no longer have an important connection with the music they perform or listen to, also turning away from the notions of ideology and identity.

At *Guča na Krasu*, the subjectivities of the audience, differentially located socially, economically and politically, are mediated by the notion of global Balkan music, and particularly through the spatio-temporal collectivities shaped through the affective technologies of sound as a mass ‘production of worlds’ (Lazzarato in Thrift 2008: 23). Sound operates as a formative link for groupings and conjunctions that enable a specific relocation and contribute to the creation of an experience of shared spaces (LaBelle 2010: xxi). During the event, participants belong to more than one collectivity – not only in terms of social locations, but identifications and social belonging as a result of heterogeneous, multiple, and complex sonic affects (Garcia 2011: 182).

Still, although within loose collectivities, such relations can also be transferred to the level of inter-community identifications and provoke new heritage performances within the local context. Trumpet orchestra music as a symbol of the Balkan music label becomes an affective tool of identification and affiliation, and brings a newly emergent glocal dynamics into the existent heritage protocols. The paradox that Serbian community members, who are thought to identify most easily with trumpet orchestra

35 For theorizations of sonic affect see the works of Grossberg (1984); Gilbert (2004); Cusick (2006, 2008); Goodman 2010; Thompson, Biddle (2013); Kassabian (2013); Schrimshaw (2013).

music and whose "heritage" is presented in the international arena and popularized through the festival, do not consider it valuable, indicates complex heritage managements. Identification with this music is partial and temporary – Serbian community members involved in the organization thus recall/address that heritage with ambivalence: a certain degree of self-identification enabled them to be a part of the organizing team for such a big international event (which is, according to my interlocutors, significant for community empowerment) and gave them an opportunity to make a certain profit, while at the level of community the event was dismissed as inadequate for national self-representation.³⁶ In this case, one of the main potentials of festivals in "bringing local people together through participating in their organization and attending them" (Kozorog 2011: 300), underscores more the complex local-global dynamics of heritage management.

However, seeing identifications not just as an "underlying social machine of identifications but a series of pre-individual ethologies that incessantly rehearse a materialism in which matter turns into a sensed-sensing energy with multiple centres" (Thrift 2008: 17), I would rather claim that in the case of *Guča na Krasu* the aesthetic experience appeared as the primary base for identification, communion and social convergence, and not the ethnic one. This also demonstrates the importance of the capabilities of people to choose which heritage they want to participate or identify with, including on the temporal level (for two hours, one day etc.) Heritage, understood as a living practice in this case, becomes a "heritage of a moment". Although certain music can be an object of institutionalization (such as trumpet orchestras in Serbia), its perception and experiencing is always changeable – from moment to moment.

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MULTICULTURAL DYNAMICS AND HERITAGE (RE)APPROPRIATION IN BELA KRAJINA: NEGOTIATING THE HERITAGE OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

Multicultural Dynamics and Heritage (Re)Appropriation in Bela Krajina: Negotiating the Heritage of the Serbian Orthodox Community

The Serbian Orthodox community in the Bela Krajina region in southern Slovenia, which presently consists of four villages (Bojanci, Miliči, Marindol and Paunoviči), is considered the northernmost “island” of the Serbian Orthodox population and has traditionally been approached through the ideological lenses of locality, authenticity (or lack of thereof), isolation and demarcation from other groups in Bela Krajina. As a consequence, the dominant discourses (both academic and popular) about this community are those that highlight and try to reconstruct “pure” cultural and linguistic traits, or those that lament over their inevitable disappearance. Such a binary perspective precludes any possibility of recognizing the dynamics in both everyday cultural patterns and in heritage negotiation in and around this community. This article highlights heritage as an experience utilized by diverse actors in making sense of their present and future. As such it is necessarily dynamic, dialogical, multi-voiced, and contested.

KEYWORDS: heritage, Bela Krajina, Serbs, folklorization, nostalgia

IZVLEČEK

Večkulturna dinamika in polastitve dediščine v Beli krajini: Izpogajanje dediščine srbske pravoslavne skupnosti

Srbska pravoslavna skupnost v Beli krajini, ki jo danes sestavljajo štiri vasi (Bojanci, Miliči, Marindol in Paunoviči), se pogosto opisuje kot najsevernejši “otok” srbskega pravoslavnega prebivalstva. Tradicionalno se obravnava skozi ideološko prizmo lokalnosti, avtentičnosti (ali njenega pomanjkanja), izolacije in razlikovanja od ostalega prebivalstva Bele krajine. Kot posledica tovrstne obravnave prevladujoči diskurzi (tako akademski kot popularni) o omenjeni skupnosti bodisi osvetljujejo in poskušajo rekonstruirati “čiste”, “izvirne” kulturne in jezikovne značilnosti bodisi tožijo nad neizogibnim izginotjem teh značilnosti. Tovrstna binarna perspektiva zapira možnosti za prepoznavanje dinamike tako v vsakdanjih kulturnih vzorcih kot tudi v izpogajanju dediščine v in okoli te skupnosti. Članek dediščino razume kot izkušnjo, ki jo različni akterji uporabljajo v osmišljanju svoje sedanjosti in prihodnosti. Kot taka je dediščina neizogibno dinamična, dialoška, večglasna in pogosto sporna.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: dediščina, Bela krajina, Srbi, folklorizacija, nostalgija

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INTRODUCTION: HERITAGE BEYOND MATERIAL OBJECTS OF THE PAST

The Digital Encyclopaedia of Natural and Cultural Heritage in Slovenia (DEDI), includes an entry about the Orthodox church in the village of Miliči in the Bela Krajina region of southern Slovenia. Equipped with information about the church's location and formal status, the entry states that the church "bears witness to the rich Uskok heritage in the area (of Bela Krajina)". The longer description of this object of cultural heritage that follows this technical information gives a brief overview of the settlement of Bela Krajina by the Uskoks, as well as a description of the church building and its geographical location (Lukić n.d.). The village of Miliči, where the church is located, is one of four villages (Bojanci, Marindol, Miliči and Paunoviči) in Bela Krajina which are nowadays populated by people who are known as descendants of Uskoks. They practice Orthodox Christianity and speak a variety of Serbo-Croatian. After almost five centuries of language maintenance, this community is currently undergoing a process of language shift and related socio-cultural processes that condition heterogeneity and hybridity of cultural and linguistic patterns (see Petrović 2006). The Serbs of Bela Krajina, or Uskoks/Vlachs, as they are frequently referred to by the local population of Bela Krajina and also in academic literature and museum narratives,¹ are one of the groups that contribute to ethnic, cultural and religious diversity of Bela Krajina, where people of Catholic, Orthodox and Greek Catholic religions, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, and Roma have lived together for centuries; the legacy of the Yugoslav state as well as its violent disintegration also brought recent, mostly economic migrants from other former Yugoslav republics to this mosaic of diversity.

The abovementioned entry in the digital Encyclopaedia of Heritage in Slovenia subscribes to the "traditional Western account of 'heritage'" that tends to "emphasize the material basis of heritage" (Smith 2006: 3), and is essentially oriented towards the past, concentrating on values "often directly linked to the age, monumentality and/or aesthetics of a place" (ibid.). Framing heritage in this way allows for its mapping, study, management, assessment, preservation, conservation, and protection. But what can this entry, which lists the Church of St. Peter and Paul in Miliči as a heritage site, tell us about how this site relates to the people living in Miliči and the wider area? It provides no hint of the meanings and uses of this heritage site for the people who live around it, visit it and use it to "negotiate a range of identities and social and cultural values and meanings in *the present*" (ibid., emphasis added).

The lack of consideration of the people most immediately connected to the heritage sites is a symptom of the wider problem of the lack of the communities' voices in heritage narratives that has already been noted by researchers of heritage who have paid particular attention to the relationship between museums and communities (see Karp, Mullen Kreamer, Lavine 1992; Karp et al. 2006; Crooke 2007; Watson 2007). Likewise, there is a lack of attention to the proactive ways in which community members make use of existing heritage narratives. By taking the active role of participants into consideration (see for example Nadel-Klein 2003), one can avoid the trap of seeing people as passive recipients of external influences. The ethnographic accounts suggest that people are not only aware of the external images based on themselves, but are also trying to cooperate actively with them, make them part of their daily activities and use them in building up a sense of belonging and presence (see e.g. Boissevain, Selwyn 2004).

The need for an understanding of heritage that goes beyond dominant Western views articulated in "authorized heritage discourse" (Smith 2006), has been emphasized by many researchers within the last two decades. They stress that heritage is "a process of engagement, an act of communication and an act of making meaning in and for the present" (ibid.: 1); consequently, heritage debate and practice needs to "recognize and critically engage with issues of dissonance and the use of memory in the for-

¹ Marko Zajc (2003) provides a historical overview of representations of Uskoks in Slovenia; Christian Promitzer (2003) analyzes in detail the ways Slovenian and Serbian ethnologists wrote about the Serbs in Bela Krajina.

mation of heritage and identity" (ibid.: 5).² Conceptualized in this way, the idea of heritage became open to individual and private initiatives, to marginalized, invisible and subaltern groups, and to the recognition of the internal dissonances and heteroglossia it both accommodates and produces. The political and moral consequences of presenting something as heritage (and, on the other hand, of excluding something/someone from heritage discourses) have also been acknowledged. In the reframed field of cultural heritage studies, important work has been done with regard to aboriginal communities in Australia and indigenous groups' heritage elsewhere,³ in relation to working class heritage in the Western World,⁴ to post-apartheid heritage politics in South Africa,⁵ etc. And while the post-colonial context and the troubled legacies of colonialism seem to produce an impulse towards rethinking cultural heritage and its social, political and moral roles, most European societies, and particularly the post-socialist areas of Europe, remain uninterested in these new questions and conceptualizations, with ideas of heritage still mainly articulated by authoritative experts and closely bound to the ideology of the nation state. Slovenia is no exception to this paradigm, despite frequent challenges to dominant views on heritage and awareness among both scholars and practitioners that heritage is more than aesthetic evaluation of material objects and canonization of traditional practices.⁶ Essentially uninterested in the ways individuals and groups make use of heritage, in other words in the *heritage experience*, heritage discourse in Slovenia remains seemingly homogeneous, unproblematic and consonant with other discourses of nation state ideology. In this article, I aim to examine the ambiguities such heritage discourse faces when it comes to geographic areas strongly characterized by ethnic and cultural diversity. I will pay particular attention to the Bela Krajina region and the ways heritage is attached to, but also used, appropriated and re-appropriated by, its Orthodox, Serbo-Croatian speaking inhabitants and others related to this heritage through processes of commemoration, performance, commodification, and memory. The basic assumption I start from is that heritage, to be understood as heritage, has to be *experienced* and, moreover, that it *is* the experience (Smith et al. 2003: 75).

The relationship between objects and traditions framed as "the Uskok heritage" and the actual people inhabiting the Orthodox villages of Bela Krajina, and particularly the possibilities for these people to make use of that heritage in order to create meaning in the present, are strongly shaped by both the ways this community is positioned within the framework of the Slovenian nation state as well as the way it is represented in academic and popular discourses. In the first part of the article, I outline the main characteristics of these discourses and highlight the ideological assumptions on which they are based. The second part of the article focuses on ethnographic details of the celebration of the Feast of St. Peter in Miliči. These details reveal the Miliči churchyard as a site of multiple, mutually related, heteroglossic and interest-laden experiences and performances of heritage. Simultaneously, they show that multiple solidarities and differentiations emerge from this process of heritage performance and experience in which members of various communities are engaged in the (re)appropriation of the heritage of the Serbian Orthodox community in Bela Krajina.

2 See, for example, articles in the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* and *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research*.

3 See Smith (2006), Chapter 8; Smith, Wobst (2005).

4 See Smith (2006), Chapter 6; Smith, Shackel, Campbell (2011).

5 See Rassool (2000, 2006).

6 See Hudales, Visočnik (2005a, 2005b); Jezernik (2010a), 2010b. According to Rajko Muršič (2005: 8), in parallel with the recognition of the increasing importance of cultural heritage for modern society "and with the completion of the ideological formation of the notion of cultural heritage", emerges its critique which indicates the hegemonic effects of the ideology of cultural heritage.

THE HERITAGE OF THE SERBS OF BELA KRAJINA IN POST-1991 SLOVENIA

During the process of the dissolution of the Yugoslav federation at the end of 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, the Serbs of Bela Krajina unwillingly played a role in the establishing the new nation states and national identities. The exposure of this small group to public attention, on the other hand, significantly influenced the identity strategies chosen by its members. Their attitudes towards practices and performances through which their distinctiveness as an ethnic community is construed had essentially to do with the tensions emerging from the relationship between citizenship and other modes of belonging. In October 1990, Slovenian President Milan Kučan visited the Orthodox villages, and told their inhabitants the following:

You are citizens of Yugoslavia and citizens of Slovenia. You are good citizens of the Republic of Slovenia and good Serbs. The viewpoint according to which one who lives here and is a good Serb cannot be a good citizen of Slovenia is not acceptable. Both are possible and necessary. To do otherwise would be a poor endorsement of the Republic of Slovenia (Krasko 1990: 9).⁷

This statement by Kučan, which sheds light on the issue of the relationship between ethnicity and citizenship, is a continuation of a discourse which followed the creation of nation states in Europe. In the process of the formation of nation states, small ethnic groups are usually seen by the majority as “a problematic element in their settings that resists the establishment of a homogeneous nation” (Promitzer 2004: 17).

The Serbs of Bela Krajina could not escape the perception that they are a problematic, unsuitable and potentially dangerous element for the independent nation state of Slovenia. This is clear from the notes of Pavle Čelik, a commander in the Slovenian police during the period of obtaining independence:

We immediately thought of Bela Krajina. There, in part of the Municipality of Črnomelj, live descendants of Uskoks, who ran there from the Balkans escaping from the Turks. They mainly inhabited villages Bojanci, Marindol, Miliči, Žuniči, Paunoviči etc. In the course of time they, naturally, almost totally assimilated into the majority population, but blood is thicker than water. How would developments in the neighbouring Croatia affect them? How would they react? They belong to the Orthodox religion (...) According to experts, the Serbian Orthodox Church is known for its conservativeness. It might lead to security issues. The Orthodox priest Peran Bošković in Ljubljana has proved himself a defender of Serbdom in the recent years. We have instructed police units in Bela Krajina to monitor developments on the ground (Čelik 1994: 21–22, in Knežević Hočevar 2004: 128).

The Serbs of Bela Krajina did not enjoy “special attention” only from the Slovenian state during the time of Yugoslavia’s dissolution. The nationalistic discourse generated by the regime in Serbia at the time demanded that the Serbs of Bela Krajina join Srpska Krajina, which was situated on Croatian territory. This discourse can be traced to some years before the breakdown of the state: in 1988, anonymous authors sent a letter to Belgrade, to the Parliament of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), on behalf of the “Committee of Serbs from Bojanci and Marindol” protesting the discrimination against the Serbs in this Slovenian region (Čontala 1989: 26). However, there was no such Committee in Bojanci or Marindol, nor was any kind of protest sent to Belgrade from these villages. In 1989, several articles appeared in *Politika* and other Serbian newspapers stating that the Serbs of Bela Krajina were threatened and were not allowed to use their native language (Ivačić 1989: 20–21). Attempts to prove historical

⁷ Unless indicated differently, all translations of non-English quotations are mine.

rights to Bela Krajina using these four villages also came from Croatia. Marijan Majstorović, one of the authors of the volume *Croats in Slovenia* (1997), cites the four Orthodox villages as a key argument for the “Croatianess” of Bela Krajina. He writes that “even the Serbs, Croatia’s biggest enemies, could not hide the overall Croatian character of the Bela Krajina region” (Majstorović 1997: 100), and therefore Stanoje Stanojević (1925) wrote in the Encyclopaedia that Marindol is a hilly village in Croatia; this author, adds Majstorović “did not know that by that time this village *inhabited by Croats* was already under Slovenian rule” (ibid., emphasis added).

The Serbs of Bela Krajina, on the other hand, did their best to avoid public exposure in the late 1980s and early 1990s, in part by hiding everything that made them appear different from the majority population. In all interviews published in the beginning of the 1990s, they stated that they needed no protection and that they did not feel endangered in Slovenia. They also stressed solidarity among the inhabitants of Bela Krajina regardless of their ethnic or religious background (see e.g. newspaper articles by Ivačič 1989: 20–21; Dimitrič 1990: 2; Lesar 1991: 22).

The need to “hide” and not to be exposed in public spaces, which was a consequence of their not conforming to the national narrative espoused in Slovenia in the 1990s, made the Serbs of Bela Krajina withdraw from being actors of negotiation of their own cultural heritage: their folklore ensemble folded, which the Serbs of Bela Krajina attributed to a general lack of interest among the younger generations, but they also mentioned “a kind of fear”. They also declined a Slovenian government initiative to re-establish schooling in their mother tongue.

In the dominant, institutionalized heritage discourses, their heritage is reduced to a temporally distant “Uskok tradition” and the objects through which this distant tradition is materialized, and thus detached from this small community, their current needs and modes of identity negotiation. If the notion of heritage is more directly linked to the actual community of the Serbs of Bela Krajina, this community is, again, observed from two ideological positions which both link their heritage exclusively to the past. From the first, “folkloristic” position, the “pure” cultural and linguistic traits found in this community are highlighted and reconstructed. The second position produces discourses of nostalgia and lamenting over the inevitable disappearance of these traits. These two sets of discourses usually come hand in hand, supporting one another – the extensive focus on the “old customs” and traditions is justified by the fact that they are going to die out soon.

FOLKLORIZATION AND NOSTALGIA

In the beginning of the 20th century, anthropologists and ethnographers wrote with romantic delight about small ethnic communities in the Balkans and stressed their exoticism and authenticity (cf. Promitzer 2004; Cvijić 1987 [1922]; Smiljanić 1905). Slovenian anthropologist Niko Županič, who was himself from Bela Krajina (he was born in the village of Griblje) dedicated a significant amount of attention to the inhabitants of the Orthodox villages in Bela Krajina. In his opinion, the Serbs of Bela Krajina were the last healthy Balkan nucleus in the region unspoiled by European influence. The traditional *kolo* folk dance and the white traditional costume typical of Bela Krajina were disappearing, together with the old patriarchal morals and values; the only ones who were preserving them were the Serbs of Bela Krajina. The increasing influence of “Bavarians and Slovenians from the North”, on the other hand, had brought higher material culture and widespread European individualism (Županič 1925: 148–149). “The people of Marindol and Bojanci (...) are the only Carniola Serbs who have preserved their nice old Jekavian language, costumes, customs, and Orthodox religion.” (Županič 1912: 9–10) In his report from a scientific trip to Bela Krajina, Županič wrote: “There I observed folk life in the villages near the Kolpa river, because folk traditions are best preserved there and the population is characterized by *the highest purity*” (Županič 1910, in Promitzer 2003, emphasis added).

In more recent ethnographies of Bela Krajina’s Orthodox villages, enthusiasm and delight has been

replaced by nostalgic laments about the loss of authenticity and the disappearance of old customs in this community. In the 1970s, the Bosnian ethnographer Milenko Filipović did research in the four Orthodox villages of Bela Krajina and wrote with nostalgia that “the customs die along with the old people” (Filipović 1970: 215). In the late 1980s, Slovenian researchers Marinka Dražumerič and Marko Terseglav researched the Serbs of Bela Krajina; Dražumerič came to the conclusion that:

The inhabitants of Marindol, Miliči, Paunoviči and Bojanci agree that there is no possibility to preserve themselves as a separate ethnic group. This is also the conviction of their [Slovene] neighbours in Bela Krajina. Both sides only see the possibility in recording and documenting the existing material, social and spiritual culture (Dražumerič 1988: 316; English translation cited in Promitzer 2007).

All these discourses are driven by an ideology of authenticity that has a substantial influence on nearly every aspect of anthropology, ethnology, linguistics (see Bucholtz 2003), and also heritage studies. It is “a quintessentially modern concept” based on the belief that “the scholarly gaze must be cast back from modernity to a prior time – or at least to a place out of modern Western time – in order to make sense of the modern present” (ibid.: 399). The commitment to documenting ways of life vanishing in the wake of modernity is thus heavily and inevitably nostalgic.

The documentation, recording and reconstruction of the traditional culture of the Serbs of Bela Krajina have indeed always been dominant practices in which both academics⁸ and heritage workers⁹ have engaged. The exclusive focus on the preservation of something old and pristine, something that is not a part of the present day and everyday life, in conjunction with nostalgic discourses of loss, shrinking and disappearance as definite, one-way and irreversible processes, has two important consequences. First, it contributes to the folklorization of the community, whereby its representations are limited to fixed images of traditional life and costumes, folklore performances and texts, fixing the community in the idealized, pristine, authentic past and ignoring hybrid and innovative ways in which it may use its tradition in the present.¹⁰ This in turn has the consequence that the community sees own practices, values and own heritage as disconnected from the present and modernity. When it comes to their mother tongue, the Serbs of Bela Krajina could be compared to the members of an Indian community in South America, speakers of the Mexicano language, who

fail to recognize the most obvious function of Spanish loan words, which is to mark elevated Mexicano registers in which discourses of power in the communities are conducted. The result of this failure is a nostalgic purism that makes demands of Mexicano speech that cannot be satisfied (Hill 1998: 83).

Such an attitude towards the mother tongue can be related to what Eric Hamp (1978: 155–164) marks as *self-deprecation*: in case of the Arvanítika speakers in Greece, he notes that they “unflinchingly and happily accept the axioms that Greek is the oldest culture, Greek literature the first, and the Greek language the oldest, the richest (...) the only one with a true grammar.” The Arvanítika speakers stress that “the Arvanítika language was once pure and people [once] spoke [it] without mixing their language with Greek, whereas today Arvanítika has become a bastard language” (Tsitsipis 1998: 132). Similarly, the speakers of the Serbo-Croatian idiom in Bela Krajina describe their language as “not the real Serbian

8 See Dražumerič (1988); Dražumerič, Terseglav (1987); Terseglav (1989, 1996); Petrović (2002, 2004).

9 The permanent ethnographic exhibition at the Bela Krajina Regional Museum in Metlika displays several objects that characterized the traditional life of the Uskoks; in 2008 an exhibition titled “First came the Turks, then the Uskoks” was also centred upon objects of traditional life (see Misja Zgaga et al. 2008).

10 For different aspects and meanings of folklorization, see Habinc (2012); Kaneff (2004); Klekot (2010); Rogers (1999); Stanonik (2001).

language, it is rather a mixture of Serbian and a dialect spoken in Kordun (Croatia), in addition there are many Slovene words in our language.”¹¹

Such an essentially past-oriented approach which greatly contributes to the imagining of the Serbs of Bela Krajina as a pre-modern, homogeneous and compact group, cause this community to remain trapped in representations such as those produced by Janez Vajkard Valvasor many centuries ago. Valvasor (1984 [1689]: 123) described the Uskoks as morally problematic persons, with strange and savage feeding habits and peculiar rituals. It adds to differentiation and ethnic distance and ignores similarities, mutuality and dialogue. As a consequence, “some understandings of heritage are legitimised, while other nuances are discredited” (Waterton, Smith 2010: 9).

Folklorization and nostalgia as dominant modes of approaching small ethnic communities such as the Serbs of Bela Krajina and the extensive focus on traits of their culture which presumably existed in the past in a pure, pristine form paradoxically contributes to the speed of the shift towards and assimilation into the majority culture. This was also noted by Milenko Filipović, who wrote that he “had the impression that they avoided speaking about traditional customs and opinions, as if they took the view that these are over and gone as well as a symbol for backwardness” (Filipović 1970: 215, English translation cited in Promitzer 2007). This remark by Filipović touches upon the important effect of discourses of folklorization and nostalgia: they imagine small ethnic groups as essentially pre-modern, and this is not the image with which members of such groups identify themselves. For the community of the Serbs of Bela Krajina, their mother tongue, traditions and customs are ideologically connected with backwardness and opposed to modernity. The opposition backwardness vs. modernity has a significant impact on internal relations in the four Orthodox villages of Bela Krajina, where the inhabitants of the village of Bojanci are seen by those in the other three villages as more progressive and open-minded. The inhabitants of the neighbouring Slovene villages also notice differences between the two groups of Orthodox villages. Marinka Dražumerič (1988: 307) writes that:

Slovenes consider the inhabitants of Bojanci to be more progressive and sophisticated because of their more intensive interactions with Slovenes. On the other hand, they see the inhabitants of Marindol, who stick to their tradition, as backward and stubborn. Because of these characteristics, they are not entirely accepted by the Slovenian majority.

Nostalgic discourse about disappearance of old cultural traits is not only a characteristic of scholarly discourses, but is also articulated within the community – as a rule, by elder male members of the community. For these community members, Lukas Tsitsipis (2004: 581) stresses that their “projected social self recapitulates and foregrounds the authoritative word of the community as its legitimate representative. This authority is not locally invested in just anybody, but crucially in those individuals whose age and social background make them good and reliable spokes-persons for the communities’ wisdom and collective ideology.” The following excerpt from an interview with an elderly man from Bojanci illustrates the articulation of discourses of nostalgia and male authority:

Most people here do not care about the restoration of the church, but I tell them that it is easy for them not to care about that, because nobody comes to them. Everybody comes to me. Yesterday two scouts from Maribor came and wanted to see the church.

The elder male inhabitants of the Orthodox villages in Bela Krajina contrast the value systems that existed in the past with those existing today. The two periods, *then* and *now*, are characterized by oppos-

¹¹ Unless indicated differently, all quotes of inhabitants of Orthodox villages in Bela Krajina are excerpts from the interviews which I recorded during my fieldwork.

ing value systems; according to older interviewees, there used to be more respect in the past; they also regret the gradual abandoning of the old customs and traditions:

My older son still speaks in our way, but the younger one speaks Slovene. I wanted to say something to him many times, but I remained silent, because everyone should do what one considers the best for him... Our language and customs, all that will disappear one day, but there is nothing we can do about that.

Jane H. Hill, who explored nostalgia among the Nahuatl Indians in Central Mexico, finds a similar ideological patterning of discourse of nostalgia: "The successful men who produce the discourse of nostalgia clearly benefit from social relations of the type invoked in the discourse of nostalgia, whether their success is manifested by high position within the community hierarchy or based on resources accumulated through wage labour" (Hill 1998: 79).

The second consequence of folklorization and nostalgia as two dominant approaches to small ethnic groups such as the Serbs of Bela Krajina is that it forecloses possibilities for recognizing dynamics in both everyday cultural patterns and in heritage negotiation in and around this community. The meanings community members attach to values, cultural patterns, heritage objects and performances thus remain outside interest and recognition, as do the multivocality, heterogeneity and tensions that are result of these attachments. The linear view of the Serbs of Bela Krajina as a community going through the irreversible loss of their cultural traits which will end in total assimilation into the dominant Slovene population (and for this reason these traits must be collected, documented, reconstructed, and displayed in museums) is deeply informed by the nation state ideology, since it also presupposes that the only way for the Serbs of Bela Krajina to become *modern* is to assimilate into the majority. Such a view ignores the complexity of the patterns that are employed in present-day identity negotiations (and that were also employed at any given moment in the past as well).¹² It also overlooks the modernity which is the consequence of this complexity. These patterns are contested and heterogeneous, characterized by mixing, mutuality and dialogicity. Moreover, they enable multiple identifications and detachments, and produce simultaneous similarities and social distances. To provide an illustration of this complexity, simultaneity and multiplicity, below I will focus on heritage as performance and as experience, shaped on the site of and essentially related to the building described as part of the "rich Uskok heritage" in the digital encyclopaedia entry which I referred to at the beginning of this article – the Church of St. Peter and Paul in Miliči.

THE FEAST OF ST. PETER IN MILIČI¹³

Every year on 12 July, the Church of St. Peter and Paul in Miliči becomes a site of the celebration of the Orthodox religious Feast of St. Peter (*Petrovdan*). The religious life in Miliči, as well as in the other three Orthodox villages of Bela Krajina, has declined in the last several decades, so two of the Orthodox churches (in Miliči and Bojanci) are not heavily visited by the local inhabitants. It is only the oldest generation which attends the infrequent church services during the year (priests come occasionally from Croatia – from Srpske Moravice to Miliči and from the Gomirje monastery to Bojanci) and nostalgically recalls times when everyone was going to church. Nevertheless, once every year, on July 12, the church-

12 In the collective memory of the Serbs of Bela Krajina, traditional life and celebrations were always characterized by mutuality and presence of members of other ethnic groups.

13 I attended the celebration of the Feast of St. Peter in Miliči several times during my fieldwork in Bela Krajina between 2001 and 2005, as well as in 2010 and 2013. The points I want to make about heritage negotiation through performances and narratives related to this event are based on my own observations as well as Promitzer's description of the celebration of the Feast of St. Peter in 1998 (see Promitzer 2007).



Figure 1: Celebration of the Feast of St. Peter, Miliči (12 July 2005). Photo Tanja Petrović.

yard in Miliči is full of people attending church services. They gather to celebrate the Feast of St. Peter, which is Miliči's village *slava*, or feast day.

What becomes immediately clear to an observer of this event is that it is by no means restricted to the local community of the four Orthodox villages. Not only do Slovenes also attend the celebration of Petrovdan due to friendship and matrimonial ties with inhabitants of the Orthodox villages, but the event has in a sense a transnational character: the priest that serves in Miliči comes from the village of Srpske Moravice in Croatia, some thirty kilometres from Miliči. Many Croatian Serbs from Lika, Kordun and Karlovac also come to Miliči on St. Peter's day. While the common ethnic origin and family connections provide a basis for solidarity between the Serbs in Bela Krajina and those in neighbouring areas in Croatia, the common celebration of Petrovdan simultaneously produces tensions between the two groups and different, often conflicting claims, appropriations of tradition and negotiations of identity. Promitzer (2007) noted the dialectical relationship between the Serbs of Bela Krajina and the Serbs from Karlovac upon their encounter in Miliči on 12 July 1998; this dynamics has a lot to do with the inclusion of the two groups into respective national frameworks (Slovenian and Croatian), which was intensified after the border between two independent states was erected in 1991. But, as Promitzer warns,

we should not be so naive as to believe that there had not been any differences between these two groups of Serbs previously. The local population was of rural origin, at least they were part-time farmers and were still living in a rural surrounding, even if they commuted to neighbouring Slovene towns like Črnomelj, Metlika and Novo Mesto. The people from Karlovac, however, already had the style of cultivated city dwellers (Promitzer 2007: 93).

The opposition urbanity vs. rurality is not the only one that produces tensions between the two groups of Serbs; they can also occur as a result of questioning each other's competence with regard to Serbian tradition, expressed in the question "Da li to umijete?" (Do you know this one?) with which musicians who came from Karlovac addressed the local Serbs while playing Serbian tunes during the meal after the

church service, in order “to check whether the listeners knew the lyrics and could accompany the tunes with their voices” (ibid.: 95). This challenge by the Serbs from Karlovac, however, does not support the correspondence between loss of competence in local tradition and modernization as it is usually seen by the Serbs of Bela Krajina. In this particular context, and also due to different demographic characteristics of Serbs in Croatia, sticking to the local tradition is not seen as backwardness and conservatism.

In addition to Slovenes and Serbs from Croatia, other “outsiders” in the St. Peter and Paul churchyard on 12 July include more recent migrants of Orthodox background who came to Bela Krajina and Dolenjska during the Yugoslav period and after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. These predominantly economic migrants have appropriated the “Uskok heritage” of Bela Krajina in order to satisfy their own needs for practicing religion and negotiating heritage in the new setting.¹⁴ The attitude of the local Serbs from the four Orthodox Bela Krajina villages to these participants in the St. Peter’s Day celebration is just as ambiguous and characterized by solidarity and distancing as in the case of the Croatian Serbs; these migrants have nevertheless become important actors in performances and practices which constitute the heritage at the local level, and have also contributed to its vitality. The interactions between recent migrants and the Serbs of Bela Krajina indicate the complex ways in which locality and migration as transnational experience inform each other (see Whitehead 2013: 181).

And finally, the event which takes place in the Miliči churchyard on 12 July also attracts those whose main motive is economic, although other impulses behind their presence should not be underestimated. Promitzer mentions that in 1998, when he attended the St. Peter’s Day celebration, “a booth was erected with haberdashery put up for sale. The marketer and his wife were from a small place close to the city of Novo Mesto, they were of Serbian descent and came originally from Dalmatia. They had heard of the meeting in Miliči, but apparently had no contact with the local population. The latter scarcely took notice of the booth and its articles, and the marketer did not make any profit” (ibid.: 92). In 2010, when I was attending the celebration, a Serbian restaurant owner from Novo Mesto set up a barbeque stand and was selling *čevapčići* and *pljeskavice*. The owner and his crew were dressed in T-shirts with the restaurant logo on the back and Tito’s portrait and signature printed on the front. They were also distributing these T-shirts free of charge to their customers. From the conversation with the restaurant owner, a Serb who originally came from Leskovac in Serbia, it became clear that his impulse to come to Miliči on that day was economic, but no less an emotional one. He was happy to attend the Orthodox service in the local church and to be among his co-ethnics in a small Slovenian village. For him, this was an important act of negotiating heritage which he claimed he shared with the Serbs of Bela Krajina. And his presence and the smell of the *roštilj* he barbequed shaped the event of the St. Peter’s Day celebration, despite the fact several local Serbs might have not been happy with it. The “presence” of Tito at the village *slava* in Miliči, although in a way paradoxical, confirms the important role that cultural memory plays in establishing solidarities and heritage experience in a shared space.

CONCLUSION

The local population of the four Orthodox villages of Bela Krajina is inevitably and constantly engaged in positioning and repositioning vis-à-vis the different gazes of all the subjects involved in events such as the Feast of St. Peter in Miliči. Such events make what is usually designated as “old Uskok heritage” open to different interpretations and appropriations, and in this process the Serbs of Bela Krajina negotiate their own position as fluid, changing, and internally contested. This position is decisively marked by in-betweenness, mixing, polyglossia and fluctuation. Their in-betweenness (being neither “real” Serbs nor

¹⁴ The heritage of migrants in Slovenia has not yet been thematized nor is it a topic within mainstream heritage discourses. Like several other European nation states, in the area of heritage among others, Slovenia maintains a self-image of being a homogeneous society (for Denmark, see Parby 2013: 183).

“real” Slovenes), described by one of my interviewees with the phrase *ni tamo, ni vamo* (“neither here nor there”) is often a reason for (self-)deprecation, frustration and intra-community struggles. Such position, however, simultaneously equips community members with skills to manage diversity and mutuality on several levels and to dwell in multiple culturally and linguistically distinct spaces – encompassing the local setting of their villages, the broader region of Bela Krajina, the national framework of Slovenia, the transnational space of cross-border connections with the Serbs in Croatia, as well as imagined spaces of Serbdom in general that reaches to Serbia as a “motherland.” They, moreover, navigate through different layers of cultural memory, from the canonized narratives about Uskoks provided by Valvasor and later writers and ethnographers, to the more recent past of the common Yugoslav state and the legacy they as Serbs share with other non-Slovenes now living in the Republic of Slovenia. And finally, they utilize multiple communication codes and are capable of adapting to very different interlocutors. Communicative adaptability is a characteristic of the Serbs of Bela Krajina, which was also frequently noted by ethnographers. Dražumerič, Terseglav (1987: 211) state that:

the fieldwork has shown extraordinary linguistic adaptability of the Serbs presently living in Bela Krajina: with another inhabitant of Bela Krajina they would speak in his dialect, with a “Carniolan” they would speak Slovenian (the vernacular with dialectal and Serbo-Croatian elements), with Croats they would speak Croatian with slight deviations.

All these different spaces, layers, cultural and linguistic codes play a prominent role in the ways heritage is experienced and performed in village feasts, *slavas* and religious holidays, in the way the Serbs of Bela Krajina see and talk about their customs, traditions and materiality of their local world. This diversity, polyglossia, simultaneity and undulating between spaces, codes and belongings – in opposition to the rather pre-modern image that traditional ethnographic, folkloristic and heritage narratives impose on them – make the Serbs of Bela Krajina quite modern, or even postmodern. And their post-modern character should not be ignored in the institutionalized representations of their heritage. True, it makes it very difficult to provide a homogeneous, coherent, univocal unproblematic narrative, but no engagement with and negotiation of cultural heritage appears as homogeneous, coherent, univocal and unproblematic if one looks at the ways real people grasp it in making the sense of their present and future. This is even less so in the case of small ethnic communities such as the Serbs of Bela Krajina, who are torn between and simultaneously involved in so many different spaces, codes, memory layers and modes of belonging.

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LINGUISTIC MOBILITY IN THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN PERIPHERY AND MULTIETHNIC HERITAGE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY

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COBISS 1.01

ABSTRACT

Linguistic Mobility in the Central European Periphery and Multiethnic Heritage at the Beginning of the 20th Century

By analyzing language use related to food, the author attempts to demonstrate that despite the all-encompassing nationalist identity, the people living in Central European border areas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century still shared in their everyday lives the same transnational rhetoric for both self-identification and recognition of others. Using a manuscript collection of recipes and other household instructions for housewives, where two and sometimes even three languages are used in a single paragraph, the author argues that this multicultural way of remembering and sharing professional expertise was the usual practice of everyday communication until the end of the Second World War, when the creation of socialist Yugoslavia led to the formation of three newly politicized nationalities / ethnicities, two religious identities and (after 1945) one exclusive ideology that produced a new set of practices of cohabitation and differentiation.

KEY WORDS: interculturalism, multiculturalism, multilingualism, food, recipes, household, Prekmurje, border

IZVLEČEK

Jezikovna mobilnost na obrobju osrednje Evrope in multikulturna dediščina na začetku 20. stoletja

Na podlagi analize večjezične rokopisne zbirke kuharskih receptov skuša avtor rekonstruirati proces nacionalne samoidentifikacije v času pred prvo svetovno vojno in po njej. Pri tem ugotavlja, da se je na tromeji med Madžarsko, Avstrijo in Slovenijo interkulturalizem, ki je vse do izbruha vojne zaznamoval vse dimenzije vsakdanjega življenja v pokrajini med Muro in Rabo, v veliki meri ohranil vse do druge svetovne vojne. Po njegovem mnenju se je tipični zahodnopanonski multikulturalizem, ki so ga v veliki meri sooblikovali tudi vplivi iz hrvaškega Medžimurja, domala neokrnjen ohranil skozi obe desetletji med obema vojnoma. O tem pričajo tako prakse iz vsakdanjega življenja kot tudi počasno uveljavljanje slovenskega šolstva in novega sistema javne uprave Kraljevine SHS. Ne glede na energično slovenizacijo Prekmurja se je v vsakdanji govorici bi- ali celo trilingvizem ohranil vse do srede štiridesetih let prejšnjega stoletja. Ali rečeno drugače, tako hrana kakor tudi opis njene priprave pričata o tem, da je interkulturalizem *belle époque* prešel v sodobni multikulturalizem obmejnih regij in se kot tak ohranil globoko v 20. stoletje.

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KLJUČNE BESEDE: interkulturalizem, multikulturalizem, večjezičnost, hrana, kuharski recepti, gospodinjstvo, Prekmurje, meja

INTRODUCTION

This article builds on an analysis of recipes and diary fragments from the Prekmurje region of north-eastern Slovenia dating from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. This material is compared to some manuscripts kept in the New York Public Library,¹ whereby the chronological framework is maintained. It should be noted at the beginning that the central unit of analysis, the cookbook manuscript, belongs to the author's family legacy, which is significantly related to the town of Murska Sobota. In addition, the article utilizes a series of anthropological and cultural studies discussions.² Thus the material comprises private collections, individual manuscripts from public archives, museums and libraries, and a selection of secondary scientific literature. The evidence gathered and used from different sources is fragmentary. On the other hand, the cookbook manuscripts that are at the centre of attention are not simply something that people write, use and throw away. Instead, they are an integral part of everyday life and they indeed shape human experience. Furthermore, the analyzed material has its own grammar and vocabulary. Unlike the usual texts and artefacts, a handwritten recipe "encapsulates not just the physical attributes of an everyday object, but the myriad and shifting contexts through which it acquires meaning" (Harvey 2009: 3).

Nevertheless, or because of this, the selection of the material significantly delimits the methodology: it encompasses an overview and analysis of archival sources and their juxtaposition to other authors' findings. Essentially, the discussion provided is based on historical and linguistic analysis of individual recipes which are results of the intercultural quotidian of the Prekmurje region.

"Food always condenses a happening, a plot." Or to put it the other way around: personal and cultural memories are integral to eating and speaking. Simply to name a food is to invoke the lifetime of a person and a culture, or a historical period. Food has everything in the world to tell us about the mentalities of an age, its desiring tropes and geographies (Marranca 2003: 24). In times of plenty, talking about food and manners of serving can be fun and amusing, but in times of scarcity, finding the best food could also be a "mark of character" (Tucker 2009: 11). Food, as Sybil Gräfin Schönfeldt would put it, can also stand "as the sensual basis of remembering" and the courses are like people: "they not only speak as symbolic illustrations like the still-life works of the Dutch painters, but they interact with us and help to create atmosphere" (Schönefeldt 2004: 10).

This article is not just about atmosphere but also about adaptability, which is why the recipes and other written and oral accounts I discuss show how cooking became the hallmark of all borderlands of Central Europe. In the case of Prekmurje, which is the most multicultural part of Slovenia, they are simply symbolic of the social history of the entire region.

THE NOTION OF PREKMURJE AND ITS MULTICULTURAL CHARACTER

Before leaving the floor to the cooks, we have to address the notion of the area they lived in, as the

1 *Manuscript Cook Book – American, 19th Century* (signature: 30 I 8 vo) in Whitney, Helen Hay (1875–1944) Whitney Cookery Collection (1400–1895); *Kochbuch (1876–1897)* by Wilhelmina Blumfeldt, New York Public Library Manuscript and Archive Collection – Brooke Russell Astor Reading Room.

2 See in particular: Marranca (2003); Tucker (2009).

region in question is not just another border area, but one of the most multicultural parts of Central Europe in general.

Positioned between Austria to the north, Croatia to the south and Hungary to the east, Prekmurje is the only province where Slovenian, Roma and Hungarian Protestant and Catholic communities have lived together with little notable conflict ever since the seventeenth-century Ottoman invasion. Before the Nazi deportation of the Jews in 1944, Prekmurje was also home to two influential Jewish communities. In short, the region we are talking about has a pronounced multicultural heritage based on the Habsburg tradition of the cohabitation of different cultures and religions. This means that, much like in other parts of the monarchy, the “patriotic reality” of people living in Prekmurje was defined by loyalty to the dynasty and positive acceptance of the multinational state (Cole and Unovsky 2007: 3). In everyday life this parallel reality worked not just within the Habsburg society as a whole, but within provinces, social classes, ethnic groups and even on individual levels. Cole and Unovsky seem to be right in asking whether these “realities were [not] simply ‘parallel’ and therefore ‘separate,’ [...] or whether there was not in fact an overlap between the national and dynastic” (Cole and Unovsky 2007: 3). And, one should add, the local.

Contrary to the overall situation in the monarchy, where German and Hungarian were the predominant languages, Prekmurje can hardly be said to have been subject to any explicit linguistic hierarchy at the turn of the century. Just the opposite, in addition to the official Hungarian, its inhabitants could easily communicate in two or even three other languages until the end of the Second World War. The language of each respective community always served as the basis, and the potential use of other languages was dictated by the specific official, business or social occasion or situation. Systematic Magyarization, discussed by Borut Brumen in his book *Na robu zgodovine in spomina* [At the Edge of History and Memory] (Brumen 1995), began no sooner than at the turn of the century.

More accurately, the process of national homogenization, which began after the formation of the dual monarchy (1867), reached its peak only in the decade before the First World War. Prior to that, Hungarian nationalism was primarily encountered by intellectuals, mostly priests, who pursued their education in Hungary. On this basis, the native Prekmurje writer Miško Kranjec concluded that there was no intellectual in Prekmurje at the beginning of the twentieth century “who did not consider themselves a Hungarian” (Kranjec 1967: 664). By this he also meant those who “called their homeland ‘Slovenian,’ themselves ‘Slovenes’ and their language ‘Slovene’ or ‘old Slovene’”. This alludes to the fact that during the last population census (1909), they too had been unable to declare themselves anything other than Hungarians, since the designation “Wend”³ had by then completely disappeared from the section in which one was required to declare one’s national affiliation. The consequence of this measure was, among others, also manifested in a notable decline in the Slovenian population in the biggest Slovenian town in the province, Murska Sobota, to less than one half (47.7%) (Ilešič 1959: 69–80). That this was the result of systematic Magyarization is also confirmed by the first postwar census carried out in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1921, when the percentage of the Slovenes soared to more than 76%. The highest share of the remaining quarter comprised Hungarians, followed by Germans and about 10% of others, mostly Croats and Jews, insofar as the latter did not declare themselves Hungarian or German. This figure does not include the Roma, who were documented separately. A similar structure is revealed on the basis of religion. The majority population was made up of Slovenes of Roman Catholic faith, followed by Protestants and some 6% of Jews.

However, an entirely different ratio is obtained when the same population is divided by property and influence, where the supremacy is given to the Jews, and by national affiliation, where it is passed to the Hungarians. This was also observed by Miroslav Kokolj (Kokolj 1957: 177–211) in his discussion *Prekmurje v prevratni dobi* [Prekmurje in the Revolutionary Era] in the early 1920s, in which he established that all “well-to-do and notable” “Magyarons” of Murska Sobota, in short, “everyone who had made any

³ “Wend” was a generic term used for the Slovenes in this border area. The Magyar authorities claimed the Slavic people of Prekmurje and the region further east were not Slovenes but a separate Slavic-speaking people.

progress on the Hungarian social ladder”, declared themselves Hungarians as well. Thus in 1921, 14.5% of Murska Sobota’s population of Hungarian nationality “[had] in their possession the majority of capital and hence informal leverage” with which, according to Brumen, they had a decisive influence in shaping public opinion. In our case, the selection of language was certainly not prescribed by capital but by the culinary tradition, due to which most handwritten instructions for the preparation of food before the First World War were produced in Hungarian. But more on this later. At this point it should be noted that regardless of what has been said, the process of national identification and categorization was long overdue in the everyday life of Prekmurje.

And when it finally began, it was certainly not part of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people, which were not necessarily nationally or ethnically defined. Studying the everyday preoccupations and comprehensions of ordinary Prekmurians – to whom ethnicity was indeed largely irrelevant – means being confronted with the lack of popular mobilization in response to considerable popular indifference in the face of elite-level nationalist propaganda. Yet this non-responsiveness to the appeals of ethno-national enterprises does not imply that ethnicity was insignificant. Social life was pervasively, though unevenly, structured along the ethnic lines, and ethnicity “happened” in a variety of everyday settings. Ethnicity was embodied and expressed not only in political projects and nationalist rhetoric but mainly in everyday encounters, practical categories, commonsense knowledge, cultural idioms, cognitive schemata, interactional cues, discursive frames, organizational routines, social networks and institutional forms. Although such everyday ethnicity – we might call it naive nationalism – may be invisible to most of those who are interested in collective action, it merits study in its own right.

Here I will concentrate more on the Habsburg tradition vis-à-vis the modernist demands for loyalty and forms of legitimacy, for which I use a document that offers an example of common intercultural practices. As already mentioned, it is a handwritten cookbook in Slovenian, German and Hungarian, a mixture of recipes and other household instructions for housewives, where two and sometimes even three languages are used in a single sentence.

Using these and some fragments from similar documents, I argue that this multicultural way of remembering and sharing information, knowledge and professional expertise was the usual practice of everyday communication until the end of the Second World War, when the creation of socialist Yugoslavia led to the formation of three newly politicized nationalities / ethnicities, two religious identities and one exclusive ideology that produced a new set of practices of cohabitation and differentiation. Or, to put it in a broader, Central European perspective, in a region that besides being a place of many differences, Central Europe was always a place of intercultural sociality. Therefore, until the end of the Second World War, people living in regions like Prekmurje bore multiple identities.

This is certainly true of Marija Hujs (1886–1953), the author’s great-great aunt, who wrote the cookbook with multilingual recipes which form the central part of the discussion in this article. Her ethnicity, too, was marked by a variety of different ethnic social networks, interactional cues and discursive frames. As a typical representative of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Habsburg mental habit, she could speak and write in at least three languages, which enabled her to be well-integrated in her social and/or professional environment(s). Even more so, commuting from her hometown to the neighbouring regional centres like Zalaegersek, Keszthely, Graz and national capitals like Budapest and Zagreb, she simply had to communicate in various languages. Her two volume cookbook containing 265 recipes not only represents a *mélange* of various languages but also serves as a miniature language handbook. Consulting her cooking instructions on a daily basis, a regular user could not only discover the secrets of the western Pannonian (or even Habsburg) cuisine, but also learn all three measuring systems and the names of various cooking tricks. Not to forget the spices. Nevertheless, the regional cuisine emphasized artifice rather than intense concentration on primary elements. It took delight in special effects including not only spicy flavours but also colour. Pepper, cinnamon, ginger, bay leaf, red pepper, salt, and sugar were the most commonly used spices in Prekmurje cooking and made up the bulk of what was imported from the Pannonian plain, the Balkans and the Mediterranean. However, one

of the remarkable aspects of the local fondness for spices was the variety of spicy ingredients called for by the recipes and supplied by the local, usually Jewish merchants.

The sharp or fragrant smell and taste of spices provided not only delight, but was supposed to impart health benefits to regional food. The beneficial health effects of spices were thought to be at least twofold. They were considered as home medicines and were supposed to have curative properties for various disorders. At the same time, however, their culinary and pharmaceutical uses overlapped even more closely, as spices were thought to provide the necessary balance to many kinds of meat and were associated with good digestion, the prevention of illness, and bodily equilibrium. As in much older cooking manuals, most of the spices used in cooking also appear in the handwritten cooking recipes we used, and feature on lists of effective drugs. In many instances, as with sugar for example, their medical use preceded their diffusion as culinary ingredients. According to some recipes, peppers help reduce chest congestion and relieve breathing conditions, cinnamon soothes digestive problems and wine, when heated, heals decaying gums.⁴ The most important part of this multiple use of spices, however, is the fact that the local cooks would know the names of the spices in all three or even four languages.

At any rate, according to the data available at this time, Marija began to write her cookbook at the end of the nineteenth century, which means that multilingualism was part of her upbringing. For this reason she probably hardly noticed that a recipe she started with a German title continued with Hungarian names of measuring units and ended with Slovenian instructions for preparation. She could most probably read any other bi- or trilingual recipes with the same ease as the person who wrote them, and accordingly prepare "Judenteig", "Butermasse", "Gernteig", bake an "Omlet" or "Rotstild", and she certainly knew how to serve a "Kakao snite". She would also consider it quite natural that the recipes were attained from a long series of instructions for preserving fruit and vegetables, making blackcurrant wine and various jams, or that among the recipes she would surely also find one for making sugar decorations for Christmas trees.

She would most likely have noticed spelling mistakes but probably never really cared, as the languages used in everyday communication were hardly ever spoken and written in a proper i.e. official manner. What interested her were the right ingredients and accurate instructions, which were in most cases rather short and concrete, sometimes written in a single sentence.

Let us take for example the recipe for *Kitolo fänk* ("squeezed doughnut"), for which one needs "a 1/2 litre of milk[,] half a litre of flour together with 4 eggs and beaten egg whites..." The mixture is then put into a machine which forms finger-long pieces that must be baked until "yellow" and finally decorated "with powdered sugar and grated chocolate".⁵

Or, a little longer "instruction" for a dessert called *Preznic* for which we need "a pound of flour and the same amount of butter, crushed almonds, walnuts, raisins (without seeds) (...) two peeled oranges and lemons, some sugar and a glass of wine ... and the final result are four preznic",⁶ a dessert that is not easily forgotten.

On the other hand, the recipes attest to the aforementioned relationship between influence and power. The fact that a Slovenian woman wrote the vast majority of instructions for the preparation of food in Hungarian shows that she learned to write in a Hungarian-language school. Therefore, the low-

4 Our sources reveal significant similarities with medieval and early modern cuisine. This comparison is credited to Paul Freedman (2012).

5 A taste of the original: "159 Kitolo fänk / Zemi ½ litra mleka pou litra melo/ greszno tou szkuhaj na goszto deni / hladit zdaj pa ednoj 8 zslucsakov / notri mesaj 4 jajc trdi szneg vaj / kitolon foro kesel fere vagni mird a ket felen na / zsuto szpecsi deni meszkledo cukrov pa zribanov csokoladov poszipli."

6 The original version reads like this: "161 Preznic / Zemi ¾ kg mele toliko putra sztoga/ omeszi teszto fila ½ kg mandule ½ kg / orehe tou szemleto ½ kg rozint 1/8 kg / szuho grozdcse brezi szemena szakse / nadovje vrezat narancs pa citrone / olupiti 1/8 kg cukra tou vsze vkup mesaj / deni zraven 3 narancse zsok pa 3 citrone / pa ¼ litre belo vino teszto vo potegni / Na eden nas debelo filo gori potori tu pa / tan nafalacske putor gori deni s toga lahko / 4 preznic napravis."

est share of errors occurs in the Hungarian part of the text. Furthermore, her Hungarian is equipped with all the necessary umlauts, whereas her Slovene or Prekmurian is only rarely written in the same degree of regularity. She spells keksi (cookies) as “Keks”, “testo” (dough) as “teszto”, piškoti (biscuits) as “Piskota”, and “žuta” (yellow) as “zsuta”. The case is similar for the titles of recipes in German, where Rothschild is spelled “Rotsild”, Masse (batter) as “mas” or “maz”, and where the final part of the title occasionally shifts into Hungarian; e.g. “Butter masa zsuta”.

The latter also reflects in Hungarianized syntax, due to which one can notice a fairly unusual word order in the titles of some recipes. For example, instead of “cuker” (sugar ornaments) for the Christmas tree, she writes “Cuker na drevo božično” (Sugar ornaments on the Christmas tree), instead of “beli mandolat” (white almond nougat) “mandulat beli”, instead of “fini keksi” (fine cookies) “Keksi fini”, and instead of “masa za biskvit” (spongecake batter) the so-called “Biskvit masa”. German, which she used especially for, let us call them “technical” terms, such as “staub cuker”, “belli linzeri”, “Mandel Brot”, plays an important role as well. A lot if not the majority of the names of the more complex desserts are written in German. Besides Slovenized “Zaher masa”, “Bohem teszto”, “Putr krem”, “Krem snite” etc. there are also some regular German names like “Linzerteg”, “Grnteig”, “Omlet” or, in most cases, a combination of both the regular German word and a heavily Hungarianized or Slovenized surrogate (“Butter masa”, “Zeller szosz”, “Kakao snite”) Nevertheless, Hungarian is by far the most predominantly used language throughout the entire manuscript, which is also evident from the fact that all of the longer recipes in the first of the two volumes are written in Hungarian. Indeed, initially, all instructions written in Prekmurian/Slovene are short, often not exceeding one sentence. Here is an example of the recipe (the sixty-sixth in the first volume) for “Keksi fini”, which are made of “3 kg flour 1 kg sugar crystal 5 honey 11/2 milk ammonium citron 6 whole eggs and 30 butter”.

On the other hand, the instructions on how to prepare the food often exceed half a page and some recipes even occupy an entire page. Slovene starts to prevail in the second volume, which clearly indicates that it was written after the First World War, or rather after the annexation of Prekmurje to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Slovene is also the language in which introductory instructions regarding bothersome flies or bread needing to be wrapped in white cloth at all times and dishes having to be rinsed in two tubs of water are written in especially beautiful handwriting. This part also shows that she has never attended any cooking course or similar. In the period in which she was finishing her second and final handwritten volume of recipes, printed cookbooks or special journals for women had not reached as far as Prekmurje.

The multiculturalism of the recipes in the second volume is revealed only through frequent Hungarian (“Alma Bundaba”, “Turos Gomboc”) and occasional German (“Omlet”, “Krem snite”) recipe titles and the aforementioned Hungarianized Prekmurian or Slovene.

As already noted by Brumen, the Slovenization of Prekmurje was far from spontaneous and was carried out through highly organized re-education. The newly instated Slovenian officials concluded that without systematic re-education of the inhabitants of Prekmurje into Slovenes and citizens of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes they might “lose them again” (Brumen 1995: 60). According to Tone Zorn (1984), Ivan Zelko (1972), Matija Slavič (1921) and finally also Brumen (1995), the last two decades of the nineteenth century were marked by strong Hungarianization. The latter was facilitated by libraries, which held exclusively Hungarian literature, the Hungarian Educational Society for the Wendish Province and by the weekly *Muraszombat es videke* [Murska Sobota and the Region] established in 1885. It should be stressed that the process of Hungarianization was by far the strongest in the two provincial cities (Murska Sobota in Lendava) and in major villages (Beltinci).⁷ Prekmurian was the predominant

7 According to Brumen, “there was virtually no one in Murska Sobota to take a public stand for the Slovenian national identity of the inhabitants of Murska Sobota, just as no one would advocate the use of the vernacular Prekmurian. Little wonder, then, that Murska Sobota came to Slovenia marked [...] as a “Hungarian nest” (Brumen 1995: 60).

language of everyday communication in the majority of smaller villages and hamlets – and even in the Church, though it faced sharp opposition from the parish priest of the largest provincial parish in Murska Sobota. Accordingly, the greatest resistance to Slovenization occurred in the cities, as is also evident from the report of the newly instated officials. In the opinion of Matija Slavič, the expert for Prekmurje attending the Paris Peace Conference, this was a major cause for concern. Slavič (1921, 1935) was the only attendee familiar with the arguments of the advocates of Hungarian interests, who claimed that the inhabitants of Prekmurje did not speak Slovene at all.

The situation in the Murska Sobota suburbs and surrounding villages was quite different. Except in schools, people spoke and wrote in Hungarian and Prekmurian, but the use of either depended on the specific situation. This is attested to both by the opposition to Slovenization and by our material. The former even led to the boycott of Slovenian schools. In this case, too, Murska Sobota was at the forefront with Lendava among the cities, and the Murska Sobota Grammar School, which was founded less than two months after the annexation of the province to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, among the schools, as its first generation of pupils counted very few youths from the city. For Brumen, this was the result of the activities of the Murska Sobota Hungarians and Magyarons who hoped “that the Hungarians would return” (Brumen 1995: 65), or of the efforts of the Catholic Deacon and the Evangelical Elder, who protested against the recent dissolution of religious schools. The situation did not change until the mid-1920s, when the “inhabitants of Murska Sobota gradually began to feel that things were [...] turning for the better and that [...] Prekmurian was after all more akin to Slovene than Hungarian” (Brumen 1995: 67). This realization was also due to the electrification of Murska Sobota, which allowed the “locals” to attend the annual reception for officials for the first time (Teply 1970: 133). In the villages the situation seemed to be more stable. Here the awareness of the “skupni jezik” [common tongue] was quite high. As Andrea Haberl Zemljič points out, “this was a clearly articulated collective consciousness that did not exclude the hostility towards those ‘outside’”. But most of all, Haberl Zemljič demonstrates in her study that the everyday life of the majority of the villagers was “monolingually Slovene” (Haberl Zemljič 2012: 93).

Similar dynamics are also revealed in our material. By that, we have in mind primarily the already mentioned introductory part of the second volume, which the author began with instructions on how to manage a household. There we learn, among other things, that it is recommendable to wet the broom before sweeping and that flies “walking” on bread carry “disease”. The language the author chose is a mixture of Slovene and Prekmurian, and it is impossible to ignore that she wanted to come as close to the then Slovenian language/literary norm as possible.

That is, the text written in Prekmurian and following Hungarian syntax is laced with Slovene, which cannot be found in the descriptions of the preparations of some dishes. That this part of the text was of special significance is also clear from the use of particularly careful handwriting for this segment, which concludes with an appeal to “all young housewives” to heed the author’s instructions. Parts of the text that were reserved exclusively for Hungarian before the war now start to be written predominantly in Slovene. The latter is at places rather awkward or artificial, due to the author’s poor knowledge of Slovenian linguistic norms, which only further demonstrates that she deliberately afforded it the role of a formal/official part of the text. Moreover, Slovene was considered the official language of the province from the second half of the 1920s at the latest. Less than a decade after the war, the inhabitants of Prekmurje began to identify themselves with proclamations stating that they were “no longer Hungarians but Yugoslavs, the sons of their homeland Yugoslavia of Slovenian descent” (Brumen 1995:61).

CONCLUSION

Nevertheless, the everyday life of Prekmurje continued to be marked by the mixture of three languages and four linguistic regimes right up to the middle of the twentieth century. The adaptability of the Slo-

venes was enriched by that of their Hungarian, Jewish, Croatian and German neighbours. The history of all these groups during the transition between postwar hunger and the short period of affluence before the crisis of the early 1930s formed what came to be called the modern transcultural community. However, it was not just the food habits that were transformed through the mixing of cultures. Almost everything was mixed: language, trade, marriages, etc. as well as the emerging urban culture in Lendava and Murska Sobota.

According to this and bearing in mind the material used in this article, it is hard to imagine that, besides being a world of continuous metamorphosis, the life of the people in borderland multiethnic and multilingual communities was also a life of belonging and national diversification. It is easier to believe that, until the Second World War, being a part of a typical Central European latecomer periphery, regions like Prekmurje might as well have still been part of a pre-modern cultural landscape of linguistic mobility and continuous metamorphosis instead of the modernist imaginary of fixed, differentiating roots intertwined in an identity that is striving for unitary belonging.

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DIGITAL HERITAGE: CO-HISTORICITY AND THE MULTICULTURAL HERITAGE OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

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ABSTRACT

Digital Heritage: Co-Historicity and the Multicultural Heritage of Former Yugoslavia

The author discusses digital practices of preserving and representing multicultural heritage, first against the backdrop of dominant, official and often (nationally) exclusivist practices of "doing heritage". The former are understood as tools for preserving, developing and embedding cultural heritage in wider experiential spaces, while the latter often serve as the tool for homogenisation and sanitisation of national cultural and social spaces. To do this, the author focuses on presences and absences of WWII, socialist Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav migrant heritages in contemporary Slovenian digital spaces, i.e. how digital media are used to present and preserve these variegated heritages. In order to interrogate the practices and strategies of defining and managing heritage in the digital media environment, the author discusses several vernacular interventions as re-presences of the Yugoslav past. With respect to the specificities of the techno-cultural environment in which the topic "lives", the author introduces the concept of "co-historicity" to denote the ways affective media practices facilitate contemporaneous "being" in different, individualised, mediated and mediatised re-presences of the past.

KEYWORDS: digital heritage, co-historicity, digital storytelling, migration

IZVLEČEK

Digitalna dediščina: Sozgodovinskost in multikulturna dediščina nekdanje Jugoslavije

Avtor razpravlja o digitalnih praksah ohranjanja in reprezentacije multikulturne dediščine, v prvem delu o razkoraku med dominantnimi, uradnimi in pogosto (nacionalno) izključujočimi praksami na eni ter digitalnimi praksami »dediščinjenja« na drugi. Pri tem se osredotoči na digitalne prakse, ki so razumljene kot vznikajoče strategije in orodja za ohranjanje, razvoj in vpisovanje vernakularne kulturne dediščine v širše izkustvene prostore. Avtor se osredotoči na prisotnosti in odsotnosti dediščine druge svetovne vojne, socialistične Jugoslavije in postjugoslovanske migrantske dediščine v Sloveniji oz. slovenskih digitalnih prostorih. V ta namen avtor razpravlja o več vernakularnih intervencijah kot primerih prisedanjanja jugoslovanske preteklosti. Glede na specifično tehno-kulturnih okolij, kjer ta tematika »biva«, avtor predstavi koncept »sozgodovinskosti«, s katerim označuje fenomen intervencije afektivnih medijskih praks v sočasnost »bivanja« individualiziranih, posredovanih in mediatiziranih prisedanjanj preteklosti. KLJUČNE BESEDE: digitalna dediščina, sozgodovinskost, digitalno pripovedništvo, migracije

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INTRODUCTION

For ages, humans have been interested in preserving the present moment for posterity, as a reminder of their past grandness and, more recently and increasingly, as a reminder of their folly (if to little practical avail). This can be traced back to the cave paintings and architecture later on, to science and art, but perhaps most closely to monuments, museums, archives, collections... The fascination with things present – yet utterly sentenced to pass into the unreachable past – seems unending and its roots obscured. However, it is reasonably safe to claim that communication down the generations would not have been possible otherwise. Likewise, synchronous communication would have been hampered not least because wider meaning-making and world-understanding and culture-sustaining frameworks – intricately intertwined in the processes of understanding the present and, in dreaming up the future, re-presencing the past (cf. Sobchack 2011) – could hardly be functioning. In communicating with their future, humans in fact use their past to delimit the coordinates of being in the present. John Urry argues “there is no past out there, or rather back there. There is only the present, in the context of which the past is being continually recreated” (Urry 1995: 6). This re-creation is invariably a “victim” of memory politics and any subsequent dealing with the past easily falls prey to (un)intentional politicisation.

Likewise, it is a “victim” of the attempts to define and preserve the (mis)achievements of the past within the canon and, significantly, within the framework of cultural heritage discourse (CHD). Classically, CHD presupposes a fairly rigid classification and eligibility criteria and regulations concerning the definition, renovation and maintenance of tangible and intangible heritage, which somewhat resembles the discourse of the archive. The classical archive, “a formal structure governing transformation of present records into storehouses of the past” (Ernst 2004: 96), establishes a referential framework within which the “truth” about the past can be determined. This approach, however, seems to be shaken and challenged by the rise of digital media communications technologies and related practices of presenting, re-presencing and preserving content. This article thus aims to examine the fractures between approaches to defining and preserving heritage in classical and digital terms.

Cultural heritage as a broader and more specific (hegemonic) framework is globally classified and regulated by the UNESCO charter, which defines heritage as: “our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations [... it includes] sites, objects and intangible things that have cultural, historical, aesthetic, archaeological, scientific, ethnological or anthropological value to groups and individuals” (Concept of Digital Heritage).

National approaches vary. In the Netherlands, for instance, the Culture Heritage Agency says:

Cultural Heritage is an expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation, including customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expressions and values. Cultural Heritage is often expressed as either Intangible or Tangible Cultural Heritage [...]. As part of human activity Cultural Heritage produces tangible representations of the value systems, beliefs, traditions and lifestyles. As an essential part of culture as a whole, Cultural Heritage, contains these visible and tangible traces from antiquity to the recent past (What is cultural heritage).

In Slovenia, on the other hand, guidelines and regulations as stipulated by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia are somewhat more detailed:

Cultural heritage comprises the sources and evidence of human history and culture regardless of origin, development and level of preservation (tangible/material heritage), and the cultural assets associated with this (intangible/non-material heritage). Because of their cultural, scientific and general human values, it is in the state’s interest to protect and preserve cultural heritage (What is Cultural Heritage?).

The Slovenian definition of cultural heritage seems inclusive enough in its dedication to preserve *stuff*

that matters. Yet, by focusing on sites, materials, and “knowledge, skills, customs, beliefs and values as recognised and realised by people and connected with creation, use, understanding and transmission to current and future generations” (What is Cultural Heritage?), it seems to implicitly exclude the recognition of the fact that “heritage is not a thing, it is not a site [...] heritage is what goes on at these sites [...] it] is a cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present, and the sites themselves are cultural tools that can facilitate, but are not necessarily vital for, this process” (Smith 2006: 44). In other words, the definition insufficiently emphasises the dynamics of “turning stuff into heritage” and relies too heavily on “fixing” the meaning and content in space and time. It furthermore fails to acknowledge another important aspect: migration flows in the post-Cold War world have been remarkably rapid and sizeable, meaning that in the era of not only globalising movement of people but also related massive “migration” of consumer products and lifestyles, little attention is paid to the “burgeoning transience” of rapidly changing socio-cultural constellations (or, if not changing, then being radically redefined). This also demonstrates little understanding of the “shrinking of time” (Virilio 1999), the term alluding to the increasing pace of technological innovation and change that leaves no socio-cultural practice unscathed. The corollary of this process is an ambivalent/paradoxical phenomenon: the faster passing of *stuff* into the past (oblivion) and – substantially due to digital communications technologies – excessive re-presencing of the past.

The amount of digital content produced that is relevant for a not insignificant number of people and communities constitutes a vast pool of resources and cultural references – with increasing relevance (or at least presence) of personal accounts – that fit into the concept “digital heritage”. The repositories of stuff created and preserved in digital media environments are essentially the result not only of migration/circulation of content across space but also of the co-creation of space’n’time-travel-like immersive environments (websites, videos, music). In such “volatile” environments the past is continually re-presenced, redistributed, recontextualised and redefined in ways and means previously inconceivable (and I do not want to sound too technotopian).

The past, in digital media representations and renarrativisations and according to the principles of Anderson’s Long Tail effect (Anderson 2004), seems to be finding numerous distributed “consumers” in a distinctly globalised environment. Which means that even within a very specific national setting (such as the Slovenian), it is insufficient to talk about a homogenous cultural heritage corpus resistant to broader processes unravelling in the era of what Anna Reading calls “gloabal time” (Reading 2012).

Throughout the latter part of the second millennium it was print (for its technical capacity enabling a return to a previous place/page) and throughout the latter part of the 20th century radio and TV (for their unique rhythmatization of the (national) everyday) that put and kept, so to speak, the national in place (see Anderson 1991; Briggs, Burke 2005). However, with digital communications technologies and in mediated environments, the urges to forget and to remember become increasingly supported by media technology/ies, inasmuch as they enable/facilitate an environment much more susceptible to decidedly individual moulding. An individual can pretty much (re)urbish her environment according to her preferences, meaning that the media objects surrounding us are there (or not) largely by our own choice.¹

In the vast environment that the internet is, it is not at all that difficult to filter stuff and “design” one’s own understanding of events, the world and also one’s own image of the past that corresponds to one’s attitudes and beliefs, identity formation drives and desires. This effectively means that an individual or a group can readily devise their own likeable/agreeable pasts and “tell a story about it”. The phenomenon of co-habitation of different individualised “histories” I propose to call “co-historicity”; it is discussed in more detail below. And this is intriguing enough.

¹ This is not the place to go into the debate about the surveillance and technologisation of the everyday as a means of establishing a society of control, and I do not mean to imply that the user is entirely “free” to do as she pleases; in line with the general argument I want to emphasise individual agency in co-creating and navigating digital media environments.

Below I first address the implications of the effects of digital media on digital cultural heritage discourse in relation to “classical” cultural heritage discourse, making reference to several projects underway. Then I move on to discuss the implications of using the concepts of media archaeology and digital archive in conceptualising vernacular (multi)cultural digital heritage and co-historicity. Finally, by way of multimodal discourse analysis (O’Halloran 2011) of selected digital media objects, I interrogate two cases of (vernacular) digital cultural heritage that each in its own right illuminate and support the discussion of co-historicity and ex-Yugoslav digital cultural heritage.

MEDIATING AND MIGRATING (DIGITAL) CULTURAL HERITAGE

The transient digital objects and spaces of encounters (websites, blogs, social networking sites, videos, etc.) are increasingly acknowledged as relevant markers and traces of humans’ past lives. Given their “resonance” in cross-platform online (ad hoc) collectivities, such spaces and objects need to be treated as representative “products” of certain historical moments and socio-cultural processes; as such they should be seen as potential harbingers of future heritage discourse. Particularly because rarely are they “mere” objects. Instead users tend to “stitch” the objects together, “infesting” them with a narrative, a story: a digital story. Digital storytelling primarily relies on montage activity and in some cases substantially corresponds with archiving: “Montage”, Wolfgang Ernst says, “is also a way of reading. Perusing the past as information entails modular decoding of the archive and thereby a genuine archival aesthetic, which does not confuse memory with history and /.../ *mentally manipulates* what is there rather than narrating it” (Ernst 2004: 94).

Digital content and online activities – due to their transience, impermanence, incessant mobility and dubious prospects of longer-term preservation – thus deserve the necessary attention.² But the field of digital cultural heritage is still largely unregulated as it is in fact systematically unchartable. As difficult as it is to classify the “classical” tangible and intangible heritage, also due to shifting meanings of relevance and representability, it is far more difficult to provide a working and at least remotely all-encompassing guideline as to what, how and for how long and in what form(at) to preserve (see Cameron, Kenderdine 2010). The criteria of representability that might have worked in pre-digital national settings/states heritage discourses are largely inapplicable in the digital era as they dismiss massive amounts of social/cultural activities. An international approach, yet one which is radically intertwined into bureaucratic procedures (hence inadequate to respond to and chart the changes underway), is UNESCO’s attempt to define digital heritage: “*Digital heritage* is made up of computer-based materials of enduring value that should be kept for future generations” that includes “resources of human knowledge or expression, whether cultural, educational, scientific and administrative [... that] are increasingly created digitally, or converted into digital form from existing analogue resources [such as] texts, databases, still and moving images, audio, graphics, software, and web pages” (Concept of Digital Heritage). In addition, it also stresses that “heritage value may also be based on what is important at a group or community level [...] and] [a]nything that is considered important enough to be passed to the future can be considered to have heritage value of some kind (Concept of Digital Heritage).

2 There are several attempts at digitising digital media environments and related content, likewise the wider category of digital cultural heritage, yet with a notable exception of the Internet Archive’s The Wayback Machine, very little attention is paid to preserving the vernacular. Even the institutional and state-supported attempts at preserving heritage digitally are facing enormous logistical and financial problems. Digital giants, e.g. Google Books, invest significant funds into digitising books, yet it remains far from clear how this digitisation will affect the future availability and hence wider cultural value of such digital artefacts.

Contrary to the bureaucratic eye, the nascent field of digital cultural heritage studies sees the problem unravelling through the questions of DCH as a discourse where the indefiniteness of “enduring value” and “value of some kind” is a tad more complex. It is characterised as a:

political concept and practice; the representation and interpretation of cultural heritage such as digital objects (including questions of aura and debates of “virtual” versus “real”); issues of mobility and interactivity both for objects and for consumers of digital heritage; the reshaping of social, cultural, and political power in relation to cultural organizations made possible through communication technologies (Cameron, Kenderdine 2010).

And this is crucial for understanding and conceiving a wider and more inclusive framework of cultural heritage which might take into account movable content, migratory individuals and evolving technological tools of expression, preservation, and distribution.

In the meantime in Slovenia, a Google search for “digitalna kulturna dediščina” [digital cultural heritage] yields no results that would suggest any kind of state-level strategy, let alone a long-term vision that would lay out guidelines and suggestions on what to do with digital heritage in Slovenia, i.e. how and why at all to bother with the preservation and maintenance of digital heritage. This may not be entirely unrelated to the fact that “heritage discourse in Slovenia remains seemingly homogeneous, unproblematic and consonant with other discourses of the national state ideology” (see Petrović 2014). The user is directed to sites engaged with the digitisation of cultural heritage, predominantly printed and photographic, occasionally audiovisual material. For instance the Ljubljana City Library sees digital cultural heritage as “digitised sources and evidence of human history and culture, regardless of origin, development and level of preservation” (Digitalna kulturna dediščina). Sadly, born-digital cultural heritage is left entirely off the radar.

Still, the Library lists four DCH projects: *dLib.si*, *Slovenian Digital Library* (enabling searching through articles, photographs, maps, posters, sound recordings); *KAMRA* (regional portal combining information and access to digitised content, full texts, information, programs and projects); *Europeana* (European digital library enabling access to more than 15 million audiovisual and textual objects in addition to content provided by museums, archives and multimedia archives) and *DEDI* (the first Slovenian digital encyclopaedia of natural and cultural heritage).

Interesting and timely as these projects are, they do not seem to be fully aware of their potential. *DEDI*, the digital encyclopaedia, for instance, contains 457 objects, but this is only half way to fully acknowledging another dimension of “heritage in the making”.³ Much like *Kamra* or *Europeana* (an international project), this endeavour shows very little awareness of the “production underway” of new content that classifies as digital heritage. In effect, this is a passive repository, much akin to a classical archive. Admittedly, *DEDI* features an “Add heritage” button, but the feature is extremely user unfriendly and not very attractive.

Europeana, on the other hand, takes a different approach in that the portal works as an open platform that is also cross-platform networked, with a mission to “create new ways for people to engage with their cultural history, whether it’s for work, learning or pleasure” (About us). It aims to make “cultural heritage openly accessible in a digital way, to promote the exchange of ideas and information. This helps us all to understand our cultural diversity better and contributes to a thriving knowledge economy”. *Europeana* thus gives room for expressing individual, unsolicited, unrefined personal accounts of the 20th century periods, particularly the Great War and the collapse of socialism in Europe.

Here I must note that these sites are to a great extent organised as archives and primarily focused on historical sources, and as the internet is primarily an audiovisual medium before it is an elaborate-text one, the appeal lies in visualisations, i.e. content that can communicate more information in a single

3 I am borrowing this phrase from the “Heritage in the making; A site on heritage dynamics in the former Yugoslavia” blog, <http://heritageinthemaking.wordpress.com/>.

unit: scans of original photographs, images, or of photographs of buildings and structures. Which is perfectly legitimate and not an object of criticism; I just want to emphasise the apparent lack of awareness of the complexity, elusiveness and general inability of state-level (or privately but insufficiently funded) organisations/initiatives to engage with digital heritage as a phenomenon that is particularly vulnerable to time, funding and particular interests. To put it differently, relevant cultural, historical and increasingly scientific production does not end with official datasets, collections, and archives... it requires and deserves a life after that.

There is no need to emphasise that there is more to digital heritage than one might assume from state- or international-body sponsored, homogenous, to some extent nationally exclusivist attempts that through the “add heritage” option do in fact encourage individual participation (mostly through sharing photos or stories).

What is persistently left outside the (inter)national canon are privately/low-scale/collectivity initiated digital interventions, websites, collections, videos, music, not least the repositories of social networking sites,⁴ i.e. user activities... and interventions dealing with topics that represent a (sometimes indistinguishably mundane) complementary and additional part to the institutionalised interventions.

Of course, it would be a tantalisingly difficult project to just “list” or classify all interventions, while the result would be overwhelmingly impossible to navigate and make sense of. If we, for instance, correlated mundane online activity to pub-talk, it would be easy to dismiss as ephemeral and relatively limited in terms of effect. However, given the scale of the presence and the sheer mass of stuff online and our everyday exposure to digitally mediated content it would be imprudent (and this is a euphemism) to dismiss online activities and dynamics as un(trust)worthy and limited in terms of wider socio-cultural relevance and resonance... even a bizarre idea can find a sizeable audience (Anderson 2004).

The potentialities of digital communications technologies for bottom-up interventions advise us to look for cultural heritage elsewhere than just in the official canons. One way to address (digital) cultural heritage and/or its techno-cultural complexity, particularly the essential emphasis on the vernacular, transient, migratory, is to approach it through the concepts and practices of vernacular digital archives and media archaeology.

MULTICULTURAL HERITAGE, DIGITAL ARCHIVE AND MEDIA ARCHAEOLOGY

The theoretical and practical implications of using media archaeology (Huhtamo, Parikka 2011; Ernst 2013) and vernacular digital archives as concepts in dealing with digital memory practices and in charting individual, bottom-up interventions into re-presenting the past are promising. For our purposes, the two are also seen as crucial practices and tools used in navigating and understanding digital media (but applicable to the wider debate of engaging with (media, art) records of the past). Below I propose to apply the conceptual framework of media archaeology and digital archiving in order to validate the proposition of vernacular digital cultural heritage.

The concept of a vernacular digital archive is substantially related to issues of preservation, canonisation and curation of digital content. Unlike classical archiving and musealisation, which “[i]n choosing what to preserve as traces of the past [...] have traditionally valued objects and texts, selected for their enduring cultural value, over ephemeral manifestations of cultural heritage” (Haskins 2007: 402), digital archiving practices, at least ideally, open up spaces for a more individual-based, inclusive, (arguably) democratic practice that engages with the mundane: this, for instance, is most clearly visible in digital

⁴ This is not to say that prior to the internet private collections did not exist nor that they were any less left off the radar.

memorial videos (found for instance on YouTube, but also on blogs and websites) where the authors and visitors (as co-creators) engage in the practice of digital storytelling (Lambert 2013). As they do so, they in fact create an archive. And as such archives are non-sponsored, individually motivated and driven by affective engagement with content and other users, such vernacular archiving seems to enable a more personal, de-institutionalised engagement. I nevertheless remain cautious enough not to underrate the issues related to data overabundance and the critical problems with legitimacy, authenticity, interpretive authority, reliability and attention that such vernacular archiving practices may facilitate.

Unlike the classical archive, the vernacular digital archive evades the alphabetised order of a database and alters the mission of preservation of the past, which is no longer the domain of high interpretive authority but effectively a situation where interpretive authority is deauthorised, i.e. relegated to the individual user or collectivity. Here I do not want to equate archiving and cultural heritage, but they are substantially related and to a certain extent overlapping in that cultural heritage items/content work as a sort of archive or are presented as such, particularly in case of digital storytelling. This is all the more applicable, as I discuss below, in numerous bottom-up interventions in digital media environments.

Moreover, the digital/digitised past is much more easily stripped of chrono-logical “factuality” and is much freely edited and manipulated (not that it was not before, but the scale and invasiveness of “unauthorised” interpretations is unprecedented). Memory, remembering and vernacular archiving and cultural heritage discourses empower individuals to co-create micro-narratives and micro-archives based on excavated content. Smith’s argument applies:

The real sense of heritage, the real moment of heritage when our emotions and sense of self are truly engaged, is [...] in the act of *passing on and receiving memories and knowledge*. It also occurs in the way that we then *use, reshape and recreate* those memories and knowledge to help us make sense of and understand *not only who we ‘are,’ but also who we want to be* (Smith 2006: 2; italics added).

Digital media technology significantly empowers and enables individuals, minorities and migrants to co-create stories, databases and archives of their memories and the everyday in order to assert their identity claims and positions within wider socio-cultural coordinates. Crucially, the engagement with technology enables their pasts and histories and cultural backgrounds, often excluded from the homogenised national (in this case Slovenian) setting, to be externalised and embedded into the socio-technical tissue. The intertwining of their “lived presences” in digital objects informs the discussion about multicultural heritage (derived from vernacular DCH) and co-historicity.

MIGRANTS IN SPACE-TIME: DETERRITORIALISING HERITAGE

To grasp the increasing presence of variegated and fragmented individual renditions of the past that in many respects deserve to be treated as vernacular digital heritage, the prism offered by co-historicity and multicultural heritage can prove useful. Not only because it enables us to grasp the complexity of online actions, interventions and externalisations, but primarily because these interventions speak of the encounters of individuals and collectivities with media objects, mediations and mediatisations (Lundby 2008) of their own pasts and presents through mundane communication activities. By co-historicity I refer to the condition of the present everyday life immersed in digital communications (environments) that presupposes being in an age of ubiquity and abundance of mediatised and mediated pasts, histories and memories. The latter are seen as facilitators of an emergent co-present, simultaneous histories or historical contemporaneity. Co-historicity presupposes an individual engaging with content and media environments, who can “edit” her own story and understanding of the past, or if you like she can

“subscribe” to creating a certain digital re-presence. Effectively, in digital media environments, numerous micro-histories co-exist and challenge the “grand” history. Digital re-presence presupposes navigation among different media objects which are, in the case of social networking sites, readily publishable as layers of statements that give us a set of information about user preferences, beliefs, allegiances, ideological inclinations, etc. In an increasingly deterritorialised world where grand hi/stories are no longer the domain of the state but rather of personal preferences and consumer habits, this means that the very idea of the national is at best seriously questioned. Moreover, the fragmentation of national media spaces coincides with the emergence of individualised media environments, which contributes to the perception that individualised stories and histories are as important or relevant as are the collectively agreed upon ones (see Parikka 2010).

Given the publishing and accessibility opportunities of digital communications technologies, co-historicity promises to explain not only the technological condition but to shifting meanings of understanding being in deterritorialised spaces as well. The very idea of deterritorialisation fits nicely with the characteristics of contemporary communications practices and devices and is also applicable to the condition of increased human migration both in space and time.⁵ As painful as this may be, technology enables the carving out of spaces for co-creating vernacular heritage discourses that would otherwise not have been possible or at least not as publicly present.

Re-presencing seems to define much online activity explicitly or not explicitly related to the past. Below I look at several cases of digital storytelling that qualify as cases of co-historicity, digital archiving and digital (multicultural) heritage.

First let us discuss cases of digital storytelling as a practice that combine media archaeology and results in vernacular digital archives: a practice of making short audiovisual narratives that use music, video, photos and text to tell a story about an aspect of the Yugoslav past. Apart from being digital stories, such videos also qualify as vernacular digital heritage in that they re-presence media bits – and through this practice also important aspects of Yugoslav-era everyday life, politics, ideology and mythology. Typically, videos like this feature images depicting topics related to the anti-fascist struggle during WWII, i.e. resistance fighters, Marshal Tito and other visible personae, etc. or more “popular” stuff such as actors/actresses, musicians, TV ads, posters, trademarks. The edited selection of images (sometimes also moving) and occasionally titles and captions are overdubbed with a song (pop, rock, revolutionary, etc.).

One case of a vernacular digital memorial, which due to copyright infringement is no longer available on YouTube, was made by a user whose grandfather, a partisan during WWII, passed away in 2009. The digital memorial featured images of the user’s grandfather, generic images depicting combatants, scenes of liberation and a video excerpt of a man breaking his shackles. The whole video was overdubbed with Branimir Štulić’s (former frontman of 1980s Yugoslav rock band Azra) cover of “The Partisan” (made famous by Leonard Cohen). This was primarily a memorial, an intimate one at that, but it became a site of remembrance for many other users who visited it. An ad hoc community formed around this video and participated in the practice of co-creating and re-presencing a joint (if dissonant) vision of the past. This vision was based on the intertwining of the very personal/intimate *raison d’être* for the memorial with wider implications that arise from “migrating” such stuff into digital public-ness. In a very intriguing manner this digital memorial brought together a very private externalisation of grief within a participating community that externalised a shared common interest/respect for the WWII heritage which lies not only in derelict bunkers and cenotaphs but also in eyewitness accounts (WWII Heritage), memories and stories. What makes the story about WWII heritage particularly interesting in the post-

5 By “increased migration in time” I refer to the fact that due to rapid technological innovation and changing cultural values the “displacement” from the chronological becomes much more visible and problematised (cf. Huyssen 1995), which supports the claim that we are more than ever living in an elusive present and thus perceive the passing of time not just as aging but as leaving/migrating. However, the past, that “foreign country”, relentlessly keeps returning to colonise the present.

socialist (Slovenian and Yugoslav) context and in the discussion about digital heritage is its status as a resource of historical and cultural capital and conflict.

The tangible and intangible “offline” WWII heritage has been identifiably and quite successfully contested by the processes of the dissolution of the country, including topographical changes and the “left-to-ruinism” of Yugoslav iconographic monuments and architecture. However, the unregulated and “unbordered” (to some extent, particularly when compared to the actual territorial borders) digital media environments have provided a space for the externalisation and circulation of content that still openly cherishes the “acquisitions of the revolution”.

What in post-1991 political and media discourses (which decidedly influenced heritage discourses) became unwanted heritage (partisan resistance) was previously defended as a pillar of independence (Slovenia) and sovereignty. This purge effectively stripped the new nations of their heroic past. At the same time digital media provided a space to challenge the homogenising historical discourses through voicing the chapters and aspects of the Yugoslav past (WWII and post-war). This includes the anti-fascist legacy, the social revolution and the implementation of a system that at least declaratively provided an emancipatory project that facilitated modernisation, industrialisation, and women’s rights. Additionally, the heritage of WWII and Yugoslav anti-fascism also includes values such as resistance, solidarity, and honesty, which are the prevailing themes in the comments spurred by the video: interestingly, the video itself proves to be a galvaniser of discussions that diagnose the present condition through detecting the qualities of the past. As of late 2012, this digital site has been deleted from YouTube and the entire collectivity with it, which opens up questions of preserving vernacular digital content: individual engagement and collective participation in sharing memories.

The other case is less intimate, if no less affective and perhaps a bit more easily determined DCH, as it seems to have a more elaborate agenda behind it: the SecanjaCom YouTube channel, dedicated to: “Lepa secanja na stara dobra vremena: domaci i strani filmovi, TV, poezija, proza, sport, emisije za decu, crtani filmovi i jos mnogo toga” [Pleasant memories of the good old times: domestic and foreign films, TV, poetry, prose, sports, children’s shows, animated films and more] (in Serbo-Croatian) (SecanjaCom). The people that run the channel are practitioners of media archaeology who search for forgotten stuff that defined and was Yugoslav popular culture and everyday life, but in the process of the dissolution of the country became unseemly, offensive or just fell out of the canon (Assmann 2009). Significantly, it is primarily driven by the nostalgia for stuff Yugoslav (apart from the YouTube channel there is also a “Dobra stara vremena” [The Good Old Times] Facebook page and a secanja.com website). The way the secanja.com cross-platform activities are organised suggests seeing their engagement also as archiving and in fact curating objects of vernacular cultural heritage. At present the channel contains two interesting videos about childhood and youth in the former Yugoslavia: “Detinjstvo” [Childhood] (Detinjstvo) and “Mladost” [Youth] (Mladost). The first one starts with a caption: “Do you remember when we were young?” and clearly addresses the generations that grew up since the 1960s and had the chance to experience Yugoslav socialism and now live in one of the post-socialist countries or as emigrants. It contains images of items and products that marked the lives of children of socialism, from beverages to hula-hoops, marbles, cartoons, games, etc. The video is overdubbed with Ivo Robić and Zdenka Vučković’s 1958 “Tata, kupi mi avto” [Daddy, Buy Me a Car]. The second video uses Mary Hopkin’s “Those Were the Days”, but it changes the focus from children’s to young adult activities: going to the movies, “loving” foreign and “domestic” actors/actresses and films, listening to music on cassettes and vinyl and Radio Luxemburg, TV series, going to the seaside in a Zastava 750, travel, etc. The thing is that these videos are not just the artefacts depicted but the transfer of their socio-cultural meanings (or at least the attempt to do so). Their relevance lies at the crossroads of Ernst’s montage and Urry’s recreation of the past, not least visible in the juxtaposition of domestic and foreign actors/actresses and films which positions the reference to the Yugoslav past within a broader referential framework. Thus, for a 21st century user that comes across the video, it may serve as a condensed renarrativisation and in fact an archive of items that marked the youth of several generations of Yugoslavs.

Now the question is what qualifies such interventions as heritage? Where is the supposed heritage value? In the digital object as such or in the content or in the emotions the object might stir?

Most of these videos that can be found on YouTube feature scanned images. Where the story diverts from the presupposed “sterility” of cultural heritage is in the individual intervention, which leaves a vestige of messiness, disorderliness, punkishness. For the most part, the videos are not professionally made and have little “artistic value” as such, but they possess a certain quality that positions them in the realm of re-presenters, re-users and re-shapers of the Yugoslav past (cf. Smith 2006: 44). Cases such as these in fact come close to Smith’s argument in that they facilitate, mobilise and “engage with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present” (ibid.). What is more, digital storytelling based on media archaeology not only creates an affective vehicle with which to either confront or succumb to the nostalgia for youth/Yugoslavia. In fact, such videos effectively re-frame cultural codes, practices and consumer products into a radically different present. And it is such radical reframing or counterpoising – spanning different levels of the processes of growing up, but also different value systems and political regimes (which is mostly implicit in such videos) – that effectively deterritorialises heritage and “deuniversalises” History.

If the above cases are based on media archaeology, editing and dubbing to create a memorial or a “digital storytelling exhibition”, I would now turn to another phenomenon that opens up different aspects of digital archiving and (multi)cultural heritage. Since early 2008, the group GojkoAjnkula/MZP Video Produkcija (GA), based in Jesenice, Slovenia,⁶ has been making and uploading DIY videos on YouTube which present short sketches featuring amateur acting, scripting and shooting (GojkoAjnkula). The group consists of second-generation migrants from the former Yugoslav republics who have the privilege of sharing both the “domestic” and “foreign” cultures, and have managed to do so with a decent amount of humour and irony. So far they have made some 60 sketches in which the stories and characters refer to contemporary commonplaces in post-socialist Slovenian society. Given their “national background”, their sketches portray characters “de abajo”, former compatriots that are often stereotyped to fit in with and reinforce the image of the “čefur”.⁷ To emphasise this aspect the authors use language and attire corresponding with the generally recognisable image: specific types of track suits, posture, jewellery, distinct pronunciation and characteristic idiom. While not all sketches address the issue of migration explicitly, the topic is implicitly present throughout GojkoAjnkula’s production. Apart from several sketches that deal explicitly with the topic, a disclaimer at the beginning of a number of sketches: “MČZ opozarja ljudem s slabim želodcem in kakršnokoli nestrpnostjo kot tako priporočamo, da se pred ogledom videa posvetujejo z očijem in mamico. [Warning! People with sensitive stomachs or any kind of intolerance are advised to consult mummy and daddy before watching the video.] (Carice). This ironic statement indicates a full acknowledgement of the position of GA as creators of content and content as such, as well as an understanding of the anticipated audiences and the socio-cultural environment within which the sketches “live”.

Here I do not attempt to do an in-depth analysis of the ways they deal with and present the issue of migration and minorities, but rather aim to discuss the phenomenon in the light of multicultural or vernacular digital heritage. The GA sketches can hardly be seen as having an agenda to archive and present heritage. However, on a certain level this is what they do: the idiom, the attire and the topics chosen make reference to the Yugoslav past and the Slovenian present, to migrant backgrounds and “integrated” presents. Presenting among others the topics of “cool chicks”, “swear words”, and “migrant parenting”, GA effectively reframe the stereotypes of our “former brethren” into a socio-cultural situation that has seen several such attempts in the past (perhaps most famously the TV series Teater Paradižnik

6 Jesenice is a town in north-western Slovenia that at its heyday was one of the most important steel and iron-working centres in the former Yugoslavia and hence also an attractive destination for intra-state migration which resulted in a sizeable Croat, Bosnian and Serbian community.

7 Čefur (pronounced “che’foor”) is a derogatory Slovenian term applied to people from former Yugoslav republics.

[Tomato Theatre], Naša mala klinika [Our Little Clinic] etc.). Moreover, this reframing is particularly interesting from the perspective of how cultural content, practices and elements associated with certain “foreignness” in Slovenia manage to draw a remarkable amount of attention. For instance, “Kletvice” [Swearwords] plays out the stereotype about the alleged fertile culture of swearwords in the Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian languages (Kletvice), as opposed to the repressed Slovenian tradition of swearing, which draws on the fairly rich Slovenian tradition of perceiving other Yugoslav languages as a potential linguistic threat to the Slovene that became particularly palpable due to the sizeable migration of workers from the mid-1960s onwards (cf. Mlekuž 2008).

Thus the GA sketches can easily be dismissed as jokes. They do funny stuff and they obviously have fun making the sketches. But is there anything more “serious” to them? Can they be seen as cases of vernacular DH? For one thing, the migrant aspect to GA sketches clearly endows their endeavours with a spice of multiculturalism. Not just because the team includes members of different nationalities, but predominantly because of the way they play out the stereotypes associated with the socio-cultural construction of the *čefur*. This is not least apparent in the “Čakija Noris” [i.e. “Chuck Norris”] sketch where a Slovenian reporter comes to a remote Bosnian(?) village in search of Čakija Noris’s son only to find his own father, who at one point served in the army in the reporter’s home town and apparently slept with his mother (Čakija Noris). The reference to serving the army in the former Yugoslavia is still a strong cultural and memorial topos in Slovenia, but in this instance it explicates the fluctuation of people who became “problematic” only after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, while prior to that enabled mundane and multifarious exchanges which have had important corporeal and symbolic consequences. However, and not to diminish the wider historical background of this particular migrant (and mixed marriage) situation in post-socialist Slovenia, it may be said that what GA are doing in terms of heritage has more to do with the present than with the past. GA’s activity effectively results in an archive of the present: much more than they “do” the Yugoslav past, they do the Slovenian present. They deal with topics that challenge the presupposition that the Slovenian cultural make-up and hence heritage is hegemonic and mono-national. The popularity of their videos and the resonance of the topics demonstrate that the multicultural component (particularly in relation to the former Yugoslavia) of the Slovenian present is an existing phenomenon “on the ground”. As such, the GA phenomenon can be seen as a distinctly born-digital one that manages to turn the present socio-cultural atmosphere, “lingo”, specific “migrant dress code” and certain topics, through jokey audiovisual storytelling, into a vernacular digital archive of multicultural heritage.

In light of the digital aspects, GA’s video interventions and the team’s YouTube channel can furthermore be seen as a meeting place of people who watch their videos and thus participate in an ad hoc collectivity. As can be deduced from the comments, this collectivity is largely based in Slovenia, but GA has also reached other former Yugoslav countries. Crucially, through their digital media appearance, the “disclaimer” quoted above and the approach they take to the topics they deal with, GA are positioned at the margin of official identity discourses. However, they effectively create a digital space within which their message circulates and multiplies. What is more, their sketches significantly establish the different facets of Sloveneness as a socio-cultural fact. In the broader picture, these sketches reframe and re-present the Slovenian present as significantly co-created by ethnic minorities and also co-shaped by cultural heritage emanating from living in socialist Yugoslavia. The sketches and user comments, in addition to presenting an archive of the socio-cultural climate of the 2010s, also operate as an archive of user reactions, which brings an important emphasis to the entire story: the user/participant is delegated an important role in the co-creation of the practice of vernacular heritage.

CONCLUSION

The experience of a common/shared Yugoslav past and the neglected relevance of the post-WWII period seem to be the decisive element in much Slovenian post-socialist era material dealing with memory

and remembering, but also in co-shaping the vernacular digital cultural heritage. Likewise, this experience is to a great extent also the motivating agent of the co-historicity present in contemporary daily political abuses, as it is in many post-Yugoslav vernacular digital interventions that prove an attractive means to stimulate the debate about the past. At the same time the past, the memories but also mediated visualisations and audibles are re-presented and relaunched into the digital environment that to a significant extent defies the limits of cotemporaneous presence at any one "heritage site". Through the principles of co-historicity the (national) past is fragmented and the so-desired grand narrative to keep the national-collective in place contested. On the other hand, the collectivity that forms (ad hoc) in and around a "digital heritage site" is provided (and each member is significantly a co-creator) with a space and "material" to re/produce the collectivity and the individual's relationship to others and the commonly shared past. Here one may object that neither of the cases is Slovenian per se. But this is where co-historicity and the fragmentation of the national come into play: the "original" or physical location of the heritage (cyber)site is irrelevant in that the digital media environments enable migration between different ideological, trans/inter-national or any other settings. What matters, then, is that through vernacular digital heritage territorially and temporally dispersed collectivities can engage with heritage as part of their daily digital communications routines.

This is the case in both the phenomena discussed above. In the case of vernacular digital memorials, the divisive line of co-historicity largely runs through the interpretation of WWII and the post-war period and is most radically visible in user comments. Digital media thus enable the proliferation of promulgations of factually questionable interpretations of the past and by doing so also create a digital heritage discourse which cannot be dismissed on the grounds of factual errors, but has to be considered as a *topos* that matters to a significant number of people who might well see the material re-presented as heritage.

In the second case, co-historicity may not be as explicit, yet the reference to the same historical period remains strong (if with a different emphasis). What the GA sketches exemplify is the multicultural aspect of present-day Slovenia. They open up a space for users to enjoy the jokes, but as they do so they also contribute to a collectivity that at least acknowledges a non-exclusivist approach to certain idioms and fashions: thus they are readily admitted into the vernacular multicultural heritage discourse. In other words, such digital interventions contribute to multiculturalising heritage, in the sense that heritage becomes understood as multicultural and the other way around, that what is accepted as multicultural heritage contributes to understanding the socio-cultural reality as intrinsically non-homogenous, fragmented and open.

Another aspect common to both approaches is the vernacularisation or the process of giving voice to individuals and groups that in the era of mass media had little access to the power-dominated public space. Vernacularisation in this respect refers to the modes and tools for re-presenting the past through accessible media technologies. Thus in the era of "micromedia", airtime is much more easily conquered, although the question of attention is crucial in valuing any activity. The opportunity to emanate a voice thus radically questions the ways something is canonised and presented as heritage, i.e. in such a (media) environment of burgeoning vernacular archives and sites of multicultural heritage it is particularly difficult maintain a solid generally applicable narrative.

Finally, given that the production of knowledge is increasingly decentralised and relegated to the individual, the definition of what is a relevant and adequate heritage becomes increasingly stripped of top-down interpretive authority. In exchange we are left with a number of interpretations that each in its own right find legitimacy in a fragmented, territorially and sometimes temporally dispersed collectivity.

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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/>).

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2. Sestavine prispevkov

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

- glavni naslov članka (z velikimi tiskanimi črkami, okrepljeno);
- ime in priimek avtorja (priimku naj sledi opomba pod črto, v kateri so navedeni: 1. avtorjeva izobrazba in naziv (na primer: dr. zgodovine, 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);
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- 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, obojestranska 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 okrepljeno, podnaslove drugega reda z malimi tiskanimi črkami in okrepljeno; 7. (pod)poglavij ne številčimo.

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

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- 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;
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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.
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- Navajanje avtorja v oklepaju: (Anderson 2003: 91–99); več navedb naj bo ločenih s podpičjem in razvrščenih po letnicah (Milharčič Hladnik 2009: 15; Vah Jevšnik, Lukšič Hacin 2011: 251–253).
- Seznam literature in virov je na koncu besedila; v seznamu literature na koncu se navajajo samo navedbe literature iz besedila; enote naj bodo razvrščene po abecednem redu priimkov avtorjev, enote istega avtorja pa razvrščene po letnicah; če imamo več del istega avtorja, ki so izšla istega leta, jih ločimo z malimi črkami (Anderson 2003a; 2003b).
 - Knjiga:

Anderson, Benedict (2003). *Zamišljene skupnosti: O izvoru in širjenju nacionalizma*. Ljubljana: Studia Humanitatis.
 - 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.
 - 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.
 - 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).

5. 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.
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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 PUBLICAITON 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://isi.zrc-sazu.si/?q=node/436>).

Articles should be prepared according to the instructions stated below and sent in electronic form to the editorial board at the following address: mlekuz@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. Institute for Slovenian Emigration Studies, Novi Trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana); 3. e-mail address, phone and fax number;
- 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).

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: 251–53).
- 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 23.5cm (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)).
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